

MODERN STATE: NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI [1469-1527]

Unit Structure

- 1.0 Introduction
- 1.1 Objective
- 1.2 Main Objectives of Machiavelli's Writings and Thought
- 1.3 Machiavelli's views on Human Nature
- 1.4 Machiavelli's views on the Nature of the Modern State
- 1.5 Conclusion
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- 1.7 Reference

1.0 OBJECTIVES

This chapter proposes to understand the emergence of the modern state through the ideas and writings of Niccolo Machiavelli, the inaugurator of the Modern Age in the Western intellectual tradition. In doing so, the chapter looks into

- The historical background against which Machiavelli's ideas should be read
- The core values of the Renaissance and why Machiavelli is called the 'child of the Renaissance'
- Machiavelli's understanding of human nature
- Machiavelli's ideas regarding the modern state

"My intention being to write something of use to those who understand, it appears to me more proper to go to the real truth of the matter than to its imagination; and many have imagined republics and principalities which have never been seen or known to have existed in reality; for how we live is so far removed from how we ought to live, that he who abandons what is done for what ought to be done, will rather learn to bring about his ruin than his preservation." – *The Prince*, Niccolo Machiavelli (written in 1513).

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The quotation above encapsulates Machiavelli's political philosophy. It reflects the fact that Machiavelli was a realist, possibly the first realist, who preferred to examine and analyse political realities rather than the imagined ideas with which politics is often associated. Machiavelli is known as the

"Renaissance child." In his empirical and secular approach to understanding human nature and politics, he embodies the spirit and essence of the European Renaissance. The Renaissance not only inaugurated a new intellectual tradition of re-examining Man's achievements in the ancient or classical past, but it also heralded the age of a new production system - capitalism.

Concurrently, the convergence of these new trends in the intellectual and economic spheres resulted in changes in the political sphere as well. It was necessary to create a new type of political organisation that could accommodate Man's new aspirations in all emerging spheres: intellectual, economic, social, religious, and political. The essences of the Renaissance were scientific knowledge, rationalism, and humanism, all of which were admirably combined in Machiavelli's thought. In 1469, he was born in Florence during a period of intense political instability, and he was desperate to offer a solution to the ongoing political strife and contestations for power by the erstwhile ruling dynasty—the tyrannical Medici family and its opponents, and in between by the friar Savonarola, who sought to establish a theocracy in Florence.

In 1469, at a time of intense political instability in Florence, he was desperate to offer a solution to the ongoing political strife and contestations for power by the erstwhile ruling dynasty—the tyrannical Medici family and its opponents, and in between by the friar Savonarola, who attempted and failed to establish a theocracy in Florence. Florence and Italy as a whole were suffering as a result of the country's economic growth being hampered by the country's ongoing political insecurity. Machiavelli was appointed to a high political office during the Medici kings' absence from power, and upon the resumption of Medici rule in 1512, he was not only removed from office, but also accused of political treason and physically tortured on the count. Machiavelli was barred from all political activity for the rest of his life. Machiavelli was a prolific writer, with works such as *The Prince*, *Discourses on the First Ten Books of Titus Livius* (later renamed *The Art of War*), *The History of Florence*, and plays such as *Mandragora* and *Belfagor*, to name a few. All of his writings, including those with political overtones. "He was the most political of men in the most political of times," writes Brian R. Nelson, "and had he had the choice, he would have preferred being in politics to philosophising about it." (1996).

1.3 MAIN OBJECTIVES OF MACHIAVELLI'S WRITINGS & THOUGHT

Machiavelli's main goal in writing at a time of political chaos and moral confusion was to create a theoretical framework that could lay the foundation for a united, regenerated, and glorious Italy. According to his writings in *The Discourses*, Machiavelli's ideal form of government is a democratic republic. Nonetheless, he was aware that conditions in Italy at the time were not conducive to the formation of republican democracy, and thus, in *The Prince*, he expresses his support for a strong monarchy that could ensure political stability. Machiavelli's writings laid the groundwork

for the principle of separation of politics and religion/ ethics and political realism.

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In fact, he is credited with ushering in the modern era. The adoption of Christianity as the state religion of the Holy Roman Empire during the Middle Ages, which began in the fourth century, resulted in the rapid spread of Christian ideas throughout large parts of Western Europe. This was also the era of dynastic rule based on the Divine Right of Kings to Rule. Because this doctrine held that kings were appointed by God, they owed no accountability to the people they ruled over. Their rule was unbreakable. Disobeying a king was thus a sin as well as a crime.

With the rise of the Catholic Church and its rigidly hierarchical ecclesiastical order, the Church claimed to be the sole means of communication between ordinary people and God. As a result, sovereignty was divided between the King, who was supreme in all territorial and administrative matters, and the Church, which was supreme in all spiritual and religious matters. Ordinary people's lives were governed by the dictates of the King and the Church. Acceptance of divine will, humility, abstinence, non-ambition, brotherhood, and community service were all promoted as Christian ideas. Machiavelli's works proposed a new look at the nature of man and the nature of an ideal state, and he made a significant contribution to the modern state concept. The Prince of Machiavelli attempted to advise Lorenzo di Medici on how to use political power tactically in order to establish and maintain a strong, stable, and united Italy. Unknowingly, he laid the groundwork for power politics, ushering in the age of modern politics in Western political philosophy discourses. Power and politics would become inextricably linked from then on.

Check Your Progress: Exercise 2

1. What were Machiavelli's views regarding religion and the Church?
2. In what way did Machiavelli lay the foundation of the modern state?

1.4 MACHIAVELLI'S VIEWS ON THE NATURE OF MAN:

Machiavelli liberated Man from the ethical constraints imposed by Christian ethics. His empirical and realist viewpoint caused him to see the individual as evil, selfish, and egoistic. He discovered men to be fundamentally weak, ungrateful, showy, artificial, fearful of harm or danger, and excessively lustful of gain and glory. Machiavelli believed that only compulsion or greed for personal gain could induce Man to be good. The man was also constantly afraid of losing his safety or possessions, so he established a government comprised of lawmakers and leaders who would act to protect the individual's person and property. Interestingly, Machiavelli's understanding of the nature of man is not a new one. Interestingly, Machiavelli's understanding of the nature of man is not a moral judgement. He regards the self-centered or self-interested man as neither good nor bad. This, according to him, is the essential nature of Man.

This straightforward understanding of Man's true nature paved the way for Machiavelli's conception of the state.

Machiavelli, like Aristotle, believed that man is a political and social animal. Men are gregarious by nature, so conflict and contradictions are unavoidable in a society where resources are always in short supply. Under these conditions, the state became indispensable in maintaining some semblance of order and justice in the public sphere. Machiavelli discovered that corruption was widespread in society. Corruption, to him, meant licence, violence, unequal access to wealth and power, a lack of peace and justice, reckless ambition, dishonesty, and the subordination of public virtues to the private interests of society's elites. According to Machiavelli, the main causes of corruption were wealth without work, a lack of martial spirit, a desire for a luxurious lifestyle, and moral degeneration. A strong and stable political order was required to counteract these negative elements, which inevitably lead to an unjust and chaotic social order. That is the goal for which Machiavelli set out to describe his ideas on the ideal state and the characteristics of the ideal ruler. That is the goal for which Machiavelli set out to describe his ideas on the ideal state and the characteristics of the ideal ruler.

Check Your Progress: Exercise 3

1. What were Machiavelli's views regarding the nature of Man?
2. What were the main causes of corruption in any given society, according to Machiavelli?

1.5 MACHIAVELLI'S VIEWS ON THE NATURE OF THE STATE:

According to Machiavelli, the ideal state promotes the common good by imposing laws, ensuring that women are honoured, public offices are open to all, regardless of class, and subject only to virtue or merit, promotes a certain degree of social equality, and protects industry, wealth, and property. Furthermore, the country's freedom was to be protected at all costs. War and territorial expansion would be required to increase the state's wealth and power. Machiavelli emphasised the importance of civic virtue in this context. Civic virtue meant martial abilities and the courage to defend the state against all external threats and internal conflicts for a ruler. Ordinary people understood civic virtue to mean patriotism and public-spiritedness in order to protect liberty and deter tyranny.

Machiavelli saw religion as an important factor in maintaining political stability. His anti-Church and anti-clergy beliefs frequently lead us to believe that he was also anti-religion. This, however, is not correct. Religion was viewed strictly utilitarian by Machiavelli. Religion, he believed, served as a binding social force, increased public-spiritedness, and was an essential component of civic life. Machiavelli insisted that the ruler or Prince should exercise caution when using religion as a political tool. Even if a ruler was not particularly religious, Machiavelli advised him to participate in religious

festivities in order to foster a sense of oneness with his people and gain the support of the masses. Machiavelli was the first to see religion as a powerful political tool.

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Machiavelli's separation of the private and public spheres of morality was another significant contribution to political thought. Despite his practical/realist/empirical worldview, Machiavelli recognised that morality or an ethical code of conduct was naturally inherent in Man and could be used to promote the common good in both social and personal life. However, Machiavelli was pragmatic enough to recognise that the same moral code that applied to ordinary people in their daily lives could not and should not apply to rules per se, because the individual and ruler's goals in life were very different.

As a result, Machiavelli proposed the 'dual moral standards.' For the average person, he proposed that honesty, decency, civic virtue, following the terms of contracts and agreements, honouring women, and caring for children were all necessary. The highest and sole goal of the rulers was to protect and promote national interests. In doing so, the ruler could break previous agreements, promises, and friendships with other states as long as the national interest was protected. It would not be considered immoral or unethical for a ruler to prioritise political expediency over moral quandaries. A prince had to be compassionate, humane, loyal, and honest, but he also had to be willing and capable of using force, fraud, deception, and treachery if national interest demanded it. Thus, Machiavelli brought an end to the Classical and Medieval traditions of political thought, ushering in a secular or Modern conception of the state and politics.

Political stability and the protection of national interests necessitate the use of violence. Machiavelli does not justify violence for its own sake, but it is automatically justified when it comes to national security. Machiavelli goes on to say that when the Prince embarks on territorial expansion, he should make certain that there is no possibility of a counter-attack by the subjugated state. People "will revenge themselves for minor injuries, but cannot do so for major ones," he writes, so "the injury... we do to a man must be such that we need not fear his vengeance." (1513, *The Prince*.)

In other words, violence should be avoided or be so total and complete that there is no room for retaliation or vengeance. Another tool Machiavelli suggests to avoid violence is manipulation. People are more likely to accept a prince's rule if he does not cause unnecessary damage or harm to women and religious beliefs in a captured territory or his empire. In Machiavelli's words, the next important characteristic that the ideal ruler/state should possess is that the king should combine in his personality the traits of both a lion and a fox "...for the lion cannot protect himself from traps and the fox cannot defend himself from wolves" the Crown Prince. In other words, the rule must be as fearsome as a lion and as cunning as a fox, and he must be able to use these beastly traits to his advantage in order to rule with authority.

Machiavelli also emphasises the importance of the king wielding political power at all times. Delegating power to others would weaken the king and turn people against him, especially during times of war or internal strife. Furthermore, Machiavelli has little or no faith in a king's hereditary power. He believes that the king should earn and work to keep his people's faith and support by using his works, manipulation, violence, and all diplomatic tools at his disposal. A ruler who rules on merit and political acumen commands more loyalty from his subjects than one who rules solely on descent.

Another important suggestion Machiavelli had for the king was to maintain an army of native soldiers; he was strongly opposed to soldiers who fought solely for money. Patriotism was an important virtue that Machiavelli sought in ordinary subjects, rulers, and, most importantly, the army. He believed that soldiers fighting for money could switch loyalties during a battle in exchange for more pay. As a result, he strongly advised the king to keep a strong and well-trained army on which he could rely in times of war. Because Machiavelli's ruler was expected to expand his borders for both power and wealth, a loyal, patriotic, well-armed, and well-trained army was required for the establishment and maintenance of a strong empire.

Machiavelli's originality and spontaneity in politics led him to investigate the causes of empires' demise as well as the means of restoring them. He realised from his personal experiences that public offices should be filled solely on merit, not on birth or as a favour or reward granted to an individual at the whim of the ruler. If an unworthy individual is appointed to important public positions, there will be widespread dissatisfaction, anger, and resentment among the deserving candidates, which could land the ruler in hot water. Furthermore, the king should grant benefits or rewards gradually and gradually, rather than all at once, so that expectations can be manipulated and controlled by the king. If public servants fail to perform their duties effectively, they should be punished to put the public at ease and to set a good example for other public servants.

1.6 CONCLUSION:

Machiavelli was a brilliant political thinker. Politics influenced his perception of all other human activities as well. He deserves credit for demoralising politics and laying the groundwork for the concept of power politics, or 'real politik.' For both of these contributions, he was harshly criticised, even ostracised, as he was barred from holding public office after the Medici family reclaimed power. The term "Machiavellianism" was and is frequently used negatively to denote a blatant disregard for religion, morality, and ethical codes. However, it is important to note that none of these allegations are true. Machiavelli was well ahead of his time. He spoke about the secularisation of politics at a time when the shackles of blind faith in the Middle Ages religion had not yet been broken. It was difficult, if not impossible, to comprehend Machiavelli's foresight regarding the rise of the nation-state, nationalism, capitalism, liberalism, republicanism, and the welfare of the people. He was also the first to discuss the *raison d'état*, or

the purpose of the state, in terms of defending and promoting national interests defined in terms of power. Many concepts that dominate the study of politics today are first mentioned by Machiavelli. His views on general welfare, conflicts as permanent factors endangering the existence of states, views on conspiracy, civic republicanism, the importance of civic virtue, the rule of law, and the need for the secularisation of politics are indeed noteworthy, but he was regarded as the "devil's advocate!" during his lifetime.

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1.7 EXERCISES

1. Machiavelli is the child of the Renaissance. Justify.
2. How did Machiavelli secularize politics?
3. What did Machiavelli mean by Dual Standard of Morality?
4. What was the advice that Machiavelli gave to *The Prince*?
5. What did Machiavelli mean by *civic virtue*?

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MODERN STATE: JOHN LOCKE [1632 AD – 1704 AD]

Unit Structure

- 2.1 Objectives
- 2.2 Introduction
- 2.3 The Historical and Theoretical Background of the thought of John Locke
- 2.4 Locke's views on the Nature of the State
- 2.5 Conclusion
- 2.6 Exercise
- 2.7 Reference

2.1 OBJECTIVE:

The goal of this chapter is to locate John Locke's ideas about the creation, nature, and functions of the state. In doing so, this chapter will investigate:

- The historical and theoretical context for considering Locke's views
- Locke's social contract theory, which he used to explain the need for a state.
- The key Liberal ideals that Locke incorporated into the popular notion of political authority.

2.2 INTRODUCTION:

John Locke is best known as the founding father of liberalism as well as the influential intellectual movement known as the Enlightenment in eighteenth-century Europe. He also believed in constitutionalism, rule by consent, individual liberty, toleration, limited government, pluralism, and was opposed to patriarchy and property rights. Locke, who was born in England in 1632, was interested in political philosophy, law, moral philosophy, and the natural sciences. He sympathised with the parliamentarians who were fighting to establish a limited monarchy in England during the mid-seventeenth century Civil War.

2.3 THE HISTORICAL AND THEORETICAL BACKGROUND OF JOHN LOCKE'S THOUGHT

It was a time of great political turmoil in England, and during the early stages of the civil war, harsh measures were taken against revolutionaries

and those who supported the parliamentarians. This explains why some of Locke's most important works were first published anonymously. Two Tracts on Government (1660-62), Essays on the Law of Nature (1668), Essay Concerning Human Understanding (1679), and An Essay Concerning Toleration are some of Locke's notable works (1667).

To understand Locke's views on the state, we must first understand Locke's general philosophical disposition, his political approach, and what he perceived to be the need of his time in terms of the nature and functions of political authority. As previously stated, Locke's thought gave birth to the entire doctrine of liberalism. As we all know, liberalism believes in Man's inherent rationality and morality. And, because Man is both rational and moral, he is capable of making decisions for himself and determining his own good. As a result, Man should have access to the broadest range of liberty and rights possible, and the scope of political authority to intervene in Man's daily life should be limited. This is the central claim of Liberal theory. According to the same logic, Man possessed the rational faculties required to decide who would rule him and how much power the ruler would be given. We will understand Locke's dislike of absolute monarchy, his preference for rule by consent, limited authority, popular sovereignty, and individual rights and liberties once we understand this single logic.

This work represented Filmer's arguments against the concept of contractualism (the doctrine that all social and political union was based on the conscious consent of the individuals who were part of these unions). According to Filmer, patriarchal authority was ordained by God and thus inviolable. Just as God created Adam first and subjected all of his subsequent creations to his authority, every individual born into a family was subject to the authority of the patriarch. This logic would be extended to society and the political sphere, where the God-designated King's dominance and authority would be absolute and irrevocable. Filmer believed that patriarchy, both within and outside the family, was the only way to maintain order and continuity in all aspects of life. It was in opposition to this.

Locke wrote in his famous work, Two Treatises, against Filmer's patriarchalism, not against Hobbes' ideas, as is commonly assumed. Locke, too, used the popular Social Contract theory model of the time, which had a long history of proposing an ideal government or state based on consent.

Examine Your Progress: Exercise 1

1. What were Locke's thoughts on man?
2. What exactly do you mean by patriarchy?

2.4 LOCKE'S PERSPECTIVES ON THE NATURE OF THE STATE

Locke argued that patriarchy was justified as a God-given power of men over all other beings and of kings over all other men, and that this patriarchal authority was both absolute and irrevocable. Locke argued in the First and

Second Treatises that (a) there was no secular evidence of God having given Adam any such power to rule over others, (b) even if we assume that Adam had been given such authority by God, there is no rationale for Adam's successors to enjoy the same powers, and (c) even if we assume that Adam's heirs or sons would have such authority, there was no way to determine which of his sons would rule and which would be ruled.

As previously stated, Locke believed in human rationality and morality, and by human, he meant both men and women. Except for children and the sick, all individuals were endowed by Nature with an equal faculty of Reason, and thus total submission to another individual, regardless of gender or rank, would be a violation of Nature's dictates. Locke rejects absolute political power and promotes the ideals of limited government, constitutionalism, popular sovereignty, all individuals' rights and liberties, toleration, and peaceful coexistence.

As we all know, the Social Contract theory assumes a pre-political state of nature. The nature of Man in the state of nature, as well as other conditions within the state of nature, compelled the creation of a social contract for the express purpose of establishing a political authority (a state), the terms of which delineated the precise nature and scope of powers and functions that this state would have. According to Locke, Man as a rational and moral entity existed largely peacefully in the state of nature. He was aware of his own and other people's natural rights. He also understood that cooperation was essential for survival. Most men, as rational beings, were kind, cooperative, helpful, and peace-seeking.

This created an idyllic state of existence in nature. However, there was no scope or mechanism for redress in those rare instances when some or a few Men violated the natural rights of others or disrupted the peaceful existence of others. As a result, a contract was deemed necessary in order to establish a political authority to deal with these exceptional yet unpleasant and unjust circumstances. Unlike the other Contractualists, Locke believed that the state of nature was both pre-social and pre-political. As a result, two contracts were signed. The first was a 'social' contract in which individuals of a specific group agreed to act as a cohesive social whole, a society, and the second was a 'political' contract in which the society agreed to the creation of a specific political authority with very limited powers and functions. Locke's views on Social Contract theory are distinct and contradict Hobbes' ideas. Locke's sovereignty is a 'product of the contract,' and as such is bound by the contract's terms. According to the political contract, the sovereign is created to fill three specific gaps that existed in the state of nature: law making, law implementation, and justice dispensation.

Individuals had not completely surrendered to the sovereign in order to perform the aforementioned functions. They had delegated some of their powers to the sovereign, and if they found the sovereign abusing the power delegated to him/her by the people, the latter could easily and peacefully withdraw their consent to being ruled by the particular sovereign and depose him/them. As we can see, Locke established a limited sovereign and gave

the people complete control over who should rule them and how. Furthermore, Locke proposed that separate executive, legislative, and federative organs be established to carry out these functions (later on elaborated by Montesquieu in his principle of separation of power and checks and balances).

The executive would have to perform judicial functions while remaining subordinate to and accountable to the legislature. The federative organ would make decisions on treaties and agreements pertaining to trade and relations with other states. Thus, Locke distinguished the society from the polity, proposed that sovereign power be limited, based on popular consent, and held accountable to the will of the people. He declared the end of political absolute power. Locke went on to say that the state existed for the people and had to serve the people's interests, not the other way around. The state could never meddle in the personal and social lives of men.

Its functions were strictly limited to the political sphere, and its powers were always limited by the will of the people. If the people decide to change a government, they simply replace the current individuals who form the three wings or organs of government with others. Removing a government did not mean the end of the contract and a return to nature, as Hobbes and Rousseau believed. Change of government, according to Locke, was an implied right of the people in the contract that created the sovereign.

The contract had assigned the state some very specific functions, and if the state (the people exercising sovereign power based on the people's consent) overstepped their authority, the people were well within their rights to change the government, peacefully and legally.

We've talked about how the consent or will of the people is the source of the sovereign's power; now we'll look at Locke's ideas on political obligation. We realise that Locke once again spoke of the right of the people to resist. According to Locke, legitimate authority was founded on the consent of the people and carried out the functions delegated to it by the people via the contract. Locke granted people the right to vote. Locke guaranteed the right of the people to resist and, if necessary, change any government that misused or abused its powers. In other words, in contrast to Filmer's views on the absolute and irrevocable power of patriarchs and kings, Locke emphasised the right of the people to resist the unjust and absolute power of both patriarchs and kings. Locke believed that power over others was not a gift from God, but rather a trust placed in the sovereign to be used in the interests of the people. Locke established the basis for democratic ideology and politics.

2.5 CONCLUSION

"Locke's political theory addressed four problems," according to Sushila Ramaswamy (2016): "(a) the nature of political power at a time when nation-states were consolidating their status; (b) a proper relationship between religion and politics; (c) actual practise of governing in the early mercantile period; and (d) types of knowledge appropriate to religious and

political theory." Locke established the rationality and dignity of the individual and subjected political power to popular consent and will. His support for limited government challenged the core of political absolutism's tradition and heralded a new intellectual and political discourse that would lead to the strengthening of a democratic and accountable government dedicated to protecting and promoting individual rights and liberties.

2.6 EXERCISE

1. Discuss the political conditions that impacted the thought of Niccolo Machiavelli.
2. Mention some of Machiavelli's important writings.
3. Answer the following questions:
 - a. John Locke is known as the father or founder of Liberalism. Why?
 - b. Discuss the core ideas of Robert Filmer concerning patriarchy.
 - c. What are the features of the ideal state as identified by Locke?
 - d. Discuss in detail, the ideas of John Locke on Social Contract Theory.

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LIBERTY AND JUSTICE

Unit Structure

- 3.0 Objective
- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Liberty concept: definition and application
- 3.3 Mills' perspectives on personal freedom and the value of liberty
- 3.4 The Female Perspective on Liberty
- 3.5 Representative government and democracy
- 3.6 Liberty's classification by Mill

3.0 OBJECTIVE

To comprehend the meaning of liberty and how Mill contributed to its growth.

3.1 INTRODUCTION

John Stuart Mill is frequently cited as the quintessential liberal. For Mill, the entire development of independence, self-growth, and self-control constituted true liberty. The nineteenth century's most important political thinker was John Stuart Mill. According to him, the goal of the law was to increase the amount of freedom it grants. chance to achieve self-realization.

Early years and formal education: John Stuart Mill was born in London in 1806 and raised there. He was the famous writer and thinker James Mill's son. James Mill, the boy's father, set very high expectations for his son's intellectual development and provided him with the regimented training. Three years old is when Mill began learning Greek. He was reading Aristotle in the original Greek when he was twelve.

Professional life: When he was sixteen years old, he created the Utilitarian Society, a group of academics who had gathered in London to explore utilitarian philosophy. At the age of twenty, Mill began penning articles for newspapers and magazines. He also started working for the East India Company in London. In the he debuted in the In 1866, Westminster was represented in the House of Commons. He held positions of responsibility before devoting his entire time to writing. His Notable Works: Among his most well-known and widely read writings are the essays "On Liberty" (1859) and "Subjection of Women" (1869).

3.2 LIBERTY CONCEPT: DEFINITION AND APPLICATION

Liberty refers to a person's freedom. To safeguard ourselves from the state's excessive meddling, we need liberty. Therefore, the state should only act in certain sectors. Any increase in state activity results in a reduction in personal freedom. The state, according to individualists like Mill, exists to safeguard each person's life, liberty, and property. In welfare states, it is up to the state to promote social and individual development. Therefore, it is crucial to impose acceptable limitations on individuals. Everyone can benefit from liberty when there are fair constraints on it. It produces a setting where development can occur. Liberty was well represented by Mill. In his book "On Liberty," he argued for individual liberty.

3.3 MILLS' OPINIONS ON LIBERTY

Everyone agrees that John Stuart Mill is the advocate of liberty. In his book "on Liberty," which was released in 1859, Mill outlines his ideas on liberty. Mill placed a high value on individual liberty for the reasons listed below, many of which arose from the political climate in England. The English government passed the Reform Act in 1832. It increased the state's capabilities and expanded the governmental apparatus.

He claimed that government actions were oppressive and interfered with people's freedom. According to J. S. Mill, the purpose of the government is to promote social welfare. Human will and interest serve as the foundation for political structures. According to Mill, a person should have the freedom to make their own decisions since they are the greatest judges of their own interests. This would allow them to discover their skills and create their own way of life.

The Value of Liberty

- 1) It promotes diversity: According to Mill, an individual's creativity and drive are crucial to society's advancement. The diversity of its characters would enhance civilization. Therefore, he emphasises that the person must be given the greatest amount of freedom to manage his own concerns. According to Mill, diversity is beneficial in and of itself and should be promoted while maintaining the status quo.
- 2) The need for personality enrichment: If the state does not give people the chance to grow and broaden their mental faculties, neither the people nor the government will benefit. He believed that the most crucial concept for preserving and growing individuality was liberty.
- 3) In the end, a state's worth is determined by the calibre of its citizens.

3.4 THE FEMALE PERSPECTIVE ON LIBERTY

Based on his opinions regarding women's liberty, Mill's ideas might be distinguished from those of the rest of his predecessors within the liberal traditions. According to Mill, in order to elevate women's status and bring about real civility and progress in society, vote, education, and jobs for them. He thought that the entire human race should be concerned with the improvement of women's conditions rather than just women.

"The Subjection" is one of his well-known pieces on the subject of women. In terms of the women's issue, W.J. Fox, William Thompson, Harriet Taylor, and Saint Simonians intellectually influenced Mill. He discusses the three areas in which women should be accorded equal standing in this work: the right to vote, the right to equal opportunity in the field of education, and the right to employment. He claimed that because women were subject to a "continuous condition of bribery and intimidation coupled," they were in a worse predicament than slaves.

The analogy between women and slaves was used to illustrate the realities of nineteenth-century England, when, upon marriage, a woman became her husband's property as well as his physical subordinate. A woman was not free to leave her marriage or to stay alone. Mill also holds women responsible for their predicament since, in his view, women allow men to rule them and selfless love is seen as a woman's inherent quality.

A Married Women's Property Bill was endorsed by Mill while a member of the English Parliament. In his book "Principles of Political Economy," he makes the case that women's low wages were caused by social prejudices. He notes that this results in the low earnings for women.

He presents a compelling argument in favour of women's equal political rights in his book "Representative Government."

3.5 REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT AND DEMOCRACY

Reforms towards a good government were offered by Mill in his book "Representative Government." In England, he served in the House of Commons. He noted some flaws in the structure and operation of English democracy. He was an advocate for democracy who highlighted fundamental concerns and suggested strategies for strengthening institutions. These are his opinions of the government.

- 1) **Democracy is the finest type of government** - According to him, democracy improves and makes men happier. In this system, every person has a say in how the state's will is expressed. In this system, the king is unable to enforce

A ruler cannot impose his will on the populace under this arrangement. People become independent when they learn to speak up for their rights under representative governments.

2) **Democracy is not appropriate for all societies** - Democracy is appropriate when all citizens are educated in democratic principles. A society should adopt democracy and grant everyone the right to vote. Every political community must identify the institutions that are best for it given the circumstances in that nation. To create and uphold the strongest political institutions conceivable, the best human intellect must be utilised.

3) **Duty of the Government** : Without an informed political community, there can be no government. The goodness and intelligence of the individuals making up the government, according to Mill, is the first element of good government.

The government has a responsibility to progress people's mental and intellectual development as well as the material conditions of the community. The citizens must use it as a training ground for political education and the practise of informed citizenship. A government must be well-organized in order to have the finest knowledge available to it.

4) **Democracy faces two threats** - Mill believed that the representative system of governance was the most ideal. However, it is vulnerable to two risks: General incompetence and ignorance among the ruling class in the state and in parliament. The risk of having the democratic apparatus under the control of a group of people whose objectives do not align with the wellbeing of the entire population

5) **Changes to the Representative Government** : Mill thus proposed the changes listed below.

a) **Voting Rights** : According to Mill, only people with a specific level of intellectual capacity should be allowed to vote. Although Mill was not against universal suffrage, he claimed that an informed populace would ensure that the government operated as it should. He promoted voter education requirements.

b) **Plural voting**: Mill advised highly educated citizens like professors and attorneys to use a plural voting system. Voting in plural suggests that education should be given importance. The votes of those who are smarter and better educated should count for more, and the opinions of those who are older and wiser should be given more weight. The election method that achieved homogeneity was criticised by Mill.

Mill supported the bourgeoisie class in its leadership. He maintained that any inequity that comes from giving the bourgeoisie class preferential treatment can be tolerated because these better people will undoubtedly lead society to improvement.

- c) **Proportional Representation:** Mill was in favour of this method of voting. Minorities weren't adequately represented in the British Parliament, in his opinion.
- d) **Open Ballot:** Mill recommended using the open ballot method rather than the secret ballot system. Common men who are less knowledgeable about the political system will be led in the open ballot system by the more learned members of the community. The underlying premise of the proposition was that the general public misunderstands their obligations and generally wastes their votes.

The secret voting process would ultimately lead to voters casting ballots for their own selfish and private interests. As a result, he supported "open ballot."

- 6) **Women's suffrage and women's franchising** – In the nineteenth century, Mill was concerned with the issue of women's rights. He made a compelling argument for the elimination of sex-based discrimination. He was the first in the British Parliament to bring up the subject of women's emancipation. He claimed that a lack of possibilities stopped them from giving back to society. He argued that giving women the same opportunities as men in many areas would empower them to contribute significantly to society. He argued for granting women the right to vote in the House of Commons. He was leading the charge.

He had a key role in the organisation of the women's franchise movement in the second half of the 19th century. According to Mill, "Women and men are naturally equal, and observed disparities in their traits are attributable to circumstances and education." He believed that women should have equal access to educational possibilities. Second, there should be more of them participating in politics. He strongly promoted women's voting rights both inside and outside of parliament.

- 7) People's involvement in governance and the exercise of sovereign authority. Mill believed that every citizen should have a say in the administration and exercise of that ultimate sovereignty, but he is occasionally required to take on a real role in the government by performing some public duties personally.
- 8) Mill opposed a fundamental overhaul of the economic system, believing that socialism was not the solution to issues like working-class exploitation. He had a strong commitment to capitalism. He approached the issue of exploitation with compassion. He supported equality and egalitarian government, but he wanted all of these things to take place inside a liberal, democratic, and capitalist system. He supported the bourgeoisie class taking the reins of government.
- 9) He declines to grant the representative assembly sovereign authority. He favours a smaller, more specialised body—a legislative commission—to develop laws. He had no respect for inexperienced political leaders.

3.6 LIBERTY'S CLASSIFICATION BY MILL

Mill argues that without certain liberties, a person cannot grow as an individual. Liberty's classification by Mill

Mill argues that without a certain freedoms, an individual cannot fully develop his identity. The following are these liberties:

Conscience freedom freedom of speech and expression Freedom of interests and pursuits the right to associate freedom to follow his own calling in life Religious and moral freedom groups of people who are exempt from liberty According to Mill, the following groups are not entitled to liberty. People who are mentally retarded do not have the right to liberty. The freedom is not available to youngsters. Liberty is not for underdeveloped or inferior races.

Evaluation\Criticism

Overly simplistic classification of human behaviour It is completely impossible to divide human behaviours in the way that Mill did. No person exists in isolation. No person exists in a vacuum by himself. Every action a person takes will undoubtedly have an impact on others, either directly or indirectly. Every person's activity has the potential to be both self- and other-regarding at the same time.

Individual not to assess his own welfare - Mill believes that each person is aware of his own welfare and should be free to express it without intervention from the government. But the facts of life paint a different picture of people. For instance, an alcoholic who consumes wine may not be aware of his actions. Social traditions and conventions don't interest Mill. According to him, an individual is not accountable to the community for his egotistical conduct. It implies that he has no need for social mores and traditions.

For instance, if someone violates social norms by walking naked down the street in the name of their interest, they are not allowed to do so. Although it doesn't break any state laws or infringe on anybody else's rights or liberties, walking naked on the street is against societal norms, which Mill has little care for. The creation of diverse characters is a myth: Variety, in Mill's perspective, adds flavour to life. He contends that allowing people to live their own lives free from government interference will lead to the development of a wide range of characteristics, which will, in turn, improve human civilization.

However, Mill does not believe that the state's efforts to control behaviour can produce disciplined, educated, and culturally aware people. Instead of enhancing society, the growth of the so-called variety of characteristics may distort it and cause it to fragment into different factions.

More freedom is detrimental to the formation of the personality. Mill is unaware that a person's impulses and desires might be unhealthy and are not

necessarily a reliable indicator of how their personality should develop or how they should behave in public.

Some people—such as members of backward races—are prohibited by Mill from enjoying liberty. He was criticised for being "the prophet of empty liberty and an abstract individual," according to his detractors.

He was aware of capitalism's flaws and the way the working class was exploited. However, Mill remained opposed to a fundamental shift in the economic structure. He believed that socialism was not the best solution to these issues.

He had a strong commitment to capitalism. He approached the issue of exploitation with compassion. However, he supported equality and egalitarian government. He favoured a liberal democratic and capitalist system for everything.

He supported the rule of the elite. He believed that the top class was the only group capable of guiding society's development. because they belong to a better class of individuals. These exceptional people are true pearls of the society, and it is possible for society to advance thanks to them.

The leading proponent of individuality and liberty of the individual is J. S. Mill.

1. What are J.S. Mill's thoughts on the concept of individual liberty?
2. Evaluate J.S. Mill's viewpoints on representative democracy critically.
3. Explain Mill's views on women and liberty in question 3.

REVOLUTION AND HEGEMONY

Unit Structure

- 4.0 Introduction
- 4.1 Determinism in Economics
- 4.2 Historical Materialism/Dialectical Materialism
- 4.3 Alienation
- 4.4 Class conflict
- 4.5 Order Following the Revolution

4.0 INTRODUCTION

Karl Heinrich Marx was a German philosopher, economist, sociologist, historian, journalist, and revolutionary socialist who lived from 1818 to 1883. In 1818, he was born into a middle-class family in Trier, Germany. Due to his extreme socialist ideals, he was forced to flee Germany in 1843 and travel to Paris. He was later expelled from there as well, and he fled to Brussels. He eventually sought refuge in England, where he died in exile. Frederick Engels, a German philosopher who had settled in England, became Marx's lifelong friend and scholastic colleague. Many of Karl Marx's works were co-written with Friedrich Engels. Some of their most important works include *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts* (1844), *The German Ideology* (1845), *The Communist Manifesto* (1848), and *Das Capital* (1867). Many of his contemporaries, such as George Washington F. Hegel, influenced him. Ludwig Feuerbach, Max Stirner

4.1 DETERMINISM IN ECONOMICS

Marx uses the base-superstructure model to explain all social changes. Marx demonstrated that economic structure is the fundamental structure that is made up of the sum total of production relations. The superstructure of society is made up of people's culture, ideology, norms, and identities. It also refers to social institutions, political structures, and the state—or a society's governing system. According to Marx, the superstructure emerges from the base and reflects the ruling class's interests. The class that owns the production resources dominates the economic structure and thus controls the social superstructure. As a result, the superstructure explains the operations of the base and argues for the elite's control. The superstructure has no independent existence. When the material productive forces or human labours of society come into conflict with the existing production relations at a certain stage in the development of two classes of haves and have nots, the epoch of social revolution begins. The entire vast

superstructure is more or less rapidly transformed as the economic foundation changes.

4.2 HISTORICAL MATERIALISM/DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM

Marx and Engels considered Hegelian dialectics to be the greatest achievement of classical German philosophy because it was the most comprehensive and profound doctrine of development, as well as the richest in content. History, according to Hegel, is the result of the dialectical movement of ideas. Marx claims that Hegel's theory is an ideological explanation of history rather than a scientific explanation. Marx, influenced by Hegel, used the concept of thesis, antithesis, and synthesis to describe the evolution of men's history, which occurred in several distinct stages, including primitivism, slavery, feudalism, capitalism, socialism, and communism. Marx considered primitive society to be mankind's first stage. There was no private property, no classes, and no concept of mine and thine.

With the emergence of private property came the emergence of classes, and thus began the struggle of classes in a slave society. There are two types of people: masters and slaves. The feudal society, also known as an agrarian society, then emerges. Feudal lords/barons and serfs are two classes of people. The production process in capitalist societies shifted from agriculture to industries. Proletariats and bourgeoisies are the opposing classes in this scenario. Marx's surplus and labour theory of value explains exploitation in capitalist society. The amount of labour consumed in the production of a commodity determines its value. Labor is a commodity as well. It can be bought and sold just like any other commodity.

Labor is the most important of the four production factors. Other factors of production, such as land, capital, and organisation, are rendered ineffective in its absence. The application of labour to these production factors is what makes them productive. They are sterile in the absence of labour. The difference between the value created by the worker and the value paid to the worker as wages constitutes the capitalist's surplus-value and profit. Workers generate more value than they are compensated for. The bourgeois profit is the surplus value created by the worker.

Classical economists defend it because it leads to capital accumulation, which is then invested in new industries and enterprises, resulting in growth and prosperity. The Marxists advocate for the abolition of worker exploitation.

4.3 ALIENATION

In capitalist society, alienation exists on two levels: first, as estrangement, or separation of men from men, and second, as objectification, or separation of men from matter.

Alienation is central to Marx's understanding of exploitation. In his book *Economic and Political Manuscripts 1844*, he goes into detail about it. It refers to a sense of alienation and disconnect from society, oneself, and the group.

- a. It refers to a sense of powerlessness, isolation, and meaninglessness felt by people when confronted with social institutions over which they have no control and which they consider oppressive. Marx identified four types of alienation experienced by modern workers: a. alienation from the product of labour, which belongs to the employee rather than the worker.
- b. Alienation from the act of production within the labour process due to the fact that the work is forced labour and is experienced as suffering and weakness.
- c. Alienation from the species refers to the dehumanisation of the worker, with the implication that this production system denies them something that exists because of humans.
- d. The fourth aspect of alienation is the alienation of man from man, which is a result of the other three. As a result, in every relationship, we are estranged from one another.

Marx considered commodities to be the most basic form of modern wealth, giving them a central place in his analysis of capitalism's economic and social features. 'No article can become a commodity unless it has use value and exchange value,' he contended. This exchange value has long ceased to be merely an economic category; it has risen to the status of supreme value, the shaping force of people's lives.

He described how the commodity rule has made us always feel like potential sellers and buyers, and how owing has become our strongest link to the rest of the world. He refers to it as 'commodity fetishism.' The sense of owing has taken the place of all these senses, representing the alienation of all physical, intellectual, and spiritual senses.

4.4 CLASS CONFLICT

The economic interpretation of history led Marx to believe that individuals are important because of their class membership. The economic relationship between men crystallises into economic classes, which become the thesis and antithesis in mankind's dialectical evolution. 'As soon as humanity emerges from primitive communism, it is observed that at each stage of society, a specific class gains control and exploits the rest. That it does so is not by chance, but because of an unbreakable social law... the dominant class is the only one who has freedom, and in order to keep it, they must act as oppressors. As a result, they create a state, which is an executive and repressive instrument through which they hope to maintain their position. Based on his scientific analysis of capitalism's system, he declared that a

social revolution is unavoidable. Because of alienation, the proletariat will organise with the goal of destroying all previous securities and insurance of private property.

The proletariat revolution is a self-aware, self-sufficient movement of the vast majority. In Marx's words, "revolution is the indispensable midwife of social change." When there is an incompatibility between the means of production and the production relations, revolution occurs. To overcome this incompatibility, a revolution occurs, bringing about corresponding changes in the production relations and the superstructure to make it compatible with the forces or means of production.

4.5 ORDER FOLLOWING THE REVOLUTION

Following the revolution, there will be a brief period of what Marx refers to as the "Dictatorship of the Proletariat," in which the proletariat will use its political power to abolish all classes and create a free and equal society. The ultimate goal, however, is not a proletariat dictatorship, but a classless society. He believed that the proletariat needed to seize the state and use it as a tool of class dominance to overthrow the bourgeoisie and destroy the capitalist system. According to Marx, all states have been dictatorships, including the socialist state. It is a dictatorship as well. One class has always used the state to suppress the other. In a socialist state, the proletariat class will use state coercive organs such as the army, police, prison, judicial system, and so on to oppress the bourgeoisie.

Marx contends that if democracy means majority rule, then the proletariat state is the most democratic because, for the first time in history, power is concentrated in the hands of the majority. Prior to the proletariat state, power was always held by the minority. So, if majority rule is the criterion, the proletariat state is the only one that can be called a democratic state.

The proletariat's dictatorship will lead the socialist state to communism. This is the stage of social evolution. There will be no more social change after communism is established. A perfect, rational social system, free of contradictions and antagonisms, will be established.

There will be no class contradictions, and thus no class conflict. Communism will pave the way for a society devoid of classes, states, private property, and exploitation.

The proletariat will eventually establish its own class supremacy when society is no longer a collection of mutually antagonistic classes, but rather "an association in which the free development of each should be conditioned for the free development of all." When class distinctions have vanished in the course of development and all products have been concentrated in the hands of a vast association of the entire nation, the state will lose its political character and wither away because there are no capitalists whose interests it has been serving all along.

Private property will be abolished in a communist society. There will be no exploitation because there will be no private property. There will be no class division, no land ownership, and no dominant and dependent classes because there will be no exploitation. There will be no class struggle and thus no need for the state because there will be no class division. Because of this, a communist society will be classless and stateless.

The Louise Blanc principle of 'from each according to his capacity to each according to his need' will govern communist society. The entire society will be transformed into a working-class society. Because everyone will be treated equally, no one will be exploited. People will have harmonious relationships with one another.

He predicted the end of capitalism and the rise of socialism and communism. But he did not see totalitarianism in Socialism/communism, the resilience of capitalism, the power of liberal democracy, or the welfare state. His historical materialism and laws of history contained radical utopian ideas. He was overly focused on class and undermined other identities such as race, gender, caste, disability, and sexuality. His historical materialism was harmed by Eurocentrism as well as Ethnocentrism. His history was restricted to Western Europe, leaving Asia and other parts of the world out of the scope of his historical law. He saw non-European society as immobile and devoid of history.

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ANTONIO GRAMSCI

Unit Structure

- 5.0 Introduction
- 5.1 Marxist Neo-Marxist
- 5.2 Hegemony
- 5.3 Organic Intellectual
- 5.4 To summarise

5.0 INTRODUCTION

Gramsci was a Marxist thinker and revolutionary leader from Italy. He was born in the southern part of Italy in 1891 to the Gramsci family. Gramsci read extensively in the fields of politics, culture, history, philosophy, and Marxist theory. After finishing his education at the University of Turin in 1911, he devoted himself to political activities and began writing scripts and articles about Marxist ideas and contemporary issues. Gramsci lived through World War I and witnessed the 1917 Russian Revolution. He was a contemporary of Benito Mussolini, and he was active in the Italian communist movement, attempting to raise consciousness through his writings about the oppressed Italian working class.

He was sentenced to life in prison for being a vocal critic of fascism, the ruling ideology in Italy at the time, and died as a result of a cerebral haemorrhage in 1937. Despite the censorship in prison, he was given magazines and other writings about Italian society, bourgeoisie culture, working-class activities in Italy and elsewhere, and so on. After extensive research, he penned his ideas in Prison Notebooks (three volumes; published after Gramsci's death) and sought possible ways to bring about change in the working class's conditions, adding new dimensions to the Marxist school of thought's existing literature. Other notable works by him include *Modern Prince*, *Men or Machines?* (1916), and *One Year of History* (1918), among others.

5.1 MARXIST NEO-MARXIST

The Neo-Marxist tradition is thought to have begun with Gramsci, who introduced his own version of Marxism. He questioned the widely accepted base-superstructure model of capitalist society, which held that the class that owns the means of production maintains dominance over the other class and influences the superstructure, which consists of social, political, legal structures, religion, art, and so on. Gramsci altered this version and examined the base-superstructure model in a new light.

Gramsci altered this version and examined the base-superstructure model in a new light. He argued that it is not only the economic base that determines the superstructure, but also other subtle ways such as ruling ideology, non-economic factors such as culture, psychology of the masses, education, and so on, and moral and intellectual leadership of one social group over others in the society, which helped to maintain the rule. He assumed that different societal structures have a complex relationship and influence one another. Gramsci, too, criticised classical Marxism for its view of proletarian revolution. He contended that violent revolution is not the only way to destabilise capitalist institutions. Because capitalism is ingrained and cannot be overthrown in a single blow. As a result, evolutionary methods of revolution should be used, such as raising awareness among the working class and attacking the very cultural and moral legitimacy of dominant rule.

Gramsci was influenced by Marx's concept of false consciousness, in which the subordinated class is unaware of its actual position in the social order and the exploitation unleashed by dominant classes. While recognising the role of working-class leadership in the class struggle as influenced by Lenin's writings, he admired Hegel's philosophy of praxis. The simple definition of praxis is the usefulness of something.

Gramsci was intrigued by Marx's prediction that proletarian revolutions would occur only in countries where capitalism was deeply entrenched, as capitalist countries such as Britain never witnessed the revolution, whereas Russia, a semi-feudal society where capitalism was still receiving currency, underwent a Marxist revolution. This rejection of Marx's hypothesis influenced him to reflect, and he discovered a lack of unity in theory and action, as well as an overemphasis on economic base.

5.2 HEGEMONY

As previously stated, Gramsci believed that capitalism survives not only because capitalists have economic power, but also because they have other subtle forms of power, such as ideology. Gramsci was the first Marxist thinker to discuss the dominant ideology of the bourgeoisie class in society, which he referred to as Organic ideology. Hegemony refers to the ideological dominance of the bourgeoisie class over the proletariats exercised through cultural means that lead to the fabrication of consent.

The concept of hegemony is central to Gramscian political thought. He has divided the superstructure into two forms: political society and civil society which form the Gramscian state known as the Integral State. It represents the unity of both societies and is all-inclusive, ethical, and cultural.

Political society consists of coercive structures such as state apparatus such as government institutions, police, courts, bureaucracy, and so on, which are used to maintain the ruling class's dominance, whereas civil society, which is the site of ideological contestation between bourgeois and proletariat ideologies, enjoys an autonomous space. Gramsci contended that civil society wields hegemony through the production of consent in

collaboration with various institutions such as the family, school, church, media, and so on.

He outlined the following strategies for civil society dominated by the ruling class to establish hegemony:

1. The ruling class influences socialisation in order to impose its culture on subordinates.
2. The ruling class forms alliances with other social groups in society to broaden its base and gain support for its rule.
3. The Intellectuals' Role

Gramsci argued that the ruling class must earn the consent of the subordinating class by instilling faith and hope in them, providing intellectual and moral leadership, and shaping their opinions through various subtle means. It is also where intellectuals play the most important role. Intellectuals, in his opinion, are the primary agents in the creation of hegemony. They are a group of people who are most responsible for social stability and change. They also help to create an illusion for the masses so that they do not question the ruling class's moral legitimacy. Furthermore, he treated all men as intellectuals, but he claimed that everyone failed to perform their duties well. Teachers, clergy, philosophers, scientists, industrial engineers, and others are among those who carry out their duties.

5.3 ORGANIC INTELLECTUAL:

Gramsci divided intellectuals into two categories: traditional and organic. The former are those who generally have no allegiance to any class and are unconcerned about the struggles of the masses. He believes that every social group in society produces intellectuals who serve as the organising element for their classes, which he refers to as Organic intellectuals. He also claims that there are two types of organic intellectuals. One who plays a significant role in making the masses aware of their situations, thereby contributing to the development of contradictory consciousness against the ruling class and its values, culture, and so on, and the other who attempts to maintain bourgeoisie dominance in the face of rising proletarian consciousness. Gramsci also believes that the oppressed classes create their own.

Furthermore, Gramsci believes that the subordinated classes develop their own culture and value systems that differ from those of the bourgeoisie, resulting in the destruction of the ruling class's myths and prejudices.

The development of alternative culture will eventually lead to the creation of autonomous space in civil society for the working class, assisting in the establishment of what Gramsci referred to as counter-hegemony. The working class's counter-hegemony does not favour violent struggle and instead demands purely ideological conflict. Gramsci refers to this as a "position war." Once the war of position is won, a war of movement, which is a frontal assault on political society, can be launched. At this point, there would be a fierce clash of ideologies.

The movement war will continue until proletarian ideology is no longer dominant in society. Because the working class constitutes the majority of society, there will be a gradual deterioration in the ruling class's consent. Gramsci argued that in order to win this ideological battle, organic intellectuals of the proletariat must organise and educate workers. It is fought in the cultural domain and civil society terrain, where intellectuals play an important role. The proletarian revolution proposed by Gramsci is the complete overthrow of bourgeoisie hegemony, which is not a bloody revolution as typical Marxists argue, but he prefers peaceful means.

Several scholars have criticised Gramscian ideas, claiming that his concept of intellectuals is elitist because only those, particularly from the subordinated class, would rise to this level if they enjoyed some level of economic well-being. David Harris has criticised his theory as being too political and biased to be credible because it lacks empiricism and has nothing to do with people and their behaviour. Another critic, Dominic Strinati, claims that the main flaw in his ideas is their Marxist foundation. Furthermore, he claims that class-based analysis is always reductionist and tends to shorten the relationship between people and culture.

5.4 TO SUMMARISE

To summarise, Gramsci is regarded as one of the most original thinkers of the twentieth century, bringing new dimensions to the Marxist tradition known as Neo-Marxism. On the ground, his ideas are practically applicable. He is thought to be a superstructure theorist because he centred his political philosophy on the role of intellectuals and hegemony. He defined intellectuals as those who maintain, change, and modify the masses' consciousness. Despite being a Marxist thinker, Gramsci prefers a peaceful revolution that is ideological rather than armed. In a way, he devised the most effective method of eliminating the mouse without destroying the entire house. His political ideas are one of the tools to understand the socio-political structure of a society.



FEMINISM AND MULTICULTURALISM

Unit Structure

- 6.0 Objective
- 6.1 Simone De Beauvoir
- 6.2 Writings of Beauvoir
- 6.3 Influences on Beauvoir
- 6.4 Meaning of existentialism
- 6.5 Beauvoir's views on Human life
- 6.6 Beauvoir's views on woman as the 'other'
- 6.7 Views on Emancipation of Women
- 6.8 Evaluation of Beauvoir

6.0 OBJECTIVE :

The goal of this unit is to introduce readers to the concepts of feminism, multiculturalism, and the works of notable scholars such as Simone de Beauvoir and Will Kymlicka. After completing the unit, readers will be able to:

- Explain Simone de Beauvoir's contributions to the feminist movement.
- Discuss Simone de Beauvoir's contributions to existentialism.
- Explain the concept of multiculturalism, the factors that contributed to its rise, and the challenges it faces.
- Discuss Will Kymlicka's contributions to liberal multiculturalism.

Keywords: Feminism, Multiculturalism, Multicultural Citizenship, Existentialism, Feminist Existentialism

6.1 SIMONE DE BEAUVOIR

Introduction

Simone de Beauvoir was a feminist, existentialist scholar, political activist, and writer from France. She is regarded as the founder and mother of modern feminism. She was a prominent figure in the French intellectual scene and philosophical debates at the time.

Beauvoir was born in Paris on January 9, 1908, into an upper-middle-class family. Her father was a lawyer by trade. Her mother was religious and a

practising Catholic. She finished her education at a private Catholic girls' school. She had aspired to be a writer and a teacher since childhood, which drove her to pursue her studies with renewed zeal. She studied philosophy at the Sorbonne and received her agrégation in 1929. She taught in several schools before turning to writing. She was in a long-term relationship with Jean-Paul Satre. Beauvoir and Satre founded *Le Temps modernes* in 1945. On 14 April 1986, she died in Paris at the age of 78. She is regarded as the first modern women's liberation movement's inspiration, having greatly influenced feminist existentialism and feminist theory.

6.2 WRITINGS OF BEAUVOIR

Beauvoir, an eminent writer and author of numerous philosophical essays, novels, plays, memoirs, and newspaper articles, is best known for her two-volume treatise *Le Deuxième Sexe*, or "The Second Sex." The work became a feminist literary classic and is widely regarded as the feminist bible. The main theme of the treatise in "Feminist Existentialism," in which she makes a comprehensive analysis of women's oppression and calls for the abolition of the myth of the "eternal feminine."

Beauvoir's other works include the novels *She Came to Stay* (1943) and *The Mandarins* (1944). (1954). In 1954, she received the Prix Goncourt, a prestigious French literary award, in 1975, the Jerusalem Prize, and in 1978, the Austrian State Prize for European Literature.

6.3 INFLUENCES ON BEAUVOIR

Despite coming from a Catholic family and attending a private Catholic school, Beauvoir was an atheist who had no faith in God. Her father, a lawyer by profession, encouraged her.

Jean-Paul Satre, with whom she co-founded and edited *Le Temps modernes*, had an impact on Beauvoir. She explained her political and social views in this monthly review. Her writings in it demonstrated Karl Marx's influence on her and her leftist orientation. She was also an anti-colonialist who was influenced by Russian political ideology. Beauvoir was a pro-abortionist as well as a pioneer leader in women's liberation.

6.4 MEANING OF EXISTENTIALISM

Existentialism is a political philosophy that investigates the existence of the individual person and the individual's responsibility for acts of free will. It regards a person as a free and responsible agent who determines their own development through their own free will actions. It believes that because people are free, they should be held accountable for their actions and the image they project of themselves.

The central claim of existentialism is that people shape their own existence through their actions. They cannot be perceived through preconceived categories and notions imposed by society's external forces. The

individual's actual life, actions, and consciousness determine their essence, not the external notions attributed to them by others.

Existentialism is associated with European philosophers of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Jean-Paul Sartre and Simone de Beauvoir are two prominent twentieth-century existentialist thinkers. In her first philosophical essay, *Pyrrhus et Cinéas*, and her second essay, *The Ethics of Ambiguity*, Beauvoir attempted to create a system of existentialist ethics (1947).

6.5 BEAUVOIR'S VIEWS ON HUMAN LIFE

Sartre's existentialism has been applied to the condition of women by Beauvoir. Existentialism entails being open to all future possibilities while also accepting responsibility for one's own actions. According to Beauvoir, human life is divided into two parts: the outer and the inner. The inner life is dependent on a person's consciousness and awareness of their freedom, whereas the outer life is dependent on people, material objects, and society at large. The definition of woman or man in society is created by the man, and women in society are expected and taught to live within these constraints. Beauvoir, emphasising feminist existentialism, argues for women to overcome these constraints. Women should be able to choose their own path without being constrained by societal norms, men, or nature.

6.6 BEAUVOIR'S VIEWS ON WOMAN AS THE 'OTHER'

Beauvoir's most important work is her treatise "The Second Sex." She discusses the position, treatment, and oppression of women in modern society and throughout history in this book. It is the most important work in feminist literature and was published in two volumes titled "Facts and Myths" and "Lived Experiences." Second-wave feminism is said to have been inspired by the book.

Men, according to Beauvoir, have made women the "Other" in society by creating and perpetuating a series of myths and mysteries around them. She contends that history reflects certain prejudices and injustices. These myths and preconceptions have left their imprint on the human mind. Men, she claims, have stereotyped women and organised society into patriarchy. In this society, men dominate as the "subject" or "self," while women are reduced to the "object" or "other." As a result, man was essential, absolute, and transcendent. Woman was unimportant and inferior.

Beauvoir investigated how biology, history, and literature have supported myths and stereotypes that cast women as the inferior sex. She looked at how biology demonstrated the essential differences between men and women, but found no evidence to support women's inferiority. Male superiority has been demonstrated throughout history, from nomadic times to the present. She claimed that myths, whether biological or historical, had stereotyped women and robbed them of their individuality and distinct identity.

This is how Beauvoir begins Book II of *The Second Sex*. It is Beauvoir's most famous statement, and it demonstrates her challenge to society's patriarchal notions. The book is a continuation of Book 1, in which she argued that femininity is a social construct of civilization rather than a biological, intellectual, or psychological difference. It reflects not the fundamental differences between men and women, but rather the differences in their circumstances. She contends that a woman is not born fully formed; rather, her upbringing shapes her into a woman. What makes a woman is not determined by her biology and physiology. The man and society teach a woman about her roles and responsibilities.

According to Beauvoir, a woman is not born passive and unimportant. The forces around her in the outside world have compelled her to be so. Outside forces have conspired to deprive women of their rights. Destiny, she claims, is not the result of any cosmic force. It is simply a human choice influenced by culture and circumstance. Denied the right to individual work or creativity, women have resorted to household work, child bearing, and sexual servitude as dictated by men and society.

According to Beauvoir, a woman's life consisted of three major roles: mother, wife, and prostitute. She wishes to disprove the feminine essentialism that holds that women are born feminine. She investigated the aforementioned roles and contended that childbearing and motherhood had reduced women to slaves. Women have been restricted to motherhood rather than pursuing careers in politics, technology, and science. They are told that the ultimate goal of their lives is to raise children. As a result, women have been relegated to the status of second-class citizens in society.

One is not born, but rather becomes, a woman

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6.7 VIEWS ON EMANCIPATION OF WOMEN

Beauvoir researched the historical situation and treatment of women. She fought for women's emancipation by liberating them from the social construct and the idea of the eternal feminine. The following are some of the conditions she believed were required for women's emancipation:

- She argued that women should break free from the shackles of repressive and patriarchal representations that women are inferior to men. She pleaded with them to reject society's expectations of women's existence as being limited to marriage, bearing children, and obeying their husbands. They should be free to make their own decisions.
- She contended that societal reform was required for women's emancipation. In terms of laws, traditions, education, and opportunities, society must treat men and women equally. She advocated for women's education, universal childcare, contraception, and the right of women to abortion.
- According to Beauvoir, a woman's destiny and fate are invented rather than inherited. She urged women to go beyond conventional expectations and forge their own paths.
- According to Beauvoir, women should have the same rights, activities, and opportunities as men.
- Beauvoir argued that in order to bring about change in society, women should fight alongside the left and the working class, both of which aimed to end the traditional bourgeois construct of society.

6.8 EVALUATION OF BEAUVOIR

The treatise "The Second Sex" by Simone de Beauvoir is a fundamental and foundational work in feminist literature. She had a significant impact on the second wave of feminism that emerged in countries such as the United States of America, Australia, and Europe. Her philosophy, lifestyle, and rejection of societal expectations have served as inspiration for the liberal feminist movement.

Beauvoir's feminine existentialism continues to shape the ideology of modern feminists seeking to challenge biological essentialism and social constructions. She encouraged women to push the boundaries of the female sphere. Her ideas have altered the world's perception of gender and identity.

WILL KYMLICKA

Unit Structure

- 7.0 Introduction
- 7.1 Meaning of Multiculturalism
- 7.2 Models of Multiculturalism
- 7.3 Growth of Multiculturalism
- 7.4 Forms of Multiculturalism
- 7.5 Criticism
- 7.6 Conclusion
- 7.7 Exercises
- 7.8 References:

7.0 INTRODUCTION

Will Kymlicka, a Canadian political philosopher, is a prominent advocate of multiculturalism. He is currently the Professor of Philosophy at Queen's University in Kingston, as well as the Canada Research Chair in Political Philosophy. In addition, he is a Visiting Professor of Nationalism Studies at Central European University in Budapest, Hungary. He has made significant contributions to the theory of liberal multiculturalism and minority rights.

7.1 MEANING OF MULTICULTURALISM

Multiculturalism can be defined as a political, social, and cultural phenomenon in which multiple and diverging perspectives are respected outside of dominant traditions and culture. It is how societies build social structures to support multiple cultures. It seeks to promote non-discrimination and to reduce discrimination within cultural communities. Today, a number of liberal democratic countries have embraced multiculturalism, with people of various religions, identities, and cultures living within their borders. Kymlicka traces the origins of multiculturalism to 1957 in Switzerland. The Canadian government pioneered the concept of connecting minority cultures with the country's dominant culture. Following this, several countries, including the United Kingdom and the Netherlands, adopted multiculturalism as a government policy.

The existence of multiple cultures and ethnicities within one society is accompanied by the belief that the vast diversity enriches one's life and enables self-understanding in multiculturalism. Different cultures allow for a variety of life experiences and increase intellectual richness. The term multiculturalism is frequently confused with cosmopolitanism. To fully

comprehend multiculturalism, it is necessary to distinguish between these two terms. The attempt to preserve one's own culture is referred to as multiculturalism. It is based on the preservation of the inherent differences between different cultures and identities. Cosmopolitanism advocates the freedom to practise one's own culture and religion. It is an attempt to bridge cultures and promotes acceptance of diverse influences.

Kymlicka has made significant contributions to this theory. He defines it in the context of citizenship rights, in which the state and its institutions promote minority rights. He seeks to create a new model of democratic citizenship based on human rights. He wishes to establish new civic and political relationships in society by eliminating inequalities and discrimination. In his book, he uses the term "liberal multiculturalism," which he bases on the assumption that policies that accommodate distinct ethnic and cultural diversities can strengthen human rights, expand human freedom, and reduce racial and ethnic inequalities.

He rejects the notion that state and political institutions belong to a single dominant group and that minorities must conform to their norms and rules. He contends that the state must belong to all citizens and that all individuals should have equal access to government and state institutions.

7.2 MODELS OF MULTICULTURALISM

Will Kymlicka has identified the following two multiculturalism models:

- **Anglo-conformity Model** - According to this model, after settling in a country, immigrants eventually adopt the native culture and traditions of that country. Soon, the distinction between the immigrants and the local population fades, resulting in a homogeneous identity. This model is more important for the government because it assists them in developing a group of productive and loyal members of society.
- **Multi-cultural Model** - The Canadian government adopted this model for the first time in 1971. It believes that the government should be more accepting and tolerant of immigrants' culture and traditions. This will help to preserve the culture of the immigrants.

7.3 GROWTH OF MULTICULTURALISM

Before World War II, Europe saw the rise of fascist governments, particularly in Germany and Italy. The western society became dominated by undemocratic, illiberal, and racist ideology that declared one group to be dominant and superior to the others. The society's relationships were largely hierarchical, with discriminatory policies.

However, the devastation caused by World War II forced the world to reconsider racial nationalism. They now aimed to create an ideology centred on the equality of all races and ethnicities. Following the war, the concept of minority rights was discredited, and advocacy for universal human rights

gained traction. Minority rights were thought to be unnecessary, and that true protection could be provided by guaranteeing basic civic and political rights. The belief was also reflected in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which made no mention of minority rights.

As the world saw increased globalisation and migration between countries, with workers from abroad contributing to post-war reconstruction, immigrant minority groups developed a new political consciousness. Immigration to the United Kingdom primarily came from the Indian subcontinent, to France from Algeria and Morocco, to West Germany from Turkey and Yugoslavia, and to the United States from Mexico and Latin America.

Political assertiveness was increasing in the 1970s among groups such as Scottish nationalism in the United Kingdom, French-speaking people in Quebec, Canada, and a separatist movement in Basque Spain. This new group of migrants challenged old economic policies, racial oppression, and marginalisation as cross-border migration peaked.

Soon after, international organisations and conventions began to advocate for multiculturalism. Some of the first conventions to take up the cause and consider minority rights as vital to the development of the country and the reduction of discrimination in society were the International Labour Organization (ILO) convention adopted in 1989, the Copenhagen Document in 1990, and the Geneva Document in 1991. In 1992, the United Nations General Assembly adopted the Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic Religious or Linguistic Minorities, and UNESCO declared minority rights to be an inseparable part of human rights.

7.4 FORMS OF MULTICULTURALISM

There are three types of multiculturalism that can be distinguished:

- **Liberal Multiculturalism** - This type of multiculturalism emphasises tolerance and respect for different cultures and religious traditions. Liberalism promotes equality in terms of gender, culture, race, and religion. A distinction exists between public and private life. People are free to express their beliefs, cultural and religious identities in private. However, there should be a shared civic identity in the public sphere. Citizenship has no cultural identity for them. They prioritise integration over diversity.
- **Cosmopolitan Multiculturalism** - In cosmopolitan multiculturalism, diversity is valued, and cultural exchange between different religious and ethnic groups is encouraged. It extends moral, political, and ethical accountability beyond national boundaries. It promotes the development of a global consciousness and a one-world perspective.
- **Pluralist Multiculturalism** - This type of multiculturalism agrees that it is impossible to demonstrate that one moral and cultural system

is superior to another. People will undoubtedly disagree. They advocate for personal liberty, democracy, and tolerance, and they treat everyone equally. There is a live and let live attitude in which differences are acknowledged and accepted.

Factors supporting Multiculturalism

Many factors have contributed to the rise of multiculturalism over the years.

- A democratic government is tolerant, with greater acceptance and respect for minority rights. Ethnic minorities can express themselves more freely here without fear of being imprisoned or killed.
- The globalisation era resulted in the movement of goods, products, ideas, technologies, and people. It has bolstered the concept of multiculturalism. Related concepts such as corporate multiculturalism, consumerist multiculturalism, and boutique multiculturalism are emerging. As corporations and business entities became more aware of the roles and contributions of minority groups to the economy, they supported diversity and multiculturalism.
- Previously, immigrants were viewed as a threat to the country's internal security. This disincentivizes them from working productively and causes social discord. However, as the governments of Western countries desecuritized minority groups and became more accepting of peaceful coexistence, the dominant groups in society began to accept multiculturalism as an inherent feature of liberal democratic values.
- As western states grapple with the problem of declining birth rates and an ageing population, they will rely on immigrants to offset the negative impact of these trends.

Multiculturalism's Difficulties

Even though multiculturalism has gained widespread acceptance, it still faces challenges due to the following factors:

- There is still suspicion and distrust of the international community in post-communist and post-colonial states. They believe that international organisations are attempting to destabilise these countries in the name of international minority rights. It is an attempt to destabilise postcolonial states, which are increasingly challenging American hegemony.
- Most post-colonial states have a lack of regional harmony along their borders. In such cases, enemy states attempt to destabilise state institutions by recruiting and engaging minorities within the state in armed conflict.
- The language barrier continues to be a barrier to integration.
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institutions by recruiting and engaging minorities within the state in armed conflict.

- The language barrier continues to be a barrier to integration.
- The colonial rulers implemented a policy of disproportionately recruiting minority groups within each colony in education and civil services. This was an attempt to create a devoted following of people who would support imperialist rule. However, in post-colonial independent countries, the majority groups felt discriminated against and saw themselves as victims of historical injustice as a result of this policy.
- The failure to guarantee minority groups' human rights has resulted from a lack of well-functioning state institutions in many post-colonial and post-communist states. There are authoritarian regimes based on religious fundamentalism and ethnic intolerance. Minorities are frequently attacked and denied their rights and property.
- The dominant group is sceptical of any rule imposed by minorities. There have been concerns that when minorities established autonomous states, there was discrimination and harassment of anyone who did not belong to this minority group.
- The constant flow of people across borders, with migrants frequently flouting the rule of law, instils fear in the majority. Unexpected and massive immigration can cause polarisation and conflict in the community.

7.5 CRITICISM

Multiculturalism encourages the celebration of ethnic and cultural diversity, as well as the embrace of diverse traditions, music, and cultures. The concept, however, has not been without criticism. Critics argue that the theory ignores the political and economic inequality that results from such diversity in society. Brian Barry accuses Kymlicka of being illiberal and of holding non-universalist views.

7.6 CONCLUSION

Kymlicka has contributed significantly to the theory of liberal multiculturalism and minority rights. His works have addressed not only theoretical but also practical contemporary issues such as immigration, minority rights, racial diversity, and ethnic conflicts. He demonstrates how humans differ in how they live their lives, as well as in their thoughts and beliefs. Despite these differences, humans can coexist peacefully. He contends that in order to coexist peacefully, one must not deny one's own beliefs or identity. They are not required to suppress the other's beliefs and identity. The need is to understand and accommodate differences, as well as to promote universal, global, and inclusive policies.

7.7 EXERCISES

1. Explain Simone de Beauvoir's views of woman as the object and man as the subject.
2. Explain the existentialist philosophy as given by Simone de Beauvoir.
3. "One is not born but rather becomes a woman." Explain
4. Write a note on suggestions given by Beauvoir for the emancipation of women.
5. Explain the concept of multiculturalism.
6. Discuss the factors that have contributed to the rise of multiculturalism and the challenges confronting it.
7. What are the different models and forms of multiculturalism?

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