

# **CONCEPTS OF POLITICAL SCIENCE**

**II Semester**

**Core COURSE – II**

## **B.A. POLITICAL SCIENCE**

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**UNIVERSITY OF CALICUT**  
SCHOOL OF DISTANCE EDUCATION

**STUDY MATERIAL**

**Core COURSE – II**

**B A POLITICAL SCIENCE**

**II Semester**

**POL2 B02 – CONCEPTS OF POLITICAL SCIENCE.**

**Module I to V**

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# Module I

## Modern Concepts of Political Science

Power, Influence, Authority, Legitimacy, Political Culture, Political Socialisation, Modernisation and Political Development–

### Power

Meaning:

The concept of power is the most influential one in the whole of political science. Power is the central point around which every activity revolves. It is power, which vests the state with order and peace. Recently the idea of power has assumed an importance of its own in the realm of political theory. The real meaning of this term has been a matter of controversy on account of its social, economic, political, psychological and metaphysical dimensions. The problem of defining the term power arises from the fact that different writers have taken different views about it. It should be noted at the outset that there is no unanimity among the political scientists regarding the definition of power. Socrates, Plato, Aristotle have admitted the importance of power in their own way. Hobbes identifies with power some 'future apparent good'. Laswell likens it with 'influence'. Mao of China says that 'power flows from the barrel of a gun'. According to Laswell and Kaplan, "The concept of power is perhaps the most fundamental in the whole of political science, the political process in the shaping, distribution and exercise of power". Lord Acton said, "Power tends to corrupt and absolute power corrupts absolutely". The word power is used in different senses. Power is ascribed to different things on different grounds. Power becomes interchangeable with several related themes like control, influence, authority, force, might, persuasion, coercion, domination, etc. It must be remembered that power is not something absolute. It is only used in relation to something. Therefore the actual manifestation of power is in force or we can say that force is power in action or force is power exercised. The English word power derives from certain Latin and French words which means 'to be able'.

Features of Power.

Power is not absolute but only relative. It is kind of human relationship. Power can be only felt but not seen. It is not physical or tangible. It cannot be possessed and measured like a property. Power also depends on its use. Power is situational, depends on the situation and status of person. Kinds of Power, It is very difficult to have any scientific classification power because scholars belonging to different disciplines variedly view the very concept of power. Moreover, power is also not of one type or kind but of different types.

1. Legitimate Power: When the power is used in accordance with the laws and rules and by a person who has been authorized to use it and his commands are obeyed by the people, it is called legitimate power. Here a person who exercises power derives his authority from some law of the land. Under this condition any violation is treated as punishable offence. When power is based not on legitimacy but has been on the basis of use force and the people obeyed because of fear it is called illegitimate power.

2. Charismatic Power: It is linked with personality. There are people who have such a personality, an attractive way of talking and convincing, etc. that the people are attracted. Such an attraction can be because of past or present sacrifices, selfless devotion

to a cause, etc. Again it has no legal authority behind it. Example in India Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru and Smt. Indira Gandhi among others had a charismatic personality.

### 3. Economic Power

It is a type of power that has its basis or roots in economic prosperity. It means that power comes to a person or state because the individual or state has strong economic and financial backing. In the past feudal system was based purely on this basis. Likewise economically powerful states today exercise their power over dependant states because the former can economically help the later by providing foodstuffs, military equipments, etc.

### 4. Political Power

It is type of power that has its roots in politics. A person or a nation remains powerful because it has political strength and power goes out when that strength disappears. A government in a democracy remains in authority as long as it enjoys majority political support. As soon as that political support is withdrawn, power goes out its hand and the privileges which power brings with it ceases to exist.

### 5. Psychological Power

It is a type of power the basis of which are neither economic nor political strength but tackling the psychology of the people. Both the individuals and the states try to psychologically deal with the people. In psychological power, propaganda has an important role. In winning elections, candidates try to psychologically tackle their constituents. Every powerful nation tries to win the cooperation of other nations by approaching them psychologically.

### 6. Military Power

In our world of today strength and power of a nation is measured in terms of its military strength and resources. More a nation is equipped with the latest war equipment more it is feared and more commanding position it enjoys in world community. Today every nation is keen to possess nuclear weapons because these give an edge to the nation over other nations. All military alliances and pacts are signed by nations in a bid to remain militarily superior over the opponents.

### 7. Hegemony

Hegemony is the political, economic, ideological or cultural power exerted by a dominant group over other groups, regardless of the explicit consent of the latter. While initially referring to the political dominance of certain ancient Greek city-states over their neighbors, the term has come to be used in a variety of other contexts, in particular Marxist philosopher Antoni Gramsci's theory of cultural hegemony. The term is often mistakenly used to suggest brute power or dominance, when it is better defined as emphasizing how control is achieved through consensus not force. In the early 20th century, Italian political scientist Antonio Gramsci developed the concept of cultural hegemony by extending political hegemony beyond international relations to the structure of social class, arguing that cultural hegemony showed how a social class exerts cultural "leadership" or dominance over other classes in maintaining the sociopolitical status quo.

Influence

The term influence is differently understood by the different people. According to some it is non-coercive sanction behind power, whereas others regard power just a form of influence and still others think just otherwise. Influence is persuasive and one voluntarily submits to it. It does not require any coercive power and is also not attached to any idea or doctrine. Thus influence is meant ability to get others act, think or feel, as one intends. In democracies influence plays a very important role. For today with its ever-increasing functions the state cannot always use the physical force over the people. Man voluntarily submits to influence and power requires submission. Laswell has said that the study of politics is nothing else but that of influence and influential. He said that influence is the value position and potential of a person or group. As regards political influence it is power sought by politically active persons like legislators, ministers, political leaders, etc. It is unevenly shared because whereas vast majority exercises little influence, small minority, which is called elite, has influence over the whole political system and in practice controls it. Thus political influence is the suitable outcome of possession - wealth, health, education, charm and other things and the skill with which they are made use of. Catlin has said that influence contributes to building up of a control system and is distinct from coercion, though it remains on the verge of power. Authority, leadership, political party, legitimacy are its various manifestations. There are many sources through which influence emerges. These being possession of wealth, health, education, personal charm, etc. but its use need skills. Political sources of influence are money, food, information, threat of use of force, alliances, votes, laws, etc. Political influence is sought by politically active and for this they use all sort of resources. But as said earlier there is uneven distribution of influence and there are many reasons for uneven control of political influence.

### Power and Influence

Power and influence are very much opposed to each other. Power is force, based on physical sanctions whereas influence is non-coercive power, mainly persuasive. Then another difference between the two is that power is corrective whereas influence is not. When power is exercised on a person there is no other alternative but to comply with it. On the other hand, influence is psychological, persuasive and voluntary because a person or group of persons under influence always have alternative while accepting an alternative compliance. Then another difference is that power makes a power holder undemocratic and autocratic, because it is exercised on the person concerned against his wishes. If power is illegitimate it invites revolt as well. On the other hand, influence is dependant. Since it is voluntarily accepted therefore, its legitimacy is implied. Thus, influence as against force is totally undemocratic. Power is the ability of an individual to influence other individuals. In this way influence is a relationship. It is a relationship between individuals or groups that can make another to act in a way that he may not do otherwise. We can distinguish between power and influence by saying that those who have got power, they can influence the conduct of others more easily than those who do not possess any power. It is admitted on all hands that power and influence are co-related forms but influence changes as power when sanction is there. For example: India has no power over the non-aligned countries but India exercise considerable influence over these countries.

### **Categorization of Influence**

Influence can be divided into two categories namely a) manifest or explicit and b) potential or implicit. Manifest or Explicit Influence, It is a general type of influence in human relationship that is quite visible in some cases and can be measured as well. Whether an influence has succeeded or not depends on the extent to which the change has come in the attitude of the party desired to be influenced and what methods were used for influencing. Then what is to be found out is how reliable is influence and also how strong and costly it is. The greater the change, the greater is the influence. Potential or Implicit Influence, About the implicit or potential influence it is very difficult to estimate it. An actor who has access to resources can be said to have potential resources even though he may not manifest explicit influence. It is this type of influence that makes many political and non-political events as unpredictable. It is very controversial in political science because it is not possible to correctly assess it.

### Legitimacy

The term legitimacy is derived from the Latin word 'legitimus' that means lawful. Though different political systems can acquire legitimacy, democracies are more in need of it than others. Legitimacy is concerned not only with the political system but also with the group that exists in a society. Legitimacy means the quality of being justified by subordinates that converts the exercise of political power into rightful authority. It means the capacity to produce and maintain a belief that the existing political system is the most appropriate for the society and the people must regard it as sacred and worthy of respect and obey it unhesitatingly. The traditional basis of legitimacy rests on an established belief in the sanctity of immemorial traditions and the status of those exercising authority under them. The charismatic legitimacy rests heroism or exemplary character of an individual. Democracy is often perceived as the most popular form of government. The most common source of legitimacy today is the perception that a government is operating under democratic principles and is subject to the will of the people. This is because democracy is based on the will of the people. The American political sociologist Lipset says legitimacy also "involves the capacity of a political system to engender and maintain the belief that existing political institutions are the most appropriate and proper ones for the society." Something becomes legitimate when one approves of it. For example, an institution is perceived as legitimate, if approval for that institution is general among those people subject to its authority. According to John Locke, the British social contractualist, issues of legitimacy are linked to those of consent. In the case of laws, legitimacy should be distinguished from legality. Action can be legal without being legitimate. Action can also be legitimate without being legal. When sources of legitimacy clash with one another, constitutional crisis erupts. Democratic states claim democratic legitimacy on the grounds that they have regular free and fair contested elections in which political parties participate without any fear or pressure. However, in most well-functioning democracies the ruling party is regularly replaced peacefully without any constitutional change or major upheavals. A liberal democratic state gains legitimacy also on the following grounds that a rigid written constitution or well-respected constitutional conventions which are upheld by the judiciary within the state is in existence. Popular participation of people in large numbers

takes place in democracy.



## Types of Legitimacy

David Easton refers to three types of legitimacy. Ideological legitimacy, structural legitimacy and personal legitimacy. Ideological legitimacy is based on the moral convictions about the validity of the incumbents of authority. Structural legitimacy is based on an independent belief in the validity of the structure and norms of the incumbents of the authority. Personal legitimacy is based on personal quality of incumbents of the authority. Other types of legitimacies are, charismatic legitimacy, traditional legitimacy, and rational/legal legitimacy. Charismatic legitimacy is based on the charisma of the leader, often partly based on the perception that this leader has certain extra qualities. Example: a religious leader. Traditional legitimacy is based on traditions e.g., people accept the government for the simple fact that it has been around for so long and is based on popular customs and usages. Example: a monarchy. Rational/legal legitimacy is based on the perception that a government's powers are derived from a set procedures, principles, and laws which are often complex and are written down as part of the constitution. Example: representative democracy. Another kind of legitimacy is political legitimacy. Political legitimacy involves constitutionalism or the belief that an action is legitimate because it follows regular procedures that are part of the law of the land. This form of legitimacy is related to democracy as the justification of these constitutional procedures is agreed to by popular consent.

## Authority

An important source of power is authority. Authority is always legitimate and backed by the power of law and common consent. Legitimate power or influence is generally called authority. Authority being legitimate is based on consent and thus commands more respect than the illegal force. Therefore authority is not itself power, rather it is the embodiment of reason. The word authority finds its origin in Latin word 'Auctoritas', which stands for reasonableness. It is a position that occurs to a person by virtue of his role and position he enjoys in an organized social structure. The term has differently been defined by scholars on the subject. Mac Iver has defined authority by saying that, "authority is often defined as being power, the power to command obedience". Authority in political system however, refers to power, which is legal, lawful and socially acceptable. It is backed by law and common consent. It flows from the willingness of people to accept the exercise of power without direct coercion. The authority can be easily distinguished from the coercion, power and force and influence on the basis of legitimacy. Everybody knows that it is the right of the superiors to issue orders and the obligation of the subordinates to offer willing obedience. In the political field the authority has to be legitimate in order to command willing obedience. This is so in a democracy but not in a military dictatorship. In dictatorship the military general seizes power by means of force and makes others obey with the help of physical force. Such as authority is not legitimate. So any power that is backed by law is authority.

## Features of Authority.

Authority is related to power. Authority is limited one and cannot be exercised beyond laws of the land. It is based on superior reasoning. It is considered as embodiment of reason.

Dominance is part of authority. It should be based on legitimate power.

### Forms of Authority

Authority is not of one but of several forms. Max Weber is of the view that whereas earlier authority was vested in traditional or charismatic personality, now it is developing on the basis of functions performed by specialized structures in a rational legal system. He classified authority in the following way.

#### 1. Traditional Authority

It is a type of authority, which is based on traditions. The people accept this type of authority because it is believed that it is being accepted since times past by our elders and ancestors.

#### 2. Charismatic Authority

It is a type of authority, which is linked with personality of authority holder. This type of authority is accepted because the person concerned is believed to possess extra-ordinary qualifications which can be his personal or because of his links with families or institutions which are known for their devotion, sincerity, sacrifice, etc.

#### 3. Rational Legal Authority.

The basis of this authority is law. This type of authority is obeyed because it has legal authority behind it. It must be obeyed to the extent to which it is legitimate or otherwise the law of the land will ensure its obedience.

#### 4. Political Authority

Political authority is considered important because those who possess and exercise it have political support at their back. They are political leaders and have their say in political decision-making process. But this authority is only temporary. As soon as one gets weak in political arena his authority also gets weakened.

#### 5. Constitutional Authority

It is an authority because the incumbent has been authorized by a provision of the constitution to exercise that. In case that is violated relevant provisions of the constitution can be cited in support of authority. Example, President of India.

#### 6. Religious Authority

This type of authority holder depends on religious practices and scriptures, etc. in support of his authority. His followers accept his authority because they accept the person concerned is correct and that non-acceptance of authority will be a religious offence.

#### 7. Force Based Authority

This theory believes that force is the basis of authority and that might is right. It means that as long as one has force one enjoys authority and when force is not there, the authority automatically comes to an end. Such an authority may be legitimate or illegitimate by which

we Mean authority is not based on any constitution or law but has its basis in extra constitutional or extra legal means. Political Socialization and Political Culture Political Development and Political Modernization One of the remarkable developments in the field of contemporary political theory should be traced in the fact of its drawing closer to the disciplines of Sociology and Psychology. The motivating idea behind such an endeavor is the realization that the central concern of politics is the resolution of human conflict. Each of these concepts is of great concern to the political scientists though the essence of Political Science is a matter of opinion.

### Political Socialization

The term socialization literally means the process for rearing values. The word is coined by H. H. Hyman and he lays stress on the perpetuation of political values across generations. The process of political Socialization operates in a smooth manner without people being aware of it. The people take the norms for granted without questioning their legitimacy. Thus the subject matter of this concept refers to the process by which people acquire political values not simply during political participation but also in the period before they engage in an explicitly political activity. Political Socialization is the process by which political cultures are maintained and changed. The aim of this concept is to train or develop the individuals in a way that they become well functioning members of a political community. It refers to the learning process by which norms and behavior acceptable to a well running political system are transmitted from one generation to another. It enables the political system to achieve political stability. It seeks to inculcate values, norms and orientations in the individuals so that they develop faith in their political system. The process of political socialization starts from the time when the child becomes aware of a wide environment. Family and educational institutions plays their own role in the process of political socialization. They are called the agents of political socialization.

Agents of political socialization.

#### 1. Family

The family is the first institution that should be described as child's first window on the world outside. In family child tends to identify his outlook with that of his parents towards the political system and its institutions. Most of the individual's political personality, his tendency to think and act politically in particular ways has been determined at home, several years before he takes part in politics as a citizen.

#### 2. Educational Institutions

The imparting of education at the schools has its own part in the process of political socialization. The kind of education that is given in the schools through their curriculum shapes the views and behavior of student. The environment of a school teaches students to behave in a particular way. The behavior of the elders, teachers, and other extracurricular activities in the schools leaves its own impression on the minds of the youngsters.

3. Peer Groups. The process of political socialization faces a cementing effect when the students enter colleges and universities for higher learning. The organization of debates,

symposiums, discussions, competitions and the like not only add to their stock of information but also make them aware of the ways of life. The working of student's unions, organizations like NSS, NCC, and other co-curricular activities helps the students to thus come to

engage our attention. The way student's leaders fight elections, from executive bodies and fight for their rights gives others a sort of training in democracy. The centers of advanced learning thus produce leaders who after sometime become the rulers of the country.

#### 4. Union and Political Party Activities

Every citizen joins some official and non-official groups when he is an adult. He has some employment and became a member of the trade unions and associations. These trade unions teach them how to organize and agitate for the redressal of their grievances or for meeting their demands. Besides he is also a member of so many other religious, cultural, social and economic bodies whose functioning determines his political behavior. Later some people join political parties whose leaders give them training in the direction of fighting elections, capturing power, forming government, staging opposition and the like.

#### 5. Media

Finally we may refer the agents of people's direct contact with their political system through the means of mass communication as well as 'symbols' People have their direct contact with their political system through the means of mass communication as well as symbols. The press, radio and the television give programmes that add to the political information of the people. The national flag, national anthem, coronations, Independence Day and Republic Day parades, processions and demonstrations, etc. leave certain strong impression on the minds of the people.

#### 6. Social and Political Institutions

Social and political institutions also play their part in the process of political socialization. For instance, the role of religious institutions is a vital factor in determining the political behavior of the people. Youth movements do play an important part in the process of national integration particularly in developing countries.

#### 7. Government

Finally we come to the influence of direct contacts with the government. Nothing can be as influential in shaping the attitudes of the individuals as their direct contacts with the institutions and processes of the government under which they live and work. No matter how positive the view of government, which has been created through family and educational institutions, if a citizen, is ignored by his party or cheated by his police or denied justice from governmental agencies his views can be altered. These are the agents or instruments that play their part in the irresistible, though imperceptible acquisition of political values by the members of a political community. A young child not only sees all

such activities and events, he also develops an affective and evaluative orientation towards the regime.

### Political Culture

Political Culture is composed of the set of the 'attitudes, beliefs and values of society that relates to the political system and to the political issues'. It means, those values and emotions that gives meaning to politics. The members of a civil society share a common human nature like emotional, intellectual capacities and moral perspectives. That common human nature expresses itself in the form of certain values, beliefs, and emotional attitudes that can be transmitted from one generation to the other and constitutes a general culture of a society. The term political culture has been popularized by American political thinkers like Ulam, Beer and Almond. This concept is often used to distinguish one system from the other structurally and culturally. The success of a political system depends on the people's attitudes, values and orientations about a particular system. Thus political culture is one aspect of the general culture that gives order and meaning to a political process and that provides the underlying assumptions and rules that govern behaviour in the political system.

The components of political system are,

#### 1. Cognitive Orientations

In this type of political culture people have knowledge about their political system consists of political parties, political leaders, government, interest groups and pressure groups, etc. They know how the total system is working but doesn't have any personal attachment.

#### 2. Affective Orientations

Affective political culture implies the feelings of people towards their political system. People know the functioning of the system and they express their attachment, involvement, rejection, etc. to the system.

#### 3. Evaluative Orientations

In this type people are able to judge or evaluate the system on the basis of their education. Moreover, they freely state their opinions about the political events, parties, etc. A political culture whether heterogeneous or homogeneous is a product of several factors. Moreover, it is not static, it is dynamic and thus responds to the needs generated within the political system or imported or imposed from outside.

The determinants of political culture.

#### 1. History

The traditions of a country have their own part in the making of the political culture of a country. For instance, the British people are conservative; they follow their traditions and believe in slow and gradual change. As result, older values are harmonized with modern life style. But different is the case of France where people are radical. They have changed their constitutions many times since the revolution of 1789. Besides the

behaviour of the masters has its own impact on the culture of the slaves. For instance, the people in India learnt from their British masters the ways of parliamentary democracy.

## 2. Geography

The geographical make-up of a country also plays a part in the determination of the political culture. For instance, the insular character of Britain protected the country from foreign invasions and also from the massive influx of foreign races that could have created the problem of ethnic differences. Different from this, the vast frontiers of a country like India opened ways for the foreigners to invade and even stay here with the result that we developed the values of independent egalitarianism in the midst of sharp ethnic and cultural differences.

## 3. Socio-economic Development

In socially and economically developed countries the participation in decision-making process seems to be wider because, their educational and economic status are high. It is on account of the immense economic and technological development of a country like US that the labor class becomes so powerful to demand their needs. But rural societies are more conservative because of illiteracy and low pace of economic development. Their political culture may affective but not cognitive and evaluative.

### Political Development

The concept political development, that in a quite large measure, was offered first by the statesman and policy-makers and then scholars of Economics and Sociology. It has an important place in the field of new political theory. Lucian W. Pye is regarded as the leading light of the batch of writers who have analyzed the concept in depth. He emphasized that the first step towards political development was the evolution of the nation-state system. Usually political development should be taken as a result of economic development. In other words, changes occurring in the political system is the result of industrialization, urbanization and social changes like spread of literacy, expansion of mass media, etc. In a general sense political development involves within itself anything like consolidation of the democratic system, political stability, nation-building and state-building, political modernization, political change, administrative and legal development, political mobilization and participation and above all the multi-dimensional development of the country. Lucian W. Pye put towards three characteristics of political development. They are, Characteristics of political development.

### 1. Equality

It means mass participation or involvement of the people in politics of the country without discrimination on grounds like, religion, creed, caste, wealth, sex, etc. No section of people should be deprived of the right to take active part in the politics of the country. A popular rule should be established; the laws should be of a universalistic nature applicable to all and more or less be impersonal in their operation. It also means that recruitment to all public offices should reflect standards of performance.

### 2. Capacity

It refers to the capacity of a political system to convert 'inputs' into 'outputs' or in other words the capacity of the system in the formulation and execution of laws. It is associated with governmental performance in assuring welfare of the people. It is also related to rationality in administration and a secular orientation towards governmental policies.

### 3. Differentiation

It implies diffusion and specialization of structures and its functions. Diffusion and specialization means each organ of the government is entirely separated from the other and is specialized in its own functions. They perform their assigned functions without duplication. For instance judiciary is entirely separated from executive and legislative branches and it has the function of adjudication of laws. But it does not mean that each one is isolated in their sphere; integration and coordination are part and parcel of differentiation. The concept of political development may be understood easily if we associate it with the development of Anglo-American democratic system. Therefore it suggests the establishment and consolidation of the democratic system as growing participation of the people in the political process of the country, rule of law, independence of judiciary and press, free and fair elections, political stability, peaceful change and the like. Political Crises Faced by Political Development The idea of political development desires solution of the great crises or problems that a nation-state faces. If a state is caught in a situation of crisis, it seeks to overcome it. In case it gets success, it makes up its development, in case the political system fails to solve the problems it breakdowns. Almond and Powell categorize certain problems in this regard. They are,

#### 1. Problem of State Building

This problem arises when there is a serious threat coming from the domestic or international surroundings so that the very issue of the survival of the state comes onto forefront. E.g. war or internal problems like civil war. Thus the whole idea of state-building territorial integration of the country is important. It means the state should be able to maintain itself and its institutions in the face of the challenges threatening its very existence.

#### 2. Problem of Nation Building

It refers to the process whereby people transfer their commitments and loyalty from smaller tries, villages or petty principalities to the central political system. In simple terms, it signifies the realization of the ideal of national integration.

#### 3. Problem of Participation

There is large number of political parties and pressure groups that ensure the participation of people in the decision-making process. They agitate for this purpose and use constitutional, extra-constitutional and even unconstitutional or illegal means to this end. Sometimes their methods evokes serious problems in the society that may affect negatively affect the participation of the people.

#### 4. Problem of Distribution

A problem arises as how national wealth should be distributed or opportunities be given to all without any discrimination on some ground. Talent should be reorganized and merit should be the deciding factor in the midst of equal opportunities for all. It is therefore, necessary that ultimately any useful theory of political development must come to grips with the types of problems that may be included under the category of crisis.

### Political Modernization

Political modernization refers to the change in political culture and political institutions as a result of the process of modernization. This term stands for the transformation of the political culture in response to the changes in social and physical environments. Simply it implies the existence of a traditional order that is to be changed for the better. That is, it is the effect of the new on the old, not the total eradication of the old, and its substitution by the new as is covered under the rubric of political development. In other words, the concept of political modernization refers to the case of political transformation as occurred in European countries in particular in the early modern period and reappeared in other countries of the world in recent times. Modernization is a multi-faceted process and it involves economical changes like industrialization, urbanization, etc. and social changes like education, improvement in health and sanitation, etc. Thus political modernization is a concept having several dimensions as,

1. At the psychological level it involves a change in the norms, values, attitudes and orientations of the people;
2. At the intellectual level, it involves an expansion of man's knowledge about his environment and diffusion of knowledge throughout society;
3. At the demographical level, it implies improvements in the standard of living and progress towards the mobility of people and urbanization;
4. At the social level, it has a tendency to replace the focus of individual's loyalty from family to organization and then to nation.
5. At the economic level, it involves the growth of market, agriculture, improvement in commerce at the expense of agriculture, development of industrialization and widening of the economic activity. In this way, modernization is defined as a comprehensive phenomenon which "brings about radical changes in the field of economic development, mainly in the direction of industrialization and material advancement, changes in the content of the political systems and also changes in the social and psychological spheres of life". Thus political modernization viewed in terms of social mobilization can be categorized into three. They are,

#### 1. Primitive and Backward Systems

It includes highly backward social and political systems of the world like Bhutan and Nepal where traditional responses, customs and rituals still carry the authority with them. Authority remains where it has been for centuries and no serious effort is made in the direction of political mobilization, socialization and recruitment.

#### 2. Developing Systems



The countries coming in this category are mainly colonial countries like Indian and Pakistan that shows a dichotomy of tradition and modernity in its culture. Their masters may impose the modernity over their old social and political structures. The result after independence is a complex mixture of the modern institutions and traditional cultures.

### 3. Western or Developed Systems

This category includes those countries like USA, Britain, France, etc. where the people are affluent and highly educated, the country is well urbanized and industrialized, and their decision-makers are elected by the people and answerable to them. Yet the concept of political modernization may be subjected to the same line of criticism, that is, levels against the concept of political development. In both of these concepts there is an attempt to draw political science into the ocean of some other discipline like economics and sociology. Instead of keeping political science as an independent discipline, it is reduced to the status of a dependent subject.

## MODULE II

### Law, Liberty, Equality, Justice, Rights and Duties

#### Law

#### Meaning

A study of the basic concept of political theory should begin with discussion of the idea of law in the sense that the state is a legal association. The state is distinguished from society, nation and other association by virtue of its coercive power - a power that issues in the form of law. The state operates through the government and the government interprets the will of the state through law. Law is the vehicle of sovereignty. The function of the state is not only limited to the execution of law, it is also to enforce law in just manner. Law regulates life and without law there is chaos and confusion. Thus the central idea in law is that of control. In a democratic society it is a technique with a purpose – it is the sum of the social influences regularly recognized and applied by the state in the administration of justice. In Political Science we use the term law to mean a body of rules to guide human action. The word 'law' comes from the old Teutonic root 'lag' which means to lay, to place, to set or to fix something in an even manner. Law is for this reason, something positive or 'imposed'. In a deeper sense the word 'law' originates from the Latin word 'jus' means a bond or tie. Thus law means a system of rules hold to be binding or obligatory which aimed at realizing justice. Woodrow Wilson defines "law is that portion of the established thought and habit which has gained distinct and formal recognition in the shape of uniform rules backed by the authority and power of the government". To sum up, law has the following features.

1. Law is an expression of the will of the state and expressed by the only constituted authority;
2. Law is enforced by the state;
3. Law is concerned only with the external aspect of human actions;
4. Law is universal in its application;
5. The violation of law may lead to punishment;
6. The aim of law is individual and general welfare;

#### Source of Law

##### 1. Customs

In every community the earliest form of law is traceable to the well established practices of the people. These practices once started, gradually but imperceptibly developed because of the utility that inhered in them. In due course, a practice became a usage, which after sufficient standing was became a custom and then a law. Even now customs seem to play an important part where the life of the people is quite simple. The law of today is based on the customs of the people, a translation of an age-old established practice into specific written terms by the state.

## 2. Religion

The customs find their sanction in the religious books of the people. Since time immemorial people have either faith in God or some supernatural powers and they tried to lay down rules for the regulations of their behavior. In course of time most of the principles of religious law have been translated by the state in terms of specific rules.

## 3. Adjudication

As the process of social organization became more and more complex, the force of customs declined. Disputes among the people based on their customs were referred to the judges – the wisest men of the community – who delivered verdicts to settle the points in question. Later their decisions came to have a special sanctity and as these were given in writing, they came to be known as case-law.

## 4. Equity

One more important source of law is contained in equity, an informal method of making new law or altering an old one depending on equality of treatment. In simple words, it means equity or natural justice in cases where the existing law does not apply properly and judgment has to be given according to commonsense or fairness. In the absence of positive law judges decide on the basis of general principles of fairness and natural justice.

## 5. Legislation

The important source of law is legislation. It means placing of a specific rule on the statute book of the land, which reflects the will of the state. The noticeable point at this stage is that with the pace of political development, legislation has become the most important source that has outplaced the significance of other traditional forces like customs and religion.

## 6. Standard Works

The source of law may also be traced in scientific commentaries in which leading thinkers, jurists and statesmen express their views on important points of law and which, when recognized are treated as important. Their opinion were accepted by the courts and also incorporated into the law of the land.

## 7. Roman Law

Roman law is the legal system of ancient Rome, and the legal developments which occurred before the seventh century AD. This Roman law ordered by Emperor Justinian I known as the Justinian Code was effective in the Eastern Roman (Byzantine) Empire (331–1453) and also served as a basis for legal practice in continental Europe, as well as in most former colonies of European nations, including Latin America. Today the provisions of Roman law were fitted into a more coherent system and expressed in the national language. They were classified into *Jus civile* (citizen law) i.e. law for citizens, *Jus gentium* (law of peoples) i.e. foreigner's law and *Jus naturale* i.e. natural law.

## Dimensions or Kinds of Law

Law has been classified into various forms according to the basis taken by a juristic thinker on his subject. It may be on the basis of the relations, which it seeks to adjust between the people and their communities.

#### 1. Natural Law

Nature law or law of nature is being authorized by nature and not the creation of man. The dictates of natural law are understandable by the rationality of man and it is not written in form.

#### 2. Positive Law

The law of state or positive law is concrete in the sense that it is created by man. It is written in form and has its place into the statute book. While positive law has its sanction in respect for or fear of some supernatural power, the sovereign authority enforces the latter. For this reason too it is called determinate or positive. It is called positive law, for its terms are quite specific and binding.

#### 3. National Law

A law formulated by the sovereign authority and applicable to the people living under its territorial jurisdiction is called national law. It determines the private and public relation of the people living in a state. National law has the force of sovereign authority and thereby enforceable in nature.

#### 4. International Law

This law regulates the conduct of states in their intercourse with each other. These laws are not framed by any sovereign law-making authority nor is there any sovereign authority to enforce these laws. International law derives its sanction on the good sense of the civilized nations of the world. They have the force only to the extent to which they are recognized and accepted by the different states of the world. For example it is a universally accepted international law that the plane of no foreign country can fly over the territory of any country without seeking its permission. This international law is universally accepted by all the countries of the world.

#### 5. Constitutional Law

Constitutional laws are part of the constitution, which are enforced by the courts. Constitutional laws are the basic laws according to which the government in a state conducts itself. In short the laws that define, interpret and regulate the functions of the government are known as constitutional laws. Constitutional law has higher status than the ordinary law. The constitutional law may be written or unwritten on account of being in the form of well-established practices. If it is written in form a Constitutional Assembly creates it. Election of the President, powers and functions of Supreme Court, appointment of Governors, etc. are examples for constitutional laws.

#### 6. Ordinary Law

The laws that are not related to the forms and functions of the government and to the fundamental rights but are related to the social and economic affairs of all citizens are

known as ordinary laws. Ordinary laws are the creations of legislature or of some authority having delegate powers. Abolition of child marriage, property laws, etc. is examples of ordinary laws. These laws are also known as statute laws.

#### 7. Civil and Criminal Law

Civil law deals with the civil wrongs committed by a person going to harm the interest of another like non-payment of dues or the violation of the terms of a contract. The latter relates to criminal act of a person like theft, robbery, and murder. In each case the procedure is different.

#### 8. Private Law

Private law determines the relation of citizens to one another. They regulate the relations among individuals. In private law says Holland, "The parties concerned are private individuals above and between whom stands the state as an impartial arbiter."

#### 9. Public Law

Public law is concerned with the organization of the state, the limits on the functions of the government, and the relation between the state and its citizen. Holland says, "in public law also the state is present as an arbiter, although it is at the same time one of the parties interested."

#### 10. Ordinances

Ordinances are the orders issued by the executive branch of the government within the powers prescribed to them by the law of the state. In simple words, President issues the orders, in the absence of legislative session to face the emergency. As a rule ordinances are not permanent.

They are issued for the special purpose of facing emergency. The issued ordinances have to pass from the legislature within six months. Theories of the Origin and Nature of Law There are different theories about the origin and nature of law.

Natural theory:-

Natural theory considers law as eternal, universal, constant, rational and immutable. Nature is the author of this law as such it is based on right reason. But natural law is very difficult to implement.

Imperative theory:-

It rejects the natural theory and says that natural law is valid until it is recognized by the state authority. Thus it is also known as legal positivism. It lays too much stress on state authority. Advocates – Hobbes, Austin,

Bentham, Bodin.

Historical theory:-

According to historical theory, law is neither authored by nature nor created by state but it is the result of social development. Sociological theory is also related to this.

Advocates – Hugo, Savigny, Lord Bryce, Sir

Henry Main.

Marxian Theory:-

According to Marx, legal relationships are footed upon the material conditions of life, laws merely express the will of the dominant class. Marx says, "Law is an expression of society's general interests and needs as they emerge from a given material means of productivity".

Relationship between Law and Liberty

The relation between law and liberty is widely discussed among philosophers. The relationship between law and liberty is changing according to the nature of the state. The anarchists and syndicalists hold that law and liberty are opposed to each other. They denounce the state as an instrument of exploitation and oppression and desire a classless and stateless society in which there is no law to limit the liberty of the individual. The more is the law, the less is the liberty of individual. William Godwin, Peter Kropotkin, Pierre Joseph-Proudhon are some of the anarchists. Individualists also hold the same view that every extension of state activity limits the freedom of the individual. They want the state to restrict its activities to minimum. Individualists like J.S. Mill and Herbert Spencer take state as a necessary evil and for that desires minimum possible interference by the state. But the socialists treat law and liberty in complementary terms. To them state is a welfare agency and it can ensure a better social order and liberty through its legal mechanism. Law imposes restraints that are essential for social welfare. To leave each man to do what he pleases would lead to anarchy and disorder. Thus liberty is law or at any rates a part of law. The state is the only source of legal authority, which can provide immunity from the unnecessary interference of others. For the idealists state is a moralizing agency, it can do anything by means of law to protect liberty. So every law of the state must be observed by the people. They hold that a man is free only when he obeys the law of the state. It can use the force to create freedom. The fascists give a practical expression to the idealistic view according to them, state can do no wrong. Man should fall down and obey law so as to worship the state. In fact in fascist society law destroyed the liberty. Thus the issue of relationship between liberty and law is really of a delicate nature. State can protect liberty and can ensure liberty through law. Thus the balance remains in the use of laws created on the basis of general will in a legitimate way.

### **Rule of Law**

The rule of law is a legal maxim that states no person is immune to law. The phrase has been used since the 17th century, but the concept can be traced to ancient Greece. Aristotle put it this way, "law should govern". Rule of law stands in contrast to the idea that the sovereign is above the law, a feature of Roman law. British jurist A. V. Dicey popularized the phrase "Rule of Law" in his book *An Introduction to the Study of the Law of the Constitution* published (1885). Dicey emphasized three aspects of the rule of law:

(1) No one can be punished or made to suffer except for a breach of law proved in an ordinary court;

(2) no one is above the law and everyone is equal before the law regardless of social, economic, or political status; and

(3) The rule of law includes the results of judicial decisions determining the rights of private persons. The rule of law is one of the cordial features of the British constitution. It is the outcome of centuries of struggle of the Britishers for political freedom and individual liberty. Rule of law is based on the common law of the land in Britain. There is no constitutional provision for fundamental rights and the constitution does not confer any specific rights on the citizens. Judiciary is the custodian of the liberties of the people. In England there is no difference between public law and private law – the one applying to officials and the other ordinary citizens – because they believe in the maxim that all are equal before law. This has been characterized by Dicey as the rule of law. In England every person is subject to the ordinary law courts. Every action of the government must be authorized by law. As such, there is nothing in England that may be characterized as arbitrary power. It implies that no one in England can be punished arbitrarily. All the accused are to be tried in the ordinary court of law, in accordance with the ordinary legal procedures, the accused having the right to defend himself through his advocate. Thus rule of law means equality before law. Administrative law As distinct from the rule of law, there exists in the continental countries of Europe and particularly in France the administrative law or more exactly special law for officials. It may be defined as that body of rules which regulate the relations of the administrative authority towards private citizens in their dealings with these officials. In such cases they are called to account before special administrative courts composed mainly of superior executive officials. These administrative courts apply a special form of law and procedure called the administrative law. The officials are not subject to ordinary laws nor can they be tried before ordinary courts. Administrative law is the body of law that governs the activities of administrative agencies of government. Administrative law is considered a branch of public law. Administrative law expanded greatly during the twentieth century, as legislative bodies worldwide created more government agencies to regulate the increasingly complex social, economic and political spheres of human interaction. In fact Prof. A. V. Dicey is responsible for interpreting the administrative law. But his concept is not free from criticism. It is pointed out that justice cannot be expected when officials try officials. Further it is based upon customs and precedents rather than on statutes.

## **Liberty**

### **Meaning**

The theme of liberty is integrally connected with the theme of rights. It is the provision of rights with their due enforcement by the state that ensures freedom to a citizen and thereby enables him to seek the best possible development of his personality. The term 'liberty' comes from the Latin word 'liber' that means 'free'. The meaning of liberty generally taken a wrong way as it is identified with the absence of restraints and limitations. No man can be absolutely free. In the sense of unrestrained freedom liberty is not possible in society. Thus viewed, liberty means man's right to do what he wants for the sake of making the best possible

development of his personality. Social life is regulated by a set of principles or norms that make man's life civilized. These restraints lay down the line of distinction between good and bad, right or wrong, moral and immoral, legal and illegal. In fine, the real meaning of liberty should be understood with this point in view that the liberty of an individual is relative to that of others. Liberty is defined by Mahatma Gandhi as follows, "liberty does not mean the absence of restraint but it lies in development of liberty." According to John Seeley, "liberty is the opposite of over-government". The meaning of liberty has two dimensions negative and positive. In a negative sense, it implies the absence of restraints as far as possible. Negative liberty meant that there should not be any hindrance in the path of one's actions. Here the point of stress is that restraint is bad, because it effects curtailment of individual freedom. J. S. Mill and F. A. Hayek, John Locke, Thomas Hobbes, Adam Smith, Jeremy Bentham are exponents of negative liberty. Mill maintained that there should not be any hindrance in the path of man. Hayek says that every individual has some assured area of personal freedom with which others cannot interfere. The negative view of liberty is not appreciated in the present times. Now individual liberty is sought to be reconciled with state authority. Restraints are essential if the state desires to achieve the goal of public welfare. The positive concept of liberty admits that there must be compulsion if liberty is to have a practical meaning. It is a contribution of T. H. Green. He defines it as a positive power of doing something that is worth enjoying in common with others. Since man is social creature, his life should be regulated by certain social bonds. Hegel, Rousseau, Herder, Marx, H. J. Laski, Barker are other advocates of positive liberty. Liberal versus Marxist View, The Marxist interpretations regarding real meaning and nature of liberty hinge mainly on the nature and scope of economic liberty available in the pattern of social life. The liberals define liberty as a bundle of rights that enable a man to seek the best possible development of his personality. They do not bother for the kind of social life of man. On the other hand, the Marxist view of liberty covers the case of man's life in the society he lives and the conditions he is subjected to. It follows that in the Marxist view, there can be no real freedom unless the capitalist system is replaced with the socialist system. The Marxist concept of liberty rejects the case of 'free will' as the ingredient of liberty. Man is not only a social creature who can understand the pattern of his social existence and then change it by means of his conscious revolutionary social activity. It is quite obvious that Marxist view of liberty cannot be appreciated by the liberal thinkers who identify liberty with constitutional government, political democracy and orderly administration based on common law system. They are, Milton Freidman,

**Louis Fischer and Arthur Koestler.**

### **Dimensions or Kinds of Liberty**

Simply stated, liberty implies a condition of freedom especially opposed to political subjection, imprisonment or slavery. In a wider sense, it is a multiple concept having these important varieties.

#### **1. Natural Liberty**

It implies complete freedom for a man to do what he wills. It means no restraint to any kind whatsoever on the doing of a man. Just as all creatures live according to their will in the world of nature, so should be the pattern of man's life. Let a man do what he wills. But liberty in



modern society is within restraints. So the idea of natural liberty is therefore an errant nonsense. As a social creature man should lead a life regulated by social restraints.

## 2. Social Liberty

Social liberty relates to man's freedom in his life as a member of social organization. As such it refers to a man's right to do what he wills in compliance with the restraints imposed on him in the general interest. This kind of liberty consists in the rights and privileges in the society, which is protected by the state. Thus social liberty liberates a man from the fear of arbitrary aggression.

## 3. Personal Liberty

Personal liberty means the availability of those conditions in which the individual can act without being under any type of arbitrary restraint. Every individual has the right not to permit any other individual to interfere in his personal affairs. Every individual should have the liberty to dress, food, standard of living, marriages, education of children, etc. Personal liberty stands for the personal security, personal freedom in movement, and enjoyment of personal property. The state should not interfere in the personal matters of the individual. Such liberty is essential for the free development of human society.

## 4. Political Liberty

Political liberty refers to the power of the people to be active in political affairs of the state. Thus it is integrally connected with the life of man as a citizen. It requires two things – political education and free supply of news. By political liberty Laski means the freedom of the individual to participate in the affairs of the state. Political liberty includes liberty to vote, to contest in elections, to hold public office, to express political views and criticize government, to have free and fair election, freedom for public opinion, etc.

## 5. Economic Liberty

Economic liberty allows individuals to be engaged in some gainful occupation. It means liberty to earn one's own daily bread. In simple words, every individual regardless of caste, color, creed, place of birth, sex and religion should have liberty to earn money through some occupation. The individual should be free from the constant fear of unemployment and insufficiency that perhaps more than any other inadequacies affect the whole strength of the personality.

## 6. Domestic Liberty

It is by and large a sociological concept that takes the discussion of liberty to the spheres of man's family life. It implies that of all associations within the state, the miniature community of family is the most universal and of the strongest independent vitality. There was a time when the authoritarian state was reflected in the authoritarian family. Thus with the advent of democracy, liberty pervaded the sphere of family life as well. It intends the freedom enjoys in a family to have respectable relations with others.

## 7. National Liberty

It is synonymous with national independence. As such it implies that nonation should be under

the subjection of another. It stands for national independence, freedom from imperialism, etc. Like individuals nations also think in terms of liberty. As a matter of fact national liberty is another name for national sovereignty. Every nation wishes to remain free. And without independence the progress of the nation or the state is not possible. In a slave country people cannot enjoy the comforts of life. For this love for national liberty is identified with patriotism.

### **8. International Liberty**

The ideal of liberty covers the world as a whole. Thus in the international sphere, it means that renunciation of war, reduction in arms production and abandonment of use of force and pacific settlement of international disputes. It also desires adequate curbs on the strength of military force so that it may not crush the liberties of the local people or people of a different country.

### **9. Moral Liberty**

It stands for the freedom of the individual to act as per his rational self. Every individual should have the liberty to develop his personality according to his will. This type of freedom is contained in the idealistic interpretations of thinkers from Plato and Aristotle in the ancient to Rousseau, Kant, Hegel and Green in modern times.

### **Conditions of Liberty**

Every state guarantees liberty in its own way. Liberty can be safeguarded in the following ways.

1. Enunciation of Fundamental Rights, The constitution defines the powers of the government and sets a limit to its action. The basic rights of the citizen are clearly enlisted in the constitution and the violation of it leads to punishment.

2. Separation of judiciary from executive Judiciary should be separated from the executive and it should be impartial also. Montesquieu regarded separation of powers as an essential safeguard of liberty. If the people cannot secure speedy and impartial justice, liberty is in danger.

3. Decentralization of power

Decentralization of power also safeguards liberty. Centralization of power may lead to despotism.

4. Political Party System

A well-organized party system always protects liberty by preventing despotism and misuse of power.

5. Rule of Law

Rule of law implies equality before law and ends up discrimination. It upholds the maxim that all are equal before law including the ruling class.

6. Free Press

Laski considers the provision of an honest and straight-forward supply of news is a necessary condition of liberty. If the facts are not presented in their true aspects and are deliberately perverted, the judgment will be unrelated to truth.

#### 7. Eternal vigilance

The most important safeguard of liberty is popular vigilance. It has been said that 'eternal vigilance is the price of liberty'.

### **Equality**

#### Meaning

Equality, like liberty, is an important pillar of democracy. In common parlance the term equality is used for identity of treatment and identity of rewards. However, this is not a correct use of the term because absolute equality is not possible. Like liberty, equality has also been assigned both negative and positive meaning. In the negative sense, equality means the absence of special privileges. It implies the absence of special privileges. It implies the absence of barriers like birth, wealth, caste, color, creed, etc. In the positive sense, equality means provision of adequate opportunities for all the members of the society. It may be observed that adequate opportunities do not mean equal opportunities. Therefore, equality really means the provision of adequate opportunities to all citizens without any discrimination. Nobody should be debarred from certain facilities simply because of his status, caste, creed, etc. In short, equality implies the following things. First, all persons should be provided with adequate opportunities for the development of the personality. Second, no class or caste or group enjoys special privileges that are not available to other members of the society. Third, there should not be any discrimination among members of society and if there is any discrimination it should be based on reasonable grounds. Fourth, rights are equally distributed among all and all have equal access to opportunities leading to authority.

#### **Dimensions of Equality**

The concept of equality is dynamic one and has kept on changing according to times. Accordingly different scholars have suggested different dimensions or kinds of equality. Laski mentions only two kinds of equality – political and economic. Lord Bryce refers to four kinds of equality – civil,

#### **political, social and natural.**

##### 1. Civil Equality

Civil equality implies equality of all before law. All citizens irrespective of their status and position should be treated at par and no distinction should be made on the basis of caste, creed, sex, political opinion, social status, place of birth, etc. The laws of the state should be passed for the benefit of all and should not be used as instrument for the promotion of interest of a particular section of population. Equal rights should be available to all the persons and nobody should be denied enjoyment of any right.

##### 2. Political Equality

Political equality means that all the citizens have the right to participate in the affairs of the

state without any discrimination on grounds of caste, color, creed, sex, etc. All the avenues of authority should be open equally to all the citizens and they should enjoy right to vote, right to contest election, right to criticize the government, right to hold public office, etc. The doctrine of political equality is based on twin principles of universal adult franchise and human dignity.

### 3. Social Equality

It assumes that there should not be any discrimination among various citizens on the basis of social status, color, caste, creed, rank, etc. It is opposed to the grant of special privileges to any person on the basis of his social status or caste, religion, etc. It may be observed that social equality cannot be established through law alone. It can be achieved only through regulation of social habits and institutions. Education can also play a significant role in bringing social equality.

### 4. Economic Equality

In modern times scholars have attached great importance to economic equality and consider it as vital to the existence of other types of equality. Economic equality does not imply that there should be equal distribution of wealth. On the other hand it means that there should not be concentration of wealth in few hands only and certain minimum standards of income should be assured to all.

### 5. Natural Equality

The concept of natural equality rests on the principle that nature has created every one as equal. Nature has not bestowed all human beings with the same qualities. Interpreted in this sense the idea of natural equality is a myth.

### 6. Legal Equality

Here equality means that all people are alike in the eye of the law and that they are entitled for its equal protection. Thus the principle of equality implies equal protection of life and liberty for everyone under the law, and equal penalties on everyone violating them. In a strictly technical sense, the principle of equality implies equal protection of law to all denying discrimination on any artificial ground whatsoever. Viewed in a wider perspective it also means justice at a low cost at the earliest practicable time so that everyone irrespective of his social or economic status may get it according to the established procedure of the land.

### 7. International Equality

It means the extension of the principle of equality to the international sphere. All nations of the world should be treated equally irrespective of their demographic, geographical, economic or military compositions. That is the principle of internationalism requires that all nations of the world should be treated on identical terms whether they are big or small in terms of their size, location, natural resources, wealth, military potential and the like. It also implies that international disputes should be settled

through pacific means in which every nation has right to discuss matters in a free and frank manner and that the use of force, or a threat of this type, is ruled out from consideration.

### **Liberty and Equality**

The relationship between liberty and equality has been a matter of controversy that has two sides; the negative view is that liberty and equality are incompatible terms. Lord Action and F. A. Hayek argue that bringing about a condition of equality has in practice led to inequality and tyranny. The positive view takes liberty and equality as compatible terms. In fact both are necessarily connected with the supreme worth and dignity of human personality and the spontaneous development of its capacities. Liberal versus Marxist Interpretations The liberal doctrine of equality stands on the premise of the 'equality of adequate opportunities' available to every member of the society. That is all people have liberty to compete in the midst of equal opportunities with the result that those who can make best use of their chances may go ahead of others. Inequalities in the midst of equal opportunities are thus a valid affair. But the Marxist view of equality always associates with class war. Equality cannot exist in a society ridden with class contradictions. All kinds of class distinctions can be eliminated through the dictatorship of proletariat. A classless society is necessary for the liberty and equality

### **Justice**

#### Meaning

The concept of justice occupies a prominent position in political theory. Different people attached different meanings to the term justice at different times and places. The word justice is derived from the Latin word 'justitia' that means joining of fitting. In the words of Rafel "the idea of justice is plainly concerned with the general ordering of the society." Plato interpreted justice in terms of functions and Aristotle interpreted justice in the sense of fairness and equality. The idea of justice is a dynamic affair. As such, its implications change with the passage of time. What was justice in the past may be injustice today or vice versa of justice;

First, the concept is related to dealings amongst human beings. Second, it implies impartiality in the treatment of various persons and requires that no discrimination should be made amongst the various members of religion, caste, sex, place of birth, family, etc. Third, justice does not essentially mean doing away with all types of discrimination. It permits some sort of discrimination on reasonable grounds. For example, the special treatment promised to the backward classes under the Indian Constitution does not violate the concept of justice. Fourth, it emphasizes the importance of personal dignity and all those actions, which restrict the rights, and freedom of the individuals as derogatory or unjust. However, this doesn't preclude imposition of restrictions on the freedom of the individual in larger interest of the members of society. Fifth, the concept of justice is intimately connected with the concept of equality. Absence of equality is considered as a violation of the principle of justice. For example, legal justice implies the existence of a feeling of fraternity among the members of society. Finally, justice implies due consideration of the natural limitations. In short, justice tries to reconcile the individual rights with the social good.

### **Dimensions of Justice**

The concept of justice has four-fold dimensions – legal, political, social and economic. It shall be desirable to deal with these dimensions of justice in some details.

**Legal Dimensions of Justice.** The legal dimension of justice has been emphasized by the writers of the analytical school, John Austin, Hobbes, etc. They assert that law is the chief instrument of justice and in its absence there can be no justice. It implies the existence of rational law, customary law, statutory law, etc. Each individual is entitled to the protection of law and the violation of the law is punished in accordance with the law. In short, it implies 'equality before law' and 'equal protection of laws.' Secondly, for the enforcement of the law there must be courts or other semi-judicial bodies that can decide the disputes in accordance with the existing laws. Sometimes the courts decide the cases on the basis of equity and natural law to meet the requirements of justice. Thirdly, justice is intimately connected with punishment. A consensus exists that more serious crimes must be severely punished so that it acts as a deterrent for others. Fourthly, legal justice demands that equal rights should be made available to all the members and no discrimination should be made on the basis of caste, color, creed, sex, place of birth, etc.

#### **Political Dimensions of Justice**

Political dimensions of justice imply that the people should be given a chance of fair and free participation in the political life of the country. This generally finds outlet in the grant of universal adult franchise so that all the people may be able to participate in the election of their representatives. People are granted equal rights and opportunities to influence the policies of the government. Recruitment to public services is made without discrimination. In short, people are given a fair chance to determine the policies of the government in keeping with the prevailing requirements. The political parties, the pressure groups, etc. play a vital role in giving concrete shape to the political justice. In short, political justice is concerned with the actual implementation of the principles of legal justice.

#### **Social Dimensions of Justice**

The concept of social justice has very wide dimensions and covers practically everything that promotes the general welfare of the members of the community. It lays emphasis on the elimination of all kinds of discrimination and privileges based on caste, color, creed, sex, birth, etc. It also enjoins upon the state the duty to make concerted effort to improve the lot of the weaker sections of the community. It also implies the doing away of social evils prevailing in the society. In case of conflict between the social and individual interest the former prevails. It is not worthy that social justice cannot be forced on the people by the state through rigid rules alone. The social habits and social institutions play a vital role in its accomplishment.

#### **Economic Dimensions of Justice**

In recent years the economic dimensions of justice has assumed great importance. It is asserted that there cannot be any social or political justice without economic justice. Economic justice means that the basic needs of all the members of the state must be met and the national economy should be so shaped that the benefits are shared by the maximum number of people. There should not be wide economic disparities and the principle of equal pay for equal work should prevail.

## Theories of Justice

Regarding the nature of justice different theories emerged with different arguments. The Natural Theory of justice stipulates that man should follow the principles of a moral life as sanctioned by the law of nature. With the advent of Christianity law of nature became law of God. Critics say that the idea of natural or divine justice is a matter of myth. It is too abstract and

metaphysical in nature. The Legal Theory of justice identifies the whole idea of justice with that of courts. They believe that the legislature has the authority to make laws and the judiciary has the power to adjudicate. The advocates of imperative theory of jurisprudence like Hobbes, Bentham, Austin and Dicey fully support this view. The Marxian Theory of justice is identified with class domination. According to Marxists justice prevails in a classless society. It shows that the liberal interpretation of justice is quite flexible that places the judiciary in an impartial and independent position, the Marxist notion desires its committed form.

## Rights

### Meaning

Rights, liberty and equality are three inter-related themes; possession and enjoyment of rights without any distinction makes liberty and equality meaningless. In order to live, man must have some rights; in order to develop his personality to the best possible extent, he must have some particular rights. If state is the first condition of a civilized life, the civilized life requires a set of special rights that a man must have. According to Laski, "rights are those conditions of social life without which no man can seek to be himself at his best." A proper definition of right has three ingredients. First, it is a claim of the individual. However, not every claim can be a right; the claim should be of a common interest or something which is capable of universal application. Secondly, a claim of the individual must receive social recognition. For instance, an individual's claim that receives social recognition if every individual wills in the same direction. Finally, we come to the point of political recognition. Rights are, like moral declarations, until they are protected by the state. The state translates socially recognized claims of moral rights into terms of law and thereby accords them legal recognition. It, therefore, acts like a coercive agency to prevent the operation of selfish wills of the individuals.

### Dimensions or Kinds of Rights

Rights are of different kinds. A watertight classification of rights is not possible because of its interrelated nature. Laski puts rights into two categories – general and particular. But Barker divides them into three main heads relating to fraternity, equality and liberty. For convenience we can classify them into,

#### 1. Natural rights and Legal Rights

Natural and legal rights are two types of rights theoretically distinct according to philosophers and political scientists. Natural rights, also called inalienable rights, are considered to be self-evident and universal. They are not contingent upon the laws, customs, or beliefs of any particular culture or government. Legal rights, also called

statutory rights, are bestowed by a particular government to the governed people and are relative to specific cultures and governments. They are enumerated or codified into legal statutes by a legislative body.

## 2. Moral Rights

These rights are the claims of the individuals based on the conscience of the community. In other words, these are the claims recognized by the good sense of the people. For example, a teacher has the moral right to be respected by his students. But the difficulty with such rights is that they cannot be enforced by rules, their enforcement depends upon the good sense of the community. When moral rights are converted into legal rights, they become enforceable by the action of the state.

## 3. Civil Rights

These rights relate to the person and property of the individuals. They are called civil or social as they relate to the essential conditions of a civilized life. This broad category includes a number of rights like those relating to life, personal liberty, thought and expression, property, religion and the like. Of all the civil rights, right to life is most important, since enjoyment of all other rights depends on it. It implies that no person can take the life of another. Allied to this is the right to personal liberty. It includes right to live like a free citizen. Right to think and express also comes under this category.

## 4. Political Rights

These rights relate to a man's participation in the affairs of the state. This category includes right to vote, right to contest in elections, right to public employment, right to public opinion, etc. In other words, these rights enable a person to send petitions to the government for the redressal of certain wrongs, following a particular policy, making or unmaking a particular law and expressing views for the creation of a healthy public opinion. Democracy is regarded as the best form of government for the obvious reason that it ensures all these rights.

## 5. Economic Rights

These rights to relate to a man are vocation, his engagement in a gainful employment for livelihood. It implies right to earn money through proper means. Right to work falls within this category. Allied to this is the right to rest and leisure so that a person may take relief for the sake of maintaining and increasing efficiency. So the workers must have a right to form unions and associations for protecting and promoting their interests. The socialists go to the extent of including right to social insurance and self-government in industry in this category.

## 6. Human Rights

Human rights are commonly understood as inalienable fundamental rights to which a person is inherently entitled simply because she or he is a human being. Human rights are those rights which are inherent in the mere fact of being human. The concept of human rights is based on the belief that every human being is entitled to enjoy her/his rights without discrimination. The modified version of natural rights coupled with civil rights has



assumed a significance of its own since the formulation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) by UN in December 1948.

## 7. Fundamental Rights

By fundamental rights we mean those rights which form the essential conditions of good life and which constitute the essentials of human progress. In the absence of these rights the growth and development of human personality is not possible. In order to make them inviolable they are enshrined in the constitutions of democratic countries. People are ensured fundamental rights through constitutions in India, Japan, USA, France, Switzerland, etc. If any of the fundamental rights is violated, the person concerned can go to the court and seek help.

### **Theories of Rights**

From time to time, various interpretations regarding the origin and nature of rights were born which lead to the emergence of different theories. The Natural Theory of rights argues that nature is the author of certain rights that have a universal character. Ancient philosophers and Thomas Hobbes agree to this view point. John Locke treats right life, liberty and property as natural rights. The UDHR invokes the spirit of this theory when it declares, "all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights". When we come to the Legal Theory of rights, it holds that right is a creation of law. If there is no law there is no right. Hobbes, Bentham and Austin are the advocates of this theory. But critics say that people have so many rights because of the force of custom behind them. The Historical Theory of right takes the factor of time in the creation of rights. Every right is based on the force of long observance. The essential sanction behind a right is for this reason, is a tradition or a custom. Sociologists like Maclver and Edmund Burke are the advocates of this theory. Thus legal theory and historical theory are opposing each other. In Idealistic point of view rights are highly moral in nature. Rights are rooted in the minds of man. Thus they believe human consciousness postulates rights and liberty. The objective of this theory is the 'best possible development of human personality'. An ardent advocate of this theory is T. H. Green. The Marxian Theory of rights links up the case of rights with that of the prevailing economic system in a society. The dominant class creates the rights for their sake. Thus rights will be safeguarded only in a socialist system.

### **Protection of Rights**

Following are the measures for protection of the rights.

1. Rights should be enlists in the constitution.
2. Rule of Law should prevail
3. Free and honest press.
4. Decentralization of powers.
5. Independent and impartial judiciary
6. Associations and organizations

## 7. Eternal vigilance.

### **Duties**

As a member of society or the state a man must behave in a way which is good for all and which is helpful in promoting the welfare of society. Society calls upon the individuals to follow certain norms. These are obligations or duties. Thus a duty is an obligation. As a member of society or state, the individual has to observe these obligations of society. A man is said to have a duty in any matter when he is under an obligation to do or not do something. My right of living involves any duty to allow others the same condition of life. What is a right in regards to one's self is a duty in regard to others. Rights and duties are the two sides of a same coin. If one looks at them from one's own standpoint, they are rights; one look at them from the standpoint of others, they are duties. They are the same conditions seen from different angles. In the absence of duties, rights become insignificant and duties are fruitless in the absence of rights. A valid claim is both a duty and right. If we have right to enjoy our rights, it is our cardinal duty to perform our duties. If the state guarantees the enjoyment of certain rights to us, the state at the same time wants us to perform certain duties also. Otherwise we are punished. Important duties of a citizen are allegiance to the state, to obey laws, payment of taxes, honest exercise of franchise and, holding a public office, assistance in maintenance of law and order, etc. Besides we have certain moral duties to perform and certain legal duties that we are bound to perform. The terms duty and obligation are used in a situation in which a person has no choice but to carry out or to abstain from carrying out an action. In these cases we say that a person has the duty of paying the price stipulated in the contract or the duty to help a person injured. There is a clear difference between people who carries out an action in threat. Although the concept of duty can be seen in relationship among individuals and diverse spheres such as of families, church, etc. in this entry duty will only be studied from a moral and political perspective.

### **1. Moral Duties**

Moral duties are those obligations that we should observe but we are not legally bound to observe them. It is our moral duty that we should serve our parents, teachers, brothers and sisters and the relatives. It is our moral duty of every one that one should lend a helping hand to the poor and downtrodden. It is our moral duty that we should serve our village, our province, nation and the world to all possible extents. The reason why we have moral duties has been one of the central discussions of western philosophy for centuries. Two great political traditions have arisen from this discussion. The first of them argues that moral duty is an essential characteristic of human condition because individuals are moral agents. In consequence, duties should be fulfilled simply because of their existence, regardless of whether or not they serve the attainment of a certain end. The second of these traditions, by contrast, explains the existence of duties insofar as they are part of the fulfillment of a certain superior end.

### **2. Legal Duties**

There is marked difference between legal duties and moral duties. It depends entirely on the conscience of the individual to perform moral duties or not to perform them. But an individual is legally bound to perform legal duties. If he does not perform them, he will be

punished by the state. It is the legal duty of every citizen to show obedience to the constitution, commands of law and pay taxes regularly and honestly. It is our legal duty to remain loyal to our country. Traitors are tried by the judiciary and are punished by the state.

### 3. Positive and Negative Duties

Duties are classified into positive and negative according to their fulfilment. If a duty requires an action, then it is positive duty and if a duty requires an omission then it is a negative duty. In addition, duties can be general or special. General duties are those whose fulfillment can benefit anybody, as the duty not to kill. Special duties are those duties that benefit people who have a concrete relationship with the person who is obligated by the duty. Positive duties are usually special duties, whereas negative duties are usually general duties. While negative duties are easy to fulfill because they are omissions, positive duties demand an effort that can be more or less stringent, but they cannot have a limitless character.

#### **Fundamental Duties under Indian Constitution**

Rights and duties were interpreted that they go together in constitutions. In India the 42nd constitutional amendment act of 1976 introduced a list of fundamental duties of Indian citizen. All duties of Indian citizen are enumerated in part IV-A, Article 51 –A. It shall be the duty of every citizen of India,

- (a) to abide by the Constitution and respect its ideals and institutions, the National Flag and the National Anthem;
- (b) to cherish and follow the noble ideals which inspired our national struggle for freedom;
- (c) to uphold and protect the sovereignty, unity and integrity of India;
- (d) to defend the country and render national service when called upon to do so;
- (e) to promote harmony and the spirit of common brotherhood amongst all the people of India transcending religious, linguistic and regional or sectional diversities; to renounce practices derogatory to the dignity of women;
- (f) To value and preserve the rich heritage of our composite culture;
- (g) to protect and improve the natural environment including forests, lakes, rivers and wild life, and to have compassion for living creatures;
- (h) to develop the scientific temper, humanism and the spirit of inquiry and reform;
- (i) to safeguard public property and to abjure violence;
- (j) to strive towards excellence in all spheres of individual and collective activity so that the nation constantly rises to higher levels of endeavour and achievement.

(k) Who is a parent or guardian to provide opportunities for education to his child or, as the case may be, ward between the age of six and fourteen years. (Introduced by 86th Amendment Act 2002).

### **The Concept of Human Rights**

This part discusses the concept of human rights from its origins to the broad interpretation given to it today. Human rights are commonly understood as inalienable fundamental rights to which a person is inherently entitled simply because she or he is a human being. Human rights are those rights which are inherent in the mere fact of being human. The concept of human rights is based on the belief that every human being is entitled to enjoy her/his rights without discrimination. Human rights differ from other rights in two respects. Firstly, they are characterized by being:

- Inherent in all human beings means they do not have to be purchased or to be granted
- Inalienable, it cannot be taken away within qualified legal boundaries and
- Equally applicable to all.

Secondly, the main duty to protect the human rights falls on states and their authorities, not on individuals. One important implication of these characteristics is that human rights must themselves be protected by law. Furthermore, any disputes about these rights should be submitted for adjudication through a competent, impartial and independent tribunal. The specific nature of human rights reveals that they are essential preconditions for human development. Human rights are applicable on relations both between individual and the state and between individuals themselves. Regardless of its application the responsibility falls down the government. A government not only has an obligation to refrain from violating human rights, but also has a duty to protect the individual from infringements by other individuals. For instance, right to life thus means that the government must strive to protect people against homicide by their fellow human beings. Human Rights - Origin and Development. The origins of human rights may be found both in Greek philosophy and the various world religions. The principles of human rights established by Achaemenid Persian Empire of ancient Iran during 6th Century, the Magna Charta Libertatum of 1215, the Union of Utrecht of 1579 (The Netherlands) and the English Bill of Rights of 1689 were further developments in the history of human rights. In the Age of Enlightenment (18th century) the concept of human rights emerged as an explicit category. Man/woman came to be seen as an autonomous individual, endowed by nature with certain inalienable fundamental rights that should be safeguarded by a government. During this period John Locke developed a comprehensive concept of natural rights; his list of rights consisting of life, liberty and property. The term human rights appeared for the first time in the French Declaration (1789). The American Declaration of Independence of July 1776 was based on the assumption that all human beings are equal. Several constitutions drafted in Europe around 1800 contained classic rights, but also included articles which assigned responsibilities to the government in the fields of employment, welfare, public health, and education. The signing of the Charter of the

United Nations (UN) on 26 June 1945 brought human rights within the sphere of international law. The UN Commission on Human Rights (UNCHR), established early in 1946, submitted a draft Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) to the UN General Assembly. The Assembly adopted the Declaration in Paris on 10 December 1948. This day was later designated as Human Rights Day. The declaration is quite comprehensive. It incorporates a host of rights that have a necessary connection with moral and civil rights pointed out above. Article 1 of it says that all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights; they are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood. Article 25 speaks of the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, old age, or other conditions of destitute beyond one's control. An examination of the list of rights in this category shows that these are obviously prescriptive statements that command wide support among member nations. Since 1950s, the UDHR has been backed up by a large number of international conventions. The most significant of these conventions are the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR). These two Covenants together with the UDHR form the International Bill of Human Rights.

### Classification of Human Rights

Although human rights have been classified in a number of different manners it is important to note that international human rights law stresses that all human rights are universal, indivisible and interrelated. The indivisibility of human rights implies that no right is more important than any other.

#### 1. Classic and Social Rights

One classification used is the division between 'classic' and 'social' rights. Classic rights are often seen to require the non-intervention of the state (negative obligation), and social rights as requiring active intervention on the part of the state (positive obligations). In other words, classic rights entail an obligation for the state to refrain from certain actions, while social rights oblige it to provide certain guarantees. Classic rights such as civil and political rights often require considerable investment by the state. The state does not merely have the obligation to respect these rights, but must also guarantee that people can effectively enjoy them. On the other hand, most social rights contain elements that require state intervention in exercising the rights. The right to food, the right to housing, the right to work, the right to education are examples.

#### 2. Civil, Political, Economic, Social and Cultural Rights

##### Civil Rights

The term 'civil rights' is often used with reference to the rights set out in the first eighteen articles of the UDHR. This set includes right to life, liberty and security of the person. These rights offer protection from physical violence against the person, torture and inhuman treatment, arbitrary arrest, detention, exile, slavery and servitude, interference with one's privacy and right of ownership, restriction of one's freedom of movement, and the freedom of thought, conscience and religion. Besides the right to equal treatment and

protection in law certainly qualifies as a civil right. Moreover, this right plays an essential role in the realization of economic, social and cultural rights.

### Political Rights

In general, political rights are those set out in Articles 19 to 21 in UDHR. They include freedom of expression, freedom of association and assembly, the right to take part in the government of one's country and the right to vote and stand for election, etc.

### Economic and Social Rights

The economic and social rights are listed in Articles 22 to 26 in UDHR. These rights provide the conditions necessary for prosperity and well being. Economic rights refer, for example, to the right to property, the right to work, which one freely chooses or accepts, the right to a fair wage, a reasonable limitation of working hours, and trade union rights. Social rights are those rights necessary for an adequate standard of living, including rights to health, shelter, food, social care, and the right to education. Cultural Rights The UDHR lists cultural rights in Articles 27 and 28: the right to participate freely in the cultural life of the community, the right to share in scientific advancement and the right to protection of moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary or artistic production of which one is the author.

3. Fundamental and Basic Rights Fundamental rights are taken to mean such rights as the right to life and the inviolability of the person. These include all the rights which concern people's primary material and non-material needs. If these are not provided, no human being can lead a dignified existence. Basic rights include the right to life, the right to a minimum level of security, the inviolability of the person, freedom from slavery and servitude, and, freedom from torture, unlawful deprivation of liberty, discrimination and other acts which impinge on human dignity. They also include freedom of thought, conscience and religion, as well as the right to suitable nutrition, clothing, shelter and medical care, and other essentials crucial to physical and mental health. Mention should also be made of so-called 'participation rights'; for instance, the right to participate in public life through elections (which is also a political right; see above) or to take part in cultural life. These participation rights are generally considered to belong to the category of fundamental rights, being essential preconditions for the protection of all kinds of basic human rights.

## Module III

### Concepts of Development

Notion of the –Third World –from Under Development to Development

(A) Concepts of political system: meaning and characteristic

(B) Systems Analysis: Input-Output Analysis and Structural Functional Analysis

Political System

Meaning

The genesis of system analysis can be traced back to the writings of Ludwig Von Bertalanffy a biologist in the 1920's. It was after 2nd World War that scholars realized the need of unification of sciences and there emerged the system theory and system analysis. The concept of political system is one part of the system analysis in political science. The term political system is a new way of looking at the political phenomena. Political system includes in its study the state, government and nation but also the interaction of all political activities on the formal governmental institutions. It is David Easton who propounded the theory of political system. He selected the political system as the basic unit of political analysis. He defines political system, "as that system of interaction in any society through which binding or authoritative allocations are made and implemented." He treats political systems are open and adaptive systems. System analysis in international politics is introduced and popularised by

Mortan A. Kaplan.

With systems analysis, political science has changed its study from state and government to the real political process. The reason behind it is that some writers thought of studying the extra governmental agencies that lead to the emergence of political system analysis in political science. The political system refers to the study of state and government in the empirical dimension and also from an inter-disciplinary standpoint. The term political system is a compound of two words - political and system. The first word political refers to the existence and role of the state in empirical terms; the word system implies a set of factors that stand in interdependence.

Features of the Political System

According to Gabriel Almond, the political system has following features.

#### 1. Comprehensiveness

It means that the political system is very comprehensive in nature. It includes all the interactions – inputs as well as outputs – that affect the system as whole. In other words it includes not only legislature, executive and judiciary but also social structures and problems like kinship, social status, riots, caste groups, etc.

#### 2. Interdependence

It means that the system works as a whole, and if one component changes, the other components of the system are also affected and changed accordingly. For example the changes in communication and technology have transformed the electoral process, the nature of political parties, the legislature and executive.

### 3. Independent Boundaries

The boundary of political system is subject to change and it is independent in its change. Sometimes its boundary gets expanded and sometimes get contracted. It implies that there are certain points where the political system ends and other systems begin.

### Characteristics of a political system

In general the characteristics of a political system may said to be five in number. They are,

#### 1. Universality of Political Systems.

It implies that all political systems, whether old or new, developed or undeveloped have some common features and structures in which the system works. They have a legitimate pattern of interaction by means of which internal and external order is maintained.

#### 2. Universality of Political Structures.

All political systems have same structures that perform the same function with varying degrees of frequency. In an advanced system the structures may perform specified functions and in ancient ones structures are multi-functional, wherever it is, the functions are the same.

#### 3. Universality of Political Functions.

In every political system the same political structures performs same political functions, whatever be the status of the political system. For instance, the legislature in both eastern and western political systems performs the same function, i.e. law making.

#### 4. Multi-functionality of Political Structures

Though every structure has its specialized functions regarded as the primary function, it performs some other function as well that are supposed to fall within the domain of another structure. Example the legislature also performs some executive and judicial functions other than legislation. Likewise judiciary performs some legislative functions.

#### 5. Culturally Mixed Character of Political System

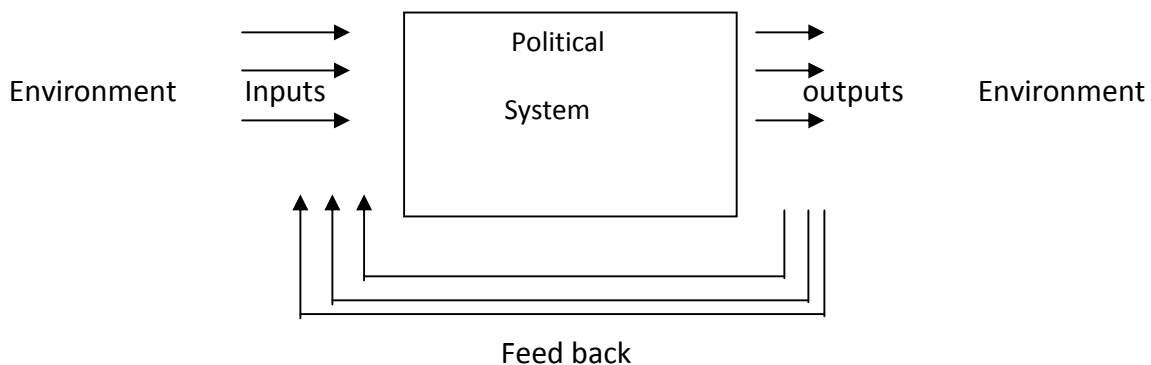
All political system has a mixture of formal and informal structure. Even a modern political system has many traits of a traditional system. For instance, the proceedings of the British parliament start after a short prayer. Similarly even the most primitive political system has some traits of a modern system like codification of laws and well-established judiciary.

### Input-Output Analysis



The system analysis has two derivatives, they are, input-output analysis and structural-functional analysis. Input-Output analysis is one of the important derivatives of system analysis. David Easton is of the view that in a political system, there are input and output functions. Both of these functions together drive the political system with efficiency. The input-output analysis of Easton has three main variables in the forms of demands, supports and feedbacks. In other words, the inputs consist of a) demands and b) supports. The output consists of rules, regulations, and other laws made by the political system through the conversion process. The demands and supports that the political system receives from the environment in the form of inputs go through a conversion process within the system and then take the form of outputs. This is followed by a feedback mechanism through which the effects and consequences of outputs are put back into the system as inputs.

The conversion process can be described with the help of the following diagram.



#### a) Demands

Easton defines demand, “as an expression of opinion that an authoritative allocation with regard to a particular subject matter.” A demand is nothing but the proposals for legislation. The structures in a political system convert these demands as authoritative decisions correctly stated as outputs. The demands put stress on the existing system. Each demand is an expression of opinion and leads to controversy whether those who are responsible for making authoritative allocation should or should not have taken a particular action. The demands come to the system from environments in different forms with a view to change, influence or modify the system. These may vague or specific demands. These demands can be for providing certain things, services and conveniences, for more political participation, etc. A system may not be in a position to convert all these demands into outputs. Excessive demands put too much stress and overload to the system. Thus during the conversion process some demands are fulfilled, some are weeded out also.

#### b) Supports

When the system comes under stress because of excessive demands it also receives supports from its environment in the form of positive responses towards specific objectives. No political system can persist unless it receives supports at a certain minimum level. Supports are the real supports of the people and political parties that give to this demand. There can be many causes for the failure of the system to get support from the people. Without the support from environment, the political system cannot survive.

#### c) Feedbacks

In Easton's systems theory, feedback is an important concept. According to him how far a political system can persist depends on the feedback, which it gets. A feedback is a process through which information about the outputs and environments is communicated to the system that may result in subsequent change or modification of the system. In the absence of feedback the whole system is likely to operate in an unresponsive manner and lose support. It is feedback that helps the system to function in a better way. If the feedback in the system is received too late or in distorted form then the outcome may not be to the advantage of the system. In all conditions feedback is a regulatory demand of political systems. Feedback can also be suffered because of many problems.

#### d) Outputs

Outputs of a political system come in the form of decisions or actions of the authorities. Thus output is turn out or production made by political authorities. Even political authorities themselves can take initiative in the making of outputs. Outputs can be in the form of concrete actions, statements or policies from the authorities or in the shape of immediate authorize decisions. Outputs have several aspects, economic, cultural, social, political, etc. The most important, however, is political aspect that influences the society and determines the need and form of next round of inputs.

#### Criticism

1. This analysis depends too much on natural sciences by borrowing and applying certain terms.
2. It cannot be applied for the study of mass political phenomena like voting, formation of political attitudes, agitations, demonstrations, strikes, etc.
3. It seldom gives preference to political problems and its solution. It says little about the politics of decline, disruption and breakdown.

#### Structural-Functional Analysis

Structural-functional analysis is the other derivative of system analysis. In political analysis 'structure' refers to those arrangements within the system that perform the functions. For instance a political party or legislature is a structure within the political system that performs different functions. For example, the political party as a structure performs various functions like communicating the wishes of people to government, informing the people, educating the masses, etc. No society can survive or develop unless it has a political system performing such functions. The nsurvival and maintenance of political system require that society must be having a well-functioning sub-system like a

political system, an ecosystem, a legal system etc. This approach takes society as a single system that is interconnected by different but dependent sub-system. These sub-systems help to maintain the equilibrium of the system and escape it from collapse in times of crisis. From the functional point of view, the structures are performing two types of functions. They are, Input functions and output functions. The input functions are,

#### 1. Political Socialization and Recruitment

The function of political socialization and recruitment are performed usually by the political structure, political parties. The child is socialized by the political parties, educational institution, family, organizations, etc. and they are recruited directly to the political parties by its senior members. These two are the primary input functions performed by the structures.

#### 2. Interest Articulation

Interest articulation means the identification and coordination of different interests of the people by interest groups or pressure groups. Based on these interests later the demands are prepared by them for its implementation. Caste, educational, business, farmers, laborer's interest groups perform their role in society to bring out their interests.

#### 3. Interest Aggregation

After interest articulation, the necessary demands from the groups were communicated to the political parties for its aggregation. This process is called as lobbying. The political parties then accept or reject the various demands and formulate it in the form of a proposal for law.

#### 4. Political Communication

The final input function is political communication. In this function the aggregated demands or interests are communicated to the political system by the political parties for its acceptance. Usually the people's representatives in the legislature, who are the members of different political parties, perform these functions. The political parties have the responsibility to inform the public about respective legislative proposals and they work as the channel of communication. After political communication, the output structures start to carry out their functions.

The output functions,

#### 1. Rule - making

Rule making is the primary output functions performed by the political structure, legislature. After the political communication the political system receives necessary demands from the environment or society, and starts the conversion process, i.e., the transformation of different demands into formal rules and regulations.

#### 2. Rule Implementation

The function of implementation of the rules is done by the executive wing of the government or political system, the other political structure. Through its various Ministries and departments the executive enforce the laws prepared from the legislature.

### 3. Rule Adjudication

Rule adjudication is the final output function performed by the judiciary. The laws once implemented by the executive went to the hands of judiciary for interpretation. Judiciary interprets and judges in all cases reached before it.

All these three-output functions together constitute the concerned output structures which latter helps in feedback mechanism through which the reaction upon the laws are going back to the system.

#### Criticism

1. It is static and unable to account for social change.
2. Too much sociological in character
3. Less individualistic, individuals are seen as puppets of the system.
4. Too much importance to integration and consensus.
5. Marxists criticized it as pro-capitalistic

## MODULE IV

### Democracy

Meaning and definition-types of democracy-conditions necessary for the working of democracy-Direct Democracy-Devices-Indirect Democracy-Liberal,Gandhian and Marxian views

#### Democracy

Democracy is a form of government in which all people have an equal say in the decisions that affect their lives. Ideally, this includes equal (and more or less direct) participation in the proposal, development and passage of legislation into law. It can also encompass social, economic and cultural conditions that enable the free and equal practice of political self-determination. The term comes from the Greek:(dēmokratía) "rule of the people", which was coined from (dêmos) "people" and (Kratos) "power", in the middle of the 5th-4th century BC to denote the political systems then existing in some Greek city-states, notably Athens following a popular uprising in 508 BC.

#### Definitions of Democracy

According to the Greeks, Democracy is the Government in which people rule over themselves. Aristotle considered it as a perverted form of government. Herodotus says ,it is a form of government in which the ruling power of the state is largely vested in the members of the community as a whole . According to President Abraham Lincoln, it is a government of the people, by the people and for the people. According to Bryce, Democracy is that form of government in which the ruling power of the state is legally vested , not in any particular class or classes but in the members of the community as a whole. Prof.Seeley says, Democracy is a form of government in which everybody has a share. According to Dicey, Democracy is a form of government in which the governing body is comparatively large fraction of the entire nation All these definitions refer to a relationship between the people and the government. This relationship keeps people above the government and projects people as the real source of power. In short, democracy implies that form of government in which the sovereign power of the state is vested in the people as a whole and the government derives its ultimate authority from them. People are the ultimate source of the state power and they take part in the government directly or through their representatives so that public policy is made to conform to the will of the people in order to achieve the common welfare of the people. Democracy is considered by the larger majority of the people around the world as a superior form of government compared to other forms in the modern times. It may be noted here that democracy is based on freedom, equality and social justice. The citizens in a democracy enjoy certain basic civil, political and legal rights and freedoms. At the same time, a democratic government must create equal opportunities for all in the socio-economic spheres. In other words, there should prevail social justice in a democracy whereby the vast inequalities of wealth are eliminated and distribution of wealth takes place in an equitable manner. In this context, democracy has been defined as a society based on equal opportunity and individual merit, rather than hierarchy and privilege. It has also been described as a system of welfare and redistribution aimed at narrowing social inequalities.

## Kinds of Democracy

As a form of government, there are two types of democracy-

1. Pure or Direct Democracy
2. Indirect or Representative Democracy

Pure or Direct Democracy:

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

## DIRECT DEMOCRATIC DEVICES

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

- i. Initiative: A specific number of voters may draft a bill and send it to the government for its adoption by parliament. Here the people initiate the legislation of a particular bill.
- ii. Referendum: is a direct vote in which an entire electorate is asked to either accept or reject a particular proposal. This may result in the adoption of a new constitution, a constitutional amendment, a law, the recall of an elected official or simply a specific government policy. It is a form of direct democracy. There are two types of referendum result

Mandatory - meaning the government must do what the result says

Advisory - meaning the result of the vote is only to help the government make the final choice. It usually depends on the country's history and constitution what sort of

referendum is used. In Switzerland, referenda are usually mandatory, because the people are seen as the source of the government's mandate (power) to govern. In the

United Kingdom, referenda have only been advisory, because the government says that the people elected parliament to make decisions.

iii. Recall: The voters may bring back or recall a representative chosen by them in case they are dissatisfied with him. Perhaps amongst the most controversial form of popular democracy is the recall. The recall is a process by which the people seek to remove a elected official from office.

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

Indirect or Representative Democracy:

Pure or direct democracy can exist and function only in small states with a limited, homogeneous population where people can conveniently meet and deliberate together. In large and complex societies, when the number of people is too large and the area of the state is too extensive, direct democracy is impracticable. So, what has developed as an alternative to it is representative or indirect democracy. Under representative or indirect democracy people elect their representatives to rule who take decisions on their behalf. Accordingly, the prevailing system of democracy in most countries is indirect or representative democracy. In other words, the responsibility of taking decisions on public affairs and issues of governance and administration as well as of formulating laws towards that end rests with not with the people themselves but with their representatives. The representatives are periodically elected by the people. For this purpose elections take place in democracies at certain intervals. In the UK and India , General Elections take place after every five years and in USA after four years in order to elect the representatives. In both the UK and India, the representatives are designated as Members of Parliament. John Stuart Mill defines indirect or representative democracy as one in which “the whole people or some numerous portion of them, exercise the governing power through deputies periodically elected by themselves.”

To illustrate the case of indirect democracy let us take India as an example. India is country with more than 115 crore population today. India is also a diverse country in terms of culture, language, region, religion etc. Such a huge and diverse country cannot be ruled directly by the people themselves. Therefore, India has developed a representational system of government at various levels. All of you are aware of the fact that Indian constitution provides for a parliamentary form of government. Under a parliamentary form of government, people do not directly elect the government. Rather, they elect their representatives to the Parliament and the government is formed from within the representatives. India has a Parliament at the Union level; Assembly at the State level and Panchayats at the grassroots. People elect their representatives to all these institutions at various levels to make laws on their behalf. To execute the laws enacted, we have the Union government, State governments and the Panchayats.. People elect their representatives to these institutions for a definite period i.e. for five years and re-elect or reject them after five years depending on the performance of the representatives.

Liberal view

Liberal democracy, also known as constitutional democracy, is a common form of representative democracy. According to the principles of liberal democracy, elections should be free and fair, and the political process should be competitive. Political pluralism is usually defined as the presence of multiple and distinct political parties. The Liberal democracies usually have universal suffrage, granting all adult citizens the right to vote regardless of race, gender or property ownership. Historically, however, some countries regarded as liberal democracies have had a more limited franchise, and some do not have secret ballots. There may also be qualifications such as voters being required to register before being allowed to vote. The decisions made through elections are made not by all of the citizens, but rather by those who choose to participate by voting. The liberal democratic constitution defines the democratic character of the state. The purpose of a constitution is often seen as a limit on the authority of the government. The Anglo-American political tradition emphasises the separation of powers, an independent judiciary, and a system of checks and balances between branches of government. Many European democracies are more likely to emphasise the importance of the state follows the principle of rule of law. Governmental authority is legitimately exercised only in accordance with written, publicly disclosed laws adopted and enforced in accordance with established procedure. Many democracies use federalism—also known as vertical separation of

powers—in order to prevent abuse and increase public input by dividing

governing powers between municipal, provincial and national governments.

Liberalism supported the democratic ideas right from the beginning. Its chief features are

1. It enshrines supremacy of the people;
2. It takes individual as the basic unit of democratic model, assuming that he is rational, ethical, active and self-interested;
3. It hated the tyranny of monarchies and aristocracies;
4. It advocated representative government with elected leadership;
5. More than one political party freely competing for political power;
6. Periodic election based on universal adult franchise;
7. Protection of civil liberties;
8. Independence of the judiciary.

Criticism

In spite of being a comprehensive theory of democracy, it has been vehemently criticized on following grounds

1. It ignores the role of organized groups, leaders or emotions in political affairs.
2. Public opinion as the basis of government is a democratic myth.



3. Democracy becomes a competition among the elite rather than the masses with the advent of the party system.
4. It is based on political equality and economic inequality.
5. According to Marxists, liberal democracies exclusively serve bourgeois interests. It tries to perpetuate the economic division of society.

#### Gandhian View on Democracy

Gandhiji's ideal society was based on democracy without state. It is an enlightened anarchy in which social life is based not on external but on internal, that is moral restraint. In such a society there is no relationship of command and obedience, superior or inferior. Everybody rules over himself and regulates his own action in the interests of the society because he is a social animal. Gandhiji did not make any direct suggestion as to the nature of the state. He was a philosophical anarchist and he rejects the state outright and in any of its form. He regarded the state as an instrument of coercion and compulsion which goes against the free moral development of the individual. The state represents violence in a concentrated and organized form. Since state cannot be completely done away with, it therefore should continue to perform only negative functions. So, in fact, Gandhiji wanted a non-violent state. Gandhiji's concept of state and democracy is based on truth, non-violence, Trusteeship and decentralization. He believed that in a stateless society there will be proper adjustment between law, freedom and social restraint on the basis of dharma. He felt that dislocation came only because state wanted to use violent means which were not acceptable to the people and that this dislocation could be properly adjusted by means of dharma. Gandhiji wanted to transform the system of capitalism and put an end to its vicious effect on social order. He therefore preached his doctrine of trusteeship. Trusteeship provides a means of transforming the present capitalist order of the society into a classless one, but gives the present owning class a chance of reforming itself. It aims at transforming the character of the rich. Thus he aimed at class collaboration and class coordination as the firm step towards the classless democracy. Gandhiji perhaps comes closest to democracy of a liberal kind in as much as it believes in political freedom, equality before law, freedom of assembly, and free election. But it will not be possible to identify him completely with it because he envisaged a classless democracy. Gandhiji went beyond the traditional liberal democracy in three major respects. Firstly, liberal democracy gives greater emphasis on the structure of political machinery. So it is conservative. But Gandhian method is based on action and change. So it is revolutionary. Secondly, compromise plays an important role in liberal democracy and it is an essential method of resolving all the differences in the political system. With the sole objective of remaining in power or maintaining political stability, liberal democracy keeps on sacrificing the essential principles too. Gandhiji believed in compromise, but made a distinction between nonessentials and essentials. A satyagrahi is not prepared to yield on any position which he holds to be true. There is no compromise about basic principles. Most of all, Gandhian state is based on Gram Swaraj, a ruling system depends on decentralization, cottage industry and self-sufficient village economy.

#### Marxian view

The Marxist view is fundamentally opposed to liberal democracy believing that the capitalist state cannot be democratic by its nature, as it represents the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Marxism views liberal democracy as an unrealistic utopia. This is because they believe that in a capitalist state all "independent" media and most political parties are controlled by capitalists and one either needs large financial resources or to be supported by the bourgeoisie to win an election. Lenin (1917) believed that in a capitalist state, the system focuses on resolving disputes within the ruling bourgeoisie class and ignores the interests of the proletariat or labour class which are not represented and therefore dependent on the bourgeoisie's good will. "Democracy for an insignificant minority, democracy for the rich – that is the democracy of capitalist society. If we look more closely into the machinery of capitalist democracy, we see everywhere, in the "petty" – supposedly petty – details of the suffrage (residential qualifications, exclusion of women, etc.), in the technique of the representative institutions, in the actual obstacles to the right of assembly (public buildings are not for "paupers"!), in the purely capitalist organization of the daily press, etc., – we see restriction after restriction upon democracy. These restrictions, exceptions, exclusions, obstacles for the poor seem slight, especially in the eyes of one who has never known want himself and has never been in close contact with the oppressed classes in their mass life (and nine out of 10, if not 99 out of 100, bourgeois publicists and politicians come under this category); but in their sum total these restrictions exclude and squeeze out the poor from politics, from active participation in democracy." (Lenin, *State and Revolution*, Chapter 5)

Main points.

1. It associated democracy with establishment of a socialist society, and its destruction as a form of state in the higher stage of communism.
2. Socialist democracy is the highest form of democracy because it is genuine democracy for the majority of the people.
3. Liberal democracy exclusively serves the interests of the bourgeoisie.
4. Liberal democracy tries to perpetuate the economic division of society

Conditions necessary for the working of democracy

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

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

Political Consciousness: It is essential to inculcate political consciousness among the citizens to make democracy effective. Citizens must keep an eye on the government so that it does not grow authoritarian. The presence of a strong public opinion: An important condition of democracy is the existence of a free, fearless and unfettered press, which vigilantly guards democracy.

**Rights and freedom.** In a democracy, the citizens must be able to enjoy basic civil rights and freedom so that can express and develop their personality. In a democracy people are given fundamental rights because in the absence of these rights the development of an individual is not possible. Fundamental rights have been granted to the people in their constitutions in India, Japan, USA, France and Italy.

**Equality.** To make democracy successful, all kinds of social, economic and political inequalities must be removed. The people must be democratic-minded. On the political side, a democratic government ensures equality of men by giving every citizen the right to cast only one vote irrespective of status. Similarly, in the social and economic spheres too, a democratic government must create equal opportunities for all. In a democracy there can be no place for any discrimination based on caste, class, birth, religion or wealth. In other words, there should be social justice in a democracy. However, in order that there is real social justice in a democracy, a democratic state must try to eliminate vast inequalities of wealth and ensure equitable distribution of wealth. A democracy also depends on good leadership. Effective leadership is a must if democracy has to be successful.

**Written Constitution and Independence of Judiciary.** Where there is no written constitution, the government can extend and exercise its powers in an autocratic manner. In a democracy, the constitution guarantees basic rights and freedoms to the citizens. In a democracy, it is the responsibility of the judiciary to protect the fundamental rights of the people and stand as the guardian of the constitution. In order that the judiciary is able to do that, it must be independent of any political influence. Accordingly, Independence of Judiciary is another pre-condition for the success of democracy. In our country, the Supreme Court and the High Courts protect the Constitution and the fundamental rights of the people.

**Law and order.** The maintenance of law and order in society by the government is an essential condition for the success of democracy. Spirit of Co-operation. A democracy can flourish only if there is no big gap between the thinking of the people and of the government and when there is a spirit of co-operation between them. Decentralization and Local Self-Government. The concentration of power makes the government autocratic. The division of power between the Center and the provinces bring efficiency in administration. With the introduction of local self-government, people take interest in administration and they give full support to the government. Periodic election. Independent, impartial and periodical elections help in establishing faith of the people and opposition in democracy. In the absence of free election, the opposition parties shall try to change the government through undemocratic ways.

**Sound Party System.** Constructive criticism has an important role in democracy. For this reason, many parties crop up in democratic set up. In the countries where there is only one party, and where other parties are banned, only dictatorship will developed there.

### **Criticism of democracy**

Economists since Milton Friedman have strongly criticized the efficiency of democracy. They base this on their premise of the irrational voter. Their argument is that voters are highly uninformed about many political issues,

especially relating to economics, and have a strong bias about the few issues on which they are fairly knowledgeable. The 20th Century Italian thinkers Vilfredo Pareto and Gaetano Mosca (independently) argued that democracy was illusory, and served only to mask the reality of elite rule. Indeed, they argued that elite oligarchy is the unbendable law of human nature, due largely to the apathy and division of the masses (as opposed to the drive, initiative and unity of the elites), and that democratic institutions would do no more than shift the exercise of power from oppression to manipulation. Mob rule. Plato's *The Republic* presents a critical view of democracy through the narration of Socrates: "Democracy, which is a charming form of government, full of variety and disorder, and dispensing a sort of equality to equals and unequaled alike." In his work, Plato lists 5 forms of government from best to worst. Assuming that the Republic was intended to be a serious critique of the political thought in Athens, Plato argues that only Kallipolis, an aristocracy led by the unwilling philosopher-kings (the wisest men) is a just form of government. Political instability. More recently, democracy is criticised for not offering enough political stability. As governments are frequently elected on and off there tends to be frequent changes in the policies of democratic countries both domestically and internationally. Even if a political party maintains power, vociferous, headline grabbing protests and harsh criticism from the mass media are often enough to force sudden, unexpected political change. Frequent policy changes with regard to business and immigration are likely to deter investment and so hinder economic growth. For this reason, many people have put forward the idea that democracy is undesirable for a developing country in which economic growth and the reduction of poverty are top priority.

## MODULE V

### POLITICAL PARTIES

#### A) Party Systems : An Overview.

Modern representative democracy has brought about Party System as an indispensable factor in every political society. It is now generally agreed that representative government cannot work without political parties. Still, surprisingly enough, the phenomenon of party system was almost unknown hundred and fifty years ago. To the founding fathers of the United States of America the influence of parties was bad. They considered the whole people as one unit. Only in formal democracy parties attain significance. Briefly speaking, with the extension of franchise to the mass of citizens, the struggle for political power is institutionalized in the operation of political parties. A political party may be defined as an organized group of citizens who prefer to share the same political ideas and who by acting as a unit try to secure the control of a government. According to R.G. Gettell, "A political party is a group of citizens more or less organized, who act as a political unit, and who by the use of their voting power aims to control the government and carry out their general policies". In the opinion of MacIver, "A political party is an association of organized people in support of some principle or policy which by constitutional means endeavors to make the determinant of government". Thus, it is evident that four elements are necessary to constitute a political party. First, the people should be organized, secondly, there should be similarity of principles. Thirdly, the aim of political party should be to attain political power.

Fourthly, a political party should use peaceful means for attaining political power. On the basis of the existence of number of political parties, the party system may be classified into various types. There are one party system, two party system and multiparty system, within each of these categories, however there may be further variations. If there is only one party functioning within a political system that may be called one party system. For ex: People's Republic of China. This kind of party system is also known as authoritarian or totalitarian one party system because such a system represents a single, monolithic, ideologically oriented party. There may be pluralistic one party system which is characterized by a single party that is pluralistic in organization and less ideological in outlook. There may also be the totalitarian one party system, such as the National Socialist Party of Hitler. Two party system may be classified into distinct and indistinct two party system. In distinct two party system, parties are more centralized and ideologically based, ex: British and Australian party system. In indistinct two party system, parties are less ideologically organized, ex: United States. Multiparty system may be classified into working multi-party system and unstable multi-party system. For ex: Kerala and India at present. Sometimes, within the framework of a multiparty system, there emerges what is known as one party dominant system. For ex: the erstwhile Congress system in India.

Political parties perform a wide range of functions and the most important among them is interest aggregation. Political parties harmonise various interests with each other. Another important function of the party is to ensure two way communication process between government and the people. It is mainly through the parties that the government is constantly kept informed about the general demands of society, about the interests and attitudes of the people in relation to the governing process. Parties educate and instruct

the people on public issues. Political recruitment is another important function of a political party. In a democracy political elites are recruited mainly through political parties. Political socialization is another function performed by political parties. It is an instrument of ensuring political involvement of the people in a country. The role of political parties in relation to the legislative organ is very much important in democracies. The Opposition acts as a check on the tyranny of the party in power and the ill considered legislation. Through the opposition the government also feels the pulse of the people regarding bills introduced in legislatures. Finally, in parliamentary government, the political parties help close co-operation between the executive and the legislature as the same party controls both of them.

### **Role of Interest Groups and Pressure Groups.**

A group formed with certain specific interest or interests is called an interest group. A political party is a coalition of group interest pursuing general political policies. Interest groups exist for the realization of certain specific ends. For example, interest groups of businessmen, labourers, teachers, students etc. For achieving their interests interest groups engage in picketing strike etc. Interest groups may be classified into many. There are anomic interest groups, in which individual self-representation takes place. These kind of groups are marked by limited organization and lack of constant activity on behalf of the group. Another type of interest groups is called nonassociational interest groups with ethnic and regional status. Institutional interest group is another variety of interest groups. They are found within such organizations as political parties, bureaucracies, churches etc. The important function of an interest group is interest articulation. There are many techniques of articulating demands by the interest groups. Physical demonstrations and violence is one of the means of articulating demands. Personal connection constitutes a second important means of access to political elites. Elite representation on behalf of an interest group constitutes a channel of access which can be utilized with great effect by some interests. It may take the form of the presence of a group member in the rule making structure or sympathetic representation by an independent elite. Pressure groups do not nurse the constituencies for competing polls. Their sole concern is to influence government in order to obtain laws compatible with their own special interests. Pressure groups are organizations interested primarily in policy and they do not ordinarily undertake to nominate candidates. According to H. Zeiger, a pressure group is "an organized aggregate which seeks to influence the context of governmental decisions without attempting to place its members in formal governmental capacities". In several countries there is a close relationship between pressure groups and political parties. In recent years, the relations between pressure groups and government have been institutionalized. In U.K., for instance, there are advisory committees which contain group representatives. In modern political systems, pressure politics has become a subject of serious study because interest groups like business organizations, labour organizations, farmers groups, religious and communal groups and professional bodies actively engage in interest articulation. However, the critics of interest group phenomenon points out that as the various interest groups seek to arrogate to themselves power without corresponding responsibility, they seem to be a menace to representative government. For they undermine the basic assumption of democracy viz., common interest and general welfare.

### **Public Opinion and Mass Media.**

The concept of public opinion came to lime light in the wake of democracy. Public opinion is the ruling force and the pulse of the people who are sovereign in a democracy. It is one of the most powerful institutions which can make and unmake governments. An alert and intelligent public opinion is absolutely necessary for the successful working of democracy. It was Rousseau who first used the phrase public opinion on the eve of French revolution. Public opinion is the opinion of the people in general on the question of general good or general welfare. It is the opinion involving matters of common interests to a community like national integration, foreign policy, nationalization etc. The theory of public opinion is thus a derivative from democracy as a form of government. The broad assumption on which the theory is built are:

- (i) that public is interested in government;
- (ii) that the public knows what is wants;
- (iii) that the public has the ability to express what it wants;
- (iv) that public's will would be enacted into law.

Public opinion may also be defined as the social judgement reached upon a question of public importance after national thinking. In the field of political dynamics, it is intended to produce a concrete governmental policy. Hence, as Finer observes "politics is most concerned with public opinion as will – which typically eventuates in a state in administration".

In modern democratic states many agencies help to mould public opinion

#### **Nature of Public Opinion**

Public opinion is an opinion of right minded citizens. It is the opinion which in actual practice has become the opinion of the majority and that too of powerful groups which dominate the society. Though it may be the opinion of the right minded persons yet in every society there are people who oppose it, though their opposition does not change that. As already said it is not necessarily majority opinion though in democracy political party which forms the government claims to represent public opinion.

Characteristics of Public Opinion:

#### **Agencies of the Public opinion:**

(i) The Press: Press is an important agency of creating public opinion. News papers in particular and the press in general are very effective in the formulation of public opinion. Besides publishing news, it expresses views and supplies arguments for and against all important problems. The economic, social and cultural questions can be well discussed through news papers. Speeches from the party leaders, debates in the legislature and public meetings are reproduced in the press. The news papers ventilate public grievances and try to voice the feeling and views of the people. Thus it is generally agreed that free and impartial press is indispensable to the success of democracy.

(ii) **The Platform:** Platform speeches are very useful means for educating the people and formulating public opinion. On the eve of election public platforms are fully exploited. Public speakers represent different views and analyse and discuss problems from different angles.

(iii) **Educational Institutions:** Educational institutions like schools, colleges and universities also play an important role in the formulation of public opinion. Many of the current problems are discussed in educational institutions and thus, education widens outlook and develops critical judgement. Educational institutions inculcate civic virtues to the citizens of tomorrow.

(iv) **Radio, Television, Cinema:** These are also agencies of public opinion. Radio, Television and Cinema can influence even the illiterate masses and enlighten them about the socio-political affairs. This will help the ordinary masses to formulate their own opinion about nation building.

(v) **Political Parties:** The most important agency for the formation of public opinion is political parties. Lowell describes parties as “brokers of ideas”. They educate the people on political affairs and socio-economic problems. They conduct election campaigns, organize public meetings and distribute printed literature to formulate public in support of their policies.

(vi) **Legislature:** Legislature consists of representatives of various interests of the people. The debates and discussions in the legislature have immense educational value and can help in developing public opinion. Apart from these agencies various associations and interest groups also seek to influence public opinion in their favour. These are several factors which hinder the creation of sound public opinion. Some such factors are dishonest press, superstition and religious conservatism, sectarian and communal outlook, absence of civil liberties, lack of education and political indifference. It is highly necessary to remove these factors for the formation of sound and healthy public opinion.

(vii). **Family and School:** Family is the first centre where public opinion is formed. It is the family that the individual develops habits, likes and dislikes. It is with the manifestation of all these habits emerges in the society and learn to cooperate and non-cooperate with others. It is there he expresses his opinions which ultimately become the part of public opinion. Similarly in school the character and the habits of his teachers and classmates are of much importance. The type of education which he gets lasts with him throughout his life. It will reflect on his opinion regarding public issues.

(viii). **Political Literature:** The leaders of political parties, editors, professors and other educated persons write and publish many type of political books every day. The people read this books and their views are moulded accordingly. Most of the people have no firm thinking of their own, and they are easily swayed by the views expressed in these books.

#### 6. Radio, Television and Cinema:

Radio, television and cinema also influenced the views and opinions of the people. They are not only serves the purpose of entertainment but they also convey the news and views of many public leaders to the mass. Millions of people can listen to them simultaneously at far long places.



(ix). Religious Associations: Religion has a great impact on our politics. If religion means morality, its effect shall be useful, but many a time, certain political parties use religious places for political propaganda. It has an adverse effect on politics, because religious places become a forum for propaganda by selfish leaders and their sanctity is destroyed. The task of formation of public opinion is very difficult and as such each political party, economic, religious and social group make every effort to ensure that once a favorable public opinion is created that should not in any way become unfavorable.

### **Importance of Public Opinion.**

Public opinion occupies an important place in democracy. The democratic government derives its power from the public opinion and is based on it. Each government tries to keep the public opinion in its favour and it should not go against it at any cost. The ministers are very much afraid of the criticism voiced in the press. The electorate elects a government for a fixed tenure periodically. After the election, the government cannot become despotic because of the public opinion. The government which violates the public opinion cannot stay long. The opposition parties create public opinion in their favour by criticizing the government. The voice of the people is the voice of the god. Thus the government which ignores public opinion is bound to meet its doom very soon. Public opinion is considered as the best protector of the fundamental rights of the people. In countries where public opinion is not awakened, the government becomes absolute. It is therefore, collectively said that "An alert and enlightened public opinion is the first essential of democracy". Even in dictatorship, government tries to create public opinion in its favour and for this purpose it controls the means which create it. Not only this but as we know that, even in a democracy only such laws get easily implemented which have the support of the public that are based on sound public opinion.

### **The Other View**

These days the other view about the importance of public opinion is being propagated. Walter Lippman in his book 'Public opinion' wrote, "Public opinion cannot be regarded as an Omni-competent and omniscient collectivity equipped to decide the affairs of the state." According to him, an average person has neither time, talent nor taste for including in any debate over mighty matters concerning state. They cannot collect adequate information on every issue and most of them are incapable of taking initiative on public matters. The supporters of this view point also say that because of media explosion, the people are being manipulated by mass communication media like radio, TV and newspapers. They therefore, argue that concept of public opinion as influential giant has been replaced by opinion manipulators and consent makers. Though the views expressed above are true to some extent and it is equally true that because of extended activities of the government and technical nature of work, an average citizen gets confused. The public too is always not provided with full information yet it cannot be denied that policy innovations are inversely connected with mass sentiments. Even an authoritarian government consults public opinion and tries to maintain an equation between the government and the public through the process of adaption and adjustment.