Bachelor of Arts
(BA)

Political Science – I
Introduction to Political Science
(DBAPCO103T24)

Self-Learning Material
(SEM 1)

Jaipur National University
Centre for Distance and Online Education

PREFACE

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"Education is the most powerful weapon which you can use to change the world." — **Nelson Mandela**
"The aim of university education should be to turn out true servants of the people who will live and die for the country's freedom." - **Mahatama Gandhi**

The demand for education in general in India as well as all over the world is ever expanding with economic development.

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This book is written to increase student's access to high-quality learning materials, maintaining the high standards of academic rigor at little to no cost.

All possible efforts have been made to enhance further the usefulness of the book. The feedback received from different sources has been incorporated.

The University is grateful to all those who have helped directly and/or indirectly in preparing this book. The University firmly believes that there is always scope for improvement and accordingly University shall look forward to receive suggestions, (which shall be thankfully acknowledged) for further enriching the quality of the text.

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Introduction:

There is Politics everywhere. It is all-pervading as old as humanity. Politics is dominant in all aspects of human life. Almost everyone is, subject to, some form of political system. Whether one likes or not virtually no one is completely beyond the reach of some kind of political system.

Political science is a social science like its sibling disciplines and like its sister subjects it revolves around man and his social (Political) environment. Being one of the oldest social sciences its nature and scope of the study have changed over the year. Political Science originated with the Greeks. The term 'Politics' comes from the Greek word 'Polis' which means 'city-states' (Polity meaning Government, politeia meaning Constitution) and every city was an independent state, a principality in its own right e.g. Sparta, Corinth Athens etc.

Aristotle's profound and enduring contribution to the study of politics have earned him the title of "the father of Political science" on account of his far reaching and permanent contribution to the field of politics. According to Aristotle, politics is the Master Science because politics determines the environment within which every person will organize his life. No one can escape from the parameters set by politics. In his famous book 'Politics' Aristotle wrote, "Man is by nature a Political Animal and he who is by nature

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or by accident is without state is either above humanity or below it." Politics is the control room of all human activities.

Definitions of Political Science or Politics:

The word politics has different interpretations. Since the time of Plato to Easton, Politics has been interpreted in different ways. Definitions of politics vary as per the variety of activities that have been considered political from time to time. The study of politics existed in some form, since the time of Aristotle. The discipline was indistinguishable from moral philosophy and the study of society in general until early 19th century. It grew as a field of study only in the later part of 19th century.

Traditional Definitions of Politics:

As per the traditional political scientist in the 20th century such as J W Garner, Henry Sidgwick, R G Gettel and others, Politics deals mainly with study of state and government related institutions.

It is defined as "The study of the State in the past, present and future, of political organization and political function, of political institutions and political theories" by R G Gettel

"The study of politics concerns itself with the life of man in relation to organized states" by Laski

"Political science begins and ends with state." By Garner

"Political science deals with government." By Leacock

These definitions show that the traditional view of politics was narrow, static and limited and focused only on the study of state and government, its structure and organization etc.

Modern view of Political Science:

1)   Power view

By the end of the 20th century political scientists such as Laswell, Powell, Merriam, Morgenthau, Weber etc started on fresh ground. A more original analysis of political activity is contained in defining of politics in terms of power.

Harold Laswell defines politics in empirical terms maintains that politics is the study of the shaping as well as sharing of power. According to him the basic issue in politics is who gets what, when and how?

Robert Dahl holds that, "politics involves to a significant extent power, rule or authority."

As per Shaw and Pierce politics is the struggle for power to make authoritative decisions for the whole society.

Definitions focusing on power give attention on the fact that functions are more important in comparison to forms or structures. Power is a central idea of politics and this element takes political enquiry into the core of the matter.

2) Legitimate government:

As the power view of politics was found to be defective and inadequate, attempts were made to change the power perspective of politics arguing for the legitimacy of the government. Once it was discovered that only legitimate power would become the basis for the acceptance of the government. David Easton asked for the "authoritative allocation of values for the society." This view also implies that modern political analysis is concerned with political system. Demands are made on the system and they are processed and policy decisions are made. This needs to be carried out under the authority of the government meaning that policies come out from legitimate or rightful sources.

3) Controversies and Conflict:

These are crucial concepts to understand while studying politics. "Politics consists of struggle among actors pursuing conflicting desires on public conflicting issues," notes Vermon von dyke. Politics is basically about conflict. Therefore, conflict resolution or reconciliation of antagonistic interest becomes essential in political studies.

4) Consensus & General Arrangements:

The study of politics also includes the element of consensus and general societal arrangements of society. Politics is important as diversities in social environment cause various conflicting demands on the common good. "We wouldn't need government if men were angels" Governments and political system serves as mediator to generate consensus in the society.

5) Internationalism:

An alternative perspective holds that internationalism is a political matter. The study of internationalism is essential for maintaining world peace, and creating contemporary welfare state.

6) Behavioral approach:

Almond Powell and other contemporary American authors have examined political science through sociology, anthropology and psychology. They have criticised the conventional theory of political science on the grounds of parochialism and formalism. According to their argument the political theorist in the past focused mainly on the state, government, institutions as well as their legal norms, rules, regulations or political ideas and ideologies. They did not show much interest in the performance of institutions, their interaction as well as political behavior of man. This signaled the advent of Behavioral approach in politics and subsequently adopted a comparative analysis of other political systems across continents.

Changing nature of Politics: Is Political science a Science or Art?

There has long been debate whether politics can be counted as a science. Aristotle studied the field using a scientific method. He analyzed and contrasted the study of politics from ethics and law, examined and compared constitutions (158) and classified governments into meaningful categories. On the other hand, James Bryce, Charles Beard and Harold Laski are of the opinion that politics is not a science. It is said that the nomenclature Political Science owes its origin to William Godwin and Mary Wollstonecraft.

Science is an organised approach to learning about any phenomenon which is governed by its own laws. Science is based on collection of data, generalizations, accuracy and verification or experimentations. Let's try to test political science on these grounds.

Political Science is not a Science:

1)	**Lacks Precise and Uniform Definitions:**

A Science has a vocabulary with specific accepted definitions for all of its concepts. Political science does not have precise definitions, terminologies or methodologies.

There is no general agreement among political scientist regarding these. Methods and principles of political science are not universally acceptable and applicable. E.g. terms like freedom, democracy and nationalism do not have uniform definitions. They can be and have been defined and interpreted in different ways.

2)	**Lacks Investigation and generalizations:**

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The scientific approach to investigations, observations and generalizations is likewise absent from political science. In science it is possible to obtain accurate and exact findings. In political science this is not the case E.g. Democracy is regarded as the best form of government by many but in reality, it is not a success in countries where there are ignorant and incompetent masses.

3) Lacks Experimentations:

Another inability to conduct laboratory experiments in political science. Political researcher has to deal with other human beings challenges. The habits, sentiments, moods, and temperament of people differ from place to place and from time to time. In no situation can they be regulated as well. For example electoral behavior of voter is determined by various factors such as caste, class, religion etc. No government can claim that its people will respond in a particular way to a policy or programme announced.

4) Lacks Objectivity:

While there is objectivity in the study of physical sciences, it is lacking in studying problems related to state and government. Analyzing political issues and challenges may not be feasible with completely impartial, indifferent, unbiased attitude may not be possible to analyses political problems and questions. A political scientist works with human beings in relation to sate, society and government and subjectivity is most noticeable in these relationships. Views of political analytics are bound to be prejudiced on account of racial, religious, linguistic or nationalistic factors.

5) Lacks Predictability:

It is nearly impossible for a political thinker to predict the future course of events. In fact, events take course quite contrary to the expectations of the observer. This is because politics is the study of human behavior and social constructions which can change. Constantly changing socio- economic and political situations restrict a political observer form making predictions.

As per Burke, "there is no science of politics any more than there is science of aesthetics, for the line of politics are not the lines of mathematics. They are matter incapable of exact definitions."

Political Science is a Science:

1) Political science is unquestionably a science if by the term "science "we mean an

organized body of knowledge political science can certainly be called as a science. Dr. Finer rightly says that, "we can be prophets of probable if not seers of certain" political science has been able develop a systematised body of knowledge on broad terms like state, government etc. after due observation, comparison and some sort of experimentation.

2)   Certain experiments through which political scientist might be useful. It is commonly known that Aristotle based his 'Politics' on his study of the working of 158 constitutions. Likewise, Lord Bryce compared the working of democracy in various countries and then came to conclusions with regard to relative merits and demerits of democracy. B N Rau constitutional advisor to the government of India also made a comparative study of various constitutions and presented a report to the constituent assembly.

3)   It is true that specialists cannot agree on the methodology, principles and conclusions of political science. However political science is a dynamic study of living subject-matter. It deals with man and his institutions. As man is dynamic, the same is true of the institutions created by him. The nature of man changes according to the changing conditions. The view of Lord Bryce is that political science is a science, although it is undeveloped and incomplete. Prof. R N Gilchrist believes that general laws can be deduced from given material and those are useful in the actual problems of the government.

Nature of Political Science

We the human beings are social animals. They would rather prefer company to solitude. Humans rely on other fellow beings for the satisfaction of their diverse needs. So, they have always lived in social groups. They have been a part of the society with set rules of common behaviour. Such a society had to be properly organized with individuals to enforce rules and regulations and also their observance had to be ensured. The organized society is called the State, governing rules of social conduct are the laws of the State and the individuals who enforce the same and ensure their observance is the government. Hence, Political Science deals with human being in relation to the State and government. It is the study of humans in the process of governing themselves.

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

Scope of Political Science

Academics differ on what constitutes political science. There is uncertainty about the precision in the definitions and meanings of political science and that creates confusion regarding the precise boundaries of the subject.

Willoughby states that, political science has to deal with three great topics: State, Government and Law. The view of Prof. Goodnow is that political science divided itself into three distinct parts: the expression of the state will, the content of the state will as be expressed and the execution of the state will. At the UNESCO conference held in September 1948, distinguished political scientists from the various parts of the world marked out the subject- matter of political science which included 1) Political theory 2) Political Institutions 3) Political Dynamics and 4) International Relations.

As the importance of political science is increasing day by day, its scope is also increasing and becoming wider. Thus, in general scope of political science includes following things:

1)   **Study of State and Government:**

Political science is the science of state and government. It attempts to comprehend with the forms and activities of the state and tries to understand various forms and functions of the government. Scholars like Bluntschli, Garris and others believe that the scope of

political science is limited to the study of the state alone. Scholars like Leacock gave it greater weight to the study of government that to the state.

Political science conducts thorough investigation into the origin of the state. It also deals with the elements of the state, sovereignty and law, ends and functions of state, the rights and obligations of the individual, political institutions, forms of government, elections, political parties, public opinion, local bodies and international bodies etc. it researches state as it is, as it has been and as it ought to be.

2)   Study of Political Theory:

Political theory is a major branch of political science. Political theories by political thinkers, defines terms like democracy, liberty, equality, ground of political obligation etc. It covers a some basic concepts of Political science. Speculations of different political philosophers are put together in one volume which   is given the title political theory.

3)   Study of Political Institutions:

Comparative governments studies and constitutions are included in the study of political institutions includes a study of Constitutions. It addresses the nature of different political institutions, including government, explains their merits and demerits, their structure and working and arrives at different conclusions on comparative basis. The study of public administration and local governments can also be included in this heading.

4)   Study of Political Dynamics:

In the 20th century study of political dynamics has become important in the world, which means the current forces at work in government and in politics. It covers a wide range of and includes political parties, public opinion, pressure groups, lobbies etc. A scientific study of the working of these political dynamics helps us to explain the political behavior of individuals and groups. The study in this field is mostly done in collaboration with different other social sciences like sociology, anthropology and psychology etc. Human nature is dynamic,not static . Hence the study of political dynamics becomes extremely important to understand changing concepts.

5)   Study of adjustment of individual with the state:

It is interesting to study the nature of the relationship between individual and state   and to examine how man adjusts within society. Politics originates from man. The state guarantees certain rights and liberties to its citizens and also imposes certain reasonable limitations on them. Maximum state intervention can lead to loss of liberty and complete absence of the state intervention can lead to a state of anarchy (Chaos). The challenge is to adjust and

reconcile the governmental power of the State with the individual's liberty.

6)   Study of international relations and international law: It covers wide range of subjects-like

* diplomacy,
* international politics,
* international law and
* organisations like UN.

With technological advancement and progress in human knowledge the world has come closed and become like one family. The modern Human society is seen from a world perspective. Therefore, the study of international relations today has become an independent discipline.

7)   Study of disagreements and their resolution:

Disagreement is at the root of any political process on account of conflicting interests, contradictory view and opinions, socio-economic inequalities and scarce resource available to resolve these issues. Therefore politics is all about making choices and arriving at policy decisions suitable to the broad demands and needs of people in the society. Elections are proposed to be the most effective means of resolving conflicts in any society. Apart from it Legislature, Judiciary, Pressure groups also are some other means to resolve political conflicts at public level.

Political science has covered a wide range of topics under its scope. Beginning from traditional study based on state, government, law and institutions to modern study focusing on process, political dynamics, political socialization, political cultures, political development and informal structures like pressure groups etc. It is not that old boundaries in the study of political science have been obliterated they merely have been extended to mark sharpness and depth hitherto unknown.

Approaches to the study of Political Science
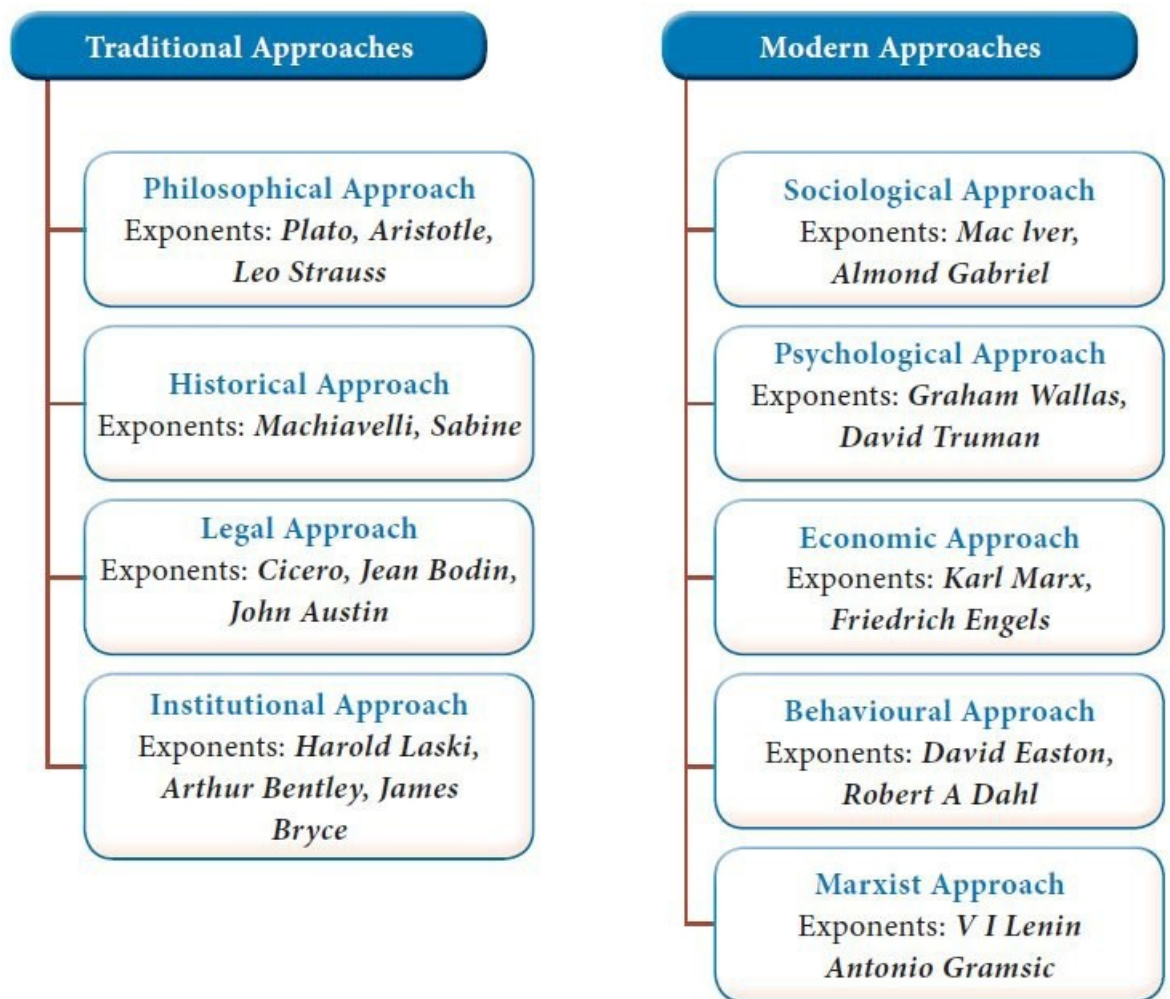
Figure 1.1: Approaches to Political Science

Introduction:

Political Theory emerged out of the observation and the analysis of politics in different places and situations. The requirement for laws, procedures and authority was felt universally and they were made and applied with some degree of success, consistencies were observed, alternatives were thought and theories emerged. There has always been a gap between theory and practice, desirable and the actual, the ideal and the possible. Various approaches have emerged to the study of political science such as:

- Normative Approach
- Empirical- Behavioural Approach
- Feminist Approach

- Post-Behavioural

- Plural and Neo-Plural Approach

- Marxist Approach

- Green Approach etc.

Normative Approach:

Greek philosophers like Plato & Aristotle introduced the oldest approach to the study of politics known as the normative approach.

- The normative approach is rooted in theory and oriented towards ideals and norms. The philosophers set the standards through intuition and logical deduction. They tried to arrive at the ideals that would establish the 'good life' which was seen as the goal of political activity.

- Norms such as Liberty, Equality and Justice were seen as essential conditions of good life and their dimensions and ways of realization were prescribed by the philosophers. The study of politics became the study of norms that will establish the best order of things in an organized community. Therefore this approach is known as the normative approach and also called as the philosophical approach, Legal approach, Formal Approach, historical approach and institutional approach.

Significant Features of Normative Approach:

1)   Value-loaded Approach:

Normative approach is morally oriented; it addresses with the good, the right and the just. The ideals cannot but be formulated in ethical vocabulary. It was loaded with values of what is desirable and what is to be detested. Normative approach suggests certain norms, values or ideals or the ethical dimension of politics which ought to be realized. It aims to attain what is desirable or ideal. It is packed with some universal values like Liberty, Equality, Justice, Fraternity, the right or the good. There for E H Carr considers this approach as Utopian (Unreal).

2)   Philosophical Deductive Method:

Traditional political scientist adopted a philosophical deductive method for political enquiry. It suggests drawing conclusions from some general, universal propositions which are supposed to be true. Thinkers like Plato and Aristotle began their political

enquiry with some self-evident, universal assumptions from which they deduced certain conclusions. Their attempt is hence described as 'abstract theorising', or 'a priori thinking' or 'philosophizing rather than practicing'.

3)   Prescriptive Approach:

Normative approach is also called as a prescriptive approach rather than a descriptive approach. Normative study is an evaluative study of principles and actions. Concepts and theories were formulated as the parameters for evolving institutions and instruments of governing. It gives less importance to description of the reality and more to prescription of values and ideals.

Important thinkers who contributed to the normative approach:

Plato in his classic work 'republic' talks about an ideal state which is governed by a 'Philosopher King'. According to him a philosopher king is a person possessing unique and unparalleled virtues who only can guarantee highest and best form of justice to the people. Aristotle combined in him element of both a philosopher and an empiricist. He made a comparative study of around 158 constitutions. He made value judgments on forms of government and laws. He prescribed good and perverted forms of governments.

Apart from these Greek philosophers some modern thinkers also have contributed to the fund of normative thought. John Locke propounded the theory of Natural Rights and government by consent as the solution for tyranny of rulers. He developed the social contract theory where he suggests that basis of any government has to be the consent and good of people.

The French philosopher Rousseau conceived of 'General Will' as the ideal will as it ought to be, to which all individuals must conform to realize their own freedom. He was attempting reconciliation between individual liberty and state authority.

The German idealist Hegel deified the state; according to him state was 'March of God on Earth'. He prescribed that individual self is to be sacrificed for the better self: the state.

Criticism:

1)   It ignores to contemplate on 'what is' in its inclination to study 'what ought' to be.

2)   It is a value-laden approach which sometimes moves away from reality and turns out

to be utopia. It is based on some preferences, prejudices and personal judgments.

3)   It is a subjective area of study.

4)   It lacks inter-disciplinary approach.

Empirical Approach Introduction:

Right down to the end of the nineteenth century politics was largely, if not, exclusively seen as a normative discipline mostly forming part of moral philosophy. The beginning of empiricism began early in the 20th century. But until the post- World War II period it was not an acknowledged approach to intellectual enquiry in politics. The change from the normative to empirical approach was a turn from ideals to facts, from value-loaded prescription to value neutral description and from institutional to behavioral study.

Arthur F Bentley, sociologist at the Chicago University published a book 'The Process of Government' in 1908. He explained the group basis of all political behavior. In the same year Graham Wallas published Human Nature in Politics, bringing out the psychological dimensions of political actions.

New Aspects of Politics (1925) by Charles Merriam (Intellectual God-father of Behavioural Approach), the Science and Methods of Politics (1927) by George E Catlin, Quantitative Methods in Politics (1928) by Stuart Rice and Psychology and Politics (1930) by Harold Laswell were the most notable publications of this era that gave rise to the empirical dimension in political studies.

Hallmarks of Empirical Approach:

1)   Scientific and Empirical Tools:

In the post-world war II period, the newly emerged states copied democratic system form their colonial masters which were later found to be inappropriate to suit in their socio-economic and cultural milieu. The empiricists developed appropriate tools for the purpose of political enquiry such as political culture, criteria of modernization, and indicators for development and categories for analysis. Therefore, empirical scientist introduced scientific techniques such as observation, quantification, measurements, calculations, surveys, hypothesis testing and use of aggregate data into political studies and thus aimed to give operational meaning to political concepts.

2)   Value Free Approach:

Empirical approach divorces itself from values and focuses on facts. It is a value neutral and a scientific approach to study and frees politics from moral, ethical and philosophical values of life.

3)   Focus on Behavioral Aspect:

In place of the legal institutional study hitherto followed, the emphasis in empirical approach now was on political behavior. The focus is on man, not ideals. Politics was concerned with now how man exercised authority, persuaded and coerced, expressed his demands shared and compromised with his fellows. Politics was more concerned with the motivations, prejudices, actions and policies, with voting behavior, activism, apathy and indifference.

4)   Inter-disciplinary approach:

Empirical approach also clarified the link between politics and other disciplines. Behavior in politics cannot be studied in isolation, because people behave in particular ways because of attitudes and dispositions developed through group life. Therefore, the empirical approach emphasized on the close link between political science and other disciplines such as psychology, sociology, anthropology and economics.

5)   Emphasis on wide range of areas:

Thinkers like David Easton developed system model (Input- Conversion- Output- Feedback) to study political phenomenon. On the other hand Arthur Bentley and David Truman focused on the significance of groups and their influence on the working of the state. This led to the study of pressure groups as a separate topic in politics. Empirical approach widened the scope of political studies by including Power analysis, Decision Making Analysis and Role Analysis (Almond's Structural-functional Approach) into its stride. It also aimed at recommending policy on the basis of the study made.

Criticism:

1)   Empiricists believe that an empirical science of politics based on facts alone is possible. But the normative theorists believe that politics cannot be and should not be purely scientific. It cannot be totally value-neutral. Because, a) values, interests and curiosity of the investigator influence his choices of topics. b) The prescientific knowledge not requiring any proofs has to be accepted. c) Biases of the investigator cannot be easily kept out.

2)   Empiricist has no criteria for relevance. In striving for neutrality and objectivity they

have gone in for a new complicated ridiculous jargon. In an attempt to eschew values they reject all ground for evaluation and treat all values as equal.

3) Study of politics should have a purpose behind it. It should enable us to act rightly, to choose the best, to make decisions about how best to live with fellowmen. This aspect is completely ignored by the empirical approach.

Feminist Approach Introduction:

Feminism is a social theory which advocates equal rights and social status f o r Women . It is often used for the 'Empowerment of Women', championing the cause of women's rights and privileges and gender equality. Feminists hold as stated by Catherine Mackinnon that "Women have been unjustly unequal to men because of the social meaning of their bodies." Feminist thinkers ruthlessly criticize the established theories of state on the grounds that they ignore the subjugation of women, and ignore gender differences in structures of political power at all levels.

Feminism as a political force became popular throughout the western world, especially in USA and UK in the form of demand for political rights (Voting Rights) of women. It was a struggle against unjustified supremacy of male over women in the human society.

Feminist activists' campaign for women's rights, such as, property and voting rights, also promoting bodily integrity, autonomy and reproductive rights for women. Feminist campaigns have changed societies, particularly in the West, by ensuring women's suffrage, gender neutrality, equal pay for women, reproductive rights for women (including access to contraceptives and abortion), and the right to enter into contracts and own property. Feminists have worked to protect women and girls from domestic violence, sexual harassment, and sexual assault. They have also advocated for workplace rights, including maternity leave, and against forms of discrimination against women. Feminism is mainly focused on women's issues, but because feminism seeks gender equality, some feminists argue that men's liberation is a necessary part of feminism, and that men are also harmed by sexism and gender roles.

Various brands/types of Feminist Approach:
Liberal Approach:

This approach is universally recognized as the most reasonable, fair, just and effective approach. It is deeply rooted in the philosophy of liberalism that highlights the capital significance of certain political values such as Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, political rights of women in representative democracy and certain fundamental rights of women. Liberal feminism is a form of feminism that argues that equality for women can be achieved through legal means and social reform. Liberal feminism leans towards an equality or sameness argument with men. Liberal feminism conceives of politics in individualistic terms and looks to reform present practices in society, rather than advocating for a wholesale revolutionary change. Feminist writers associated with this tradition include early feminist Mary Wollstonecraft and second-wave feminist Betty Friedan. Liberal feminists are often seen among other types of feminists as conservative and overwhelmingly white and middle class.

Marxist Approach:

This approach understands gender oppression and atrocities of men over women in the context of historically evolved socio-eco-political order.

Socialist feminism

Socialist feminism focuses upon both the public and private spheres of a woman's life. It argues that liberation can only be achieved by working to end both the economic and cultural sources of women's oppression. It broadens Marxist feminism's argument that capitalism is the source of all women's oppression. It incorporates radical feminism's theory of the role of gender and the patriarchy. Socialist feminism confronts the common root of sexism, racism and classism: the determination of a life of oppression or privilege based on accidents of birth or circumstances. Socialist feminism is an inclusive way of creating social change.

Cultural feminism:

Cultural feminism believes that a female nature or female essence is essential to society. It opines that there are, fundamental, personality and psychological, differences between men and women, and that women's differences are not only unique, but superior. This theory of feminism takes note of the biological differences between men and women - such as menstruation and childbirth and extrapolates from this the idea of an inherent "women's culture." For example, the belief that "women are kinder and gentler than men," prompts cultural feminists call for an infusion of women's culture into the male-dominated world, which would presumably result in less violence and fewer wars. Cultural feminism seeks

to improve the relationship between the sexes and often cultures at large by celebrating women's special qualities, ways, and experiences, often believing that the "woman's way" is the better way, or that the culture discussed is overly masculine and requires balance from feminine perspectives.

Radical feminism:

Radical feminism is a branch of feminism (1960's and 70's) that views women's oppression (which radical feminists refer to as "patriarchy") as a basic system of power upon which human relationships in society are arranged. It seeks to challenge this arrangement by rejecting standard gender roles and male oppression. The term radical in radical feminism (from Latin) is used as an adjective meaning of or pertaining to the root or going to the root. Radical feminists locate the root cause of women's oppression in patriarchal gender relations, as opposed to legal systems (liberal feminism) or class conflict (like socialist or Marxist feminism).

Eco-feminism:

Ecofeminism is a social and political movement which unites environmentalism and feminism. Eco-feminists argue that a relationship exists between the oppression of women and the degradation of nature. Eco-feminists are concerned with connections between sexism and the domination of nature. They are also concerned with racism and other characteristics of social inequality. Some current work emphasizes that the capitalist and patriarchal system is based on triple domination of the "Southern people" (those people who live in the Third World, the majority of which are south of the First World), women, and nature. This is sometimes referred to as global north and south.

Three waves of Feminism:

First-wave feminism was a period of activity during the nineteenth century and early twentieth century. In the UK and US, it focused on the promotion of equal contract, marriage, parenting, and property rights for women. By the end of the nineteenth century, activism focused primarily on gaining political power, particularly the right of women's suffrage, though some feminists were active in campaigning for women's sexual, reproductive, and economic rights as well.

Women's suffrage was achieved in Britain's Australasian colonies at the close of the 19th century, with the self-governing colonies of New Zealand and South Australia

granting women the right to vote in 1893 and 1895 respectively. It was followed by Australia permitting women to stand for parliamentary office and granting women the right to vote.

In Britain the Suffragettes and the Suffragists campaigned for the women's vote, and in 1918 the Representation of the People Act was passed granting the right to vote to women over the age of 30 who owned houses. In 1928 this was extended to all women over twenty-one. In the U.S., notable leaders of this movement included Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Susan B. Anthony, who each campaigned for the abolition of slavery prior to championing women's right to vote. These women were influenced by the Quaker theology of spiritual equality, which asserts that men and women are equal under God. In the United States, first-wave feminism is considered to have ended with the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution (1919), granting women the right to vote in all states.

Second wave feminism is largely concerned with issues of equality other than suffrage, such as ending discrimination. Second-wave feminists see women's cultural and political inequalities as inextricably linked and encourage women to understand aspects of their personal lives as deeply politicized and as reflecting sexist power structures. The feminist activist and author Carol Hanisch coined the slogan "The Personal is Political", which became synonymous with the second wave.

In the early 1990s in the USA, third-wave feminism began as a response to perceived failures of the second wave and to the backlash against initiatives and movements created by the second wave. Third-wave feminism seeks to challenge or avoid what it deems the second wave's essentialist definitions of femininity, which, they argue, over-emphasize the experiences of upper middle-class white women. Third-wave feminists often focus on "micro- politics" and challenge the second wave's paradigm as to what is, or is not, good for women, and tend to use a post-structuralist interpretation of gender and sexuality.

The term post-feminism is used to describe a range of viewpoints reacting to feminism since the 1980s. While not being "anti-feminist", post-feminists believe that

women have achieved second wave goals while being critical of third wave feminist goals. The term was first used to describe a backlash against second-wave feminism, but it is now a label for a wide range of theories that take critical approaches to previous feminist discourses and includes challenges to the second wave's ideas. Other post-feminists say that feminism is no longer relevant to today's society. Amelia Jones has written that the post-feminist texts which emerged in the 1980s and 1990s portrayed second-wave feminism as a monolithic entity.

Traditional and Contemporary Perspectives in Political Science.

Traditional Perspectives

Traditional approaches are value based. These approaches put emphasis on values more than facts. Advocates of these approaches believe that the study of political science cannot and should not be purely scientific. In politics, emphasis should not be on the facts but on the moral quality of political event. There are number of traditional approaches like philosophical, institutional, legal, and historical approaches.

Characteristics of Traditional approaches:

o   Traditional approaches are largely normative and stresses on the values of politics.

o   Emphasis is on the study of different political structures.

o   Traditional approaches made very little attempt to relate theory and research.

o   These approaches believe that since facts and values are closely interlinked, studies in Political Science can never be scientific.

Different types of traditional approaches:

1.   Philosophical Approach: This approach is considered as the oldest approach in the arena of Political Science. The development of this approach can be traced back to the times of the Greek philosophers like Plato and Aristotle. Leo Strauss was one of the main supporters of the philosophical approach. He considered that "the philosophy is the quest for wisdom and political philosophy is the attempt truly to know about the nature of political things and the right or good political order." Vernon Van Dyke observed that a philosophical analysis is an effort to clarify thought about the nature of the subject and about ends and means in studying it. The aim of this approach is to evolve

the standard of right and wrong, for the purpose of critical evaluation of existing institutions, laws and polces (Gauba, 2009).

This approach is based on the theoretical principle. Therefore, its main concern is to judge what is good or bad in any political society. It is mainly an ethical and normative study of politics . It focus on the problems of the nature and functions of the state, citizenship, rights and duties etc. The supporters of this approach consider that political philosophy is strongly associated with the political beliefs. Therefore, a political scientist must have the knowledge of good life and good society.

Political philosophy supports in establishing a good political order (Gauba, 2009).

Historical Approach: this political approach focused on the historical factors like the age, place and the situation in which it evolves. This approach is related to history and it emphasizes on the study of history of each political reality to analyse any situation. Political thinkers such as Machiavelli, Sabine and Dunning considered that politics and history are closely related and the study of politics always should have a historical standpoint. Sabine stated that Political Science should include those subjects which are discussed in the writings of different political analysts from the time of Plato. Such approaches strongly help to maintain the belief that the thinking or the dogma of every political thinker is formed by the surrounding environment. Furthermore, history provides details of the past as well as it also links it with the current events. History gives the chronological order of every political event and thereby helps in future estimation of events also. Unless we study the past political events, institutions and political environment it would be erroneous to analyse the present political events. But critics of historical approach designated that it is not possible to understand the idea of the past ages in terms of contemporary ideas and concepts.

Institutional Approach: This is known as traditional and significant approach in studying Political Science. Which primarily deals with the formal features of government and politics accentuates the study of the political institutions and structures. Hence, the institutional approach is concerned with the study of the formal structures like legislature, executive, judiciary, political parties, and interest groups. The supporters of this approach include both ancient and modern political philosophers. Among the ancient thinkers, Aristotle had significant role in shaping this approach along with James Bryce, Bentley, Walter Bagehot, Harold Laski's approach.

Legal Approach: This approach concerns that the state is the basic organization for the formation and enforcement of laws. Therefore, this approach is associated with the legal process, legal bodies or institutions, justice and independence of judiciary. Cicero, Jean Bodin, Thomas Hobbes, Jeremy Bentham, John Austin, Dicey and Sir Henry Maine are all supporters of this approach.

Different traditional approaches to the study of Political Science were disapproved for being normative. These approaches were principled also as their concern went beyond how and why political events happen to what ought to happen. L ater the modern approaches have made an attempt to make the study of Political Science more scientific.

Contemporary Perspective

After studying politics the traditional approaches, the political thinkers of the later stage felt the need to study politics from a new perspective. Thus, to minimize the deficiencies of the traditional approaches, various new approaches have been advocated by the new political thinkers. These new approaches are regarded as the "modern or contemporary approaches" to the study of Political Science. Modern approaches are fact-based approaches. They focus on factual study of political events and try to arrive at scientific and definite conclusion. The objective of modern approaches is to replace normativism with empiricism. Hence, modern approaches are marked by empirical investigation of relevant data.

Characteristics of Modern Approaches:

1.   It tries to draw conclusion from empirical data.

2.   Its approache go beyond the study of political structures and its historical analysis.

3.   Thses Approaches believe in inter-disciplinary study.

4.   They also emphasize scientific methods of study conclusions in Political Science.

Modern approaches also include sociological approach, psychological approach, economic approach, quantitative approach, simulation approach, system approach, behavioural approach and Marxian approach (D. K. Sarmah, 2007).

Behavioural approach:

Among the modern empirical approach, the behavioural approach, to study political science , Most eminent exponents of this approach are

- David Etson,

- Robert, A. Dahl,

- E. M. Kirkpatrick, and

- Heinz Eulau.

Behavioural approach is political theory which is the result of increasing attention given to behaviour of ordinary man. Theorist, Kirkpatrick stated that traditional approaches accepted institution as the basic unit of research but behavioural approach considers the behaviour of individual in political situation as the basis (K. Sarmah, 2007).

Salient Features of Behaviourism:

David Easton has mentioned certain salient features of behaviouralism which are accepted as its intellectual foundations. These are:

Regularities: This approach believes that there are certain uniformities in political behaviour which can be expressed in theories in order to explain and predict political phenomena. T he Political behaviour of individuals may be more or less similar in a particular situation. These regularities of behaviour helps the researcher to analyse a political situation as well as to predict the future political phenomena. This Study of such regularities h e l p s i n making Political Science more scientific with some predictive value.

Verification: The behaviouralists do not want to accept everything as granted. Therefore, they emphasize testing and verifying everything. According to them, what cannot be verified is not scientific.

Techniques: The researchers put emphasis on the use of those research tools and methods which generate valid, reliable and comparative data. A researcher must make use of modern tools like sample surveys, mathematical models, simulation etc.

Quantification: After collecting data, the researcher should analyse and compile those data.

Values: The researchers have put heavy emphasis on separation of facts from values. They believe that to do objective research one has to be value free. It means that the

researcher should not have any pre-conceived notion or a biased view.

Systematization: According to the researchers, research in Political Science must be systematic. Theory and research should go together.

Pure Science: Another characteristic of researchers has been its aim to make Political Science a "pure science". It believes that the study of Political Science should be verified by evidence.

Integration: According to the researchers, Political Science cannot be separated from various other social science . This approach believes that political events are shaped by different other factors in the society and therefore, it would be wrong to keep Political Science s e p a r a t e from other disciplines.

It is recognized by theorists that with the development of behaviouralism, a new thinking and new technique of study were evolved in the field of Political Science.

Benefits of behavioural approach are as follows:
1. **Behavioural approach** makes Political Science more scientific and brings it closer to the day to day life of the individuals.
2. Researchers first explained human behaviour into the field of Political Science and made the study more relevant to the society.
3. **Behavioural approach** helps in predicting future political events.
4. **Behavioural approach** has been supported by different political thinkers as it is scientific approach and predictable nature of political events.

The Behavioural approach has been criticised for its fascination for scienticism also. The main criticisms are mentioned below:
1. It has been disparaged for its dependence on practices and methods ignoring the subject matter.
2. The supporters of this approach were wrong when they said that human beings behave in similar ways in similar circumstances.
3. This approach focus on human behaviour but it is a difficult task to study

human behaviour , to get a definite result.

4.   Most of the political phenomena are indeterminate. So it is difficult to use scientific methods in the study of Political Science.

5.   Furthermore, the scholar being a human being is not always value neutral as believed by the behaviouralists.

Post behaviour approach:

During 1960s, behaviourism gained a strong position in the methodology of political science. In modern social science, behaviourism approach has shown increasing concern with problem solving of the prevailing problems of society. In this way, it is largely absorbed the post behavioural orientation within its scope (Gauba, 2009).

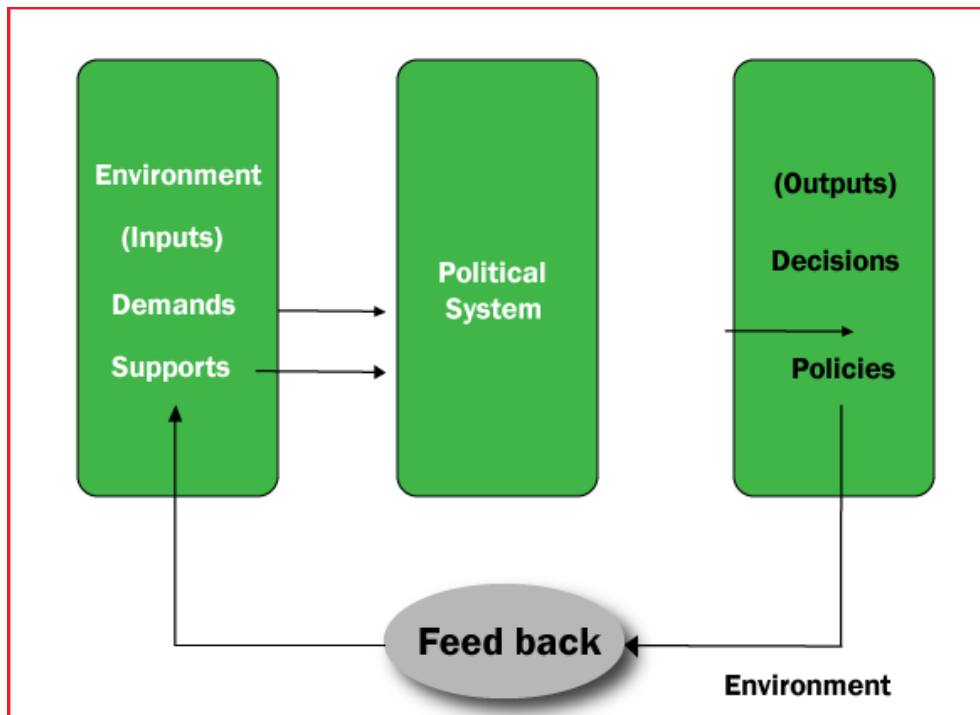**System approach developed by David Easton (Source: Gauba, 2009)**

Figure 1.2: Systems Approach

The political system operates within an environment. The environment creates demands from different parts of the society such as demand for better working conditions or minimum wages, demand for better transportation facilities, demand for better health facilities.

Various demands have different levels of support. Easton stated that 'demands' and 'supports' establish 'inputs.' After taking various factors into consideration, the government decides to take action these demands while others are not acted upon.

Structural functional approach: As per this approach, society is considered as a single inter related system where each part of the system has a certain and dissimilar role. The structural-functional approach may be considered as an outgrowth of the system analysis. These approaches accentuate the structures and functions.

Gabriel Almond is a follower of this approach. His theory revealed that the "main characteristics of a political system are comprehensiveness, inter-dependence and existence of boundaries."

Like Easton, Almond also considered that all political systems perform input and output functions.

The Input functions of political systems are political and recruitment, interest-articulation, socialization, interest-aggression and political communication.

Almond made three-fold classifications of governmental output functions relating to policy making and implementation. These output functions are rule making, rule application and rule adjudication. Thus, Almond affirmed that a stable and efficient political system converts inputs into outputs.

Model of structural functional analysis (Source: Gauba, 2009)

	Environment			Environment		
	Function	Structure		Function	Structure	
INPUTS	Political socialisation and recuruitment Interest Articulation Interest Aggregation Political Communication	Family, peer Group, School, Church, etc. Interset Groups Political Parties Mass Media	POLITICAL SYSTEM	Rule-Marking Rule-Application Rule-Adjudication	Lagislature Executive Judiciary	OUTPUTS
	Environment		25	Environment		

Figure 1.3 : Model of structural functional analysis

Communication theory approach: This approach explores the process by which one segment of a system affects another by sending messages or information. Robert Weiner had evolved this approach. Afterwards Karl Deutsch developed it and applied it in Political Science. Deutsch stated that the political system is a network of communication channels and it is self- regulative. Additionally, he emphasized that the government is responsible for administering different communication channels. This approach treats the government as the decision-making system.

Decision making approach:

approach discovers the features of decision makers as well as the type of influence the individuals have on the decision makers. A political decision which is taken by a few actors influences a larger society and such a decision is generally shaped by a specific situation. Therefore, it takes into account psychological and social aspects of decision makers also.

These are broadly divided into two categories that include the empirical-analytical or the scientific-behavioural approach and the legal- historical or the normative-philosophical approach.

Empirical Theory:

empirical political theory explains 'what is' through observation. In this approach, scholars seek to generate a hypothesis, which is a proposed explanation for some phenomena that can be tested empirically.

Normative Theory:

Normative political theory is related to concepts such as justice, equality, and rights. Historical political theory involves political philosophers from the past (e.g. Thucyides and Plato) to the present (e.g. Wendy Brown and Seyla Benahabib), and may focus on how particular philosophers engaged political problems that continue to be relevant today. It focus has traditionally been on Western traditions, that is beginning to change in this field.

The issue	Empirical approach	Normative approach
Cheif concern	Facts (It is so)	Values (It ought to be so)
Nature	Scientific and descriptive	Critical and prescriptive
Based on criterion of validity	Sense- experience and logic True or false	Speculation and logic Right or wrong

Figure 1.4 : Comparison of Empirical and Normative Approach

In theoretical literature that the traditional empirical approach to political science is what makes it a "positive" science. The study of what is, as opposed to what ought to be, lends a certain respectability to political science that is not attached to opinion-writing or political theorists. While Plato and Aristotle sought to recognise the characteristics of a good polity, most modern political scientists seek to identify the characteristics of polities, their causes and effects, leaving aside moral judgments about their goodness or badness.

Political Theory is a separate area within the discipline of political science. Political theory is an outline of what the political order is about. It is symbolic representation about the word 'political'. It is a formal, logical and systematic analysis of the processes and consequences of political activity. It is analytical, expository and descriptive. It seeks to give order, coherence, and meaning to what is described as 'political'. Political theorists concentrate more on theoretical claims instead of empirical claims about the nature of the politics. There are different approaches which explain the political system which includes modern and traditional approaches. In behaviour approach, scientific method is emphasized because behaviours of several actors in political situation is capable of scientific study. Normative approach is linked to philosophical method because norms and values can be determined philosophically. Another classification of political approach is empirical analysis of political events.

Summary

1.   The ancient Greeks thought of Political Science as Political Philosophy. They laid stress on the ethical aspects of Politics. During the Middle Ages, Political Science became a branch of the Church, subordinating political authority to the authority of the Church.

2.   In modern times, Political Science acquired a realistic and secular approach. As a result of the emergence of capitalism following the Industrial Revolution, the role of the State underwent considerable changes.

3.   The subject of Political Science became a specialized science of the state. It studied about different forms of government and its organs like Legislature, Executive and Judiciary.

4.   Laski stated that the study of Political Science concerned itself with the life of men or women in relation to organized states.

5.   In the twentieth century, the behavioural approach shifted the focus of study from political institutions to their functions and to the study of political activities and behaviour of men and women.

6.   The scope of Political Science includes the study of the role of the State, functions of Government and its relationship with citizens.

7.   Political Science is distinct from Politics. While the former deals with the study of Politics, the latter refers to the problems of man and woman which interact with political power and conflict with each other.

8.   Power is the ability to control others. It is the capacity to get things done as one would like others to do. Power in combination with legitimacy is called authority.

9.   Generally, freedom is defined as absence of restraints in the behavior of a person. But positive freedom means self-realization and that individual should be free to act only to the extent that others' freedom is not curtailed. Law protects freedom. Generally, it is considered that there is Justice in society if it rewards people on the basis of merit without being oblivious of the needs of the worst-off. Further, freedom and equality are considered important pillars of Justice

Multiple choice questions

1. The concept of social capital has been put forward by

    a.   V S Naipaul

    b.   Robert Putnam

    c.   Samuel Huntington

    d.   Edward Said

2. Max Weber focused in his works on

    a.   Constitution of states

    b.   Legal structure

    c.   Legitimacy of government

    d.   Forms of governments

3. Which one of the following is NOT a common feature of federalism in USA and India?

    a.   Distribution of powers between the union and the states

    b.   The existence of the Supreme Court

    c.   Two sets of judicial organizations

    d.   Written Constitution

4. Which one of the following combinations defines the scope of political science?

    a.   State, government, laws, customs and culture

    b.   Sovereignty, government, market, political parties and social classes

    c.   State. Government, laws, civil society and political parties

    d.   State. Values, government. Decision making and political parties

5. Which one of the following concepts distinguished citizenship from subject hood?

    a.   Duties

    b.   Obedience

    c.   Rights

    d.   Partiotism

6. Benedict Anderson has characterized the nation as

    a.   A daily plebiscite

    b.   An imagined community

c. The illusion of our epoch

d. A social contract

7. The basis for acquiring citizenship through naturalization is

a. Birth

b. Choice

c. Coercion

d. Descent

Review Questions

1. Discuss the Philosophical Approach to the study of Political Science.

2. Mention the characteristics of the Modern Approaches to the study of Political Science? Mention four different Modern Approaches.

3. What is Behaviouralism? Write the main characteristics of Behaviouralism.

4. Discuss the emergence of Post-behavioural revolution in Political Science.

5. Write a note on the Systems Approach.

Unit - II

Behaviouralism and Post- Behaviouralism, Interdisciplinary approach in Political Science, Relation of Political Science with other Social Science (Economics, Sociology, Psychology, History, Geography) Political Science.

Objective of the unit
- To discuss the Behaviouralism and Post- Behaviouralism perspective
- To discuss the Relation of Political Science with other Social Science

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Introduction:

The process of development of new science of Politics, which has now come to be known as modern Political Science, began with the coming of Behavioural revolution. The deep dissatisfaction with the nature, scope, methods and conclusions of the traditional Political Science led to the emergence of a revolution-the Behavoural revolution in Politics. Thus, development however could remain popular for only one decade. Under the weight of its own weakness as wee as due to several new developments it got replaced by a revolution from within-The Post-Behaviouralism.

Behaviourism: Reason of Growth

The deep dissatisfaction with the nature and methods of investigation of traditional political science turned into a revolution after the end of Second World War. This revolution came to be characterised as the Behavioural Revolution or Behavioural Approach or Behaviouralism, and within it broad ambit involved all such approaches, protests and reactions which were developed by many political scientists as alternative methods or investigation necessary for making political science a real science of political behaviour in place of its traditional nature as a philosophy of state and government. The legal and institutional approaches were rejected as parochial, formal configurative, static and inadequate for the study of politics. The political scientists now came forward to advocate the need for building a behavioural science of politics capable of explaining all the processes of politics and all aspects of human political behaviour.

The Challenge of Behaviourlaist

Approach Since 1949 the behavioural approach has posed the most serious challenge to traditional approach. Political behaviouralism represents one of the most challenging developments in contemporary political science. Though the roots of political behaviouralism stretch back to the beginning of the century in the work of such European scholars as Max Weber and Graham Wallas, its phenomenal post 1945, development has been primarily the work of Americans. AS Evron, M Kirkpatrick has observed, "The challenge to traditional political science of behavioural approach deserves to be ranked as the most single development in political science".

Similar views have been expressed by Somit and Tanenhaus: "Among the changes that have affected political science in this quarter of century, perhaps the most prominent has been the behavioural movement. In fact, few political scientists would deny that behaviourism has been the single most important issue facing the discipline."

Behaviouralism Vs Institutionalism or Behaviouralism Vs Anti- Behaviouralism has been, since early 1950s, a hot subject of debate in the discipline. Although he initial fireworks of the behaviouralism have passed away in favour of Post-Behaviouralism. Its impact on political science has been deep and big. Contemporary political theory owes a large debt to Behavioural Revolution.

Reason for the Coming of Behavioural Revolution

The Centre of the origin, development and subsequent decline of Behaviouralism has been American universities. It had its antecedents at the University of Chicago in the 1920s with Charles Marriams and his students. However, it has phenomenal growth and its vitality came only in early fifties after the Second World War and in other American Universities.

Several factors contribute d to its origin and development. The late development of political science as an autonomous academic discipline in American Universities, the dissatisfaction with the nature of traditional political theory, the existence of several other factors and forced together made possible the emergence of Behavioural revolution. In fact a number of forces contributed to the development of

Behaviourism, As S.L Wasby observed.

Barnard Crick has observed, "the rapid flowering of the behaviourism approach in the United States depended on the existence of some key attitudes and pre-dispositions generated in American culture-pragmatism, fact mindedness, confidence in science and the like."

Robert Dahl, while analysing the factors which favoured the rapid development of Behaviourism in USA holds that there were at least "five specific inter- related, quite powerful stimuli." These were:

1.   Work or Social Scientists particularly the Ideas and Efforts of Charles Merriam
The first factor, according to Dahl, was the pioneering work of the

social scientist Charles Merriam. Under the leadership of Merriam, the University of Chicago, the Department f Political Science was the centre of behavioural approach. According to Dahl, a number of political scientists who subsequently were regarded widely as larder of political scientist who subsequently were regarded widely as leader in introducing that the approach into American political science were faculty members of graduate students there; for example: Herold Lasswell was a faculty member and VO Key, David Truman, Herbert Simon and Gabriel Almond all were d\graduate students in Merriam"s department before the Second World War.

2.   Migration or Several European Sociologists and Psychologists to the USA The second factor, according to Dahl was the arrival in the United State in the 1930s of a considerable number of European scholars, particularly German refugees who brought with them the sociological approach to politics which strongly reflected the specific influence of Max Weber and the genera influence of the European sociology. American political science had always been very strongly influenced by the Europeans. Dahl is right when he says, "Not only American often interpreted their own political institutions most clearly with the aid of Sympathetic foreigners like Tocqueville, Bryce and Brogan, but also American scholars have owned specific debts to European scholarship." The first American university Chair in political science (actually in History and political Science established in 1848, at Columbia) was occupied by the liberal German refugee Francis Lieber. In the second behalf of the

19th century many of the leading academic advocates of a "Science of Politics" sought to profit from the methods and teaching in some of the leading European universities.

3.   Impact of Second World War Thirdly, the "Second World War", according to Dahl " also stimulated the development of behavioural approach in the United States for a great many American political scientists temporarily vacated their ivory towers and came to grips with dayto-day political and administrative realities in Washington and elsewhere: a whole generation of American political scientists later drew on these experiences. The confrontation of theory and reality provoked in most of the men who performed their stint in Washington or elsewhere, a strong sense of the inadequacies of the conventional approaches of political science for describing reality much less for predicting in any situation what was likely to happen."

4.   The work done by Social Science Research Council (SSRC):

Fourthly, Dahl says, "Possibly an even bigger impetus-not unrelated to the effects of war- was provided by the Social Sciences Research Council, which as had an enormous impact on American Social Science. A leading spirit in the Council for two decades has been a distinguished political scientist E. Pendelton Herring. His own work, before he assumed the presidency of the Council in 1948, reflected a concern for realism, for breaking the bounds of research confirmed entirely to library and for the individual and group influences on politics and administration."

5.   American Philanthropic Foundation

the influence of American institutions-the great philanthropic foundation, especially Carnegie, Rockefeller, and more recently Ford- which, because of their enormous financial contributions to scholarly research, and the inevitable selection among competition proposals that these exert considerable effect on the scholarly community. Dahl has said, "If the foundations had been hostile to the behavioural approach, there can be doubt that it would have had very rough sledding, indeed for characteristically, behavioural research is enormously expensive."

Dahl writes that, "The behavioural approach grew from the under popular views of minor sects into a major influence. Many of the radicals of 1930s, professionally speaking, had, within two decades become established leaders in American Political Science. Today many American departments of Political science offer undergraduate or graduate course in political behaviour. Indeed, in at least one institution (the University of Michigan)

political behaviour is not only a course but a field of graduate study paralleled with such conventional fields as political theory, public administration and the like, and recently buttressed with some fat fellowship." Besides these stimuli which provided the impetus to the development of behavioural approach, Waldo, as quoted by Dr. S.P Verma, has listed several negative and positive reasons which made this approach so popular that it came to be characterised as a revolution in political science." Negatively, behaviouralism set itself against „mere" "description, raw (barefoot) empiricism; „sample" factualism, against metaphysical, abstract speculation, and deduction from "first principles", against „ground" interpretation of history, the contemporary world, and future evolution, against legalistic methods of thought and „institutional" modes of analysis; against entangling political science with moral or ethical matters... Positively, it favoured studying successful science t learn and know how o apply proper scientific modes of thought and methods of research, focussing attention on actual on observable behaviour i.e., on what actors in facts do of political significance, seeking carefully appraising, and testing empirical theory, i.e., theory about behavioural world, fully and scrumptiously gathering data, but doing so with theoretical guidance and for theoretical purposes, ;learning and applying mathematics and especially as much statistical qualitative methodology as the phenomenon or data permit; working hard towards the attainment of "higher level" generalizations

BEHAVIOURALISM VS BEHAVIOURISM

 "what is Behaviouralism?"

Behaviouralism is not Behaviourism. In other words, we must understand the fact as to why Behaviouralism is called Behaviouralism and not Behaviourism.

Behaviouralism is not Behaviourism.

 Behaviourism is a concept in psychology which stands associated with the name of J.B. Watson. It was adopted to eliminate from scientific research all reference to such subjective data as purposes, intentions, desires, or ideas. Only those observations which were obtained through the use of sense organs or mechanical equipments were to be admitted as data. Observable behaviour generated by external stimuli rather than inferences about the subjective state of mind of the person being observed was to constitute the subject- matter of research. In other words human behaviour was to be analysed in terms of Stimulus -

Response (S - R) paradigm. In the intervening years, since behaviourism was enunciated, most psychologists recognised that between external stimulus and observable responses, subjective experiences occur that influence the interpretation and effect of the stimulus and thereby the nature of the response. David Easton writes, "The original behaviouristic paradigm S – R (Stimulus – Response) has yielded to the more intelligible one S-O-R (Stimulus-Organism-Response) in which feelings, motivations, and all the other aspects of the subjective awareness and reaction of the organism are taken into account as partially useful data. This has of course, spelled the doom of behaviourism, as a term." The study of human behaviour through S-O-R paradigm came to be known as Behaviouralism. The type of the behaviourist paradigm (S-R) as suggested in psychology has nowhere been used or applied in political research. In political science, the study of human political behaviour is based on S-O-R paradigm i.e,, subjective awareness and reactions along with stimulus and responses form part of the study of human political behaviour. Hence to describe this kind of research as "political behaviourism" is to be guilty of a very loose usage of words. Easton says that, "Support for the clear distinction and difference between the term is lent by its use in such institutions as the Centre for Advanced study in the Behavioural Sciences as Stanford, the section of the Ford Foundation now liquidated, that was known as the Behavioural Science Division, and the institution of Behavioural Science at the University as well as the journal of Behavioural Science and the American Behavioural Scientist." The use of the term "Behaviouristic" for "Behavioural" would, as Easton says, be entirely confusing and misleading about the scope and direction of interest of the institution or publication involved.

Definition of Behaviouralism

It is difficult to define Behaviouralism because it has been used as an umbrella by the behavioural political scientists to record their protests, for the rejection of traditional political theory/approach, and for advocating the building up of a science of human – political behaviour through empirical, mathematical and statistical analysis of data leading to scientific generalisations. Even during its hay days, it was differently defined by a large number of political scientists, who, despite differences regarding its, nature and scope, took pride in describing themselves as behaviouralists. Evron Kirkpatrick has objectively summarised the situation: "Between World War II and the mid-fifties. The term political behaviouralism represented both an approach and a challenge an orientation

and a reform movement, a type of research and a rallying cry, a "hurrah" term and a "boo" term. Debate about behavioural techniques and methods was often accompanied by vituperations. Discussions were more often aimed at vanquishing adversaries than at clarifying issues." Sharp differences among the behaviouralists rendered it very difficult, almost impossible to record a precise, universally acceptable conceptualisation Behaviouralism. As Waldo has pointed out "Behaviouralism was not and is not a clear and firm creed, an agreed upon set of postulates and rules".

Behaviouralism has been defined by many as a protest movement and by several others as a mood.

Different ways in which behaviouralism has been conceptualised Behaviouralism as a protest Movement It has been held by several political scientists that Behaviouralism came as a protest against the formalistic legal- institutionalism of the traditional political science. In the other words of Dahl, "Historically speaking behavioural approach was a protest movement within political science. It was associated with a number of political scientists, mainly

Behaviouralism as a Mood Sometime Behaviouralism was described as a mood. Robert Dahl examined in details such a characterisation and observes: "At a minimum, then, those who were sometimes called "behaviouralists, shared a mood: a mood of scepticism about the current intellectual attainments of political science, a mood of sympathy toward "scientific" mode of investigation and analysis, a mood of optimism about the possibilities of improving the study of politics.

- "Was or is the behavioural approach ever anything more than this mood?

- Are there definite beliefs, assumptions, methods, or topics that can be identified as constituting political behaviour or the behavioural approach?

Dahl gives three different answers to these questions:

(i) "The first answer is "yes". Political behaviour is said to refer to study of the individual rather than larger political units. This emphasis is clear in the 1944-45, SSRC report that fore – shadowed the creation of the political Behaviour Committee. This was also how David Easton defined the term in his searching analysis and criticism of American Political Science published in 1953. In this sense Tingsten . and Lasswall"s studies of voting behaviour are

prime examples of behavioural approach".

(ii) "The second answer is "no"." Vernon Von Dyke remarks, "Though stipulative definitions of political behaviour are sometimes advanced, a when a, course or book is given the title, none of them has gained general currency." Alfred de Grazia speaks with authority for this Dahl says, "Grazia denied the term referred to a subject matter, an inter-disciplinary focus, quantification, any specific efforts at new methods, behaviourist psychology, "realism" as opposed to "idealism", empiricism in contrast to deductive system or voting behaviour or, in fact, to anything more than political science as something that some people might like it to be. He proposed that the term be dropped".

(iii) The third view is an elaboration of the mood mentioned above. Dahl says that in this view the behavioural approach is an attempt to improve our understanding of politics by seeking to explain the empirical aspect of political life by means of methods, theories and criteria of proof that are acceptable according to the canons, conventions, and assumptions of modern political science. a behavioural approach is distinguished predominantly by the nature of the purpose it is designed to serve, the purpose is scientific.

Behaviouralism is more than a mood.. It stands for the study of political behaviour instead of formal political institutions. It advocates empirical analysis instead of abstract and philosophical theorising. It stands for interdisciplinary forces and for making political science a correct science of political behaviour of human beings in society.

Almond and Powell have observed, "Whit it means, very simply, is the study of the actual behaviour of the incumbents or political roles, rather than of the content of legal rules or ideological patterns". Describing Behaviouralism as a movement for bringing political studies into closer affiliation with theories, methods, findings, and outlook in modern psychology, sociology, anthropology and economics, Robert Dahl defines it as, "an attempt to make empirical component of political science more scientific. It aims at stating all the phenomena of government in terms of observed and observable behaviour of men........"
Dahl then proceeds on to enumerate the basic assumption of features drawn from the views and writings of a large number of behaviouralists. In fact, the only and best possible way of comprehending the meaning of Behaviouralism is to know the characteristics and assumptions of Behavioural Revolution or Behavioural Movement or Behavioural Approach or Behavioural Mood or Behaviouralism or the Behavioural Challenge to traditional political theory.

CHARACTERISTICS OF BEHAVIOURALISM

the characteristics of Behaviouralism , we have again to study the views of several eminent scholars- David Truman, Heinz Eulau, Samuel J.Eldersveld and Morris Janowitz, and David Easton.

David Trumann's View David Truman defines political Behaviouralism as the science of political behaviour. "Where political behaviour means all "those actions and interactions of men and groups which are involved in the process of governing. At the maximum this conceptions brings under the rubric of political behaviour any human activity which can be said to be a part of governing."

He specifies that Behaviouralism stands for two features: (i) research must be systematic, and (ii) it must place primary emphasis upon empirical methods.

By the first i.e, systematic research, Truman means, "A precise statement of hypothesis, and a rigorous ordering of evidence" and by the school i.e, empirical methods, he means research and theory building through data analysis and empirical testing.

The ultimate goal of the student of political behaviour is "the development of the science of political process." He favoured a controlled use of inter-disciplinary focus. He even admitted the usefulness of historical knowledge. It can be "an essential supplement to contemporary observation of political behaviour." Robert Dahl whole heartedly accepts the views of David Truman and believes that if these characteristics of behavioural political science had been properly understood and accepted by all the behaviouralists and their critics "much of the irrelevant, fruitless and ill-informed debates over the behavioural approach over the past decade need never have occurred, or at any rate might have been conducted on a rather higher level of intellectual sophistication"

Views of Heinz Eulan, Elderseld and Janowitz.

A Reader in Theory and Research, Heinz Eulan, Elderseld and Janowitz specify the following four characteristics of the political behaviour approach:

1.   It specifies as the unit or object of both theoretical and empirical analysis, the behaviour of persons and social groups rather than events, structures, institutions, or

ideologies.

2.   It seeks to place theory and research in frame of reference common to that of social psychology, sociology and cultural anthropology.

3.   It stresses the mutual inter-dependence of theory and research. Theoretical questions need to be stated in operational terms for purpose of empirical research. And, in turn, empirical findings should have a bearing on the development of political theory. It is self-consciously theory oriented.

4.   It tries to develop rigorous designs and to apply precise methods of analysis to the political behaviour problems. It stands for scientific procedure of research.

View of David Easton David Easton has identified the following eight major assumptions or characteristics of Behavioursalism:

Regularities There are discoverable uniformities in political bahaviour. These can be expressed in generalizations or theories with behavior.

These can be expressed in theories with explanatory and predictive values.

Verification The validity of such generalizations must be testable, in principal by reference to relevant behavior.

Quantification Precision in the recording of data and the statement of findings requires measurement and quantification, not for their own sake, but only where possible, relevant and meaningful in the light of other objectives.

Value "Ethical evaluation and empirical explanation involve two different kinds of proposition that for the sake of clarity should be kept analytically distinct. However, a student of political behavior is not prohibited from asserting propositions of either kind separately or in combination as long as he does not mistake one or the other."

Techniques "Means for acquiring and interpreting data cannot be taken for granted. They are problematic and need to be examined self-consciously, refined and validated so that rigorous means can be found for observing, recording and analyzing behavior."

Systematization Research ought to be systematic, that is to say, theory and research are to be seen as closely inter-twined.

Pure Science The application of knowledge is as much a part of the scientific enterprise as theoretical understanding. But the understanding and explanation of political behavior logically precede and provide the basis for efforts to utilize political knowledge in the solution of urgent practical problems of society.

Integration Because the social sciences deal with the whole human situation, the political research can ignore the findings of the other disciplines only at the peril of weakening the validity and undermining the generality of its own results. Recognition of this interrelationship will help to bring political science back to its status of earlier centuries and return into the main fold of the social sciences. These eight assumptions definitely form the common core of the views of almost all the behaviouralists

As Easton has observed: It is "less a tightly structured dogma than a congeries of related values and objectives." On the basis of the above description of the characteristics and assumptions of Behaviouralism, we conclude: Behaviouralism seeks to study politics as an aspects of human behaviour in a framework of reference common to other social sciences and prescribes the use of empirical research, mathematical-statistical-quantification techniques of data collection and analysis with the purpose of building a scientific theory political behavior

LIMITATIONS OF BEHAVIOURALISM

Behaviouralism has been subjected to serve criticism particularly by the supporters of the traditional approach to politics Even during its hay days there was lack of definition. As Evron Kirkpatrick has observed: "It was general ambiguous enough that its proponents and representatives disagreed about its definition, specific enough to inspire articulate opposition from some proponents of traditional political science". Behaviouralism served as, "a sort of umbrella capacious enough to provide temporary shelter for a heterogeneous group united only by dissatisfaction with traditional political science and comprised of persons who would probably move out in quite different directions once the storm of protest against innovation was passed. The criticism of behaviouralism has been directed against its major assumptions as well as against its general approach towards politics. The main points of criticism have been:

1.   That human behaviour as the object of study is bound to be problematic and fruitless.

2.   That all aspects of human behaviour cannot be observed and stated in empirical generalizations.

3.   That behaviouralism makes political science dependent upon all social sciences, mainly Psychology, Sociology and Anthropology.

4.   That behavioural advocacy or study of facts to the exclusion of values its neither possible nor desirable, nor even can it be useful.

5.   That the differences among the behaviouralists have tended to reduce it to a congeries of several views both related and unrelated from one another.

6.   That scientific method, particularly as used in natural sciences cannot be applied to social sciences, particularly political science.

7.   That behaviouralists were obsessed with methods and techniques and that they failed to concentrate upon the substance of politics.

8.   That behaviouralism reflected a bias in favour for liberal democratic system since empirical research can br really possible only in such system.

9.   That behaviouralists in their passion for "Scientism" have created a ridiculous complicated gargon.

10. That the "value-neutralism" preached and practiced but the behaviouralists was destined to make it a less-relevant if not non-relevant theory of human political behavior.

11. That the behaviouralists failed to make real headway towards the professed objective of theory-building. They remained lost in trivial research and failed to come to grips with the brute realities of politics.

It has been along these lines that Behaviouralism stands subjected to severe criticism, particularly by the proponents of "traditional" political science. Scholars like Leo Strauss Vordelin and many others have strongly criticized behaviouralist's empiricism and valueneutralism. Several political scientists have analysed the major limitation of the behavioural approach. We quote here the view of Albert Somit, Tanenhaus, Christian Eay, Sibley and Wasby.

(A)   **Albert Somit and Joseph Tanenhaus have pointed out the following Limitations of the Behavioural approach:** Political Science is not, nor is it ever likely to become a science in any realistic sense of the term. It can't become a science for a number of reasons. The phenomena with which political scientists deal do not lend themselves to rigorous study. Human behavior cannot be treated, whether individual or social, with the dispassion needed for scientific knowledge. Neither political science nor any other social science is commendable to experimental inquiry. We cannot employ the test tubes and

laboratories, which are the only paraphernalia of physical sciences. "Laws" of political behavior cannot be stated for a sentient creature such as man, because he is free to modify his actions in keeping with or in violation of such laws once theory are made known. Second, the overt behavior tells only part of the story. Different individuals may perform the same activity for different reasons, to understand what they do and why, one must go beyond, or behind observable behavior. Moreover, individuals and groups act within an institutional or a social setting, and knowledge of that setting is essential to any meaningful explanation of their behavior. The anti behaviouralists hold that the larger part of political life lies beneath the surface of human action and cannot be directly apprehended. Whatever he theoretical merits of quantification, for most practical purposes, it is now and will continue to be an unattainable goal. Quantification requires precise concepts and reliable metrics --- and political science possesses neither. Significant questions normally cannot be quantified, questions which can, are usually trivial in nature. There are many areas where an inter-disciplinary approach may be useful but care must be taken to preserve the identity and integrity of political science. All too often, antibehaviouralists feel, there has been an indiscriminate borrowing of concepts and techniques which are simply inappropriate for political inquiry. Significant political issues invariably involve moral and ethical issues. Political Science has historically been, and must continue to be, concerned with the questions of right and wrong, even if these cannot be scientifically resolved. Were the discipline to turn its back on such matters, it would have little justification for continued existence. Going considerably beyond this, one wing of anti-behaviouralism claims that values cannot be demonstrated true or false and that political scientists are necessarily condemned to an eternal philosophical relativism. Self-consciousness about methodology can be and has been, carried too far. Overly critical and unrealistic standards impede rather than evidence the pursuit of knowledge. This same obsession has led many behaviouralists to exalt technique at the cost of its content. Technical rather than substantive considerations have been permitted to set the area of Inquiry. In any case many of these technical innovations are too sophisticated and refined for the raw material with which political scientists must work. As for scientific objectivity, there is almost universal skepticism among the anti-behaviouralists that it is attainable and considerable doubt that it is inherently desirable

(B) Christian Bay has referred to the following Limitations of Behavioural- ism:

(i) Behaviouralists avoid the "substance" of politics for the techniques. Bay claims that in the attempt to achieve a science, the tendency of the behaviouralists is to avoid politics. He argues that most current political behavioural works fails to articulate its very real value biases, he says that behaviouralists think that American liberal democracy is the best form of government and their main task is to support democracy through the behavioral tools, he says that a basic dilemma confronts these behaviouralists: how simultaneously to achieve value neutrality and to support democracy.

(ii) He further argues that behaviouralists often assume that stability is the most important social goal. Pluralistic democracy in some countries, particularly in, America, is a "protective shield" for the interests of the middle and upper classes. Thus, current "preoccupations with pseudo carries conservative and anti-political implications." Bay suggests distinction between politics and pseudo-politics and designates behaviouralism as "pseudo-politics. "He says, "I would define as "political" all activity aimed at improving protecting conditions for the satisfaction of human needs and demands in a given society or community according to some universalistic scheme of priorities. Pseudo- political refers to activity that resembles political activity but is exclusively concerned with either the alleviation if personal neurosis or with promoting private or private interest group advantage, deterred by no articulate or dis-interested conception of what would be just or fair to other groups."

(iii) Behaviouralists evade and avoid "substantiative political responsibility." Christian Bay comments, "The lack of political responsibility in most of political behavior literature relates to the substantive level which involves articulate attention to questions of fundamental commitment in social and political research literature. Problems of human welfare (including justice, liberty, security and so on), the objects of political research and politics, can be adequately studied, and dealt with, only if their "ought-side" is investigated as carefully as their "is-side." Ought- side inquiry must be analysed carefully so that we may learn what aspects of wants are most salient and could be frustrated only at the cost of resentment. Alienations or upheaval." Since behaviouralists are not concerned with all this, Bay calls them traitors who have deliberately indulged in "intellectual treason.

(C) Mulford Q. Sibley has chosen to specially criticize the value Neutralism of Behavioralists. He rejects it and Argues that: The very selection of subjects for investigations is shaped by values which are not derivable from investigation: (2) in the

end the concepts and values which do determine what and how one studies are related to one"s judgement of the goals, which one identifies with political life and to one"s general "life- experience ; (3) once the investigation is launched, there are definite limits to what one can expect from behavioural studies; (4) behaviourally oriented study will remove one from the stuff of everyday politics and cannot be related to that stuff except by means which would usually be regarded as non-behavioural;. and (5) if clarification on thought policy-making is one objective role, is restricted in which it can be expected to do." Sibley says that, "Values are prior to any investigation, whether in politics or in any other area. The political investigator, no less than other must have same notion of his own order of priorities before he proceeds to use behavioural or any other approach. He presumably holds; that "political" sphere is more important for him to investigate than any other area. Whatever the reasons for his judgment, imputations of value are always present". Sibley, further comments "How:, one account for our experiences? It would seem clear that value statements in the ultimate or primary sense cannot be validated or verified by what are ordinarily thought of as empirical and behavioural methods. Behaviouralism will inevitably be used within a framework of value judgments which cannot be supported through behavioural techniques alone.

All this has been summed up nicely by Arnold Brecht in his book "Political Theory". He gives two propositions:

(i) The question whether something is "valuable" can be answered scientifically in relation to: Some goal or purpose for the pursuit of which it is not useful .

(ii) It is impossible to establish scientifically what goals or purposes are valuable, irrespective of: The value they have in the pursuit of their goals or purposes

(iii) To prove that the study of politics cannot be "value-free Sibley says that it is impossible to study the behaviour (value-biases) of the behaviouralists himself." It would seem that, although the observer can provide scientific accounts of those he observes, he cannot explain the behavioural methods as usually understood his own behavior as an observer.

(D) S.L Wasby Points out he Following three Limitations: "Because of the heavy emphasis by behaviouralists on methods, the criticism that they are more interested in techniques than the result they obtain, he does strike home with certain accuracy. The drawback of habit is this that there is a delay in the development of new techniques needed

to examine some theoretically important questions. Valid data will not be obtained without proper instruments, and instruments do not just happen but must be developed through testing." Wasby further adds that "the emphasis on techniques in behavioural approach also means that behaviouralists need to be committed to constant retooling so that they may be equipped to use the most recently developed effective techniques, a commitment which involves much hard work because of the lag o even graduate curricula behind the current needs." Also, as Wasby points out that, "It has been recognized that behaviouralists at times concentrated so heavily on aspects of political phenomena previously neglected that they went from the institutionalist's failure to consider behavior to no consideration of institution. Studies of voting behavior at times lacked examination of factors such as registration requirements and ballot forms; which might affect respectively the rate of turn out, or direction of the vote.. the fact that almost all early studies of voting behavior took place in the United States or within single communities or states made it easy for researches to forget the possible effects of institutional environment on electoral activity."

Thirdly, Wasby says that, "the behaviouralists have been criticized for concentrating on description of static situations. They undoubtedly felt justified in limiting their initial efforts to the study of "normal" and static situations to remedy the deficiencies they perceived in the picture of politics and government left by the institutionalists. But then they over-emphasized the study of the static situations and thus, neglected the study of political change and revolutionary situations involving the phenomena of conflict and violence." It successfully focused attention upon the limitations of the traditional approach. The behaviouralists can legitimately claim credit for inducing, popularizing and improving the scientific method of social science research and the use of statistical and mathematical techniques in discipline. However, in the process, they became overwhelmed by concern for techniques, methodological sophistications and technical proficiency in research. As such what is needed is to be cautions of and refrain from the "extremism" of the behaviouralism in favour of „technique" and „method" as well as for „behavioural studies" to the near exclusion of the study of government and institutions. As Joseph la Palombara has observed, "The behavioural approach is objectionable per se but only when and in so far as it leads the political scientists to far away from the processes of government and their consequents. The best way to guard against this danger is to stress upon political analysis." In fact Post

Behaviouralism gas successfully secured several well-needed reforms in Behaviouralism and today, as Wasby points out, "The behavioural approach to the study of politics has now become fully established, and many of those initially hostile have come to use behavioural concepts and techniques, regularly." The traditionalists have come to recognize the merits of the behaviouralists and the behaviouralists turned pose-behaviouralists have come forward to adopt a better and more objective of some of the main ideas of the traditionalists.

POST BEHAVIOURALISM

Behaviouralism came as a revolution and like every revolution could hold real ground only for a short-span of time. Within twenty years, right from mix sixties, there appeared several cracks among the behaviouralists and many of them started advocating the need for "reforms". For this, they accepted the need to take into account the experiences of the behavioural research as well as the limitations of Behaviouralism. Such political scienticism who accepted Behaviouralism but at the same time wanted to reform it, came to be known as Post Behaviouralists and their views as Post-Behaviouralism.

The Coming of Post-Behaviouralism

In his presidential address at the sixty-fifth meeting of the American Political Science Association held at New York in September 1969, David Easton, himself one of the leading advocates of Behavioralism, made a powerful attack on the behaviouralists position and advocated the need to restate, readjust and reform behaviouralism in the light of postexperience and the need of the society. Like many other Behaviouralists, David Easton admitted that too much time had been lost on trivial and quite often irrelevant research under the banner of Behaviouralism/ as Dr. S.P Verma has opined, "that while the Behaviouralism were busy in sorting out controversies developing techniques and building up of various paradigms, models and theories, society was facing more and more social, economic and cultural crises which were ignored by the Behaviouralists. In the American Society, there were signs of increasing stress, strain and conflict resulting from several factors viz. Civil Rights Movement and the Negro-White riots, internal cleavages in the United States in which civil war and authoritarian rule had become frightening possibilities; the American involvement in the undeclared war in Vietnam, the youth unrest in America, particularly on the issue of Vietnam war; the

fear of nuclear war and several other factors. These were such conditions which political scientists, neither the traditionalists nor the behaviouralists had predicted. Behaviouralists in their near obsession with techniques and value-neutralism failed to take note of these problems and maladies. Some of the behaviouralists, like David Easton, realizing this weakness came out of to raise the questions; "Must we be committed eternally to an unchanging image of the discipline, behavioural or otherwise? Is it not incumbent on us to reconsider old images and modify them to the extent necessary?". The deep discontent with the direction of behavioural research in politics further impelled them to accept and advocate the need for reform within Behaviouralism. Behaviouralists who came to be designated and they accepted the designation, "Post Behaviouralists."

What is Post Behaviouralism?

Post Behaviouralism is not a Revival of Traditionalism. In order to understand the meaning and nature of Post-Behaviouralism, we must, at the very outset, understand that it is not reversion back to traditionalism. Post Behaviouralists were Behaviouralists, they accepted the merits of the behavioural political approach over the traditional approach, nevertheless they accepted the need t reform behaviouralism with a view to eliminate some of its defects and to update it. "

Post behaviouralism should not be confused with traditionalism. The difference between the two approaches lies in the fact that whereas traditionalism denied the validity of behavioural approach and reiterated its faith in the classical traditions of political science, the post-behaviouralists accepted the achievements of the behavioural era but sought to push political science further and towards new horizons."

Relevance and Acton as the Two Hallmarks of Post- Behaviouralism Two main pillars of Post-Behaviouralism have been "Relevance" and "Action." That the research and theory building must be relevant to actual social conditions and the brute realities of politics, and those political scientists have a practical role to play in society. Knowledge of politics has to be put to use for helping the society to preserve and protect human science --- a sense of commitment and action must characterize entire research in political science. We can say Post-Behaviouralism is not a reversion to traditionalism, on the other hand it is a reform movement, a future oriented intellectual tendency among the behaviouralists.

Features or Characteristics of Post-Behaviouralism

David Easton, who had earlier drawn up a list of eight characteristic features of behaviouralism and called them the "intellectual foundation stones" of the movement, now came out with seven major characteristics of Post- behaviouralism. He described them as the "Credo of Relevance" or "a distillation of the maximal image." These are given below:

Due and Primary Importance to Substance of Study alongwith the Techniques Substance must precede technique – if one must be sacrificed for the other – and this need not always be so; it is more important to be relevant and meaningful for contemporary urgent problems than to be sophisticated in the tools of investigation, For the aphorism of science is that it is better to be "vague than non-relevantly precise:. In Political Science substance must come before techniques.

Emphasis upon Change Political Science should place its main emphasis upon social change and not on social conservatism as behaviouralists seem to be doing. "Behavioural science conceals an ideology of empirical conservatism. To confine oneself exclusively to the description and analysis of facts is to hamper the understanding of these facts in their broadest context. As a result, empirical political science must lend its support to the maintenance of very factual conditions it explores. It unwillingly purveys an ideology of social conservatism tempered by modest incremental change."

Study of all Facts/Realities of Politics Behavioural research has been guilty of ignoring the study of the brute realities of politics. The needs, however, is that the political scientists should always concern themselves with the realities of political life, including the social stress, social strains, social conflict and crises. "Behavioural inquiry is abstractions and analysis and this serves to conceal the brute realities of politics. The task of Post- behaviouralism is to break the barriers of silence that behavioural language has necessarily created and to help political, science reach out to the real needs of mankind n a time of crisis."

Protection of Human Value as the Major Role or Intellectuals Members of a learned discipline bear the responsibilities of all intellectuals. The intellectual"s historical role has been and must be to protect the human values of civilization.

Values cannot be totally eliminated from Political Science Post-Behaviouralists advocate a rejection of complete value neutralism, as advocated by the behaviouralists. The total emphasis on scientism and empiricism was an unhappy and unworkable stand "Research

about and constructive development of values are inextinguishable parts of the study of politics. Science cannot be, and never has been evaluatively neutral despite protestations to the contrary

Political Science is to be developed as an Action Science and Contemplative Science
"To Know is to bear the responsibility for acting and to act is to engage in re-shaping society. The intellectual as a scientist, bears the social obligation to put his knowledge to work. Contemplative science was a product of the nineteenth century when a broader moral agreement was shared. Action Science of necessity reflects the contemporary conflicts in society over ideals and this must permeate and colour the whole research enterprise.

An Active and Essential Role or the Professional associations and Universities in Actual Process of Politics "If the individual has the obligation to implement his knowledge, those organizations composed or intellectuals - the professional associations and the universities themselves cannot stand apart from the struggles of the day. Politicalisation of the profession is inescapable as well as desirable." Summing up the characteristics of Post- behaviouralism, David Easton observed: Post-Behaviouralism rejects the thoroughgoing empiricism, valueneutralism and technique obsession of the Behaviouralists. It attacks the craze or obsession for a scientific research and seeks to offer an integrated view, combining in a subtle way behavioural advocacy of empiricism with normativism of the traditionalists.

Critical Evaluation Post-behaviouralism involves a bold attempt to reform some of the weakness of Behaviouralism by advocating primacy of substance over technique socially relevant research over pure science, political action over academic neutrality and social change over social conservatism. Post- behaviouralism definitely tries to come out of orthodox scientism of the Behaviouralists support for value studies with behaviouralists advocacy of thoroughgoing empiricism. As Dr. Shriram Maheswari has observed, "As a result of PostScience, The methods of science have come to stay in Politics, but they are tempered with an appreciation of their limitations, and what is more, theory are to be combined with a sensitivity towards political values and an application of political knowledge." Post-behaviouralism cannot be regarded as a reversion to traditionalism, though such a charge is preferred against it but strict some reforms. The Post-behaviouralists do not deny the importance of technical proficiency but they do not agree that scientists in

the society. Values cannot and should be kept out of scientific research. Since it was the responsibility of the social scientists to analyse social problems with a view to find solutions, it was an imperative necessity that they should keep in mind and help the society to reserve the human values of civilization.

Relationship of political science with other disciplines

Sidgwick says that it is always useful for the proper understanding of any subject of inquiry to establish its relationship with other sciences and clearly see what elements of its reasoning it has to take from them and what in its turn it may claim to give them. Political Science is deeply related to all other social sciences because the knowledge gained about any phase of human behavior and attitudes, about the institutions that men build, or the ideas to which they respond in the mass, cannot fail to be of use in similar fields of inquiry. Each social science, sociology, anthropology, history, economics, ethics, psychology, jurisprudence, geography, and political science supplements and fortifies the rest. If we divide them into different sciences, they are distinctions within a unity as they aim to study man in society.

Gunnar Heckscher succinctly says,

"We cannot think of economics, sociology, political science, cultural anthropology, any more than of chemistry, mechanics, biology, etc, as a group of self-contained units, each clearly defined and independent of the others. We must rather think of science as a field of study which for practical purposes we have to divide between us, but which in principle is a whole, not a group of separate parts."

Relationship of political science with Sociology:

The terms "Sociology" and Political Science are closely related. They both lack clearly defined meaning. The origin of the term "Political Science" is rather old as it is associated with the Greek word *polis. In contrast, the* term "Sociology" was coined by Auguste Comte in 1839 to designate the science of society. Comte had earlier used the term "Social Physics" in the same sense but later replaced it with sociology. Since then, the use of the term has changed little.

Sociology is the parent science of all the social sciences. It is the science of society viewed as an aggregate of individuals or men's science in their associated process.

It deals with social development in general and analysis and describes social life in all its phases and complexities through all ages and climes.

Sociology may thus be defined as the science of the origin and development, Structure and functions of social groups, their forms, laws, customs, institutions, modes of life, thought and action, and their contribution to human culture and civilization. It seeks to discover the general principles underlying all social phenomena and social relationships and establish the laws Of change and society's growth.

Political Science and Sociology are so intimately connected that the Political embedded in the social and if Political Science remains distinct from sociology will be because the breadth of the held calls for the specialist, not because any well-defined boundaries are marking it from Sociology.

They are mutually contributory. Political Science gives to Sociology facts about the organization and functions of the State and obtains from its knowledge of the origin of political authority and laws which controlled society. The State in its early stages was more of a social than a political institution, and Giddings is of the Opinion that "to teach the theory of the State to men, who have not learned the first principles of sociology, is like teaching astronomy or thermodynamics to men who have not learned the Newtonian law of motion."

A political scientist must be a sociologist, and a sociologist ought to be a political scientist. For example, marriage is an element in a man's social life and is a sociological concern. But if a code of marriage, like the Hindu Marriage Act, is enacted to regulate it in a particular way, it at once falls within the domain of Political Science as it comes within the scope of organized control and obedience.

The Hindu, the Sikh, the Muslim, and the Christian communities themselves are sociology subjects, being parts of the Indian society. Still, when they quarrel among themselves and their quarrel flares up into communal riots, it represents not only the pathological side of Indian social life but also a problem of deep political concern to prevent their recurrence and to remove the causes of conflict to weld them into a

patriotic nation Likewise, if we study revolutions, we must take into account their social as well as their political causes as appearing in different environments.

The analysis of political parties cannot be divorced from their relationship to social classes. The sociology of man's electorate-behavior in the associated process-solves the difficulties emerging from the basic democratic mechanism.

It has a narrower and more restricted field to cover than Sociology. Secondly, the political life of man begins much later than his social life. Sociology is before Political Science. Thirdly, Sociology embraces the study of organized and unorganized communities and the conscious and unconscious man's activities. The province of Political Science is the politically organized society and conscious political activities of man.

Finally, Political Science aims at the past, present, and future determination of humanity's political organization. In contrast, Sociology is the study of various social institutions that exist or have hitherto existed. It does not and cannot predict the future of society and social relationships. Its study is empirical and has no philosophical trend to follow. The distinction between Political Science and Sociology has been apt, described by Ernest Barker.

Relationship of political science with Political Sociology:
During the past two decades or so, the collaboration between Political Science and Sociology has been increasingly emphasized, and the sociological foundation of politics stressed. As pointed out earlier, the revolution in the study of American politics is the consequence of the penetration of sociological, anthropological, and psychological methods and theories.

There is the social and cultural matrix of politics. Explaining it, **Pennock and Smith** say, "Some politically relevant patterns of behavior are imposed on man by the conditions of social life itself, and certain psychological traits are brought out by society which in turn determine the social milieu."

The result is a new branch of study. Political Sociology explains the sociological interpretations of political phenomena, and quite a sizable literature on the subject has been made available **Lipset**, whose contribution is well-recognized, explains, "No Sociologist can conceive of a study of society that does not recognize the political system as a major part of the analysis.

Political sociology takes the concept of the political system, first developed by David Easton. It seeks to examine it in sociological terms, on the basic assumption that the political system is "integrally related to its social system." A system, therefore, implies interdependence of parts By. Interdependence means that when the properties of one component in a system change, all the other components,   and the system are affected. For example, when the rings of an automobile wear away, the motor car burns oil, the functioning of the other parts of the machine or system deteriorates, and the vehicle's power declines.

In the political system, the emergence of mass political parties, or media of mass communications, like the press, the radio, and the television, have changed the performance of structures of the system and the general capabilities (that is, the way it performs as a unit in its environment) the system in its domestic and foreign environments. To quote **Almond and Powell**, "when one variable in a system changes in magnitude or quality, others are subjected to strains and are transformed the system changes the regulatory mechanism disciplines its pattern of performance or the unruly component."

Sartori has precisely summed up the sociological approach to politics. He says Political sociology is only born when the sociological and political approaches are combined at the point of intersection. If the sociology of politics deals with non-political reasons, while the people act the way they do in political life, then political sociology should also include the political reasons why people act the way they do. Real political sociology is then a cross-disciplinary breakthrough, seeking enlarged models reintroduced as variables given each component source.

While Sociology of politics analyses Indian politics in terms of its caste- ridden society, Political Sociology adds to that inquiry how politics in India has affected the

Indian caste system, giving rise to the politicization of caste. The distinction between the sociology of politics and Political Sociology would help us understand the meaning of Political Sociology on which the specialists have so far disagreed.

Relationship of political science with Anthropology:

Anthropology deals with man's racial divisions, physical characteristics, geographic division, environmental and social relations, and cultural development. It is a science that studies humanity about physical, social, and cultural development. The contribution of Anthropology to Political Science is considerable, and modem researches in the racial division, habits, customs, and organizations of primitive man help us to know the real origin of the State and the development of various political institutions.

We seek Anthropology's help to prove that early society was communal in character; that is, its basis was the group rather than the individual, whom we now accept as our society's unit. Anthropology also tells us that temporary marriage was the rule rather than the exception in the early stages of society's development. But such a condition of society could not last for long, and regulating management was felt.

With the regulation of marriage, civilization advanced, and people permanently settled down as territorial units paving the way for the State's emergence. Thus, Anthropology greatly helps the study of Political Science. Without a good knowledge of early societies, their laws, customs, manners, and government modes, we cannot understand accurately, modern institutions and the political behavior of the people.

Hitherto Anthropology was regarded as applying wholly or mainly to primitive society, but its scope is now widening and includes all society types. Knowledge of social anthropology, says **Robson**, "is essential for the study or practice of colonial administration and it is a necessity also for several other special topics of political science such as area studies, color and racial conflicts, international organizations for assisting underdeveloped countries, immigration, and emigration."

Harold D. Lasswell approvingly cites C.D. Lerner and says that the links between students of folk society-the distinctive subject-matter of social anthropology-and

Political Science have been closed in recent years as "whirlwind modernization added to the turbulence of politics in Asia, Africa, South America, and many heretofore-isolated island communities." He thinks that in future years, "the data of anthropology will be highly pertinent to the consideration of various problems that are likely to grow into large dimensions."

Anthropology has an inexhaustible source of data on every sphere of man and his culture, and Political Science, as Robson says, "will draw on various parts of this repository as problems gain in their urgency." During the last two decades, a voluminous literature has been published on the modernization of traditional societies of Asia and Africa's intricate tribal communities.

The traditional elements, attitudes, values, patterns of behavior and leadership weigh very heavily in the developing countries as compared with the more rationalized developed nations of the West and, consequently, the operational aspects of the democratic institutions can scarcely be understood in terms and manner familiar to the Western States. Bryce has aptly said that there are institutions which, like plants, flourish only on their hillside and under their own sunshine.

Relationship of Political science with History.
The relationship between Political Science and History is very close and intimate.
John Seeley expressed this relationship in the following couplet–
History without Political Science has no fruit, Political Science without History has no root
Seeley's emphasis seems exaggerated, yet no one can discount the two disciplines' dependence on one another. The State and its political institutions grow instead of being made. They are the product of history, and m order to understand them fully, and one must necessarily know the process of their evolution, how they have become what they are, and to what extent they have responded to their original purposes.

All our political institutions have a historical basis as they depict the wisdom of generations. History furnishes sufficient material for comparison and induction, enabling us to build an ideal political structure of our aspirations. In the absence of historical data, the study of Political Science is sure to become entirely speculative or a *priori*. And a priori Political

Science, as **Laski observes**, 'is bound to break down simply because we never start with the clean slate.

The writings of historians, in brief, form a vast reservoir of material that a student of Political Science can analyze into meaningful patterns and guide him in understanding the present and outlining the future. Moreover, with its chronological treatment, history offers a sense of growth and development, thereby providing a base or an insight into the social changes.

Robson thinks that some knowledge of History is clearly indispensable for Political Science and cites the explanation offered by **Professor R. Solatu** at the Cambridge Conference.
Professor Soltau said,
"that he had been baffled all through his teaching Career, especially during the 20 years he had spent in the Middle East, about how to teach the history of political philosophy to students whose historical background is usually inadequate, and often limited to purely political theory since the French Revolution."

Both Political Science and History are contributory and complementary. So intimate is the affinity between the two that Seeley maintained "Politics is vulgar when not liberalized by History, and History fades into mere literature when it loses sight of its relation to Politics." Separate them, says Burgess, and the one becomes a cripple, if not a corpse, the other a will-o -the-Wisp.

However, it does not mean that Political Science is a beggar at the door of History, Nor does it mean, as Freeman says, that history is past polities or that politics is present history. Political Science is, undoubtedly, dependent on History for its material, but it supplies only a part of the material.

History is a chronological narration of events, including wars, revolutions, military campaigns, economic upheavals, religious and social movements, and the rest. Political Science does not require a good part of this material.
A political scientist's main concern is to study the evolution of the political institutions and the facts that bear, directly or indirectly, on the State and government, and its

socioeconomic problems. Political Science selects facts out of History. We are not so concerned with the causes of the Revolution of 1688 m Britain. We are concerned with the advent of limited monarchy m that country and the beginning of the government's response form.

History deals with concrete and matter of fact things. It presents to us not only facts but the causal connection between the facts. Political Science is speculative as well since it deals with what the State ought to be. This speculative character of the subject necessitates the consideration of abstract types of political institutions and laws. History has hardly anything to do with this aspect of Political Science. Finally, the historian's task is not to pass moral judgments, but the political scientist is bound to do so. It is here that Political Science joins hands with Ethics and parts company with Sociology, History, and Economics.

The conclusion is obvious. Political Science and History are two distinct disciplines with separate problems. Yet, they have a common subject in the State's phenomena, and, as such, their spheres touch at many points and overlap at others. **Leacock** succinctly remarks that some of History "is part of Political Science, the circle of their contents overlapping an area enclosed by each"

Relationship of political science with Economics:
Economics was regarded as a branch of Political Science. The Greeks called Economics the name of Political Economy Aristotle, in classifying the States declared that the key fact-is whether the State is ruled by the rich or the poor. He also observed that the way the bulk of the people earn their living, whether they are farmers, herdsmen, mechanics, shopkeepers, or day- laborers, will have much to do determining the State's nature its government. His discussion on revolution is also based on the proposition that the struggle between the rich and the poor is the underlying cause of most revolutions.

Locke's Second Treatise of Civil Government discusses topics that nowadays would be considered the province of Economics. Adam Smith, the English classical economist, in his famous book, An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations, refers to two important Objects of Political Economy to provide sufficient revenue for the people, and to supply the State, or what he calls the commonwealth, with a revenue sufficient for the

public administration. Without clinching the matter, he summed up that political economy "proposes to enrich the people and the sovereign."

Modern economists disagree with the older point of view. They regard Economics as a separate discipline, which seeks to inquire how a man gets his income and uses it. Alfred Marshall, the celebrated economist, considers it "on the one side the study of 'the wealth and on the other and more important side a part of the study of man." Its scope is the study of human welfare and includes a discussion on Consumption, Production, Exchange, and Distribution, the four pillars on which the edifice of Economics is built.

The study of both Political Science and Economics is directed to the same common end. The welfare of man can only be obtained under an orderly society because both are inseparable. It is the State's function to secure these conditions so that every individual gets an opportunity for pursuing his activities, economic activities, of course, preceding the rest.
But no State can remain cement merely to provide conditions of peace and order. The purpose of the State is to create an atmosphere conducive to man's good life and give all an equal opportunity for growth and development. The State performs Certain functions to achieve its purpose.

It is one of the important functions of the State to see what its citizens consume. Every State is vitally concerned with its people's health, as the people are the State's health. The weak, the infirm, and the destitute cannot be good citizens, and a State inhabited by such people is socially, economically, and politically a disabled person.

It also becomes necessary for the State to see how commodities are produced and their product's nature and conditions. For example, India's Government is now making ceaseless efforts to grow and produce more, as the existing scale of production does not keep pace with the country's total demand with its explosive growth of population and agriculture; the mainstay of the people is a gamble in rains. It is the duty of the government to maintain sufficient reserves of food to cope with the vagaries of nature and other natural calamities.

When demand exceeds supply, conditions of scarcity are created, and prices rise. Rising

prices cause distress for the masses and throw out of gear the orderly conditions of society. It is the government's primary duty to remove distress conditions and alleviate the suffering of the people.

But no country produces only for its internal needs. Some goods cannot produce and imports from other countries. Others it produces advantageously and m abundance. It is for the State to determine its import and export policy, and such a policy influences the scale of production.

The producer of one commodity is the consumer of another commodity. No man produces everything for himself. He must rely upon others and exchange with them his surplus goods. But goods are not exchanged for goods. A barter system is highly inconvenient, and the money economy has taken its place Money is now the medium of change and the measure of value.

It is the function of the State to coin money and regulate it. The total amount of money in the hands of the people affects prices Stable are the need of every State. The government carefully watches fluctuations in prices and determines whether more or less money should circulate. Similarly, banks, too, play an important role in controlling the price level by regulating credit.

It's Central, or Reserve Bank issues the paper currency of a modern State. The Central Bank may either be a State-owned bank or the result of private enterprise. But whatever it is, a Central Bank must necessarily be creating a special Act of the legislature.

Moreover, the economic prosperity of every country depends upon the soundness of its banking organization. It is within the jurisdiction of the State to regulate the functions of banks by necessary laws or even to nationalist them, if necessary.

The most baffling problem which confronts every country is that of distribution. In Economies, under the heading distribution, we study how the landlord, the worker, the capitalist, and the organizer are paid for each production's work. With its production and distribution system, the capitalist society has brought about an uneven distribution of

wealth.

The theory of Socialism aims to bring about that political structure of society where the national wealth is most evenly distributed. One section of society does not thrive at the rest's cost. The theories of Individualism and Socialism, with its different varieties, illustrate better than any other the interaction of Political Science and Economics.

Political and economic conditions act and react on one another. As a matter of fact, the solution to many of the economic problems must come through political agencies, and the major problems of every State are economic in character. World War II was characterized as a war of democracy against dictatorship. But the causes of the War were really economical.

The rise of Nazi-ism was also due to Germany's economic crippling by the victorious powers after World War I. The failure of the League of Nations may be ascribed to the policy of economic aloofness and economic self- Sufficiency to which every member-State steadfastly clung after World War I. Britain's political policy in India and her reluctance to grant Indians independence were more economic expediency than political advantage.

The burning questions of present-day politics, Viz government control of industries, the relations of the State to industries, its attitude towards labor and capital, and a multitude of other similar problems are all economic questions intertwined in the political issues. The cry that economic democracy should precede political democracy has revolutionized the political structure of every State.

One may even say that government administration's theory is largely economic in its approach when seeking to interpret matters Concerning the Welfare State, public financial policies, and relationships between government and private enterprise. When the government itself undertakes the production, it performs an economic function purely.

Till recently, contemporary political theory heavily relied upon sociology in explaining the process and impact of politics But of late, it has more tilted towards Economics and noted economists, such as Downs, Buchanan, Tullock, Rothenburg, Olson, and quite a few more, now define the basic issues of new political analysis in terms of

economics and are constructing new concepts, findings and theories.

"The New Political Economy," the name given by William C Mitchell, to this analysis, has not taken any tangible shape so far. Still, a convincing beginning has been made in "Welfare Economics" and in the development Of such tools as "Cost-benefit analysis," "System Theory," "Program budgeting" and "Economic Theory" more generally The tools it adopts are descriptive and statistical, but "mathematics and deductive model-building."

Relationship of political science with Ethics:
Ethics deals with morality and formulates rules which should influence the behavior of man while living in society. It investigates the rightness or wrongness of man's conduct and prescribes ideals to which he would direct his efforts. The line of demarcation between Political Science and Ethics is quite distinct.

Though both Political Science, and Ethics aim at the noble and righteous life of man. Yet, the former is primarily conceded with the political governance of man. In contrast, the latter refers to man's conduct and morality; that is, Whereas Political Science deals with political order, Ethics deals with moral order.

Ethics also judges man's conduct and morality. The last resort touches on what the conduct ought to be. Political Science has nothing to do with it. The State's laws prescribe only the way of life and are concerned with man's external actions.

Moral laws prescribe absolute standards of right and wrong, justice and injustice but the laws of the State-follow standard of expediency. What the law prohibits may not be an immoral act. Finally, Political Science is concerned with man-as a citizen. Ethics is conceded with a man as a man and, as such, it is before Political Science.

So close is the relation between Political Science and Ethics that Plato and Aristotle hardly distinguished between the two. The Greek philosophers, in fact, laid more stress on the moral side of the State. Plato's Republic is as much a study in. Ethics as it is in Political Science. Machiavelli was the first to distinguish between the two, and he made Political Science independent of Ethics.

He also differentiated between public morality and private morality. Hobbes, an English philosopher, followed Machiavelli in his arguments and reasoning. Kant, on the other hand, said True politics could not take a single step forward unless it has first done homage to morals.

The modem view is rather conflicting. The concept of Scientific Relativism, which has a Germanic origin and has now taken from roots in the United States, has created a complete dichotomy between Political Science and Ethics. It is asserted that the introduction of value judgments in political analysis impedes.

Scientific objectivity and makes the discipline and any inquiry into its processes speculative. Stuart Rice, in his Quantitative, Methods in Politics, blamed social scientists for having set their task as the creation of a science of moral ends, which involved a contradiction in terms.

R M. MacIver supports Stuart Rice and says, "Science itself tells us nothing, just nothing about the way we should act, and the ends we should seek." At the round- table "Beyond Relativism in Political Theory" held at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, December 1946, "general agreement on the logical separation of Is and Ought was expressed at the outset. "In 1936, Harold D Lasswell brought out his Politics. Who Gets, What,When, and How I was a thesis on Scientific Method and Value Relativism. But not all the twentieth-century thinkers subscribe to this point of view. Some believe that the Scientific Method can deal with values as precisely as with facts. According to Alfred Weber, all scientific activity is "entirely tied to values." The French philosopher, Jacques Maritan, calls for a re-inclusion of metaphysics in the realm of Political Science. Metaphysics, he maintains, wrongly ousted from science by the Scientific Method is science in the ampler sense.

Likewise, in his book, *The New Science of Politics,* Eric Voegelin severely refutes the argument that "Science" can only apply to the Scientific Method. He calls for a "restoration" of Political Science, or its "retheorization" by reviving the attempts made

by the Greek philosophers and the medieval Christian scholars to provide an ontological description of the order of values, "The theoretical orientation of man in his world, the great instrument for man understanding of his own position I in the Universe."

I add here that in political science, this need is especially obvious " This approach seemed to him the only one which promised an effectively unified system of Social Sciences, within which political science may receive a definable place, fulfill an intelligent role, possess clear scope and function, and consequently develop appropriate methods and relevant special techniques. " When the end of the State is to create that atmosphere in which man can reach the Full Stature of his personality, the proper sphere of the functions of the State cannot be determined without in oral considerations.

The doctrine of International legal values or International ethics cements the principles of International Law and their binding nature. Professor Ivor Brown says, "Politics is but ethics write large. Ethical theory is incomplete without political theory because man is an associated creature and cannot live fully in isolation. Political theory is idle without ethical theory because its study and its results depend fundamentally on our moral values scheme and our right and wrong conceptions. Moreover, Political Science is commenced with what the State ought to be. The great question in the words of Lord Acton is to discover, not what governments prescribe, but what they ought to prescribe.

Relationship of political science with Psychology:
Psychology deals with the behavior of man and elucidates what he actually does. It enquirers into man's mind and behavior, both as an individual and m groups, and explains human action's motives. It seeks to determine how far human conduct is rational or instinctive, or traditional. Political Science, which deals with human beings' political relationship, cannot ignore the psychological effects.

The State and its political institutions are the human mind products and can best be understood in mind. Theories about political conduct that are not grounded in adequate psychology are apt to be defective. This has been well shown in some of the

contributions that modern social psychology has made to Political Science. Barker says The application of the psychological clue to the riddles of human activity has indeed become the fashion of the day. If our forefathers thought biologically, we think psychologically.

The affinity between Political Science and Psychology has been greatly emphasized during recent times. Gabriel Tarde, Le Bon MacDougall, Graham Wallas, and Baldwin are the prominent writers who have given psychological explanations of almost all the political problems. They ascribe the unity of the State to psychological factors, and the form of government and its laws conform to the people's temperamental habits.

In the democratic processes, the part played by social psychology is, thus, subtle Modern Psychologists study men in groups and individual behavior.
The study of social psychology often has more direct relevance for the political scientist than does individual psychology.

There can be little doubt that the psychological approach to problems of Political Science is precious. Political Science has hitherto been much under the influence of philosophy and, consequently, oblivious to life's realities. Thinkers assumed certain facts about human nature, and dogmatically accepted them as self-evident truths. The result was an inaccurate analysis of the political institutions and the political behaviorism of man.

Therefore, the advocates of the physiological approach say that we need, reinvigorate our minds from the wells of direct observation, and the study Of Political Science shall be futile unless we know how human beings behave as individuals and members of society under different influences.

It does not, however, mean that all political problems have a psychological explanation to offer. The areas of study in Political Science differ significantly in the extent to which they have thus far been subjected to the behaviorist approach. Its penetration is uneven.
The area subjected to the greatest influence is probably public opinion, voting and elections, political parties and pressure groups, international relations, and public

administration. It has also been applied to the general concepts, such as power and influence, and of definitions of Political Science, such as that which sees it as a study of Who Gets, What, When and How Foreign and comparative government probably stand in the middle while its effect is the least in public law, jurisprudence, and judicial affairs.

Moreover, Psychology does not concern itself with moral values. It does not say anything about What the State and its institutions ought to be. Furthermore, the psychologist seeks to explain life in terms of savage instinct, and social psychology leads us to explain the higher by, the lower.

This does not seem to be the correct evolutionary method. The right procedure is to explain the lower by, the higher. "Man explains the monkey, and not monkey the man." It is not logical to explain civilized life by the conditions of primitive times. It is a bad argument that the thing is final because it is primitive.

MacDougall and other psychologists explain the origin of instincts that operate in society. They do not, however, explain how and why these instincts arise in society. Finally, according to Catlin, Psychology is concerned with mental acts that must be considered about the observable individual mind. But Political Science is concerned with the impulsive or willed relations of social beings.

Relationship of political science with Jurisprudence:
No less close and no less ancient is the connection between Political Science and Jurisprudence, the science of law. The former is the study of the State and government, whereas the latter is the study of law. If human beings are to live a life of togetherness and safeguard the community's existence, they must accept certain conduct rules. The rules governing society may be few or many.

They can range from a few primitive traditions, handed down orally from one generation to another, to the complex set of constitutional and governmental regulations associated with the modern State. The State regulations are called laws, and these are formulated, administered, and enforced by the government. Every State, no matter what its form of government, develops

its own constitutional law.

Similarly, every political philosophy embraces or implies jurisprudence. From a social point of view, laws must be influenced by their environments. As is the structure of society, so is the content of laws. In a community of large land- owners, the laws will not be the same as in a country of peasant farmers.

Moreover, the law is concerned with classes of persons and classes of general and hypothetical situations. Similarly, the law may establish fictions convenient as working formulae, though they may have no bearing on actual life.
A lawyer's approach is normative, whereas a student of Political Science is both normative and descriptive. This is how the political scientist relates the subject-matter of his study to life's realities and thereby corrects legalism's distortions.

Relationship of political science with Public Administration:
Public Administration deals with government administrative activities, and Pfiffner defines it "as the coordination of collective efforts to implement public policy." It covers everything the civil government agencies do or could do to help the body-politic attain its purpose. Public administration is really a part of Political Science, though it is now regarded and accepted as a separate subject of study.

This dichotomy arose because of the two senses, in which the term public administration was used in the nineteenth century. In a broader sense, public administration referred to the work involved in government affairs' actual conduct regardless of the particular branch concerned. In a narrow sense, it referred to the administrative branch's operations only, with defined functions of enforcing the policy as distinct from the policy determining function.

But that is not exactly so. The administration is only a means to the attainment of the objectives of the State. While discussing the purpose and scope of Public Administration, Leonard D. White says, "The immediate objective of the art of public administration is the most efficient utilization of resources at the disposal of officials and employees.

In their broader context, the ends of administration are the ultimate objects of the State itself-the maintenance of peace and order, the progressive achievement of justice, the instruction Of the young, protection against disease and insecurity, the adjustment and compromise of conflicting groups and interests-in short, the attainment of the good life:"

It is true that. the process contains phases. The legislation is one phase, administration another. But these are merged and at certain points become distinguishable. The distinction between policy determining functions and administrative inspections is too hazy, for, as Herbert Simon says, the whole process of government and administration is one of decision-making. Homer Durham goes to the extent of accepting the concept of Administrative Politics.

This is, again, an extreme view. Yet, it is incorrect to assert that Political Science and Public Administration are separate and autonomous structures or processes. To argue, as White says," that they should be separate and independent is hardly defensible, given the nature Of democratic government. " Even the traditional concept of civil service neutrality is undergoing a radical change.

"The concept," writes S. Lall, is "being rapidly transformed, without a conscious realization from a negative doctrine of political sterilization and neutrality to positive, non-partisan participation in the management of I the country's affairs" Administration today is no longer just the execution of policy it reacts upon policy and actively participates in its making.

Relationship of political science with Geography:
Certain writers maintain that geographical and physical conditions greatly influence the character, people's national lives, and political institutions. Aristotle thought that without geography, neither political, strategical wisdom could go far.

Bodin was the first modern writer who dwelt upon the relationship between Political

Science and Geography. Rousseau tried to establish a relationship between climatic conditions and forms of government. He argued that warm climates are conducive to despotism, cold climates to Barbarism, and moderate climates to a good polity. Montesquieu, another French scholar, also emphasized the influence of physical environments on government and the people's liberty. But Buckle excels all.

It is axiomatically true that geographical location is an important factor in molding the destiny of every State. It greatly influences its national and international policies and political institutions. To fathom the actual impact of geographical factors on a nation's political life, particularly its foreign policy, Geopolitics' new discipline has developed. Germany's geographical position, located as she is in the center of Europe and without natural boundaries, is a compelling reason for her to remain a great military power. Our historic-political destiny, wrote Professor Hintze, lies in our geographical position.

It is really no exaggeration to say that geographical conditions always influence. In a considerable measure, the determination of national policies and, to some extent, the character of the political institutions.

Relationship of political science with Biology:

Biology deals with animal life and its evolution. Some eminent writers sought to convert Political Science by treating the State as a phase of development from associations formed among animals of a species included in the subject matter of natural history. Herbert Spencer is the most prominent exponent of the biological conception of the State. Although the theory is as old as Plato's, Spencer's explanation, in brief, is that the State is like a biological organism in all its essentials.

It is the product of evolution and is subject to birth, growth, and decay laws. Just as in an organism's case, there is the parts' mutual dependence, so are the individuals who constitute the State. Spencer also tried to establish that like the three parts of an organism-the sustaining, the distributor, and the regulating systems-the State, too, has three systems.

There are two views on the relationship between Political Science and Biology. Some writers argue that the State is an organism. Others maintain that the State is like an organism. One may reject the assertion that the State is an organism, but it must be readmitted that the State in its unity is like an organism; it has a collective life. However, the analogy should not be extended beyond this, lest, in the words of Lord Acton, we may come to grief to which analogies, metaphors, and parallelisms generally lead too has three systems.

Relationship of political science with Statistics:

With the advance in the statistical theory and method and the recent tendency toward quantitative measurements in social situations, the relationship between Political Science and Statistics has become close and deep. Political scientists regard the quantitative evaluation of political and administrative phenomena as an indispensable instrument of knowledge.

The statistical approach is usually employed in conjunction with other methods. In her autobiography, Beatrice Webb records learned the relation between personal observation and statistics though I never acquit red the statistical instrument because I had no requisite arithmetic. I became aware that every conclusion derived from observation or experiment had to be qualified and verified by the relevant statistics.

Modern governments essentially depend upon the statistical material and the data it provides in solving very many political riddles. With a Welfare State throwing its full weight on planning, statistics and its extensive use has become indispensable, and every department of government keeps its own statistical cell. The administration is centered around statistical results.

Statistics must guide legislation aimed at public welfare and the various aspects of the people's welfare, for example, taxation and expenditure policy, trade, natural resources, employment, Social conditions in general as vice, crime, illiteracy, population, etc., have a statistical interpretation. Whatever be the utility of statistics and its importance in most forms of political investigation, it must be remembered that statistics may show the failure of a given political or legislative project. Still, it does

hot establish the futility of the policy.

Summary

There are following differences between Behaviouralism & Post – behaviouralism:

1. **Difference in different phases of development**: Behaviouralism is an intellectual reaction against traditional political approach.This represents the development of Political Science from traditional approach. Whereas Post – behaviouralism is an important reform in Behaviouralism This represents the development of Political Science from Behaviouralism.

2. **Differences in Nature**: Basic concept of Behaviouralism is not creative, whereas Post – behaviouralism is creative. Post – behaviouralism has never opposed Behaviouralism, rather it has developed Behaviouralism through new experiments.

3. **Differences in Assumption**: Behaviouralism accepts the basic similarity between Political Science and natural sciences. Whereas Post- Behaviouralism do not consider Political Science as the same as natural science. They believe Political Science to be a social science.

4. **Differences in Approach**: Behaviouralism accepts the importance of facts only to study Political Science and ignores values, whereas Post- behaviouralism accepts the importance of both, facts as well as values.

5. **Differences in Relevance**: Behaviouralism lays stress on the technical purity whereas Post – behaviouralism lays stress on relevance of research along with purity of technique. David Easton has rightly said that Post – behaviouralism believes in theory of relevance but Behaviouralism ignores it. To conclude, it can be said that by origin, both Behaviouralism and Post – behaviouralism are given to Political Science American political scholars. Post – behaviouralism is not an opposition movement of Behaviouralism, rather it has developed a more relevant approach in Political Science. Today, the condition of inter – contrast is almost gone. Post – behaviouralism is just an attempt to remove the shortcomings of Behaviouralism.

MCQ

1. "A Preface to Democratic Theory and Polyarchy" (1950) is written by—

    (A) Easton

    (B) Almond

(C) Dahl

(D) None of these

Ans: (C)

2. 'Self-Development' is the essence of—

(A) Participatory Democracy

(B) Classical Democracy

(C) Elitist Democracy

(D) None of these

Ans: (A)

3. Which one of the following writers did not adopt historical approach for the study of politics?

(A) Paul Janet

(B) Aristotle

(C) T. H. Green

(D) Garner

Ans: (C)

4. Which one of the following has been wrongly listed as a Traditional aproach?

(A) Legal approach

(B) Behavioural approach

(C) Historical approach

(D) Philosophical approach

Ans: (B)

5. The Greek viewed 'politics on the basis of—

(A) Ethical terms

(B) Legalistic terms

(C) Terms of power

(D) Both ethical and legalistic terms

Ans: (A)

6. The term 'Politics' has been drawn from the Greek word polis which means—

(A) City state

(B) Town state

(C) Mini state

(D) State

    Ans: (A)

7. Who defined Politics as "that part of social science which treats the foundations of the state and the principles of government?

(A) Hillman

(B) Garner

(C) Fairely

(D) Paul Janet

    Ans: (A)

8. When did the Post-Behaviouralist approach emerge?

(A) Mid-eighties

(B) Mid Sixties

(C) Mid Seventies

(D) Mid Fifties

    Ans: (B)

9. Who among the following advocated Post-Behavioural approach for the first time?

(A) Almond

(B) David Easton

(C) Robert Dahl

(D) Sartori

    Ans: (B)

10. The book "Political System" is written by—

(A) Michels

(B) Easton

(C) Sartori

(D) None of these

    Ans: (B)

11. The credit for developing model of input-output in political science goes to—

(A) Herman Finer

(B) David Easton

(C) Oran Young

(D) None of these

Ans: (B)

12. The institutional approach concentrates on the study of—

(A) Social Institutions

(B) Economic Institutions

(C) Political Institutions

(D) All of these

Ans: (C)

13. Which of the following did not adopt legal approach for the Study of Politics ?

(A) Herman Finer

(B) Thomas Hobbes

(C) A. V. Dicey

(D) Jean Bodin

Ans: (A)

14. The behvavioural approach which represents the scientific outlook, was evolved after first

World War by the—

(A) Swiss Political Scientists

(B) German Political Scientists

(C) British Political Scientists

(D) American Political Scientists

Ans: (D)

15. The Structural-Functional approach tries to study the political system—

(A) On the basis of their actual operation

(B) On the basis of their structure

(C) On the basis of their structure as well as their actual operation

(D) None of these

Ans: (C)

16. The Philosophical approach is also known as—

(A) Ethical and metaphysical approach

(B) Speculative approach

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(C) Both (A) and (b)

(D) None of the above

Ans: (C)

17. Which one of the following writers has not emphasised the practical aspect of politics while offering its definition?

(A) Bryce

(B) Hillman

(C) Garner

(D) Paul Janet

Ans: (D)

18. One of the most important functions of the executive is—

(A) Political activism

(B) Law making

(C) Implementation of policies and laws

(D) Debating

Ans: (C)

19. Which of the following feature of modern contemporary approaches has been wrongly listed?

(A) Present approaches are more analytical and explanatory than descriptive

(B) The contemporary approaches are interdisciplinary in character

(C) Present approaches are more status quiost in nature

(D) None of these

Ans: (D)

20. Which one of the following characteristics of behavioural approach has been wrongly listed ?

(A) To acquire knowledge about the complex political data, vigorous measures and data manipulation procedures should be adopted.

(B) To draw sociological implications

(C) To employ relevant and scientific research tools

(D) None of these

Ans: (D)

Review Questions

1. Name one behaviouralist who later became an advocate of post- behaviouralism.

75

Describe post-behaviouralism.(within 50 words)

2. Explain the relationship of political science with Economics

3. Explain the relationship of political science with Sociology,

4. Explain the relationship of political science with Psychology,

5. Explain the relationship of political science with History,

6. Explain the relationship of political science with Geography

The state- Its nature, classification of states, theories of origin of the state, Functions of the State.

Objective of the unit
The basic objective of this unit is to make student understand about the concepts of state and its elements. Apart from that various theories of origin of the state has also been discussed in this unit.

THE STATE AND ITS ELEMENTS

Introduction

Political Science is the systematic study of State. We all live in State. The world is viewed as an embodiment of many States. State as an idea or a concept is derived from a historical process of political, cultural, religious and economic contexts of a region.

Today when the word 'State' is mentioned and used it usually indicate the modern State. The world today comprises of modern States. Modern State is a public order completely different from the pre-modern notion comprising of a body politics consisting of the rulers and the ruled. Hence a proper understanding of what State is and what not is quite essential to students of political science.

Meaning and Definition of State

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

The modern term 'state' is derived from the word 'status'. It was *Niccolo Machiavelli* (1469 – 1527) who first used the term 'State' in his writings. The state is necessary because it comes into existence out of the basic needs of life. It continues to remain for the sake of

good life. The aims, desires, and aspirations of human beings are translated into action through the State.

Though the State is a necessary institution, no two writers agree on its definition. This disagreement makes the study of the State more creative and interesting. For instance, we have social Contract theory in political science. The three main thinkers associated with social contract theory are **Thomas Hobbes**, **John Locke** and **Jean Jack Rousseau**. The three thinkers collectively agree that humans need to be controlled by the State. At the same time, they disagree on to what extent the control can be exercised by the State on humans.

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

Figure 3.1: Comparing viewpoints of Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau

Definition of State

To **Woodrow Wilson**, "State is people organized for law within a definite territory."

Aristotle defined the State as a "union of families and villages having for its end a perfect and self – sufficing life by which it meant a happy and honorable life".

To **Holland**, the State is "a numerous assemblage of human beings generally occupying a certain territory amongst whom the will of the majority or class is made to prevail against any of their number who oppose it."

Burgess defines the State as "a particular portion of mankind viewed as an organised unit."

According to **Sidgwick**, "State is a combination or association of persons in the form of government and governed and united together into a politically organised people of a definite territory."

According to **Garner**, "State is a community of people occupying a definite form of territory free of external control and possessing an organised government to which people show habitual obedience."

Prof. Laski defines "State as a territorial society divided into government and subjects whose relationships are determined by the exercise of supreme coercive power."

Essential Elements of State

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

The *Montevideo* Convention on Rights and Duties of States held in 1933 gave the fundamental understanding of State. A State must have a permanent population, a defined territory and a government that can control the territory and its people and conducts international relations with other States. Consequently, the recognition of a State by other States becomes crucial for the legitimacy of the State from an external point of view. You would be reading more when you read about Sovereignty.

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

Think of India as a State and try to answer what makes India, our country to qualify for a State? Firstly, India has a well-defined territory. In India we the people, Indians live. We Indians have our Government. India is a State that has a status in the world and exists independently. India is not bound by the rules of any other State. It can enter into treaties with other States. We have our diplomats in all countries and their offices are called 'Diplomatic Mission'. An Indian Embassy in the USA is generally known as 'India in the USA'. In Puducherry, the Consulate General of France is called France in India.
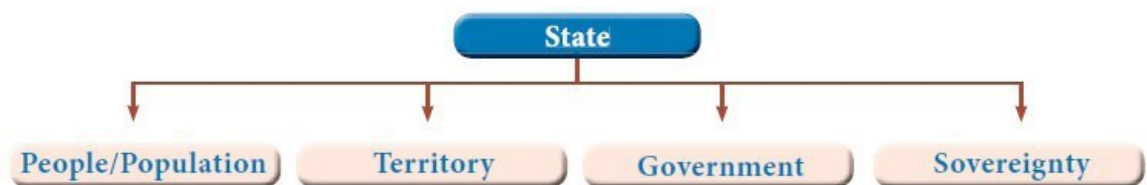
Figure 3.2 : Essential elements of the State

India Census 2011

- The post-independence census in the country has been conducted once in ten years.

- Under the constitutional provisions by notification under the census Act 1948.

- In the last census, operations conducted in our country in 2011, the enumerators and supervisors has focused on the house listing and housing Census. The type of information gathered on the household, its head, amenities and assets. It also includes the total number of residents, use of the census house and material used for floor, wall and roof.

- Other details include the name of the head of the household, gender, community, ownership, number of dwelling rooms, number of married couples. The enumerators would also seek details on the amenities available in the household such as sources of drinking water outlet, latrine, waste water outlet, bathing facility, kitchens and fuel used for cooking.

- They would record information, on the use of banking services and assets, such as radio, TV, computer, internet connection, telephone, bicycle, motorcycle and car.
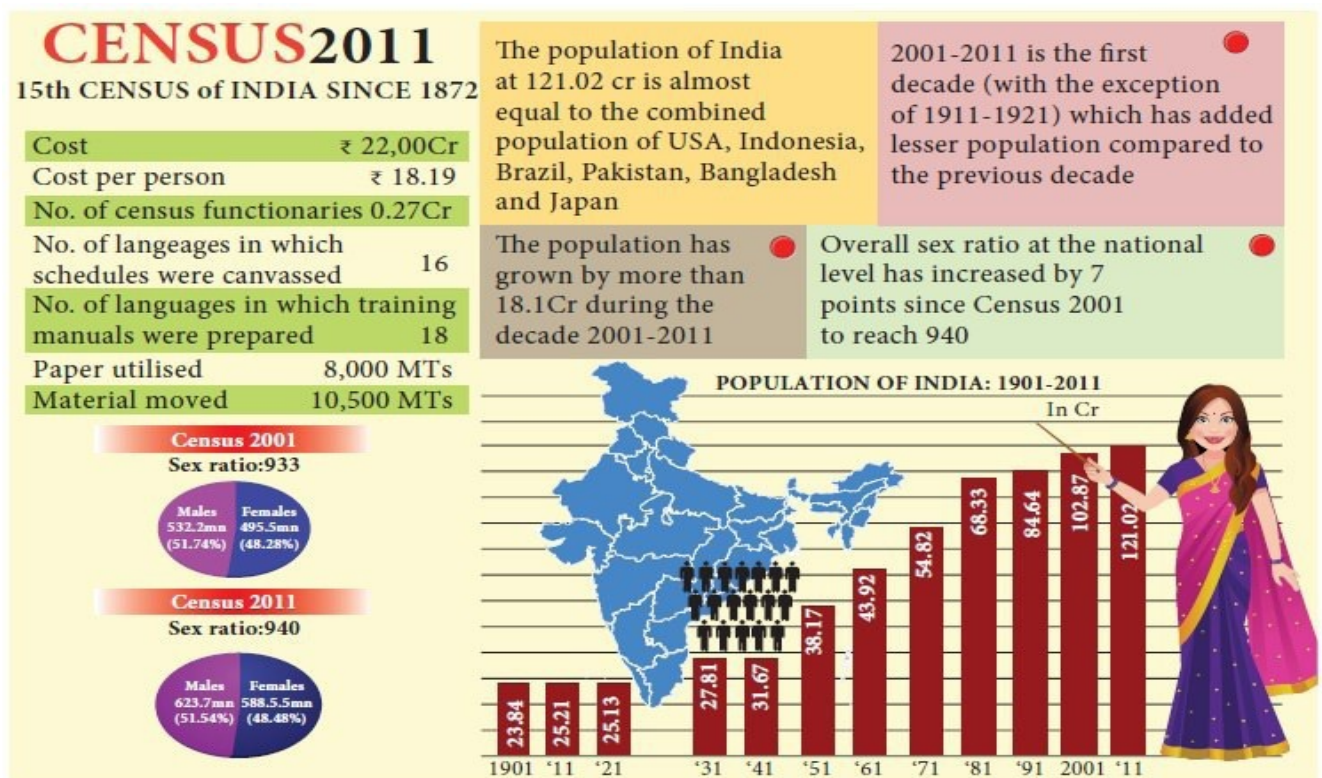

CENSUS2011

15th CENSUS of INDIA SINCE 1872

Cost	₹ 22,00Cr
Cost per person	₹ 18.19
No. of census functionaries 0.27Cr	
No. of langeages in which schedules were canvassed	16
No. of languages in which training manuals were prepared	18
Paper utilised	8,000 MTs
Material moved	10,500 MTs

Census 2001
Sex ratio:933

Males 532.2mn (51.74%) Females 495.5mn (48.28%)

Census 2011
Sex ratio:940

Males 623.7mn (51.54%) Females 588.5.5mn (48.48%)

The population of India at 121.02 cr is almost equal to the combined population of USA, Indonesia, Brazil, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Japan

2001-2011 is the first decade (with the exception of 1911-1921) which has added lesser population compared to the previous decade

The population has grown by more than 18.1Cr during the decade 2001-2011

Overall sex ratio at the national level has increased by 7 points since Census 2001 to reach 940

POPULATION OF INDIA: 1901-2011
In Cr

| 1901 | '11 | '21 | '31 | '41 | '51 | '61 | '71 | '81 | '91 | 2001 | '11 |
| 23.84 | 25.21 | 25.13 | 27.81 | 31.67 | 38.17 | 43.92 | 54.82 | 68.33 | 84.64 | 102.87 | 121.02 |

80

Figure 3.3 : Census 2011 data

Population

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

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

Territory

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

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

Government

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

Sovereignty

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

The father of the modern theory of sovereignty was *Jean Bodin* (1530 – 1597) a French political thinker. According to *Harold J. Laski*, "It is by possession of sovereignty that the State is distinguished from all other forms of human association". Human Association would mean anything from family, society and even voluntary organization similar kinds through which humans identify themself together.

Society, state and Government

Let us examine what Society, State and Government mean and how are they interrelated.
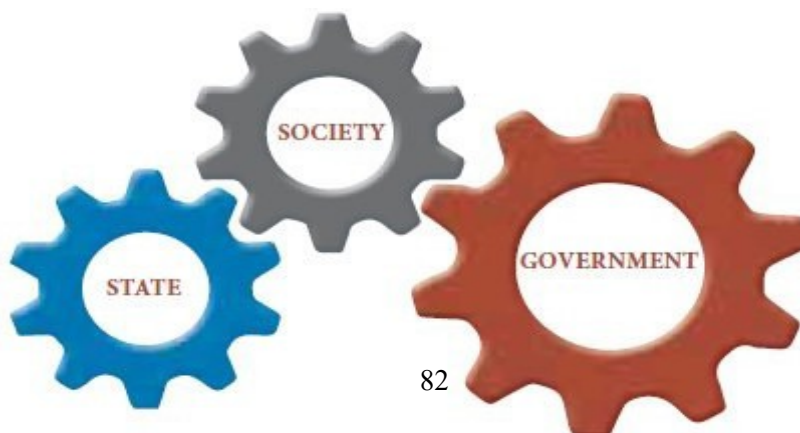
Figure 3.4: Society, state and Government

Society, State and Government – How are they interrelated?

Each one of us live simultaneously in family, society, and State. What does this mean? How society and State are interrelated? What is government to do with the State and the society? Historically when humans evolved from hunters and gatherers to a settled community, they started to produce goods. Group of families constituted a community and a group of communities constituted what we call as a society. Individuals for their emotional need that is often reciprocal lived in the family.

Families came together under the umbrella of the community for a greater objective of security. The communities so formed made a higher level of organization called society solely to live in an organized manner where each ones' need is met out by the collective output of the whole. Thus when an individual is labouring for earning his food there arises an inevitable situation that labour results in productivity. The produced goods thus required a market supplemented by the invention of another institution called trade. When goods are produced and marketed, it is clear that the situation could turn in favour of a few who are mighty. When society is governed by the rule of might, then ultimately that would cause the society to disintegrate and fall apart.

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

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

Major Differences between State and society

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

Figure 3.5: State and Society

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

State and Government

Government is often used with the 'State' as a synonym. But both the government and the State are two different entities. There are differences between the State and the government.

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

They are explained in the table given below.

Modern State

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

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

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

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

Functions of Modern State

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

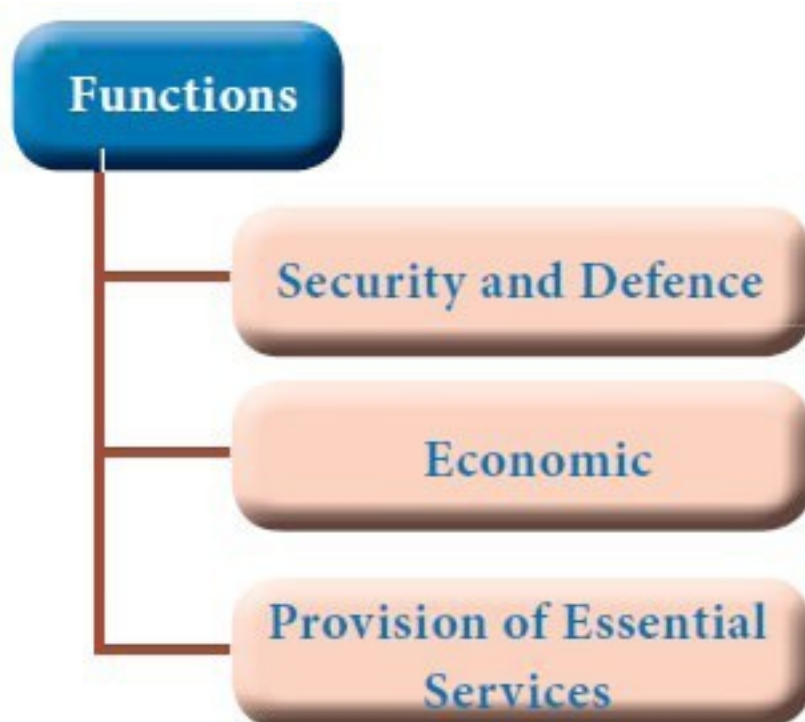It is largely accepted that the modern State focuses on three main functions.

Figure 3.6: Functions of the Modern State

Security and Defense

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

Economic functions

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

Provision of Essential Services

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

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

THE ORIGIN OF THE STATE

Political thinkers have attempted to explain the origin of the state in various ways. When, where and how, the State came into existence has not been recorded anywhere in history. Therefore, the political thinkers were compelled to adopt various hypotheses, many of which are now discredited in the light of modern knowledge. Among the many theories which are concerned with the origin of the state the following are explained in this chapter.

1. The Theory of Divine origin
2. Social Contract Theory.
3. Matriarchal and Patriarchal Theory.
4. Force Theory.
5. Evolutionary Theory.

THEORY OF DIVINE ORIGIN

The theory of divine origin is the oldest among all theories. According to this theory state is established and governed by God himself. God may rule the state directly or indirectly through some ruler who is regarded as an agent of God.

The trace of divine origin is seen in the epic Mahabarat. According to the Mahabarat there was anarchy in the beginning in the society and the people prayed to God to come to their rescue.

They offered the following prayer. 'Without a chief, O Lord we are perishing Give us a chief, whom we shall worship and who will protect us'. It was under these circumstances that God appointed the king to rule the people.

Kings are breathing images of God upon earth. Even if the king be wicked, the subject has no right to rebel against him. To rebel against the king is to rebel against God himself for the God›s chosen Vassal.

The main points in the doctrine of the divine right of kings may thus be summed up.

1. Monarchy is divinely ordained and the king draws his authority from God.

2. Monarchy is hereditary and it is the divine right of a king that it should pass from father to son.

3. The king is answerable to God alone; and

4. Resistance to the lawful authority of a king is a sin.

The theory of divine origin was popular for a long time but later on it began to decline on account of many factors.

Criticism

The theory of divine origin has been criticised on many grounds.

To say that God selects this or that man as ruler is contrary to experience and common sense. God cannot be expected to do such worldly things for human beings. The theory is dangerous because it pinpoints the unlimited and arbitrary power of the kings.

The theory of divine origin of the state advocates only monarchical form of government. The

monarchical form of government is practically disappearing from the world. No wonder the theory of divine origin also does not find its supporters in modern times.

We all believe in the theory of evolution. Everything in the world has grown up by slow degrees and consequently the same must have been the case with the state. It is too much to believe that one day God thought of creating the state and created one.

The theory put emphasis on revelation and not reason. In modern times we attribute everything to reason and hence it is not accepted today.

Although the theory has many defects and is no longer accepted today, it cannot be denied that it had its utility.

The theory of social contract with its emphasis on consent, was a great deadlock to the theory of divine origin. It was maintained that state was created by individuals by means of a contract and not by God. The separation of the church from the state was also partly responsible for the decline of the theory.

SOCIAL CONTRACT THEORY

The social contract theory is not only the most ancient but also the most famous of the theories regarding the origin of the state. The substance of this theory is that state is the result of an agreement entered into by men who originally had no governmental organisation. In the first period there was no government and no law. The people lived in a state of nature. After some time, they decided to set up a state. That they did by means of a contract.

The social contract theory described the original condition of men as the 'state of nature'. To escape from the condition of the state of nature man made a social contract. To some writers the contract was pre-social and to others it was pre- political.

When men felt the need to escape from this type of life he did so by common agreement or contract. As a result of this, a civil society was created. Thus, creation of civil society preceded the emergence of the state.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the supporters of the social contract theory multiplied and there was more or less universal acceptance of the doctrine. Hooker was the

first scientific writer who gave a logical exposition of the theory of social contract. The theory found real support in the writings of Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, Jean Jacques Rousseau who are known as contractualists.

Comparison of Social Contract Theories of Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau

1. The State of Nature:

Principal works Leviathan (1651): Man, egoistic moved by fear, power glory political equality of all no question of right or wrong. Just or unjust, war of all against all life, nasty, brutish and short.

Civil government (1690): A state of good will, mutual existence and preservation state of peace not war governed by law of nature but state became necessary to have one standardized interpretation of law of nature.

Social contract (1762): Men in state of nature equal self-sufficient and contended, lived life of idyllic, happiness man actuated by impulse and not reason, origin of property creates in-equality necessity of state.

2. Law of nature:

Principal works Leviathan (1651): In state of nature there was no civil law, law of nature was regulative of human action, law of nature conceived differently by Hobbes to mean different things on different occasions i.e.(a) it was dictate of right reason for preservation of life. (b) It was based on prudence which dictated that everybody should try to secure peace by sacrificing natural right by covenants and it must be respected.

Civil government (1690): Law of nature does not represent natural impulse but a moral law based upon reason to regulate human conduct.

Social contract (1762): Law of nature based on instinct sociability resulting from feeling and not from reason.

3. Natural Right:

Principal works Leviathan (1651): Natural right depends upon ones

Civil government (1690): Right inherent in man by nature; natural rights of man are to life, liberty and property.

Social contract (1762): Man is free in the state of nature and enjoys all rights incidental to his person.

4. Social Contract

Principal works Leviathan (1651) : The individual gives up all his rights expect on ie right

of defence and self-preservation to a common sovereign, social contract creates a common wealth and a sovereign (one, few, or many) contract unilateral and not binding on sovereign.

Civil government (1690) : Men enter into social contract that is create a state to have a common agency for interpretation and execution of the law of nature. Individuals surrender some but not all the rights. Not clear whether Locke a contract creates civil society or only government. Government limited in authority and not absolute.

Social contract (1762) : State results from a contract between individuals in their personal capacity and individuals in their corporate capacity. A, B, C and D etc. in their individual capacity surrender all rights to A+B+C+D etc as a corporate whole.

5. Sovereignty

Principal works Leviathan (1651): Hobbesian sovereignty is unlimited, indivisible, inalienable, absolute, above law, source of law, justice, property above state and church has no right of revolution against sovereign.

Civil government (1690): Locke does not conceive of a sovereign state. His government is limited to performance of its duties. The inherent right of man to life, liberty and property, represents a limitation on government. Locke conceives of popular and not le-gal sovereignty.

Social contract (1762): The corporate whole that is people as a whole are sovereign. Thus, Rousseau believes in popular sovereignty. People are the legal sovereign. Sovereignty resides in the 'general will 'of the people. The characteristics of this sovereignty are its unity, individuality, permanencies, in alienability and its absolute and unrepresentable character. The government is dependent on the sovereign of the people. Rousseau distinguished between the sovereign state and subordinate government.

6. Liberty:

In the state of nature liberty depends upon the state and is guaranteed by the state. It is a gift of the state and can be abrogated by the state. It cannot be quoted against the authority of the state.

A man has certain rights inherent in him ie rights to life, liberty and property which the state can-not deprive him of

In the civil state individual liberty is a gift of the sovereign state. It must be reconciled with the ab-solute authority of the State and cannot be quoted against the same.

7. Individual and the state:

Principal works Leviathan (1651): The Hobbesian individual owes everything

i.e. rights peace and law to the state and is there-fore best in the state. He must obey the sovereign and pay taxes. Individual has some kind of liberty even in the civil state i.e.

(a) Liberty not to kill himself if asked to do so by the sovereign.

(b) Liberty to life which enables him to resist the sovereign if the latter at-tacks his life.

(c) Liberty to refuse allegiance to a sovereign who cannot save his life or to a deposed sovereign.

Rousseau compared with Hobbes and Locke

Rousseau had drawn something from Hobbes and something from Locke. In fact, he began with the method of Locke and ended with those of Hobbes. Both Rousseau and Locke agreed that man in the state of nature was free and happy. Formation of civil society by means of a contract was deemed the only way out. Both Locke and Rousseau made the distinction between the state and government though Rousseau maintained that the institution of government was not the results of contract. Both believed that the contract did not remove the supreme power from the people. Rousseau's voice is the voice of Locke but the hands are those of Hobbes.

Evaluation of Social Contract Theory

The social contract theory as expounded by Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau does not explain the origin of the state. There is no evidence to support this theory. The contention of these philosophers is not borne out by facts. What was contributed by Hobbes to political philosophy was absolutism. Locke gave recognition to the concept of limited government. Rousseau popularised the idea of popular sovereignty.

Theory of Social Contract Criticism

The doctrine that the state originated in a contract was a favourite home of political speculation during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Historically the theory is a mere fiction. There is nothing in the whole range of history to show that the state has ever been deliberately created as a result of voluntary agreement. Primitive man did not possess that maturity of outlook which the making of social contract presupposes.

The social contract theory is unhistorical. It is merely a fiction.

The social contract theory is also attacked on legal grounds. It is contended that a legally

sound contract implies the prior existence of some authority and its sanction before the contract implies the contract is entered into. In the case of social contract theory there was neither the authority nor the sanction before the contract was concluded. The social contract theory is also criticised on philosophical grounds. The social contract theory is criticised as bad history, bad law and bad philosophy. It is bad philosophy, because it looks upon the state as an artificial contrivance and not a natural process of growth.

MATRIARCHAL THEORY

Mclennan, Morgan and Jenks are the notable exponents of matriarchal theory. The matriarchal system was prior to the patriarchal system and tribe. There was no permanent institution of marriage. A woman had more than one husband and because of the uncertainty of male parentage kinship was reckoned through woman that is from mother to daughters.

In the place of a family consisting of a man his wife and children there was a large and loosely connected group called a horde or pack organised for matrimonial purposes.

The matriarchal family developed as indicated below.

1. First there was a tribe and it was the oldest and primary social group.

2. In course of time a tribe breaks into clans.

3. Clans in their turn give place to households.

4. At last comes the modern family.

Criticism

The matriarchal theory is more sociological than political. It seeks to explain the origin of family and not that of the state.

There is no adequate proof in support of the matriarchal system as the universal and necessary beginning of society.

PATRIARCHAL THEORY

The Patriarchal theory explains that the state originated from the patriarchal family or the family in which the pater or father was the head.

State is an enlargement of the family. Originally the family consisted of a man, his wife and children. The father was the head of the family and his control and authority was complete in all respects over all its members. When his children married there was expansion in the

original family and it led to the establishment of new families. But the authority of the father and head of the original family remained as before, and it was duly acknowledged by all his descendants. This constituted the patriarchal family. The chief exponent of the patriarchal theory is Sir Henry Maine.

The following important points may be noted in Maine›s Patriarchal theory.

1.	In the Patriarchal family the element of paternity was the chief fact.

2.	Descent was traced not only through males and from the same ancestor. None of the descendants of a female was included in the primitive notion of family relationship. Kinship was accordingly, purely negative.

3.	Permanent marriage was the rule whether monogamy or polygamy

	The Head of the family was the basis of all authority, and his power was unqualified over his children and their houses and other relations of all descendants. howsoever numerous.

5.	He controlled not only the business affairs of the group which he headed but its religion and its conduct.

The family was the primal unit of political society, ‹the seed led of all larger growths of governments, ‹as Woodrow Wilson calls it. The single family had developed into several families; yet all of them were fully conscious of their ultimate kinship. Bound together by ties of common ancestors, they associated in a wider common fellowship group, the gens, owing allegiance to some elected elder - perhaps the oldest living ascendent or the most capable. Similarly, the gens broadened into the tribe. The pastoral pursuits gave way to agriculture and settled life on a definite land became a matter of necessity; land tribes united to form the state.

Criticism

Modern theories show that the patriarchal family was not universal and the patriarchal theory was subjected to severe attacks.

Patriarchal and matriarchal theories are in essence sociological rather than political theories.

Stephen Leacock says nonetheless, both the theories sufficiently establish that family is the original link in the evolution of the state.

Both these theories do not satisfactorily explain the origin of the state. Matriarchal and

patriarchal could have been prevalent in certain early societies. But it is wrong to assume that the creation of state was occasioned by these systems. There was not substantial proof to support the universal validity of these theories.

FORCE THEORY

According to this theory, the state originated due to force exerted by the strong over the weak. The idea contained in the statement is that 'war begat the king'.

The same view is expressed by Hume, Oppenheim, Jenks-Bernhardy and Trietschke are the exponents of force theory. A number of rulers also believed in this theory. The powerful conquered the weak state is the outcome of the process of aggressive exploitation of the weaker by the stronger. "Might without right is antagonist to individual liberty."

There were other factors besides force which helped the expansion of the state. Similarly force alone is not the basis of state and it cannot be maintained by force.

Criticism

Force indeed has played an important part in the origin and development of the state. Some of the greatest empires of today have been established through blood and iron.

The theory of force unduly emphasises the principle of the survival of the fittest. It means that might is right and those who are physically weak should go to the wall. It is dangerous to employ such a principle in the internal existence of the state. Every state will be at perpetual war with the rest. This is a condition of chaos, pure and simple endangering the peace and security of the world. The attention and efforts of every state will be directed towards war preparedness and to win the war if it comes. War which is an alias for murder, glorifies brute process, suppressing the moral forces. This is the mean self of man and not his real self.

This theory justifies despotism. It is opposed to the idea of freedom. It is too much to believe that the state is created and maintained by sheer force and the spiritual and moral values have absolutely no place in life.

The Historical or Evolutionary theory

Five theories in explanation of the origin of the state, but no single theory offers an adequate explanation. The theory which explains and is now accepted as a convincing origin of the State, is the Historical or Evolutionary theory. It explains the state is the product of growth, a slow and steady evolution extending over a long period of time and ultimately shaping itself into the complex structure of a modern state. This theory is more scientific.

The state is neither the handiwork of God, nor the result of superior physical force, nor the creation of evolution or convention, nor a mere expansion of the family. The state is not a mere artificial mechanical creation but an institution of natural growth or historical evolution says professor Garner.

There were a number of factors which helped the evolution of the state. They were kinship, religion, war, migration economic activities and political consciousness. The important factors which contributed to the growth of the state are

1. Kinship
2. Religion
3. Property and defence
4. Force
5. Political consciousness

Kinship

Kinship is the most important and was based upon blood relationship and kinship was the first strongest bond of unity. Family constituted the first link in the process of the evolution of the State with the expansion of the family, arose, new families and the multiplication of families led to the formation of clans and tribes. Kinship was the only factor which bound the people together.

According to Professor Mac Iver, the magic of names 'reinforced the sense of kinship, as the course of generations enlarged the group. The blood bond of sonship changed mperceptibly into the social bond of the wider brotherhood. The authority of the father passes into the power of the Chief and once more under the aegis of kinship new forms arise which transcend it. Kinship creates society and society at length creates the State'.

Religion

Religion provided the bond of unity in early society. It also affected all walks of life. The worship of a common ancestor and common goods created a sense of social solidarity. There was fear in the hearts of men as far as religion was concerned. Even today we see religious practices, affairs and faith in uniting people. In the early days a number of races are united by religion and unity was essential for the creation of state.

Force

Force also played an important part in the evolution of the state. It was the use of physical force that was responsible for the growth of kingdoms and empires.

Property and Defence

Property and depence played a vital role in the evolution of state in ancient times particularly among the people who were nomads and wagabonds and tribal. Prof. Laski has referred to the necessity of acquiring property by the members of society and protecting the property acquired with reference to the population mentioned above.

This led to making adjustments in the social system and relationship between the members of different groups. The need to protect property ultimately compelled the ancient people to establish the state.

Political consciousness

The last is political consciousness arising from the fundamental needs of life for protection and order.

When the people settle down on a definite territory in pursuit of their, subsistence and desire to secure it from encroachment by others, the need for regulating things and persons is felt imminently and this is the essence of political consciousness.

Conclusion

It follows that many factors helped the growth of the state. No single factor alone was responsible for its origin. Sometimes all and sometimes many of them help the process by which uncivilized society was transformed into a state.

Of all the theories which seek to explain the origin of the states, the evolutionary theory is

the most satisfactory. It should be noted that no theory pin-points the time at which the state originated as a consequence of many factors working in union at different times.

Summary of the unit

The state is the most universal and most powerful of all social institutions. The state is a natural institution. Aristotle said man is a social animal and by nature he is a political being. To him, to live in the state and to be a man were identical.

The modern term "state" is derived from the word "status". It was Niccolo Machiavelli (1469 – 1527) who first used the term "state" in his writings. His important work is titled as "Prince".

The state is the highest form of human association. It is necessary because it comes into existence out of the basic needs of life. It continues to remain for the sake of good life.

The aims, desires and aspirations of human beings are translated into action through the state. Though the state is a necessary institution, no two writers agree on its definition.

State is an association and it means a nation or territory considered as an organized political community under one government. State in another sense is the political organization that has supreme civil authority and political power and serves as the basis of government and a government or politically organized society having a particular character. According to Wikipedia, A state is a type of polity that is an organized political community living under a single system of government. States may or may not be sovereign. For instance, federated states are members of a federal union, and may have only partial sovereignty, but are, nonetheless, states. Some states are subject to external sovereignty or hegemony, in which ultimate sovereignty lies in another state. States that are sovereign are known as sovereign states.

MCQ

1. Which of the following is the distinguishing characteristic of State, as compared with other associations?

    A. Population

    B. Territory

C.   Government

D.   Sovereignty

   Ans. : (D)

2.   Which of the following are the four characteristics of state?

   A.   Government, territory, population, association

   B.   Association, sovereignty, territory, population

   C.   Army, territory, population and sovereignty

   D.   Population, territory, government and sovereignty

   Ans. : (D)

3.   The term state has often been confused with:

   A.   Sovereignty

   B.   Association

   C.   Nation

   D.   Government

   Ans. : (A)

4.   Which of the following is not true about difference between the State and the

Government?

   A.   The will of the State is expressed through Government

   B.   The State is concrete while the Government is abstract

   C.   The State has original whereas Government has delegated powers

   D.   The State is large whereas Government is a small body.

   Ans. : (B)

5.   According to Plato, the population of the State should be about:

   A.   5000

   B.   6000

   C.   7000

   D.   8000

   Ans. : (A)

Fill in the blanks:

1.   The four elements of State are_____, _____,_____and

_____.

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2.   Plato fixed the number of persons of the State at _____ and Rousseau at _____.

3.   Love for the country inculcates the spirit of_____.

4.   _____, _____ and_____ comprises the territory of the State.

5.   A unitary form of government is good for a small State and a _____ _____ is ideal for big States.

6.   The agency created to enforce rules of conduct is called_____.

7.   Sovereignty has two aspects_____ and _____.

Review Questions

Define the following terms:

1.   (a)   Nation

       (b)   State

       (c)   Government

2.   Name the elements which help the formation of nationality and explain any two of them?

3.   What is the State? Briefly explain the elements of the State.

4.   Are the following States? Give reasons for your answer in a single line.

       (a)   India

       (b)   United Nations

       (c)   Bihar

       (d)   United States of America

Unit – IV

Concept: Democracy and Dictatorship, welfare State, Justice, Human Rights, Gender Role.

Objective of the unit
- To discuss the Democracy and its types
- To discuss the Dictatorship and its merit and demerits
- To explain the concept of welfare state

Introduction

Definition and types of Democracy

The term 'Democracy' is derived from the Greek word as demo means people and cracy is referred as rule. The concept of democracy in its Greek term comes from "demos and "kratos" meaning "people" and "rule". Thus the term democracy is Rule by People.

Democracy is one of the most important and well- debated topics in the world since the beginning of the Twentieth Century and it has increased importance in the Twenty- first century. Democracy has been defined in different terms and usage by many philosophers, rulers and scholars from time to time according to the changes taking place in socio-political and economic institutions that were there. Democracy encompasses the powerful concepts of Rights, Freedom defined in Liberty, Equality and Fraternity in all religions.

The concept and practice of Democracy in the Modern period evolved in Britain, although it's ancient concept and practice was in Ancient Greece.

Democracy is based on the type of the social system of the country or nation. The social system determines the type and working of democracy. Democracy is important for creating Liberty and Equality that are adopted to bring equality in the unequal society based on political and institutional mechanisms. Democracy has become the most popular form of

government and universally regarded as a meaningful political concept in the world in the present period.

The spread of Democracy in began in the world in different countries from the beginning of the Twentieth-century.
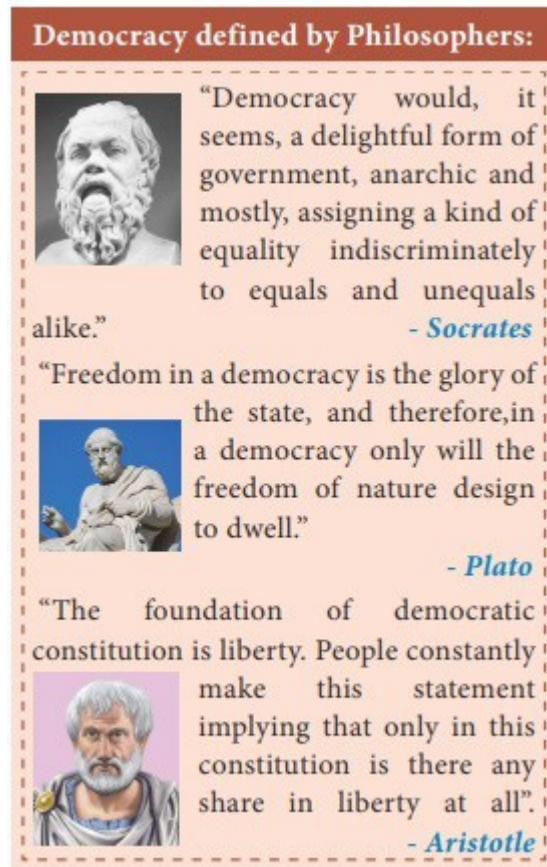

Figure 5.1: Definition of Democracy

As a concept and a system of government, Democracy is an instrument of expression of free speech.

Characteristics of Democracy

- Democracy is a set of principles and practices that protect human freedom.
- Democracy rests upon the principles of majority rule, along with individual and minority rights.
- Democracies as a system guard against all-powerful central governments and it decentralizes government to regional and local levels. The right of the people to

demand the Government they elected and the duty of the Government to be accessible and responsive to their needs and demands is the main function.

- One of the primary functions of Democracies is to protect such basic Human Rights i) Equality before Law, ii) Equal Protection before Law iii) Freedom of Speech, iv) Freedom of Religion; vii) Right to organize and participate fully in the political, economic, and cultural life of society.

- Democracies conduct regular free and fair elections open to all citizens.

- Democracy subjects governments to the Rule of Law and it ensures that all citizens receive equal protection under the law and that their rights are protected by the Legal-constitutional system.

- Democracies are diverse political systems, reflecting each nation's unique political, social, and cultural life.

- Democracy ensures the citizens to participate in the political system and it protects their rights and freedoms.

- Democratic societies are committed to the values of tolerance, cooperation, and consensus.

- In the words of Mahatma Gandhi, "intolerance is itself a form of violence and an obstacle to the growth of a true democratic spirit."

- Democracy is a system of government in which power and civic responsibility are exercised by all citizens, directly or through their freely elected representatives.

Democracy underlines the Principle of Rule by the people. It ensures a form of government in which all the citizens of a nation determine public policy, the laws, and the actions of their state together either in a Direct Democracy or by Representative Democracy. Democracy ensures that all citizens have an equal opportunity to express their opinion. Democracy is generally defined as "government by the people; that form of government in which the sovereign power resides in the people as a whole, and is exercised either directly by them or by officers elected by them."

Types of Democracy

Democracy by its function has different scope and importance.

- Political Democracy

- Social Democracy

- Industrial Democracy

- Totalitarian Democracy

- Radical Democracy

- Plebiscitary Democracy

-

i.   Political Democracy

Political democracy feature's the popular participation of citizens in government by which citizens elect their representatives to the Legislature of the state. The elected representatives are accountable to the citizens who elected them. As a political system of government, Democracy works either as a function by the direct involvement of the citizens in making laws and the elected legislators   would introduce it in the Legislature. This is known as the process of Popular Initiative. Similarly, when the legislators elected by the people frame legislation,   it is approved by a popular vote that is based on popular acceptance of the laws. This is known as Popular Referendum.

The second type of Democracy is the Representative system of Democracy in which the elected representatives of the people (representative democracy) are elected for a term of office and determine public policy on behalf of the people. Political Democracy by Representative system of democracy is the dominant form of Democracy all over the world, whereas the Direct Democracy is practiced in the Federal Republic of Switzerland.

ii.   Social Democracy

Social Democracy is a combination of social, economic and political ideas that supports economic and social policies. It promotes social equality and social justice giving strength to economy and representative and participatory democracy. Social Democracy is based on the principle of Social equality in all aspects of gender, status, beliefs, values and customs. *Alexis De` Tocqueville* the eminent French thinker praised the American political system as one of the true democracies as it did not believe and encourage feudalism.

Social Democracy believes strongly in Equality of opportunity and equality in freedom as the basis of human rights and life in a Democracy. Social Democracy enabled the individual

through hard work and effort to succeed and excel.

Social Democracy believed in the progress of equality as progress of liberty and the progress of liberty as the greatest progress of Democracy in a state.

iii. Industrial Democracy

Industrial democracy is defined as the means to promote democratic principles in industry and labour by the provision and protection of Labour Rights and Responsibilities in the workplace Industrial democracy encourages the participation of labour in decision making along with the management. Industrial democracy promotes dignity and decency of labour and paves way for better efficiency, harmony and unity of purposes of the management and labour.

Industrial democracy enables the workers participate actively in the process of building both community and individual interests for the collective good of the society and state.

Industrial democracy empowers workers as partners in the industry calling for their joint efforts to build community interests and welfare Industrial democracy paves for the development and growth of the country through better productivity and greater harmony

iv. Economic Democracy

Economic democracy is defined as the process of creating democratic conditions of economic productivity, minimising the rich-poor gap and socio-economic differences, promoting affordable economic development and the ideal of creating greater equality among various classes.

Economic democracy believes in "workplace democracy" and "employee ownership" that is intended to promote equality and democratic redistribution of wealth.

Economic democracy believes in the ability of the social system to integrate and society and economy for the betterment of human economic freedom and dignity. Economic democracy believes in social welfare and development as priority and decency of labour and paves way for better efficiency, harmony and unity of purposes of the management and labour.

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Economic democracy believes in the ability of the social system to integrate and society and economy for the betterment of human economic freedom and dignity. Economic democracy believes in social welfare and development as priority. Economic democracy is based on the importance of economic rights and social equality.

Totalitarian Democracy

Totalitarian Democracy is known as populist democracy or mass democracy in which Citizens after electing the representatives have no voice in decision- making, but the elected representatives decide for the entire country. Totalitarian Democracy elevates the ruler, party and the elected legislators over the voting citizens and captures power through democratic means but runs as dictatorship. The political ideology of the ruler, party and the legislators becomes dominant over people interests. Totalitarian democracy in the name of people's rights would use internal terror against certain sections of people and also speech restrictions to keep the population under its complete control.

Totalitarian democracy would have complete control of the economy of the state and would use it to control the population.

v. Radical Democracy

Radical Democracy was proposed by M.N.Roy a leading Indian political thinker who believed in "real rule" of the people for the term of office to which the legislators are elected. Radical democracy supports the idea of direct accountability of the legislators and

executive to the people during the term of office. Radical Democracy believed in the humanism of the people who are the real masters of political authority and power and not the elected legislators.

Radical Democracy believed in the "power of the people" in local communities known as local republics who would join in the creation of the state and government. The local republics would finally exercise authority in the national and state levels.

Radical democracy brings into Democracy the real sense of people's participation, accountability of the elected and the power of the people to change the government.

vi. Plebiscitary Democracy

Plebiscitary Democracy is defined as the process of a direct voting by the people of a candidate, or party or a public issue or the adoption of a new constitution of a state or to determine the association of the province with the state known as national self-determination. The voters have the choice to accept or reject the choice.

Plebiscitary democracy gives the citizens the right and power to collect a sizeable number of signatures on a petition to draft a law or a public policy programme and put the proposal or draft law to vote by the citizen population Plebiscitary democracy can by a collection of signatures which could result in the recall of the elected representative because of failure to represent the real interests of the people

Theories of Democracy

A theory is defined as an explanation of a concept in its historical account and different stages of its development. A theory could be tested in different countries and different cultures to examine its importance and application. A theory is based on several facts that are logically connected and examined. Democracy is a theory that has various applications in different historical periods, different civilizations and cultures.

The Ancient theory of Democracy emerged in Ancient Greece that saw the rise of several city-states (polis) which believed and applied the procedure of direct election, Debating of public policies and Decision by the people. Greek Civilization, Culture and Language spread widely throughout Europe in the ancient historical period. And it also saw the spread of democracy as a "form" and "system" of government initially in Europe and later into North and South America.

As the Greek polis increased in size the concept of democracy that is governance by elected representatives gained importance and relevance. Representative democracy later emerged as the dominant form and system of government in the European Middle Ages, the Age of Enlightenment. The mass popular demand for Democracy was made in the American (1775-1783) and French Revolutions (1789-1799).

Democracy has now emerged as a "universal" form of government widely accepted by several countries with various people groups, cultures and languages. It has developed in each country according to their local customs, values and ideas thus strengthening the process of democracy.

There are various Theories of Democracy defined in terms of scope and impact:
Classical Democracy:
This emerged as a direct form of democracy in Ancient Greece. Athens was the first city to introduce such a democracy. Direct democracy in Athens emerged in between 800-500 BCE (Before Common Era). In Athenian direct democracy, the citizens of the city-state are all as members of the assembly, who participated directly in the decision making and the process of legislation. Given the limited population they were able to gather in the city square and were able to deliberate. All citizens were free to express their different opinions, debate, and vote in a system directly and this was called as Classical Democracy.

As population increased, the idea of representation in government was proposed. It resulted in the elected representatives participating in the governing process. Gradually it created institutions like the Assembly of the Demos, the Council, and the People's Court as the three important pillars of democracy. Classical democracy for its success should have two preconditions:

The community must be small enough for citizens to be proficient in attending debates and voting on issues; b) the economy of the state should be sufficient for enabling the citizens to engage in politics. The principles of classical democracy are mentioned below: The chief political ideals were equality among all people, liberty and respect for law

and justice.

Equality before law and equal treatment of law enabled justice to prevail in almost all the spheres of society. Political life was free and open.

The main subject of classical democracy was the participation of all peoples in the processes of state. Classical democracy was to bring equality among citizens in respect of rights and privileges.

Protective Democracy:

As Classical Democracy grew it began to take shape into protective democracy in Athens which was by the emphasis on different aspects of classical democracy. In this viewpoint, democracy has been regarded as a means at the disposal of individuals which they can use to safeguard their rights and liberties. Protective democracy as a Rights-based democracy emerged in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries placing it as an instrument of protecting human rights and liberties. The English thinker *John Locke* (1631-1704) was regarded as the great advocate of protective democracy. *Locke* argued that the citizen's freedom and right to vote was based on the existence of natural rights characterized by Life, Liberty and Property.

Protective Democracy was proposed by English thinkers *Jeremy Bentham* (1748-1832) *James Mill* 1773-1836) and *John Stuart Mill*(1806-1873) of the Utilitarian School of Democracy and Rights. Utilitarianism was powerfully advocated in favour of protective democracy. The theme of utilitarianism was to safeguard rights, liberty and opportunity as they were the basic principles of democracy. Safeguarding the rights was the safeguard of democracy.

Jeremy Bentham, James Mill and *John Stuart Mill* emphasized that democracy alone could safeguard all individual rights and interests through the mandate of the people who could be protected and advanced. *John Locke*, *James Madison, Jeremy Bentham* and *James Mills*-supported the Rights based protective democracy as an aspect of liberal democracy. The following are the basic features of protective democracy:

- Protective democracy believes in popular sovereignty.
- Both the popular sovereignty and representative form of government are legitimate.

- It is the primary duty of the state to protect the rights and liberties of citizens.

- The authority is accountable to the People and in order to establish it elections are held on regular basis.

- Separation of the Legislature, Executive and Judiciary are the most important means of protecting the rights, liberties and the distribution of privileges.

The introduction of rights-based protective democracy brought in the idea of constitutionalism that governed the ruler and the ruled by the principles laid down in constitution. The Constitution is the sole source of power for all and is the guarantor of rights and liberties. Legal provisions in the constitutions were introduced to protect, individual rights, rights of associations and groups against any violation of rights or encroachment on liberty on behalf of citizens. This brought in a competition among the Legislature, Executive and Judiciary in all spheres for the strengthening of protective democracy. It resulted in a clear distinction between state and civil society.

Marxist Theory of Democracy

The Marxist theory views the democracy in the social context of class analysis during the era of industrial revolution. Society was divided into two classes viz: capitalists or owners of the property are called as 'bourgeois' and the working class is called as 'proletariat'. The Marxist theory of Democracy held the political position to always challenge the dominance of capitalists and against the exploitations of working class. The Marxist theory of democracy did not support electoral rights, but strongly supported economic rights and the creation of 'socialist democracy'.

The Marxist theory of Democracy favoured the collapse of capitalism and calls for the revolutionary transformation of the society. It believes that political power is possible only through the ideals of 'socialism'; and is based on the equal distribution of economic power against the unequal wealth and ownership of production. The Marxists democrats and socialists believe in the removal of class differences and privileges are the necessary step to freedom, equal status and democracy.
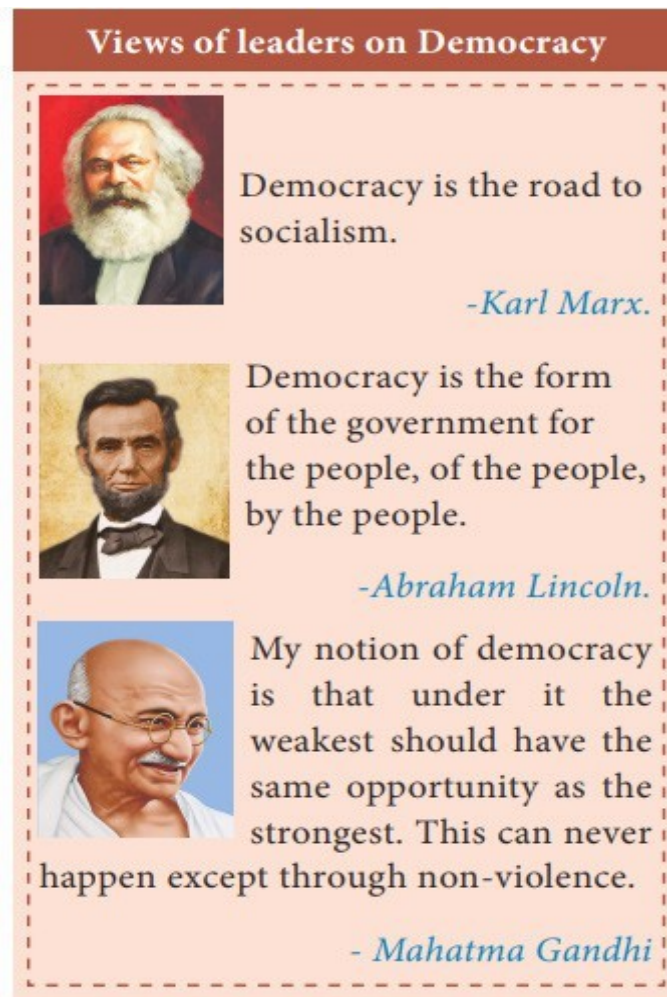
Figure 5.2: Views leaders of Democracy

The socialists believed that with universal education people can govern themselves. The Marxist theory criticises the falseness of the liberal democracies are thus seen as 'capitalist' or 'bourgeois' democracies which are manipulated and controlled by the entrenched power of ruling class. The Marxist theory emphasises the importance of economic factor as the key factor for the class divisions and ownership and the control of the means of production. However the Marxists democrats in Europe support the strong role of electoral democracy to establish a peaceful, legal and democratic road to socialism.

Democratic Marxists view (a) State as an agency of anti-people crimes and considered the abolition of standing army and instituting a citizen's militia, Implement the election of all officials subjecting them to recall, (c) Totally remove the political attribute of police, (d)

Eliminate the monarchy.

Elitist Theory of Democracy

The role of the elites in a democracy is an unavoidable force. Elites of Leaders rule, control key resources and enforce major decision for centuries. In an industrial, agrarian society the ownership of property and control over production were the important factors. Elites from the agrarian and industrial sectors emerge as feudal landlords and owners of industry. They later take a political role to govern the state.

Three important theorists *Vilfredo Pareto* (1848-1923), *Gaetano Mosca* (1857-1941) and *Robert Michels* (1876-1936) are the leading thinkers of elitist democracy. Pareto classified the elites into governing and non- governing elite from the masses. The governing elite are the power elites who are the ruling classes. They derive power from the variety of sources such as education, social status, bureaucratic position, political connections, and wealth.

Pareto described the Elite qualities in two psychological types (a) Foxes – who rule the masses by cunningness and manipulate their consent, (b) Lions – who achieve power through domination, coercion and violence. Elitism developed as a critique of egalitarian idea such as democracy and socialism.

Robert Michels had an alternative view about the democracy that even though the organization tend to be democratic but the small group of dominant figures who can organize and make decision rather than having deliberation
with rank and file of the organization and called it as 'iron law of oligarchy'.

Joseph Alois Schumpeter (1883-1950) proposed the concept of democratic elitism. *Schumpeter* defined that democracy was a good political method to arrive at political, legislative and administrative decisions by placing in certain individuals in power to decide on all matters of the masses as a representative means and the result of successful pursuit of people's vote. Democracy paves way for competitive pursuit means among the elites to achieve their legitimacy and power.

The Elitist theory partly accepts the Marxian view of democracy that large corporations dominate in production and distribution of goods, however it does not agree with Marxian class analysis. The democratic Elitism theory engages with the groups and individuals to meet their endsand facilitates with their disagreements so as to meet the ends of the both.

Pluralist Theory of Democracy

Pluralism is an inclusive concept. It addresses the interests and rights and the representation of the minorities thus forming the core content of liberal democracy. It affirms the separation of power from state and civil society and also economy from the political power. It offers the scope of institutions for the democratic process in the case of Legislature known as Bicameralism and a form of governance namely Federalism to govern the state through various set of representation. Pluralism paves way for participatory democracy that enables diverse group participation, to protect their rights. In this scheme, political power is distributed and shared to many groups in the society representing diverse interests.

Pluralism leads to defend their particular interests through government by creating 'competitive equilibrium' that intends to benefit large sections of the society for the long run.

Pluralism suggests that democracy in the system necessitates the conduct of regular elections that encourages political competition among parties, groups and individuals. The thinkers of Utilitarian school were the great advocates of pluralist democracy *James Madison*, *John Stuart Mill* and *Tocqueville* predicted that elections expresses the preferences of divergent competitive groups rather than the wishes of many in the majority group. This also provides the bargaining power to the minority groups to assert their rights and share in power.

Pluralist democracy is also termed as Polyarchy, which is a rule by series of minorities within the political framework.

Robert Dahl pointed out that the very essence of democracy is realized by Polyarchy that

accommodates the presence of divergent groups, association, organizations in large number to enjoy relative autonomy in governmental power and jurisdiction. The preconditions for a functioning of polyarchy are consensus on the rule of procedure, range of policy options and legitimate scope of political activity.

Later there was a revision in **Robert Dahl's** theory, he forwarded the theory of "Deformed Polyarchy" to better describe the working of American democracy

Deliberative Theory of Democracy

Democracy is Deliberative in its scope. It emphasizes on the form of democracy that emphasizes the need for deliberation, discourse and debate that defines the public interest. Deliberation and participation are two critical aspects of democracy. Deliberative democracy and participation are usually strong in the grassroots level. India's Panchayati Raj institutions are usually strong in this process. Grass roots democracy features Panchayati Raj Institutions and civil societies that strengthen the functioning of the government. James Miller defines that deliberative democracy is built on the system of deliberation that features that decisions are reflective of the discussion among the participants. It features the willingness of the people to listen to the views and consider the interests of the others modifying their own opinions accordingly. Public interest and public opinion are the key components of the deliberative democracy. It emphasizes on the consensus built upon the acceptance from the masses rather than the influential individuals.

Deliberative democracy is usually based on a rights-based approach of the current model of the development discourse. It provides for resolution of the scope for conflicts of interest with the democratic institutional mechanism balancing the benefits of the competing groups.

Deliberative democracy is different from other forms of democracy by maintaining a person is rational enough to set aside particular interest and opinion to aspire for fairness and common interests of the collective and deliberation was based on equality, equity, and public goods. It values the decisions arrived after open discussion that heard all the points of view the most. Deliberative democracy is 'discursive' in scope. It is a type of democracy in which deliberation is central to decision making. Deliberative democracy

differs from traditional democratic theory in authentic deliberation, not merely confined to voting. It is the primary source of legitimacy for the law- making processes. Deliberative democracy is harmonious with both representative democracy and direct democracy. Rawls and Habermas famous theorists of justice and public opinion have observed that political choice, to be legitimate, must be the outcome of deliberation about ends among free, equal, and rational agents. Deliberative democracy recognises "the full and equal membership of all in the sovereign body responsible for authorizing the exercise of that power, and establishes the common reason and will of that body".

Modern and Contemporary Democracy:

Modern and contemporary democracies emerged in the late eighteen centuries in Western Europe as a result of industrial revolution, rise of labour and the social changes that emerged. Modern and contemporary democracies feature:

- Written constitution the basic requirements and it must be kept up in everyday life by politicians and authorities:

- Importance of Constitutionally guaranteed basic Human Rights and fundamental rights to every individual of all the social groups' especially religious minorities and other underprivileged.

- The Separation of Powers between the institutions of the state:

- Government (Executive Power), Parliament (Legislative Power) and Courts of Law (Judicative Power)

- Freedom of opinion, speech, press and mass media

- Religious liberty

- General and equal right to vote (one person, one vote) – *Universal Adult Suffrage* "Majority rule" is characterized as the only important feature of Democracy, however, the process should have free and fair competitive elections. Additionally, the importance of Rights is very important viz: freedom of political expression, freedom of speech, and freedom of the press are indispensable in the representative democracy and the masses are informed through political campaign and the manifestoes of the political parties enable to vote in their personal interests.

Democracies have been practiced by different models of political system ranging from one party rule to multi-party system. In several countries, democracy is based on the legal principle of equal rights to vote. People in Asian and European countries use the term "democracy" as the basic expression meaning for liberal democracy, which has the salient features of political pluralism; equality before the law; civil liberties; human rights; and elements of civil society outside the government. Freedom of speech is the fundamental requirement of modern democracy.

All democratically elected Governments are held responsible by the right to freedom of speech. Every decision must have a reason, accountable. The free flow of information allows both people and governments to make the best informed decisions. Democracy has been described or defined broadly as

- Political System of Competition for Power

- Right to participation in public life

- The Rule of Law

TYPES OF MODERN DEMOCRACY:

Representative Democracy:

A representative democracy is the system of government in which all qualified citizens vote to elect their representatives based on the constituencies divided by the population or eligible voters.

People elect their representatives to power to run the government through political parties according to their views on ideology, principle, policies and programme for their socio-political and economic development. The parties are allowed to choose the candidates on their own to attract the masses and winning chances.

During the election they announce to the people about their programmes and policies are known as the 'party manifesto'. A transforming country like India, every national and regional party used to release their election manifesto to have a direction and trajectory of their future plan of action so as to win the confidence of the masses
The individuals are allowed to contest elections as independent candidates too, if they do not wish to align to any political party. The role of political parties is vital in a

representative democratic system. The members of political parties keep the people informed about important issues by holding public meetings, for either supporting or opposing the policies of the government. Thus, the political parties mobilize the people in knowing their needs and in turn mould the public opinion. The representatives are constitutionally recognized and entitled to execute their duties and responsibilities in the people's interest, with authority.

Representative Democracy is closely associated with Liberal Democracy which describes the political system which originated in the USA and Western Europe and has subsequently been adopted in numerous Third World countries and may gradually be well established in the former USSR and its former states in Eastern Europe. Liberal Democratic regimes may be classified as either Presidential or Parliamentary systems and there are also important variations within these broad categories. Representative democracies are based upon numerous interconnected principles:

The existence of regular, free, fair elections based upon universal suffrage and secret ballots under the supervision of Election Commission as an independent body.

- The existence of competing political parties offering electoral choice.

- The existence of electoral laws supervised by an independent judiciary.

- Freedom of speech and association.

- Freedom to stand as an election candidate.

Participatory Democracy:

Participatory democracy is been promoted to achieve equity reversing the concept of equality. In the recent days participatory democracy is a process that enables and ensures the wider participation of constituents in the direction and operation of political systems. Democracy tends to support more involved forms of citizen participation than traditional representative democracy. A civil society based concept, participatory democracy attempts to create opportunities for all members of a group to make expressive contributions to decision-making, and to increase the range of access to such opportunities. Social relations is base for its "political" operation in that it revolves around a structure of authority increasing and extending the scope of participation and political equality involves democratizing society.

The aim of participatory democracy is to make people interested to take part in the political, legal and economic processes of the state and also to make people more responsible for the decisions made. The important feature of a participatory democracy is that people will have the opportunity to directly participate in the functions and access to the decision- making institutions of state and there shall be no provision for delegating power to another body or organ. It is designed to revitalize the democratic participation in the era of economic growth, to redress the inequality among the people. The most important characteristic is the importance of political equality in democratic system a long side basic or fundamental rights, liberties that needs emphasis and to be highlighted.

Measuring and evaluating democracy

Democracy has found to be a right, system, approach, mechanism and the profound channel of expression of consent and dissent. Measuring and evaluating democracy complement each other. As it was strongly expressed by Dr.B.R.Ambedkar, the Drafting Committee Chairman of the Constitution of India, 'In politics we will have equality and in social and economic life we will have inequality.

In politics we will be recognizing the principle of one man one vote and one vote one value. In our social and economic life, we shall, by reason of our social and economic structure, continue to deny the principle of one man one value.' Democracy can be measured and evaluated in terms of qualitative and quantitative methods. The qualitative analysis will help to understand the dynamics of social change and the quantitative analysis will help to prove the net result of the change to accentuate the democratic process.

The qualitative analysis of democracy can be measured through the political participation in terms of protest, demonstration, campaign, opinion making, freedom of expression and other constitutionally guaranteed rights. The social reflections are adding values to the social changes in terms of social upward mobility occurring within the caste system, religious, gender and cultural perspectives. Democracy has direct relationship with changing economic pattern of development through policies to minimize the inequality. The quantitative part of the democracy is to evaluate through human development index, per capita income and so on. The democracy can be measured and evaluated by the

following criteria.

Sovereignty: The degree to which a polity is able to govern itself in its domestic affairs and foreign policies and free from interference of other nations.

Authority: The degree to which central governmental authority is pre- eminent throughout the territory claimed as part of the polity.

Elected government: The extent to which executive functions are carried forward by officials elected through election through secret ballot.

Universal Adult suffrage: The extent to which all the adults have been given the right to exercise vote in elections.

Turnout: The percentage of people's participation in voting during elections.

Regular elections: The extent to which elections are held in regular interval (every 5 years) and on schedule, according to the constitution of India.

Free and Fair elections: The extent to which parties and candidates can gain access to the ballot, and have their votes counted and allocated fairly. Also, the extent to which citizens are able to register to vote without fear or favour.

Access to media and campaign: The extent to which all parties/candidates are granted equal access to the media and to campaign, proportional to their support in the electorate.

Ensuring rule of law: The extent to which the executive follows the law, as defined by the constitution and as interpreted by the judiciary.

Legislative power: The extent to which the legislature controls the executive with parliamentary systems

Role of Opposition parties: The extent to which the opposition parties function in a parliamentary democracy to control the excess of ruling party when it moves out of the constitutional framework.

Independent Judiciary: The extent to which the highest judicial bodies are independent of the executive and other outside influences.

Judicial review: The extent to which the highest judicial bodies are able to review acts of legislation and other governmental actions in the light of constitutional provisions, and the extent to which such decisions are respected by other bodies.

Party strength: The extent to which parties are institutionalized and decentralized its

power, functions and inclusiveness.

Party ideology: The extent to which parties have well-defined, consistent, and coherent ideologies.

Party system: The number of parties gaining seats in the legislature.

Freedom of Press: The extent to which major media outlets are independent, free to air their diverse political expert views, and able to reach the citizen.

Civil society independence: The extent to which civil society is independent of the state and able to voice opinions critical of political leaders.

Civil liberty: The extent to which citizens enjoy all the fundamental and human rights enshrined in the constitution.

Property rights: The extent to which property rights are protected.

Religious freedom: The extent to which freedom of religion is guaranteed to maintain religious harmony and secular content of government policies and programs.

Equal access to resources: The extent to which resources are redistributed to achieve economic equilibrium through income, education, and health which would make greater impact of participating in politics.

Equal access to natural and common property: The extent to natural and common resources to ensure their livelihood, environment and social emancipation.

Gender equality: The extent to which women achieve equal representation with indiscriminate dignity in the legislature, social institutions and other high positions within government

Political equality to achieve socio-economic status for underprivileged: The extent to which underprivileged ethnic groups defined as caste, tribe, race, religious minority, or other ascriptive characteristics are granted constitutional rights and remedies to come up to positions of power within the government, as well as the extent to which such groups actually gain representation in the legislature and other high positions within government according to their political participation and social position.

Achievements of Indian Democracy

The founding fathers of India and its Constitution had built strong democratic foundations in the Indian State and the Constitution thus making India a great country. The democratic constitutional foundations have strengthened the Constitution in every aspect of socio-political and economic changes. The Preamble of the Constitution laid down clear road

map with Fundamental Rights and Duties, Directive Principles; Parliamentary System and Amendment Procedures; Judicial Review and Basic Structure doctrine.

Political front

During the first general election in the 1951 India had 54 political parties and now it has grown up to 464 in the 2014 general election as an evident of deepening of the democratic process.

In the first General election 1951, 173 million citizens were given right to vote; of these, 44.87 percent exercised their franchise. In the 16thgeneral election in 2014, the size of the electorate had increased to 814 million the voting percentage had gone up to 66.4 and of these, 67.9 percent were men and 65.6 percent women. The number of contestants was increased to 8,251.

Since 2004, votes are recorded through (EVMs) electronic voting machines. These are manufactured in India and their accuracy is ensured and secrecy has been fully tested.

Our electoral system known as FPTP or First-Past-The-Post system, is a single- member district, simple -plurality system in which voters cast a single ballot to choose a single representative to the lower house of parliament or the State legislative assembly, the candidate with largest number of votes, even if only a plurality, getting elected to represent the constituency.

Since 1989, the citizens were given a chance to elect their representatives at the age of 18, this is another feather in the crown of democracy.

India is the world's the largest democracy proved success in accommodation of group and regional demands in a complex, quasi-federal, polity.

The 73rd and 74th amendment of the constitution has given the reservation for SC/ STs, women in the Local self-governing bodies like panchayats, municipalities and corporations as members, councillors and mayors.

India's democratic set up has been vibrant and able to keep the military out of political power. It also shows prudence on the part of military generals and defence personnel earning

respect from the executive.

Social Front: The democratic process has brought about a shift of political power from the middle and higher castes and classes of urban society to backward classes who are now the politically most influential ones in the country. They have won reservations for themselves in legislatures and government services as were accorded to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes after independence through Constitutional provisions.

India's institutions like the free press and an independent judiciary have ensured that India remains a society based on rule of law.

The life expectancy at birth has almost doubled from 36 years in 1951 to 66 years in 2011 due to the availability of better health facilities and the health programmes consistently implemented for the well-being of the people to get away from the epidemics, endemics, communicable and non-communicable diseases.

Similarly, diseases like smallpox and polio have been eradicated. In education, the number of universities and colleges has gone up from a minuscule 27 universities and 578 colleges in 1950-51 to an estimated 712 universities and 36,671 colleges in 2014. Similarly, literacy rates have almost quadrupled from 18.3 percent of the population in 1951 to 73 percent in 2011.

Democracy is good. I say this because other systems are worse. So we are forced to accept democracy. It has good points and also bad. But merely saying that democracy will solve all problems is utterly wrong. Problems are solved by intelligence and hard work.

Jawaharlal Nehru

Political democracy cannot last unless there lies at the base of it social democracy. What does social democracy mean? It means a way of life which recognizes liberty, equality and fraternity of the principles of life.

B. R. Ambedkar

Economic Front:

These include strategic affairs and security, politico-legal democratic governance as well as society and economy.

India has been able to emerge as a regional power in Asia and super power in south Asia backed by its economic, military and nuclear capabilities.

It meant centralized planning till 2017 and a very big public sector for industries catering employment and science and technology education for the youth in the country, but soon there were inefficiencies and labour issues it resulted in a move towards a more open liberalized and market driven model of the economy starting in the 1991 reforms called as Structural Adjustment Programme. Post this, the economy has seen greater private and foreign participation and found the base for the emergence

of professional new middle class. The technological innovations applied in transforming the service sector particularly Education, Health and transportation along with rural and urban infrastructure lead to digital India and reforms in banking sectors has brought a great social transformation in reality.

India's Gross National Income (GNI) at constant prices has increased more than 35 times from Rs. 2.92 lakh crore in 1950-51 to Rs. 105.28 lakh crore 2014-15. Similarly, the per capital income at current prices has risen from a poultry Rs. 274 In 1950-51 to a decent Rs. 88,533 in 2014-15.

Food grain production grew from 50.8 million tonnes in 1950-51 to an estimated 264.77 million tonnes in 2014-15 that indicates more than a five- fold increase and the fact that India is food secure for the time being. It was made possible with rapid advances in agricultural technology.

DICTATORSHIP

Meaning of Dictatorship:

According to Ford, "Dictatorship is the assumption of extra-legal authority by the Head of the State." Alfred says, "Dictatorship is the government of one man who has not obtained his position by inheritance but either by force or by consent, and normally by a combination of both. He must possess absolute sovereignty. All political powers must ultimately emanate from his will and it must be unlimited in scope. It must be exercised more or less frequently in an arbitrary manner by decree rather than by law. Finally, it must not be incompatible with absolute rule".

From Alfred Cobbon's analysis it is revealed that main features of dictator- ship are:

(1)   This is one man's rule;

(2)   This is based on force or consent or a mixture of both;

(3)   The dictator is not responsible to any other authority;

(4)   His powers are unlimited;

(5)   The Dictator runs the administration authoritatively and not according to law; and

(6)   His tenure is not fixed.

Cobbon Alfred's explanation was applicable to dictators like Napoleon or Kamal Ata Turk. It is also applicable to modern military dictators. But in the countries where dictatorship is based on party, this is not applicable.

For instance, there is dictatorship of the Communist Party in Russia, China, Czechoslovakia,' Poland, Hungary, Rumania, etc. The First Secretary of the Communist Party is all powerful in these countries but his powers also depend on the party support.

Dictatorship:

Modem Dictatorships. Between 1919 and 1939 there was a great reaction against democracy and dictatorship was established in many countries of the world. In Turkey, Kamal Pasha, established his dictatorship in 1921 and he remained in power till his death in 1938. Mussolini abolished democracy in Italy in 1922 and became a dictator.

In Spain Primo de Rivera became dictator from 1923 to 1939. In Portugal, General Carmona remained a dictator from 1926 to 1933. In Yugoslavia, Emperor Alexander established his dictatorship in 1929 and he ran the administration without a Parliament. In 1933, Hitler established his dictatorship in Germany and he remained in power till 1944. Lenin established the dictatorship of Communist Party in Russia after the revolution of 1917. After the Second World War, China, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Finland and Lithuania (Eastern Europe) also established the dictatorship of the Communist party but now most of the countries have opted for democracy.

Some years ago, Military Dictatorship was established in some countries, e.g., Pakistan, Bangla Desh, Sudan, Nigeria, Burma, Ghana, Indonesia and in some countries of South America, Chile, Panama, Argentina and Brazil. Now civilian rule has been restored in Argentina and Brazil, the largest countries of Latin America. Military revolutions took place in these countries and the administration was run by Military Dictators.

Features of Dictatorship

1. One Party, One Leader and One Programme:

In dictatorship only one party is allowed to exist and it is the dictator's own party. Other

political parties, associations and organizations are not allowed to function. These are banned. All opposition to the dictator is ruthlessly suppressed. Hitler used to say, "Swastika or gallows".

One Leader:

Under dictatorship, leadership is given to a single man. Full faith is to be concentrated in the leader. The leader is supposed to represent national unity. He is considered to be a symbol of national prestige. He is the final authority in every matter and his word is supreme.

One Programme:

The whole country is supposed to have one political programme and it is the programme of dictator's own party.

2. Absence of Individual Liberty:

The individual does not enjoy any liberty or rights under dictatorship. Maximum obedience to the laws is equated to the maximum liberty. People are not allowed any liberty of speech, association and press. All agencies of education and propaganda such as schools, colleges, radio, papers and films are controlled by the state. In the words of Mussolini "people do not want liberty but they want law and order.

" No criticism against the dictator is tolerated. People are supposed to believe and obey. Democratic slogans of liberty, equality and fraternity are replaced by slogans like duty, discipline and sacrifice. Mussolini asserted, "Liberty is a dead carcass, I kick it."

3. National Glorification:

Dictators glorify their nations to an illogical extreme. A mad sense of patriotism is inculcated in the minds of the people. They are made intensely nationalistic.

The state is regarded as the march of God on earth. The state is considered to be the end and the individual a means to that end. People are supposed to sacrifice their lives on the altar of State.

4. Glorification of War:

Dictators glorify war. War is considered to be essential for the normal health of body-politic. The state is all powerful and it must enhance its prestige. The dictators adopt a war-like policy and glorify brute force as the means for achieving national greatness. In the opinion of Hitler, "In eternal warfare, mankind has become great; in eternal peace it will be ruined."

To quote Mussolini, "War is to the man what maternity is to the woman."

5. Totalitarian State:

Dictatorship is a totalitarian state which controls each and every aspect of human personality, and takes into its fold all human activities in the social, economic, political, educational, religious and cultural spheres.

No margin for individual liberty is left behind. "Nothing against the state, everything for the state, nothing outside the state" is the basic principle of dictatorship.

6.   Racialism:

Dictators preach racialism. The Germans under Hitler regarded themselves to be superior to the people living in the rest of the world. They claimed that they belonged to the ancient Aryan stock. As such they regarded themselves to be superior to others. Similarly, the Italians claimed that they belonged to the race of the ancient Roman conqueror and that they had a divine mission to conquer the world.

Causes of the Rise of Dictatorship:

(1)   Outbreak of the First World War:

The First World War broke out in 1914. In order to conduct the war successfully even in democratic countries, the executive captured all the powers of the government and Parliaments were pushed aside. There was no regard for the freedom and rights of the people. As such, democracy received a severe set-back.

(2)   The Treaty of Versailles of 1919 was based upon injustice:

The Treaty of Versailles (Paris Pact) was based on injustice. According to this treaty, Germany was bifurcated into two parts and they were handed over to France, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Poland and   League of Nations. Besides, a sum of £ 6,600 million was imposed as War-Indemnity on Germany. This compelled the people of Germany to think that only a strong government could bring about unification of the county and payment of reparation could be avoided. Thus,   Hitler assumed power in 1933.

Though, according to the secret Treaty of London, Italy was to be given a new territory, yet after winning World War I, the governments of England and France did not fulfill that obligation. Italy suffered a heavy loss in World War I and she was very much disappointed. Pe'6ple believed that only a strong and powerful government could be effective at that stage. Thus Mussolini rose to power in 1922.

(3)   Incompetence of democratic governments:

After World War I democratic government were established in Germany and Italy. They had

to face many crises from the very beginning. There was the problem of the unification t the motherland and Economic Depression in Germany.

In Germany, the Jews were traitors and they advanced money at a high rate of interest to France during the war. Communists were encouraging civil war on all sides and they were resorting to strikes. This hit the economy very badly. The democratic government of Germany could not do anything between 1920 and 1933.

At last Hitler's Nazi Party came to power, and it was determined to root out all these evils. In Italy too democratic government was established after World War I, but this could not solve the political and economic problem? Thus Mussolini ended the democratic government with the help of his Fascist Party and solved the political and economic problems by dint of his own ability and strength.

(4)   Lack of Democratic Traditions:

There was a lack of democratic traditions in Italy, Germany, Russia, Portugal and Spain. The people became restive and they transferred all their rights to dictators.

(5)   Inability to secure economic liberty:

In Russia, before 1917 revolution, Czar, Nicholas II was the ruler. He failed to take effective steps for the economic prosperity of the people. At the time of October revolution the Communists promised to remove economic disparities and guaranteed livelihood to all, with the result that the Communist revolution took place in Russia and the Communist Party established its dictatorship.

After World War II, Communist revolutions took place in China, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Finland, Poland, Hungary, Rumania and Czechoslovakia, because the governments of these countries failed to bring prosperity to their people. At present there is dictatorship of Communist Party in these countries.

Dictatorship vs. Democracy

Democracy in any country means the rule by elected representatives. It has been defined as the government "of the people, by the people, for the people". Democracy rests on the principle of representation. The people elect their representatives by vote in an election. These representatives attend the legislature and act on behalf of the citizens. If the citizens are not satisfied with their representatives, they may not re-elect them in the next elections.

Democracy is said to be a better form of government. It is the government of the people as distinguished from the government of an individual or of a class of people. It makes all the citizens interested in the affairs of the country by sending their representatives in legislatures.

Democracy is also a safeguard against revolution. Since people themselves elect the members of government, the need for a revolution does not arise. A democratic government guarantees freedom of thought, action and speech. This freedom has advantage as it enables the individual to grow freely. Democracy thus offers favourable atmosphere for development of human personality.

But democracy has its weaknesses, the greatest of which is that it may be the rule of ignorance. "Nine people out of every ten", says Carlyle, "are fools", and citizens who are not sufficiently intelligent or educated are likely to commit errors of judgement in the casting of votes. The best men may thus fail to get elected. Elections are usually a matter of propaganda. However, the voters in countries like Britain and America have not proved so lacking in judgement as many of the opponents of democracy would have us believe, though it is true that in our own country the people being illiterates rarely give evidence of sound or independent judgement.

Democracy is wanting in efficiency. For prompt and effective action, unity of action is essential. "One bad general", said Napoleon "is better than two good ones". In a multitude of minds, much unprofitable discussion takes place whereas unity of control is needed for a vigorous national life. According to Newman, for example, the British Government cannot cope with the emergencies created by war as effectively as a dictator can.

This criticism, however, is not very convincing because in times of war the British Prime Minister usually wields the powers of a dictator. During World War II, for example, Sir Winston Churchill faced few real difficulties as a result of the system of democracy in England. A sounder criticism of democracy in times of war would be to say that secrecy in military affairs becomes difficult, if not impossible, and that the opposition usually lowers the morale of people by its loud condemnation of the

actions of the cabinet.

It was thought that the First World War had made the world safe for democracy, but this forecast proved to be wrong. While democracy worked quite well in France and the English-speaking countries, most other countries swung towards dictatorship. So successful and powerful did their dictatorships become that the days of democracy seemed to be almost over. Germany, Italy, Spain, Turkey, Japan, Russia-in all these countries dictatorship triumphed and flourished, till the outbreak of another World War, greater than the first, plunged the world into bloody strife the like of which had never been witnessed before in history.

But dictatorship is certainly not without its merits. As Carlyle points out, society is an organism and not a machine. No mechanical system like the ballot-box can, therefore, prove satisfactory. This safer course is to give all power to a dictator. The dictator must, of course, be one who has an exceptional ability to organize, direct and administer. Parliamentary rule usually means government by cliques of politicians whose purview is strictly limited by their private interests.

A dictator, on the other hand, can concentrate all his energies on the uplift and improvement of his country. This is borne out by the phenomenal success achieved by Hitler and Mussolini in their respective countries. "My programme", said Mussolini "is action, not talk."

Unfortunately, the methods of dictatorship are, and have to be, ruthless. Dictatorship employs force and violence to maintain itself. It resorts to physical compulsion, prisons, concentration camps, censorship, intimidation, purges and executions. Both in older Russia and Germany countless executions were ordered for the stability of dictatorship. A dictatorship cannot brook the slightest opposition. Thus there can be no freedom of thought or speech there. Intensive propaganda is employed, as was done in Hitler's Germany, to retain the support of the people.

Dictatorship, therefore, by its very nature hampers the free development of the human personality. It does not allow for diversity of political opinion and belief but tends towards

political regimentation or standardization of human beings. The greatest danger of dictatorship, however, is its partiality for war as an instrument of national aggrandizement. Practically every dictator preaches war, partly because he is actuated by personal ambition and partly because he suffers from an exaggerated nationalism.

Welfare State

Adopting a rather narrow and restricted view of it, Abraham defines it, as 'a community where state power is deliberately used to modify the normal play of economic forces so as to obtain a more equal distribution of income for every citizen, a basic minimum irrespective of the market value of his work and his property'. It is purely on economic point of view. T. W. Kent attempts a more inclusive definition when he says that a welfare state is 'a state that provides for its citizens a wide range of social services'.

Kent goes on to say that the primary purpose of the state is to give the citizen security, but the welfare state undertakes to help him if he lose his ordinary source of income.

Hobman describes the welfare state as a compromise between communism on the one side and unbridled individualism on the other. As such, Hobman believes that in spite of all its imperfections, the welfare state sets a pattern for any humane and progressive society. To sum up his views somewhat extensively, the welfare state guarantees a minimum standard of subsistence without removing incentives to private enterprise. It brings about a limited redistribution of income by means of graduated high taxation. Yet it does not pretend to establish economic equality among its citizens. All are assured of adequate help in case of need, whether the need is due to illness, old age, unemployment or any other cause.

The emergence of the concept of the welfare state has added a new dimension to the discussion on the end and functions of the state. The idea of Welfare State is not new to political theory. It is as old as political thought. Ancient western political thinkers like Plato and Aristotle maintained that the purpose of the state was the welfare of the people. Ancient Indian thinkers also stated in their writings that all people must live happily and it was the duty of the king to promote the welfare of the people. But it did not receive much attention in the past. It received greater attention only in the later part of the 19th century. It emerged from Industrial Revolution which created a number of problems such as concentration of

wealth in the hands of few individuals, bad working conditions for the workers, growth of towns and slums, spread of epidemics, growing unemployment, rising prices etc. Added to these, the scientific and technological developments increased the problems of the human beings. To solve these problems the state had to take up the responsibility of implementing a number of socio-economic programmes to make human life happy. It had to interfere in all spheres of human life to promote the maximum happiness of the maximum number of people. The result was that it began to pass a number of laws in the later half of the 19th century. 'It was with the passing of Factory Laws that the modern Welfare State was born'

Definition of Welfare State

The concept of 'Welfare State' is defined differently by different writers which are listed below.

1.   The Welfare State is one which provides a wide range of social services and security'. (T.W.Kent)

2.   'Welfare State regards want, disease, ignorance, squalor and idleness as five great enemies of the people and wants to give them a fight and destroy them'. (Nehru)

3.   The Welfare State is a society in which an assured minimum standard of living and opportunity becomes the possession of every citizen›. (G.D.H. Cole)

4.   The Welfare State is a system wherein government agrees to underwrite certain levels of employment, income, education, medical aid, social security and housing for all its citizens›. (Amartya Sen)

The concept of Welfare State is a compromise between extreme Individualism and Socialism. Individualism gives maximum importance to the individual and degrades the state. Socialism, on the other hand, gives maximum importance to the state and degrades the individual. But Welfare State gives importance to both state and individual. It promotes the general happiness and welfare of the people. It regards itself more as an agency of social service than as an instrument of power. It aims at the attainment of moral progress, development of individual personality and maintenance of certain good conditions of social life.

Features of Welfare State

The following are the basic features of the Welfare State

1. Emphasises the worth of man

Welfare State emphasises the worth and dignity of the individual and helps and assist him to lead a respectable life in the society. It regards all individuals on an equal footing irrespective of their social and economic status.

2. Undertakes progressive measures

Welfare State tries to implement progressive measures like land reforms, agricultural development, price control, public distribution system of essential commodities, provision of health, education, sanitation, communications etc.

3. Undertakes wide-range of Social Services

Welfare State undertakes wide-range of social services for the betterment of its citizens. They include measures like eradication of untouchability, dowry, child marriage, sati, etc. It takes steps to abolish illiteracy, poverty and unemployment. It established schools, hospitals and other institutions to meet the needs of the people. It provides unemployment relief, maternity benefit, old-age and other social benefits.

Functions of Welfare State

Welfare State undertakes numerous functions which are divided into

A. Regulative

B. Protective and

C. Welfare functions

A. Regulative Functions

These include: (i) maintaining law and order, (ii) promoting peace (iii) curbing anti-social elements and their activities, (iv) putting down communal, caste and class clashes, (v) checking exploitation of labourers by passing necessary legislation etc.

B. Protective Functions

These include: (i) maintenance of internal order, (ii) protecting territorial integrity, (iii) maintenance of basic institutions, (iv) maintenance of sound net- work of postal system, transport and communication systems (v) regulation of trade, markets, weights and measures, (vi) prevention of theft, decoity and other criminal activities, (vii) conducting foreign relations with other countries, (viii) administering justice and punishing criminals, and (ix) safeguarding the country's territories sovereignty and independence against external attacks and invasions etc.

C. Welfare Functions

These include: (i) eradicating the spread of contagious diseases like malaria, cholera etc. (ii) eradicating illiteracy by establishing educational institutions (iii) reducing the economic inequalities by taking steps for distribution of national income, (iv) providing employment opportunities to all qualified persons (v) improving the working conditions of the workers by fixing hours of work, compensation etc. (vi) creating healthy atmosphere in and outside industries. (vii) providing adequate social services such as unemployment benefits, disability benefits, maternity benefits etc. (vii) introducing jail reforms for speedy disposal of cases and reducing the cost of judicial litigation, (ix) introducing land reforms, (x) encouraging cottage and small-scale industries, (xi) undertaking Community Development Programmes, and (xii) checking social evils etc. In brief Welfare State provides full employment, social security, housing, health and education for all people.

Criticism of Welfare State

There are a few writers who criticised the idea of Welfare State on the following grounds:

1.   Very expensive

Welfare State, is an expensive state and is beyond the reach of poorer nations. Providing a wide range of social services involves a lot of expenditure.

2.   Kills individual initiative and freedom

It is said that Welfare State curbs the individual freedom, initiative and self-help. It retards moral development because it makes a man inferior and dependent on charity. It develops in him proper mentality.

3.   Undue importance to Bureaucracy

It is also argued that Welfare State gives undue importance to bureaucracy because it is bureaucracy which makes policies and implements them.

4.   Leads to inefficiency

It is pointed out that Welfare State undertakes too many functions which in turn results in administrative inefficiency and mismanagement of human and natural resources.

5.   Retards the work of Association

Finally, it is said that Welfare State regulates the work of voluntary organisations in the society. They are pushed back and the willingness to undertake social service activities on the part of the associations is undermined.

Importance

Most of the criticisms, are however not correct. In order to make the Welfare State an ideal system, some steps have to be taken. They are: (1) Defining the objectives and laying down the means to achieve them; (2) Avoiding red-tapism (3) Periodic evolution of Welfare Schemes (4) Checking totalitarianism and (5) Encouraging voluntary associations etc.,

If the above measures are adopted the Welfare State may certainly, become heaven of peace because it reconciles individual freedom with the authority of the state, brings about a fair degree of equality of income among all people and recognises the dignity and worth of the human beings.

PROBLEMS IN ESTABLISHING WELFARE STATE

The ideal of Welfare State, though seen to be good on paper, is very difficult to realise in practice because of many social, political, economic and administrative problems. They are acting as hindrances or obstacles in the way of establishing welfare state. They may be stated as under:

1. Growth of population

The tremendous increase in population is becoming a major problem in the establishment of Welfare State. The little progress that has been achieved has become inept due to over population.

2. Indifferent attitude of the officials

The officials in charge of implementing welfare schemes should have sincerity and dedication to the cause of the welfare of the people. Any different attitude exhibited by the officials will defeat the purpose of the programmes and leads to their failure.

3. Lack of adequate economic resources

The process of carrying out many programmes to promote the welfare of the people involves a lot of expenditure. In a country like India where the population is very large and finances are limited, it is very difficult to achieve the goal of establishing welfare state.

4. Narrow outlook

The selfish and narrow mentality of the people is also a hindrance on the way to welfare state. People should conduct themselves above the considerations of caste, religion and language. They should give top priority to the interests of the nation.

5.   Social Evils

Social evils like untouchability, bonded labour, feudal set up etc. affect the welfare programmes of the government.

6.   Discipline and Devotion

These two qualities are highly essential for achieving the ideal of welfare state. People should work with discipline and determination in implementing the programmes, extend their cooperation to the government and pay the taxes promptly. Then alone the objective of welfare state will be realised.

Rights: Meaning and theories; different kinds of rights; concept of Hu- man Rights

A right is described as an entitlement or justified claim to a certain kind of positive and negative treatment from others, to support from others or non-interference from others. In other words, a right is something to which every individual in the community is morally permitted, and for which that community is entitled to disrespect or compulsorily remove anything that stands in the way of even a single individual getting it. Rights belong to individuals, and no organisation has any rights not directly derived from those of its members as individuals; and, just as an individual's rights cannot extend to where they will intrude on another individual's rights, similarly the rights of any organisation whatever must yield to those of a single individual, whether inside or outside the organisation. Rights are those important conditions of social life without which no person can generally realize his best self. These are the essential conditions for health of both the individual and his society. It is only when people get and enjoy rights that they can develop their personalities and contributes their best services to the society.

In simple words, rights are the common claims of people which every cultured society recognizes as essential claims for their development, and which are therefore enforced by the state.

1.   According to Laski, "Rights are those conditions of social life without which no man can seek in general, to be himself at his best."

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

3.   Beni Prasad stated that "Rights are nothing more nor less than those social

conditions which are necessary or favourable to the development of personality"

Other moral theorists like Isaiah Berlin define rights in terms of positive liberties and negative freedoms. A positive right is an entitlement to; the right to free expression, for instance, entitles one to voice opinions publicly. A negative right is a freedom from; Freedom of person is a right to be free of bodily interference. Most rights are both positive and negative.

Main features of Rights:

1.   Rights exist only in society. These are the products of social living.

2.   Rights are claims of the individuals for their development in society.

3.   Rights are recognized by the society as common claims of all the people.

4.   Rights are rational and moral claims that the people make on their society.

5.   Since rights are here only in society, these cannot be exercised against the society.

6.   Rights are to be exercised by the people for their development which really means their development in society by the promotion of social good. Rights can never be exercised against social good.

7.   Rights are equally available to all the people.

8.   The contents of rights keep on changing with the passage of time.

9.   Rights are not absolute. These always bear limitations deemed essential for maintaining public health, security, order and morality.

10.   Rights are inseparably related with duties. There is a close relationship between them "No Duties No Rights. No Rights No Duties." "If I have rights it is my duty to respect the rights of others in society".

11.   Rights need enforcement and only then these can be really used by the people. These are protected and enforced by the laws of the state. It is the duty of a state to protect the rights of the people.

Types of Rights:

1.   Natural Rights:

Many researchers have faith in natural rights. They stated that people inherit several rights from nature. Before they came to live in society and state, they used to live in a state of nature. In it, they appreciated certain natural rights, like the right to life, right

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to liberty and right to property. Natural rights are parts of human nature and reason. Political theory maintains that an individual enters into society with certain basic rights and that no government can deny these rights.

In classical political philosophy "natural right" denotes to the objective rightness of the right things, whether the virtue of a soul, the correctness of an action, or the excellence of a regime. Aristotle stated in Politics (1323a29-33) that no one would call a man happy who was completely lacking in courage, temperance, justice, or wisdom. A man who was easily terrified, unable to restrain any impulse toward food or drink, willing to ruin his friends for a trifle, and generally senseless could not possibly lead a good life. Even though chance may occasionally prevent good actions from having their normal consequences, so that sometimes cowards fare better than brave men, courage is still objectively better than cowardice. The virtues and actions that contribute to the good life, and the activities intrinsic to the good life, are naturally right.

The modern idea of natural rights grew out of the ancient and medieval doctrines of natural law, but for other scholars, the concept of natural rights is unreal. Rights are the products of social living. These can be used only in a society. Rights have behind them the recognition of society as common claims for development, and that is why the state protects these rights. John Locke (1632–1704), the most influential political philosophers of the modern period, argued that people have rights, such as the right to life, liberty, and property that have a foundation independent of the laws of any particular society. Locke claimed that men are naturally free and equal as part of the justification for understanding legitimate political government as the result of a social contract where people in the state of nature conditionally transfer some of their rights to the government in order to better ensure the stable, comfortable enjoyment of their lives, liberty, and property. Since governments exist by the consent of the people in order to protect the rights of the people and promote the public good, governments that fail to do so can be resisted and replaced with new governments.

2. Moral Rights:

Moral Rights are based on human consciousness. They are supported by moral force of human mind. These are based on human sense of goodness and justice. These are not assisted by the force of law. Sense of goodness and public opinion are the sanctions behind

moral rights.

If any person disrupts any moral right, no legal action can be taken against him. The state does not enforce these rights. Its courts do not recognize these rights. Moral Rights include rules of good conduct, courtesy and of moral behaviour. These stand for moral perfection of the people.

Moral rights were first acknowledged in France and Germany, before they were included in the Berne Convention for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works in 1928. Canada recognized moral rights in its Copyright Act. The United States became a signatory to the convention in 1989, and incorporated a version of moral rights under its copyright law under Title 17 of the U.S. Code. There are two major moral rights under the U.S. Copyright Act. These are the right of attribution, also called the right of paternity and the right of integrity.

Legal Rights:

Legal rights are those rights which are accepted and enforced by the state. Any defilement of any legal right is punished by law. Law courts of the state enforce legal rights. These rights can be enforced against individuals and also against the government. In this way, legal rights are different from moral rights. Legal rights are equally available to all the citizens. All citizens follow legal rights without any discrimination. They can go to the courts for getting their legal rights enforced.

Legal Rights are of three types:

1.   Civil Rights:

Civil rights are those rights which provide opportunity to each person to lead a civilized social life. These fulfil basic needs of human life in society. Right to life, liberty and equality are civil rights. Civil rights are protected by the state.

2.   Political Rights:

Political rights are those rights by virtue of which inhabitants get a share in the political process. These allow them to take an active part in the political process. These rights include right to vote, right to get elected, right to hold public office and right to criticise and oppose the government. Political rights are really available to the people in a democratic state.

3.   Economic Rights:

Economic rights are those rights which provide economic security to the people. These empower all citizens to make proper use of their civil and political rights. The basic needs of every person are related to his food, clothing, shelter, and medical treatment. Without the fulfilment of these no person can really enjoy his civil and political rights. It is therefore essential, that every person must get the right to work, right to adequate wages, right to leisure and rest, and right to social security in case of illness, physical disability and old age.

Human and Legal Rights:

There is some difference between moral or human rights and legal rights. Legal rights require for their justification an existing system of law. Legal rights are, roughly, what the law says they are, at least insofar as the law is enforced. Legal rights gain their force first of all through legislation or decree by a legally authorized authority. Those who support adoption of laws establishing legal rights often appeal to a notion of human rights. Laws against theft might appeal to notions of a moral right to own property. But human or moral rights must gain their validity through some other source other than legal rights, since people can appeal to human or moral rights to criticize the law or advocate changes in the law (or legal rights), and people could not do this if moral rights were based upon the law.

Contractual Rights:

Contractual rights originated from the practice of promise-keeping. They apply to particular individuals to whom contractual promises have been made. Contractual rights ascend from specific acts of contract making. They normally come into being when the contract is made, and they reflect the contractual duty that another party has acquired at the same time. As a result of a contract, party A has a contractual duty, say, to deliver some good or service to party B, who has a contractual right to the good or service. Contractual rights may be upheld by the law, and in that sense can rest upon legal rights, but it is possible to conceive of contracts made outside of a legal framework and to rest purely upon moral principles. However, such contracts are less secure than contracts made within a legal framework, for obvious reasons. There are numerous examples of contractual rights such as:

- Rights to purchase a particular product or service

- Rights to be sell a product or service

- Rights to be the only seller or buyer

- Rights to delivery and timely payment

- Rights to refunds or repairs

- Various rights according to the specific intentions of each party

Concept of Human Rights:

Human rights are those moral rights that are morally important and basic, and that are held by every human being because they are possessed in virtue of the universal moral status of human beings. Human rights are one of the significant aspects of human political reality. It is the moral rights of highest order. Human Rights are evolved out of self-respect. It is intrinsic to all humans without any discrimination of race, sex, nationality, ethnicity, language, religion and colour etc. It received new shape when human beings began to think themselves. Each and every human being is entitled to these rights without any discrimination. Human rights comprise of civil and political rights, such as the right to life, liberty and freedom of expression; and social, cultural and economic rights including the right to participate in culture, the right to food, and the right to work and receive an education.

Human rights are protected and supported by international and national laws and treaties. The UDHR was the first international document that spelled out the "basic civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights that all human beings should enjoy." The declaration was ratified without opposition by the UN General Assembly on December 10, 1948. Under human rights treaties, governments have the prime responsibility for proto shield and promote human rights. However, governments are not solely responsible for ensuring human rights. The UDHR states:

"Every individual and every organ of society shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance."

In theoretical review, many theorists expressed their views about human rights. S. Kim construed that human rights are "claims and demands essential to the protection of human life and the enhancement of human dignity, and should therefore enjoy full social and political sanctions". According to Subhash C Kashyap, human rights are those

"fundamental rights to which every man inhabiting any part of the world should be deemed entitled by virtue of having been born a human being". Milne opined that "human rights are simply what every human beings owes to every other human being and as such represent universal moral obligation". According to Nickel, human rights are norms which are definite, high priority universal and existing and valid independently of recognition or implementation in the customs or legal system of particular country.

The Protection of Human Rights Act 1993 describes" Human Rights mean rights relating to life liberty, equality and dignity of the individuals guaranteed by the constitution or embodied in the International Covenants and enforceable by courts in India."

The United Nation Centre of Human Rights defines Human Rights as "those rights which are inherent in our nature and without which we cannot live as human beings"

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights which adopted on 1948, states human rights as "rights derived from the inherent dignity of human person"

Historical origin of human rights: Records indicated that Though modern historians traced "Magna Carta" of 1521 as the historical beginning of human rights, but its real origin goes back to 539 B.C. when Cyrus, the great (king of ancient Persia) conquered the city of Babylon, he freed all slaves to return home and declared people to choose their own religion and even maintained racial equality. The idea of human rights quickly spread from Babylon to many nations especially India, Greece and eventually Rome where the concept of natural law arose in observation of the fact that people tended to follow certain unwritten laws in due course of life. There the concept of "natural law" arose, in observation of the fact that people tended to follow certain unwritten laws in the course of life, and Roman law was based on rational ideas derived from the nature of things.

Documents asserting individual rights, such as the Magna Carta (1215), the Petition of Right (1628), the US Constitution (1787), the French Declaration of the Rights of

Man and of the Citizen (1789), and the US Bill of Rights (1791) are the written precursors to many of today's human rights documents.

The Magna Carta, or "Great Charter," was debatably the most important early influence on the extensive historical process that led to the rule of constitutional law today in the English-speaking world. In 1215, after King John of England violated a number of ancient laws and customs by which England had been governed, his subjects forced him to sign the Magna Carta, which enumerates what later came to be thought of as human rights. Among them was the right of the church to be free from governmental interference, the rights of all free citizens to own and inherit property and to be protected from excessive taxes. It established the right of widows who owned property to choose not to remarry, and established principles of due process and equality before the law. It also contained provisions forbidding bribery and official misconduct. The Magna Carta was a crucial defining moment in the fight to establish freedom.

Another breakthrough in the development of human rights was the Petition of Right, produced in 1628 by the English Parliament and sent to Charles I as a statement of civil liberties. Rejection by Parliament to finance the king's unpopular foreign policy had caused his government to exact forced loans and to quarter troops in subjects' houses as an economy measure. Arbitrary arrest and imprisonment for opposing these policies had produced in Parliament a violent hostility to Charles and to George Villiers, the Duke of Buckingham. The Petition of Right, introduced by Sir Edward Coke, was based upon earlier statutes and charters and asserted four principles:

1. No taxes may be levied without consent of Parliament.
2. No subject may be imprisoned without cause shown (reaffirmation of the right of habeas corpus).
3. No soldiers may be quartered upon the citizenry.
4. Martial law may not be used in time of peace.

In 1789, the people of France brought about the abolishment of the absolute kingdom and set the stage for the establishment of the first French Republic. Sometime later, the storming of the Bastille, and barely three weeks after the abolition of feudalism, the

Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen (French: La Déclaration des Droits de l'Homme et du Citoyen) was espoused by the National Constituent Assembly as the first step toward writing a constitution for the Republic of France.

The Declaration decrees that all inhabitants are to be guaranteed the rights of "liberty, property, security, and resistance to oppression." It discusses that the need for law derives from the fact that "the exercise of the natural rights of each man has only those borders which assure other members of the society the enjoyment of these same rights." Therefore, the Declaration sees law as an "expression of the general will", intended to promote this equality of rights and to forbid "only actions harmful to the society."

In 1864, sixteen European countries and several American states attended a conference in Geneva, at the invitation of the Swiss Federal Council, on the initiative of the Geneva Committee. The diplomatic conference was held to adopt a convention for the treatment of wounded soldiers in combat. The main ideologies laid down in the Convention and maintained by the later Geneva Conventions provided for the obligation to extend care without discrimination to wounded and sick military personnel and respect for and marking of medical personnel transports and equipment with the distinctive sign of the red cross on a white background.

By 1948, the United Nation's new Human Rights Commission had attracted global attention. Under the dynamic headship of Eleanor Roosevelt, President Franklin Roosevelt's widow, a human rights winner in her own right and the United States delegate to the UN, the Commission set out to draft the document that became the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Roosevelt, credited with its motivation, referred to the Declaration as the international Magna Carta for all mankind. It was accepted by the United Nations on December 10, 1948. In its prelude and in Article 1, the Declaration unequivocally proclaims the inherent rights of all human beings: "Disregard and contempt for human rights have resulted in barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind, and the advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common people. All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights."

The Member States of the United Nations promised to work together to encourage the thirty Articles of human rights that, for the first time in history, had been assembled and codified into a single document. As a result, many of these rights, in various forms, are part of the constitutional laws of democratic nations in present situation.

In nut shell, The written inventor to the modern human rights documents are the English Bill of Rights (1689), the American Declaration of Independence (1776), the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen (1789), the first Ten Amendments of the Constitution of the United States (Bill of Rights 1791) and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of UN (1948).

Human rights is the basic rights and freedom of all human, it include the right to life, liberty, freedom of thought, expression and equality before the law. It is unified, interdependent and indivisible.

Rights agree to duties in three ways:
1. Individual duties of forbearance (non-interference)
2. Institutional duties of assistance
3. Individual duties of assistance

If we consider the right to property, conceived primarily as the right not to have one's personal property taken without one's consent. This implies that

a. Other individuals have a duty to forbear from taking a person's possessions without his or her consent.

b. Institutions, such as governments, should establish and enforce laws against theft and should do so in all neighbourhoods where theft is a possibility.

c. Officials in the government have an individual duty, as officials, to support such laws and or enforce them.

The individual duties of assistance are performed in several ways: If the government were lax in this area, citizens might have a positive duty to pressure government to pass an appropriate law if one were missing or to enforce already existing laws.

Beyond that, individual citizens who are aware of persons with sticky fingers, as it were, have an obligation, where it could be done at reasonable cost to themselves, to thwart acts of theft.

Many theories have been developed to explain human rights. According to Dr. Justice Durga Das Basu, "Human rights are those minimal rights, which every individual must have against the State, or other public authority, by virtue of his being a 'member of human family' irrespective of any consideration. The philosopher John Finnis argues that human rights are reasonable on the grounds of their instrumental value in creating the necessary conditions for human well- being.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), 1948, stated that human rights as "rights derived from the inherent dignity of the human person." Human rights when they are guaranteed by a written constitution are known as "Fundamental Rights" because a written constitution is the fundamental law of the state.

Characteristics of human rights:
1. Human Rights are Inalienable: Human rights are deliberated on an individual due to the very nature of his existence. They are innate in all individuals irrespective of their caste, creed, religion, sex and nationality. Human rights are conferred to an individual even after his death. The different rituals in different religions bear testimony to this fact.
2. Human Rights are essential and necessary: Human rights are needed to maintain the moral, physical, social and spiritual welfare of an individual. Human rights are also essential as they provide suitable conditions for material and moral upliftment of the people.
3. Human Rights are associated with human dignity: To treat another individual with dignity regardless of the fact that the person is a male or female, rich or poor is concerned with human dignity.
4. Human Rights are Irrevocable: Human rights are irrevocable as they cannot be taken away by any power or authority because these rights originate with the social nature of man in the society of human beings and they belong to a person simply because he is a human being. As such human rights have similarities to moral

rights.

5. Human Rights are essential for the fulfilment of purpose of life: Human life has a purpose. The phrase "human right" is applied to those conditions which are essential for the fulfilment of this purpose. No government has the power to curtail or take away the rights which are sacrosanct, inviolable and immutable.

6. Human Rights are Universal: Human rights are not a domination of any privileged class of people. Human rights are universal in nature, without consideration and without exception. The values such as divinity, dignity and equality which form the basis of these rights are inherent in human nature.

7. Human Rights are never absolute: Man is a social animal and he lives in a civic society, which always put certain limitations on the enjoyment of his rights and freedoms. Human rights as such are those limited powers or claims, which are contributory to the common good and which are recognized and guaranteed by the State, through its laws to the individuals. As such each right has certain limitations.

8. Human Rights are Dynamic: Human rights are not stationary, they are dynamic. Human rights go on expanding with socio-eco-cultural and political developments within the State. Judges have to construe laws in such ways as are in tune with the changed social values.

9. Rights as limits to state power: Human rights infer that every individual has legitimate claims upon his or her society for certain freedom and benefits. So human rights limit the state's power. These may be in the form of negative restrictions, on the powers of the State, from violating the inalienable freedoms of the individuals, or in the nature of demands on the State, i.e. positive obligations of the State.

P

rinciples of human rights:

- Universality

- Inviolable

- Inalienable

- Indivisible

- Interdependent

- Inter-related

- Universality

- Inviolable

- Inalienable

- Indivisible

- Interdependent

- Inter-related

- Equality

- Non-discriminatory

Positive Rights:

Positive rights, initially proposed in 1979 by the Czech jurist Karel Vasak, may include other civil and political rights such as police protection of person and property and the right to counsel, as well as economic, social and cultural rights such as food, housing, public education, employment, national security, military, health care, social security, internet access, and a minimum standard of living.

Negative Rights:

Negative rights are an absolute right whose slightest violation breaks this right. Right not be tortured. Duty bearer has to refrain.

Distinctions between Negative and Positive Rights:

Many writers distinguish between negative rights and positive rights. Negative rights would orrespond to duties of forbearance: If X has a negative right to V, then others have a non-interference duty in relation to X's enjoyment of V.

Positive rights would correspond to duties of assistance: If X has a positive right to V, then others (perhaps government) have a (positive) duty to provide X with V.

It can also be used to defend securing for human beings what they need in order to functional as rational beings.

Categories of Rights:

Human rights can be grouped into following categories:

-    Civil Human Rights

- Political Human Rights
- Economic Human Rights
- Social and Cultural Human Rights
- Development Oriented Human Rights

1. In the era of the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the civil and political rights, were strengthened which assured civil and political liberties. The Civil and Political Human Rights are collectively known as 'Liberty Oriented Human Rights' because they provide, protect and guarantee individual liberty to an individual against the State and its agencies. Liberty rights also referred to as Blue Rights are the First Generation of Human Rights.

2. In the twentieth century, economic, social and cultural rights and the rights of minorities as well developed. The intent of these rights to promote the economic and social security through economic and social upliftment of the weaker sections of the society. These rights are essential for dignity of personhood as well as for the full and free development of human personality in all possible directions. These rights guarantee a minimum of economic welfare of the masses and their basic material needs, recognized by the society as essential to cultured living.

The economic, social and cultural rights, including the rights of the minorities are together called the "Security Oriented Human Rights" because these rights jointly provide and guarantee the essential security in the life of an individual. In the absence of these rights, the very existence of human beings would be in danger. These are also known as the "Second Generation of Human Rights". They are also called as Red Rights or also as positive rights. These rights along with the Civil and Political Rights were declared by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and later were recognized by the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights in December 1966.

3. The Development Oriented Human Rights were originated in the late twentieth century. These rights empower an individual to partake in the process of overall development and include environmental rights that enable an individual to enjoy the absolutely resources of nature, such as air, water, food and natural resources, free from pollution and contamination. These are known as the Third Generation of Human Rights or Green Rights. They are also called as Solidarity Rights, because

their implementation depends upon international cooperation.

Solidarity rights have immense importance in developing countries, because these countries want the creation of an international order that will guarantee to them the right to development, the right to disaster relief assistance, the right to peace and the right to good government.

Brian Orend, a Canadian philosopher, in his Human Rights: Concept and Context, develops this idea in the direction of human rights as follows: To respect human beings as an end is to respect their interests in being protected against grievous harm. Orend lists five vital needs that, he claims, are common to all human beings. If these needs were not met at a basic level, we could not function as rational beings. They are security, subsistence, freedom, equality, and recognition. It would be interesting to compare this list with Martha Nussbaum's list of basic capabilities in her account of the things to which human rights entitle us.

Human rights in India:

Human rights are vital for all round development of individuals. The Constitution of India makes provisions for basic rights also known as Fundamental Rights for its citizens as well as for aliens. The Supreme Court of India is the guarantor of the rights according to the Constitution. The court takes into account fundamental duties while interpreting the constitutional right. In Indian constitution, Rights are classified mainly in three broad categories: (a) Civil (b) Political (c) Economic and Social. Fundamental Rights in India recognize certain civil rights. Certain Political and Economic and Social rights are recognized by other provisions in the Constitution. The Supreme Court of India recognizes Fundamental Right as "natural right".

In Indian constitution, the Fundamental Rights are defined as the basic human rights of all citizens. These rights are defined in Part III of the Constitution regardless of race, place of birth, religion, caste, creed or sex.

Guha quoted that "The demand for a declaration of fundamental rights arose from four factors:

- Lack of civil liberty in India during the British rule.

- Deplorable social conditions, particularly affecting the untouchables and

women.

- Existence of different religious, linguistic, and ethnic groups encouraged and exploited by the Britishers.

- Exploitation of the tenants by the landlords.

Fundamental Rights includes: -

Sl No.	Name of Rights	Universal Declaration	Indian Constitution
1	Equality before law	Article 7	Article 14
2	Prohibition of discrimination	Article 7	Article 15(1)
3	Equality of opportunity	Article 21 (2)	Article 16(1)
4	Freedom of speech and expression	Article 19	Article 19(1)a
5	Freedom of peaceful assembly	Article 20(1)	Article 19(1)b
6	Right to form associations or unions	Article 23(4)	Article 19(1)c
7	Freedom of movement within the border	Article 13(1)	Article 19(1)d
8	Protection in respect of conviction for offences	Article 11(2)	Article 20(1)
9	Protection of life and personal liberty	Article 3	Article 21
10	Protection of slavery and forced labour	Article 4	Article 23
11	Freedom of conscience and religion	Article 18	Article 25(1)
12	Remedy for enforcement of rights	Article 8	Article 32
13	Right against arbitrary arrest and detention	Article 9	Article 22
14	Right to social security	Article 22	Article 29(1)

It is also revealed that most of the economic, social and cultural rights proclaimed in the universal Declaration of Human Rights have been incorporated in part IV of the Indian Constitution.

Table: Economic, Social and Cultural Rights in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and in the Indian Constitution:

Sl No.	Universal declaration of rights	Article in the universal declaration	Article in the Indian constitution
1	Right to work, to just and favourable conditions of work	Article 23(1)	Article 41
2	Right to equal pay for equal work	Article 23(2)	Article 39(d)
3	Right to education	Article 26(1)	Article 21(A), 41, 45, & 51(A)k
4	Right to just and favourable remuneration	Article 23(3)	Article 43
5	Right to rest and leisure	Article 24	Article 43
6	Right of everyone to a standard of living adequate for him and his family	Article 25(1)	Article 39(a) & Article 47
7	Right to a proper social order	Article 28	Article 38

The Supreme Court of India recognises these fundamental rights as 'Natural Rights' or 'Human Rights'. The Judiciary in India plays a significant role in protecting human rights. In Indian constitution, human rights are implied as civil liberties and democratic rights (Asish Kumar Das, 2007).

To summarize, rights are regarded as central to civilization, being observed as established pillars of society and culture. Traditionally, Rights are moral laws specifying what a person should be free to do, and they come from God. In other way, rights are political laws specifying what a person is free to do, and they are created by governments. Third category describe that rights are moral laws specifying what a person should be free to do, and they are inherent in man's nature. The concept of human right is described as rights are moral principles or norms, which describe certain standards of human behaviour and are regularly protected as legal rights in municipal and international law. These are moral claims which are unchallengeable and inherent in all human beings by virtue of the member of the humanity alone. Today these claims are articulated

and formulated and called as human rights. It can be supposed that human rights reproduce the minimum standards essential for people to live with self-respect. Human rights give people the freedom to choose how they live, how they express themselves, and what kind of government they want to support, among many other things. Human rights also assure people the means necessary to satisfy their basic needs, such as food, housing, and education.

Gender Roles

Gender roles are cultural and personal. They determine how males and females should think, speak, dress, and interact within the context of society. Learning plays a role in this process of shaping gender roles. These **gender schemas** are deeply embedded cognitive frameworks regarding what defines masculine and feminine. While various **socializing agents**—parents, teachers, peers, movies, television, music, books, and religion—teach and reinforce gender roles throughout the lifespan, parents probably exert the greatest influence, especially on their very young offspring.

As mentioned previously, sociologists know that adults perceive and treat female and male infants differently. Parents probably do this in response to their having been recipients of gender expectations as young children. Traditionally, fathers teach boys how to fix and build things; mothers teach girls how to cook, sew, and keep house. Children then receive parental approval when they conform to gender expectations and adopt culturally accepted and conventional roles. All of this is reinforced by additional socializing agents, such as the media. In other words, learning gender roles always occurs within a social context, the values of the parents and society being passed along to the children of successive generations.

Gender roles adopted during childhood normally continue into adulthood. At home, people have certain presumptions about decision☐making, child☐ rearing practices, financial responsibilities, and so forth. At work, people also have presumptions about power, the division of labor, and organizational structures. None of this is meant to imply that gender roles, in and of themselves, are good or bad; they merely exist. Gender roles are realities in almost everyone's life.

Gender Stereotypes

Gender stereotypes are simplistic generalizations about the gender attributes, differences, and roles of individuals and/or groups. Stereotypes can be positive or negative, but they rarely communicate accurate information about others. When people automatically apply gender assumptions to others regardless of evidence to the contrary, they are perpetuating gender stereotyping. Many people recognize the dangers of gender stereotype, yet continue to make these types of generalizations.

Traditionally, the **female stereotypic role** is to marry and have children. She is also to put her family›s welfare before her own; be loving, compassionate, caring, nurturing, and sympathetic; and find time to be sexy and feel beautiful. The **male stereotypic role** is to be the financial provider. He is also to be assertive, competitive, independent, courageous, and career focused; hold his emotions in check; and always initiate sex. These sorts of stereotypes can prove harmful; they can stifle individual expression and creativity, as well as hinder personal and professional growth.

The weight of scientific evidence demonstrates that children learn gender stereotypes from adults. As with gender roles, socializing agents—parents, teachers, peers, religious leaders, and the media—pass along gender stereotypes from one generation to the next.

One approach to reexamining conventional gender roles and stereotypes is **androgyny**, which is the blending of feminine and masculine attributes in the same individual. The **androgyne**, or androgynous person, does not neatly fit into a female or male gender role; she or he can comfortably express the qualities of both genders. Parents and other socializing agents can teach their children to be androgynous, just as they can teach them to be gender biased.

Emerging as a powerful sociopolitical force beginning in the 1960s, the **feminist movement**, or **women's liberation movement**, has lobbied for the rights of women and minorities. Feminists have fought hard to challenge and redefine traditional stereotypic gender roles.

Social Stratification and Gender

Throughout most of recorded history and around the globe, women have taken a "back

seat" to men. Generally speaking, men have had, and continue to have, more physical and social power and status than women, especially in the public arena. Men tend to be more aggressive and violent then women, so they fight wars. Likewise, boys are often required to attain proof of masculinity through strenuous effort. This leads to males holding public office, creating laws and rules, defining society, and—some feminists might add—controlling women. For instance, not until this century were women in the United States allowed to own property, vote, testify in court, or serve on a jury. Male dominance in a society is termed **patriarchy**.

Whereas in recent decades major strides toward gender equality have been made, sociologists are quick to point out that much remains to be done if inequalities in the United States are ever to be eliminated. Behind much of the inequalities seen in education, the workplace, and politics is **sexism**, or prejudice and discrimination because of gender. Fundamental to sexism is the assumption that men are superior to women.

Sexism has always had negative consequences for women. It has caused some women to avoid pursuing successful careers typically described as "masculine"— perhaps to avoid the social impression that they are less desirable as spouses or mothers, or even less "feminine." Sexism has also caused women to feel inferior to men, or to rate themselves negatively. In **Philip Goldberg's** classic 1968 study, the researcher asked female college students to rate scholarly articles that were allegedly written by either "John T. McKay" or "Joan T. McKay." Although all the women read the same articles, those who thought the author was male rated the articles higher than the women who thought the author was female. Other researchers have found that men›s resumes tend to be rated higher than women's. More recently, though, researchers have found the gap in these sorts of ratings to be closing. This may be due to social commentary in the media regarding sexism; growing numbers of successful women in the workforce, or discussion of Goldberg's findings in classrooms.

In short, sexism produces inequality between the genders—particularly in the form of discrimination. In comparable positions in the workplace, for example, women generally receive lower wages than men. But sexism can also encourage inequality in more subtle ways. By making women feel inferior to men, society comes to accept this as the truth. When that happens, women enter "the race" with lower self esteem and fewer expectations,

often resulting in lower achievements.

Sexism has brought gender inequalities to women in many arenas of life. But inequality has been a special problem in the areas of higher education, work, and politics.

Summary of the unit

Democracy and Dictatorship

Democracy	Dictatorship
The head of the country in a democratic government is the one who gets the most support in the form of votes in a general election. They also have the additional responsibility of ensuring the welfare of the electorate an	One individual is the sole authority of the country with no institution to keep its power in check
Political control in a country is provided through free and fair elections, with two or more political parties being involved	In a dictatorship no elections take place or they are heavily regulated by restricting the number of political parties and limiting gatherings and associations
The media in a democratic form of government is known as the fourth pillar of democracy as they watch the government's every move and criticise it should any misstep is taken	The media is the mouthpiece of a dictatorial government. Regardless of what a dictator does, the media will only show what needs to be shown to the masses so that a cult of personality is always maintained.
In a democracy, the fundamental rights of the citizen are protected by the constitution. Citizens have the right to join political parties and other organizations	In a dictatorship, little importance is given to fundamental rights, with the populace being generally subjected to constant policing, monitoring and brutality.
The earliest forms of democracy appeared in Ancient Greece It is generally accepted that the Athenians established what is held as the first democracy in 508–507 BC. The democracy was rudimentary in the sense that only free-males of Athens could cast their votes but not women and slaves	Lucius Cornelius Sulla Felix and Gaius Julius Ceaser of Ancient Rome can be considered as the first dictators

Multiple choice Questions

1. Economic growth depends on which of the following?

    (a) Size of the population of the country

    (b) Territory or area of the country

    (c) Global scenario

    (d) Co-operation among various nations
        Ans. : (d)

2. Social outcomes cover the areas like

    (i) Dignity and freedom of citizens

    (ii) Untouchability and discrimination (iii)Gender equality

    (iv) Ban on child labour

    (a) (i), (iii) and (iv)

    (b) (ii), (i) and (iv)

    (c) (ii) and (iv)

    (d) (i) only
        Ans. : (b)

3. The basic outcome of democracy is

    (a) Political, social and economic outcome

    (b) Military outcome

    (c) Restricted and limited welfare policies.

    (d) Elimination of poverty
        Ans. : (a)

4. If a government provides its citizens a right and means to examine the process
of decision, it is

    (a) An accountable government

    (b) A responsible government

    (c) A transparent government

    (d) A stable government
        Ans. : (a)

5. What do democracies ensure regarding decision making?

    (a) Process of transparency

    (b) Decisions taken by the head of the country

(c) Decision by the Council of Ministers

(d) Restricted popular participation in decision making

Ans. : (a)

6. Which of the following is not true about democracy?

(a) It always worries about majorities and public opinion.

(b) It improves the quality of decision making.

(c) Decision making is faster and quicker.

(d) It allows a room to correct mistakes.

Ans. : (c)

7. Why is democracy considered as the better form of government than dictatorship?

(a) Promotes equality and enhances dignity of the individual.

(b) Never allows room to correct mistakes.

(c) Majority community rule

(d) Provides methods to resolve conflicts

Ans. : (a)

8. Political outcome signifies:

(i) Accountable and responsible government.

(ii) Military rule

(iii) Legitimate government

(iv) Restricted popular participation

(a) (z), (iii) and (iv)

(b) (iii), (i) and (ii)

(c) (i) and (ii)

(d) (i) and (iii)

Ans. : (d)

9. A government that takes decision by following norms and a proper procedure is:

(a) An accountable government

(b) A responsible government

(c) A transparent government

(d) A stable government

Ans. : (c)

10. A democratic government is:

    (a) An accountable government

    (b) A responsive government

    (c) A legitimate government

    (d) All of the above

        Ans. : (d)

11. When was democracy introduced in India?

    (a) 1952

    (b) 1950

    (c) 1947

    (d) 1949

        Ans. : (b)

Fill in the Blanks

1. Democracy is seen to be good in (i) …………… but not so good in its (ii) ……….………… .

2. We prefer democracy over dictatorships due to........................... reasons.

3. Democracies are different from each other in terms of the (i) ……………….. situations, their (ii) …………… achievements and their (iii) …………… .

4. The most basic outcome of democracy is that it produces a government that is ……………… to the citizens.

5. Non-democratic governments are …………… in decision-making and implementation.

6. Democracy is based on the idea of ……………

7. Democratic governments take...time to follow procedures before arriving at a decision.

8. Democratic governments ……………………… a very good record when it comes to sharing information with citizens.

9. Difference in the rate of economic development between less developed countries with dictatorship and less developed countries with democracies is

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....

10. Democracies are mostly based on..equality.

Answers

1. (i) principle (ii) practice

2. both moral and prudential

3. (i) social (ii) economic (iii) cultures

4. accountable

5. quick

6. both deliberation and negotiation

7. more

8. do not have

9. negligible

10. political

Review Questions

1. What is the dilemma regarding the practical aspect of democracy?

2. Which two sections of society get special emphasis in the Indian Constitution regarding equal status and equal opportunities?

3. How long can the democracy remain democracy?

4. What is economic inequality?

5. What is Welfare state?

6. What are the features of dictatorship?

7. What's the difference between democracy and dictatorship?

8. What od you understand by the concept "Gender Role"