G.C.E (Advanced Level)

Political Science

Teachers' Guide

Grade 12

(To be implemented from 2017)

Political Science

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Teachers' Guide

First Print 2017

Director General's Message

With the primary objective of realizing the National Educational Goals recommended by the National Education Commission, the then prevalent content based curriculum was modernized, and the first phase of the new competency based curriculum was introduced to the eight year curriculum cycle of the primary and secondary education in Sri Lanka in the year 2007

The second phase of the curriculum cycle thus initiated was introduced to the education system in the year 2015 as a result of a curriculum rationalization process based on research findings and various proposals made by stake holders.

Within this rationalization process the concepts of vertical and horizontal integration have been employed in order to build up competencies of students, from foundation level to higher levels, and to avoid repetition of subject content in various subjects respectively and furthermore, to develop a curriculum that is implementable and student friendly.

The new Teachers' Guides have been introduced with the aim of providing the teachers with necessary guidance for planning lessons, engaging students effectively in the learning teaching process, and to make Teachers' Guides will help teachers to be more effective within the classroom. Further, the present Teachers' Guides have given the necessary freedom for the teachers to select quality inputs and activities in order to improve student competencies. Since the Teachers' Guides do not place greater emphasis on the subject content prescribed for the relevant grades, it is very much necessary to use these guides along with the text books compiled by the Educational Publications Department if, Guides are to be made more effective.

 The primary objective of this rationalized new curriculum, the new Teachers' Guides, and the new prescribed texts is to transform the student population into a human resource replete with the skills and competencies required for the world of work, through embarking upon a pattern of education which is more student centered and activity based.

I wish to make use of this opportunity to thank and express my appreciation to the members of the Council and the Academic Affairs Board of the NIE the resource persons who contributed to the compiling of these Teachers' Guides and other parties for their dedication in this matter.

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Message from Ven. Deputy Director General

Learning expands into a wider scope. It makes life enormous and extremely simple. The human being is naturally excellent in the skill of learning. A country when human development is considered the main focus uses learning as a tool to do away with malpractices identified with intellect and to create a better world through good practices.

It is essential to create valuable things for learning and learning methods and facilities within the adhere of education. That is how the curriculum, syllabi, teachers' guides and facilitatiors join the learning system. Modern Sri Lanka has possessed a self – directed education system which is a blend of global trends as well as ancient heritage.

It is necessary to maintain the consistency of the objectives of the subject at the national level. However, facilitators are free to modify or adapt learning teaching strategies creatively to achieve the learning outcomes, competency and competency level via the subject content prescribed in the Syllabus. Therefore, this Teachers' Guide has been prepared to promote the teachers' role and to support the students as well as the parents.

Furthermore, at the end of a lesson, the facilitators of the learning- teaching process along with the students should come to a verification of the achievement level on par with ones expected exam by a national level examiner, who evaluates the achievement levels of subjects expected. I sincerely wish to create such a self-progressive, motivational culture in the learning- teaching process. Blended with that verification, this Teachers' Guide would definitely be a canoe or a raft in this endeavor.

Ven. Dr. Mabulgoda SumanarathanaThero
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Competency 1 : Act as citizens with an understanding of the nature of politics and political science.

Competency Levels : 1.1 Interpret politics as an essential feature of social life.
1.2 Describe political science as a discipline which studies various spheres/aspects of politics.
1.3 Study politics employing approaches specific to the discipline.

Periods : 30

Learning Outcome : • Define politics and political science.
• Identify and explain the relations and differences between politics and political science.
• Name and describe the approaches in political science.
• Examine them critically.
• Explain the relevance of politics to the development of values in social life.

Introduction:

Politics is an indispensable aspect of our life. Every human being born within a state is a political being. Therefore, there is a mutual, direct and inescapable relationship between politics and the life of human beings. While it is useful for every active citizen to be aware of the nature of this relationship, it is however essential for students of political science to obtain a deeper understanding of it. Then, students will be able to learn that **political science is the academic field that studies diverse dimensions of politics.**

Students should also be able to know what political science is and interpret the **relationship between political science and politics.** Similarly, they should also learn about political science by becoming aware that **there are different approaches** specific to the discipline of political science.

Political science can be explained very simply as a field of study of an important social aspect of human interaction. It is a broad concept with diverse meanings and interpretations.

The aim of this first unit is to enable students to begin the study of political science in such a way that they will become citizens with a knowledge about **what politics is** and also about the **nature of the relationship** between politics and political science.

Guide to Clarify the Content of the Unit

1. I   Political Science: A Basic Introduction

A simple and brief definition of **political science is that it is the academic field that studies politics as a key dimension of our social life**. When we study politics academically (that is, systematically,   employing theories and methods etc.,), we will also learn that the concept of politics has a wide range of meanings.

The academic study of politics has a long history. As far back as 5th century BC, study of politics and training in politics took place at special academies in Athens, Greece. This academic tradition was founded and developed by the famous philosophers, Plato and Aristotle. Teaching Political Science as a subject in schools and universities at present is the continuation of this classical tradition.

The study of politics as political science has several meanings. These include studying, analyzing and conducting research into politics and its different aspects, critiquing existing political theories, building new theories and concepts, critiquing existing public policies and proposing alternatives, and learning skills to train citizens as well as those who are engaged in politics. These constituted the agenda of what Plato and Aristotle also did in their Academy. In ancient India and China too, specialists in politics and statecraft did similar things. Even today, in schools and universities, the agenda of teaching political science has these objectives in mind.

In understanding the nature of political science, there are a few preliminary points that are useful for us to keep in mind:

- Political science is one of the oldest academic disciplines. Political science evolved alongside philosophy, mathematics, logic, ethics and aesthetics in classical Greece around 5th -4th centuries BC.

- The nature of political science, scope, content, methods, theories, concepts and approaches have been developed and transformed over a period of nearly twenty-five centuries.

- Approaches, theories and concepts in political science are many and varied. They are identified with various traditions and schools. **This diversity and plurality make the study of politics** interesting and exciting.

1. II   Politics and Politics Science

We mentioned above that political science is the academic discipline that studies politics. There are two themes embedded in this statement.

- Politics
- Political Science

Let us now try to understand these two themes.

1.II. I Understanding 'Politics.'

- The usual meaning of the word 'politics' is related to 'doing politics', or, engaging in political activities such as taking part in election campaigns or contesting for political office. This is the popular, or everyday, understanding of the concept of politics. It is not an incorrect understanding, but it is not a comprehensive understanding of what politics is. It is only **the literary and minimalist meaning** of the term 'politics'.

  Students should also learn the deeper meanings of the concept of politics.

- When we explore the idea/concept of 'politics' in some depth, we can see that it has two inter-related meanings.

  (a)   As a concept that refers to the activities **relating to the state**, administering or managing the state, and governance.

  (b)   As a **social practice** among citizens outside the state, thereby not limiting the meaning of politics to the domain of the state.

- **Understanding Politics in Relation to the State, Administering the State and Governance**

  This is the classical understanding of politics. Political philosophers in ancient Greece, India and China understood and explained politics in this way, relating it to the state and the ways in which the state power should be exercised. This meaning continues even today.

- The English word 'politics' is derived from the Greek term *politikos*. The basis of this word lies in Greek *Polis* or the city-state. Therefore, *politikos* meant all matters concerning the *Polis*, or the city-state. Thus, political science in its classical Greek sense meant the art or science that studied matters relating to the city-state. The matters relating the city-state covered wide range of topics, such as:

  Nature of the state
  Objectives of the state
  Systems of government
  Relationship between the state and citizens
  Skills and qualities of the ruler
  The process of government.

- When reading the work of political thinkers in the East such as Kautilya of India and Confucius of China, we can see that they too saw the same topics as constituting politics. with generally similar meanings.

- All political thinkers of the classical world, Eastern or Western, held the view that it was the task of the specialists in politics to advise rulers on running the government. At present too, this trend continues, although only a very few political scientists would actually do so.

I.II.II   Understanding Politics as a Social Practice:

This meaning of politics considers politics to be **a social practice among citizens**. It places politics outside the domain of the state and the business of administering and managing the state. This understanding of politics was also originated in ancient Greece. Under the modern representative system of democracy it has acquired greater clarity and significance, because people have more opportunities to engage in politics outside of the state.

Example:

> Citizens use their vote to elect rulers in order to authorize them to rule over them. They involve themselves in political actively, by becoming members of political parties, or attending meetings, rallies, protests, strikes, and revolts, or being active in voluntary organizations, citizens' associations, and pressure groups etc. They also constantly exchange political information, opionion and analysis with fellow citizens through the media.

According to this understanding of politics as a social practice, not only the rulers but also citizens too are involved actively in politics not as professional politicians, but as members of society. In the Greek city – states, the system of direct democracy allowed citizens to participate directly in making laws, administration and judicial matters. The 'Active citizen' in Aristotle's book *Politics* means citizens who took part with enthusiasm in such activities of the government. In modern democracies, citizens participation in politics has more space and opportunities.

Thus, the Greek idea that 'politics' was related to the affairs of city - states contained both meanings of politics.
   (i)   Matters relating to the state and running or managing the state. According to this meaning, rulers and high officials are the political functionaries.

   (ii)   Citizens' obligations and functions related to the functioning of the government, or 'public affairs'. Thus, citizens were also political actors, engaged in public affairs.

In modern democracies, citizens' participation has a special significance in the concept of politics. We cannot even imagine modern politics without the citizens' involvement and participation on a wide scale.

1.2   Relationship between Politics and Political Science:
There are two ways to look at the relationship between politics and political science:
   •   Doing politics, and
   •   Studying politics

   •   **Doing Politics** is practing active politics. It involves activities such as
        •   Working to obtain political power
        •   Functioning in a government in an official capacity
        •   Taking part in elections and election campaigns
        •   Engaging in political party activities
        •   Involvement in protest movements etc.

Both citizens and politicians who are involved in active politics do not need academic knowledge or specialization in politics. They only require desire, commitment and determination to take part in political activities. Thus, doing politics, or practical aspects of politics, is an object of study in Political Science.

- **Studying Politics**

  This is different from doing politics as described above. We do not consider a student engaged in studying politics a politician. Neither do we expect professional politicians to be experts in political theory or philosophy. This difference between the two worlds of politics helps us to understand the difference between politics and political science. If 'politics' is a practical activity, 'Political Science' is a field of theoretical or scholarly/scientific, activity. Accordingly, 'politics' is an object for the study of political science.

  - This differentiation in everyday usage as 'doing politics' and 'studying politics' helps us understand the difference between politics and political science.

  - Practical involvement in politics and the academic study of politics are two different practices.

  - Function of political science is the study of politics academically, that is systematically, using theories, concepts and methods.

  - Practical involvement in politics is not essential to study politics. However, studying practical politics is an essential component of political science inquiry.

Studying politics includes a wide range of topics and themes:

- Activities of political parties and organizations.
- Competition between political parties and movements to obtain political power.
- Election campaigns.
- Behaviour of professional politicians.
- Behaviour of voters.
- Political conflicts, protests and insurgencies.
- Government policies.
- Policy planning and implementation.
- Relations among states
- War and peace.

1.3 Learning Politics as an Academic Discipline:

Study of politics as an academic discipline has been developing over 2000 years, from the time of the fifth century BC. Expansion of the subject matter, approaches and methods of the discipline of Political Science has taken place during this long period of evolution.

Learning politics has two meanings:

    (a) Learning politics as a part of our common sense knowledge, and

    (b) Learning politics as scholarly knowledge, and as an academic field of inquiry.

Study of politics refers to the second meaning of learning politics.

I. Our understanding and consciousness of politics as a practical or commons sense knowledge.

Practical knowledge about politics is not obtained systematically, but through life experiences. All citizens possess some degree of common sense knowledge about politics. This knowledge is obtained informally from the family, neighbours, friends and the media. This common sense political knowledge is shaped by our personal beliefs, likes and dislikes as well as our convictions about good and bad.

> Example: On the question whether women's representation in parliament should be increased, people often use their common sense knowledge to answer. Similarly, citizens usually respond to political questions such as should capital punishment be abolished, should public education be privatized, or how can health standards of citizens be improved etc., using their common sense political knowledge.

As political scientists, we should not dismiss common sense political knowledge as lacking in legitimacy or authenticity. Political instincts of citizens, that often influence their everyday political understanding, are a valuable dimension of politics in society. Citizens' political common sense is an exciting topic of inquiry for political scientists.

II. Politics as a form of scholarly knowledge:

Scholarly knowledge of politics is derived from the systematic or scientific study of political phenomena or problems. It proceeds from theories and concepts. It follows specific methods of inquiry, with appropriate theoretical frameworks. A scientific study of politics also seeks the collection of data, evidence and information on a specific problem. Political knowledge should thus be based on the analysis and interpretation of such systematically selected data.

Let us try to understand this point through an example:

Let us assume that the government wants to introduce a quota system for women's representation in parliament. As citizens we are also interested in this question. Usually, citizens have different opinions about the issue. Some are for and some others are against it for different reasons. Thus, citizens have a common sense understanding of it, based on limited knowledge resources. Often such positions can also be based on prejudices, such as 'women should better stay at home looking after the family, rather than coming to politics which is the business of men.'

However, as political scientists, we want to have a systematic understanding of the issue. There are two ways of gaining such **'systematic' or 'scientific' understanding.** The first is to study how other countries have adopted systems of quota for women's parliamentary representation and what consequences there are after the quotas are introduced. We call this a '**comparative study'** in which we compare the experience of a few or several countries in order to gain evidence-based insights and learn lessons from the experience of other countries. The second method is to conduct **a sample survey** among Sri Lankan citizens, both men and women, to ascertain their views on the question. Then we can get a clearer and data-based understanding of people's knowledge and attitudes about the quota system for women's political representation.

Common sense understanding of political issues does not require such **methodological tools** as comparative studies, sample surveys, theoretical frameworks, data analysis, or carefully constructed conclusions etc. Neither does it require theories and concepts. The value of political science knowledge built on such studies is that such knowledge – data, information, and findings – can be used in other domains of politics, that is, public policy-making as well as citizens' demands for policy reforms. Such knowledge is more reliable.

Political Science as a Systematic Study of Politics

Now we should be able to understand the meaning of the statement that political science is the systematic study of politics. It is not our common sense understanding of politics. It is **a specific type of knowledge about politics, — academic or scholarly --, which is produced by professional political scientists through research.** Teaching and writing are methods to disseminate such professionally produced knowledge.

Study of Politics and Dimensions of Politics:

Scholarly, or academic, study of politics is an exercise which aims at understanding different dimensions of the phenomenon called politics. The following are such different dimensions entailed in the study of politics as present in society and as have been acknowledged in the evolution of the discipline of political science:

(i)   Political institutions
(ii)   Political practices
(iii)   Governance
(iv)   Political behaviour
(v)   Political ideology

- **Political Institutions**
  In any society, **politics exists in institutionalized forms.** Well-known institutionalized expressions of politics are the state, government, the bureaucracy, judiciary, Parliament, Cabinet of Ministers, political parties, and local government. Institutionalized in them are political practices and political processes. When we study them, we subject them to political scientific investigations. In studying them, we inquire into their origins, evolution, composition, powers, functions, transformations, and changes as well a their relationships with the citizens.

- **Political Practices**:

Institutionalized politics exist in the society through the medium of political practices. **Political practices enable political institutions to function by defining the attitudes and behavior of individuals who comprise those institutions.**

Example: For the existence of the Parliamentary system as a political institution, many practices have evolved over the years. They include democracy, electoral process, free and fair elections, acceptance of the majority's will and sovereignty of the people, and parliamentary traditions in the law - making process.

Similarly, the Cabinet as a political institution has its own political practices such as collective responsibility in the British parliamentary tradition, or President being the Head of the Cabinet in American and French traditions.

- **Governance**

Governance is a major aspect in the study of politics. Citizens in democracies elect their governments in order to manage and give political and administrative direction to the political societies of which they are members. Thus, **governance entails the administering of a society to serve the common good of all citizens while also maintaining law and order.** This process of governance has the following functions:

- Law making: Making of laws that are necessary for the well-being of society, conflict management, maintenance of law and order, and shaping the political and economic directions of society.

- Policy-making and implementation: Through this function, governments make and implement policies aimed at economic and social progress of society, welfare of its citizens and socio-economic change.

- Public administration which is the institutional structure necessary for the government to formulate and implement its policies.

- Maintenance of law and order, in order to provide security and protection to citizens and ensure social unity and cohesion.

- Conflict management among social groups as well as between social groups and the state.

- Formulation and management of inter-state relations.

These are themes that interest citizens too. They are also the most practical dimensions of politics. Therefore, political scientists pay special attention to them.

- **Political Behaviour**

Human beings are essentially political beings because they live in groups and their life is governed by the State. In modern societies, their political life is defined by their being citizens, or members, of a state. Citizens have a number of political functions such as:

- Engaging in political activities
- Voting (or not voting) at elections
- Participation, (or non-participation), in election campaigns
- Becoming (or not becoming) members of political parties
- Getting, (or not getting) interested in everyday politics.

All these reflect how citizens 'behave' as political beings. 'Political behaviour' is the concept used in political science to describe it. Thus, **political behaviour is citizens' attitudes, preferences, decisions, actions and even non-actions in politics.**

- **Political Ideologies:**

A key factor which shapes political institutions and practices, citizen behavior, and governing processes are political ideologies. **Ideologies are sets of ideas that social groups believe as frameworks that guide their thinking, actions, values, and commitments**.

Political ideologies are sets of ideas that operate in the field of politics. They also help people to construct public/individual consciousness which affect politics, political processes, political decisions and political behavior.

In the contemporary world there are many political ideologies which shape political processes and have an impact on public policy. Some of them are:

- Socialism   - Welfarism
- Liberalism   - Nationalism
- Democracy   - Feminism

All these political ideologies are sets of specific ideas about society and politics, and they provide guidance and visions to political action, policies as well as shaping political institutions.

1.4   Approaches in Political Science:

Political science is an academic discipline with a fairly wide range of subject matter and a multiplicity of approaches. . Its subject area and approaches have evolved over a period of many centuries. The changes that took place during the 20th century are particularly important in this process of evolution. It was during this period that political science emerged as a separate, scientific discipline. These developments took place alongside the broad changes and developments which occurred in the fields of social and human sciences in general.

Some of the important approaches in political science are:
- Philosophical - Normative Approach
- Comparative Approach
- Multi-disciplinary Approach
- Scientific (Behavioural) Approach
- Political Economy Approach
- Sociological Approach
- Feminist Approach

1.4.1. Philosophical/Normative Approach

This is one of the first and oldest approaches in political science. Plato and Aristotle, who were Greek philosophers, were its pioneers.

Chief exponents of this in European political thought were Cicero, St. Augustine, Machiavelli, Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, Emmanuel Kant, Hegel, and Karl Marx.

Among the political philosophers of 20th century are Mahatma Gandhi, Hanna Arendt, John Rawls, Charles Taylor, and Jurgen Habermas.

Two common factors related to all these political philosophers are:
- All of them are not political scientists in the modern sense, but political thinkers. They did not study politics scientifically as it is understood in the twentieth century.

- All of them looked at politics from a normative perspective.(We will soon get to know the meaning of 'normative')

Now, let us try to understand first what the **PHILOSOPHICAL approach** is.

Three main features of philosophical approach are:

i) It asks, and tries to find answers to, **fundamental questions** about the world, such as:
- What is the world?
- How does the world exist?
- Can the world be understood or knowable?
- What is the meaning of human life?
- What is life?

Similarly, political philosophy asks, and proposes answers to, such **fundamental questions about the political world** as:

- What is politics?
- What is the state and what are the reasons behind the existence of the state?
- Why should citizens obey the state?
- What is the relationship between the state and other human organizations?

(ii)   Philosophers take a special interest in the **clarity and precision of meaning of concepts** we use in our understanding of the world. So do the political philosophers when it comes to the political world.

> For example, political philosophers are concerned with the clarity of political concepts such as the state, citizenship, justice, fairness, equality, freedom, and rights.

(iii)   Political philosophy also has a keen interest in '**normative goals'** in politics.

'Normative' means **value oriented.** We have our 'value judgments' about the things in the world, evaluating them as 'good', 'bad' 'noble', and 'fair' etc. These are 'normative' yardsticks because we use them to evaluate things in the world as 'good', 'bad' 'fair', 'just' and 'unjust' etc. They are norms or standards of evaluation. These yardsticks are also 'normative concepts', because we express our value-beliefs about the world through them.

Normative goals in politics are the ones that bring about outcomes that can be judged as 'good' to society and citizens. We usually don't call 'normative' those that produce 'bad' outcomes. In this sense, normative in politics also refer to **human ideals that societies try to achieve.**

Political goals that result in common good and that are also ideals at the same time to be achieved for the welfare and benefit for all in society are: equality, freedom, liberty, justice, fairness, rights, peace and non-domination. These normative political goals enable us to imagine and envision through them a better political world. Thus, normative political concepts and goals provide **inspiration for us to work for building better societies**, better political systems and a better world based on 'normative foundations'.

Examples of imagining a better political world are:

- Our society should respect freedom and equality among all citizens.
- The state has a duty to ensure the citizens' fundamental rights.
- Politics should be oriented towards democracy.

Finally, in political philosophy, normative concepts are employed with two higher levels of meanings:

- To propose better political societies and governments that work towards common good and welfare of all its citizens.

- The study of politics should aim at not only describing and analyzing political phenomena, but also proposing better political alternatives that are committed to normative goals.

Thus, to summarize, philosophical approach to the study of politics has the following features:
- Asking, and finding answers to, fundamental questions about the political world.
- Seeking clarity and precision in meaning of political concepts.
- Evaluating politics by means of normative outcomes of political thinking and action.

1.4.2 Comparative Approach

- The meaning of comparative is 'oriented towards comparison' between two or more objects.

- The comparative approach is generally used in social science inquiry.

- In political science, the comparative approach suggests the comparison of two or more politics events, phenomena or processes. These can be similar or contrasting ones.

Examples:
- How do young voters make their electoral decisions in two or more cities, or in cities and villages? A study in several cities will enable us to compare similar cases. A study in cities and villages would enable us to compare contrasting instances.

- What is the most appropriate model of government to ensure political stability? A comparison of several parliamentary and presidential models of government is useful for us to find answers to this question based on comparative evidence.

- What are the strategies suitable for peace building in societies that have violent conflicts and societies that have ended their violent conflicts?

Why should politics be studied comparatively? Kenneth Newton and Jaan Vandeth in their book *Foundations of Comparative Politics* give the following two answers: .

- Understanding politics in other countries is helpful in understanding politics of our own country.

- It is difficult to obtain a proper understanding of politics in a country without a comparative study of political histories, political backgrounds and political institutions in several countries.

There are three main traditions in comparative politics.
- Classical approach.
- 20th century approach.
- . Contemporary approach.

- **Classical Approach to Comparative Politics**

The history of this approach goes to the early political thought of Greek, Roman and medieval Europe. In his book *Politics*, Aristotle used the comparative method to study the systems of government in Greek city - states. He used two yardsticks to classify these governments. One is the number of rulers and the other is the level of corruption in governments. Accordingly, and applying the comparative method, Aristotle classified Greek government as monarchies, aristocracies, dictatorships/autocratic governments, oligarchies and democracies.

- **Comparative Political Study of 20th Century**

This approach to the study of politics was developed after the 1950s in some American universities. It was derived from the 'scientific method' that was becoming popular in social science research in Europe and America. The 'scientific method' in the social sciences assumed that the research methods employed in the natural sciences could be used in the study of human society with better results. The production of 'reliable' knowledge about society based on empirical evidence and data is the key idea in the scientific method adapted to social sciences. Political scientists in America were the pioneers in employing this approach in political science research. The 1950s were the time when this approach began to be developed in America (We will discuss this topic later).

The twentieth century comparative method in political science compared data on themes such as political development, political culture, political change, political socialization and political behavior.

The following are a few works that played a pioneering role in introducing the comparative political science inquiry

- Gabriel A. Almond, "Comparative Political Systems," 1956, *The Journal of Politics,* Vol. 18 - No. 03.

- Gabriel A. Almond & James S. Coleman, 1960, *The Politics of the Developing Areas.*

- Seymour Martin Lipset, 1960, *Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics.*

- Gabriel A. Almond & Sidney Verba, 1963, *The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations.*

- Samuel P. Huntington, 1960, *Political Order in Changing Societies*.

- **Contemporary Comparative Method**

Compared with the twentieth century comparative political science approach, the following aspects can be observed in the contemporary comparative political science literature:

(i).   The thematic scope of comparative inquiry is now more flexible. Themes studied include political institutions, political processes, political transformation, political conflict, peace processes, nature of the state and its transformation, direction of democratic transformations, citizens' activities, ethnic politics, civil society politics, human rights, and political participation of women.

(ii)   Contemporary comparative approach does not use measurements from ideal models on political development or democracy for its study. The use of such ideal models derived from the experience of Western democracies was a criticism leveled against the comparative approach developed in the 1950s and 1960s.

(iii)   The objective of this approach is to learn lessons comparatively from political realities of different countries and then strengthen the political analysis, without passing value judgments about politics in the non-Western world.

1.4.3   Multi-Disciplinary Approach

This approach involves the use of theories, concepts and methodologies of other disciplines in political science inquiry. History of political science includes many instances of enriching itself by mixing up with methods in other disciplines.

Examples: Greek period   -   Philosophy
              Roman period   -   Theological studies, history, and law
              19th century   -   Economics
              20th century   -   Sociology, anthropology, psychology, geography, art and literature

Several reasons paved the way for the necessity of a multi-disciplinary approach for political science. Politics is not an isolated area, nor is it devoid of other aspects in society. Rather, it is a phenomenon which is derived from society and therefore very much influenced by seemingly non-political factors as well.

The relationship between democracy and caste system is an example. Why is caste so important for democracy? This is a paradox in political modernization in both India and Sri Lanka. Sociological and anthropological theories and methods are very useful for political scientists to study the relationship between democracy and caste relations in society.

There are three meanings of the idea of multi-disciplinary nature of political science inquiry. They are:

(i).   Although political science is a separate academic discipline with its own identity, politics is intimately linked with other, non-political aspects of society.

(ii).   Although political science has its own concepts and theories, it is enriched by concepts and theories of other social science disciplines.

(iii).   Methodologically too, political science has close links with other social science disciplines. It also benefits from the methods of other disciplines.

1.4. 4   Scientific (Behavioural) Approach

- The twentieth century meaning of the concept 'Political SCIENCE' is that it should employ the **scientific method** to study politics. Here, the notion of 'science' was understood primarily in the sense of methods employed in the natural sciences.

- This new meaning emphasized that political science can become a modern 'science' only if it employed the natural science methods as in other disciplines such as economics and psychology.

- This idea of science was particularly prevalent among American political scientists during the 1930s and after.

- This approach, accepted by economists and social scientists, was based on the argument that the creation of reliable, valid and accurate knowledge should adopt the scientific approach or 'empirical approach' already developed and employed in the natural sciences.

Fundamentals of Scientific Method

- The aim of social and political inquiry should be the production of knowledge based on data and proof obtained by means of "e**mpirical research**." Empirical research is aimed at obtaining facts, data and evidence through observation and verification. The word 'empirical' means 'derived from experience.' Here experience means observation that scientists do by means of testing and experimentation in order to obtain data on a specific issue of inquiry.

- In the social sciences, empirical method of research aims at collecting quantitative data on an issue, through fieldwork and analyzing such data through statistical techniques to find out patterns and trends of the phenomenon under study.

- Scientifically constructed knowledge about society or politics should be 'objective'. '**Objective knowledge'** is assumed to be free of personal beliefs, assumptions, prejudices and value judgments of the researcher. They are entirely guided by theory and based on observable and verifiable facts and data.

- Therefore, to be 'objective', scientific knowledge about society or politics should be '**value free**'. It means the social/political scientists should not pass judgments such as good or bad about social and political phenomena s/he studies.

- Scientific statements that are not personal value judgments of the researcher should be based entirely on empirical data and on the patterns and observations derived from such data.

  Let us now see how this scientific method influenced behaviouralism in Political Science.

Scientific Approach and Behaviouralism:

- Behaviouralism/Behaviourism is the approach developed to study individual social, psychological and political behaviour 'scientifically,' as discussed above.

- This new method of social science inquiry emerged in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. It was adopted in political science during the 1920s and after. Behaviour alist approach became popular in the 1950s, as a major stream of'scientific" political science.

- The behavioural approach influenced political science so much that the new trend was called the 'behavioural revolution' in the evolution of political science during the 20th century.

- The principle argument of behavioural approach is that it enables the study of individual political behavior of people in the political process as members of the society and the factors affecting such individual political behavior is the only political phenomena which can be studied empirically.

- Individuals involved in the political process make political decisions, and possess political beliefs and ideas which affect their political behaviour. This political behaviour can be observed empirically and sufficient data can be collected.

> Example: It is easy to collect data empirically and quantitatively on voting patterns among citizens and elections. The data thus obtained can be classified according to gender, age, levels of income, levels of education, profession, location of living, and age group etc. These data can then be analyzed to show patterns, trends and features of voting among citizens. The data and the results of analysis can also be presented quantitatively, through tables, graphs, numbers, percentages etc.

Trends in Behaviouralism

- Study of the political participation of citizens has been a recent trend in behavioural studies of politics. This was seen as a political phenomenon that could be studied by empirical methods, as described above. American behavioral political scientists have been particularly keen to study political participation of citizens empirically.

- Behaviouralism in political science emerged in 1950s, dominated the field in the 1950s and 1960s. However, it faced much criticism and setbacks in the 1970s.

- It was criticized for being limited only to the study of political behaviour which narrowed down the scope of political analysis.

- Critics argued that political behaviour is only just one aspect of politics but there are many other important aspects but Behaviouralism disregarded them.

- Due to above limitations of the approach, the importance on Behaviouralism declined during the 1970s and the philosophical, historical and broadly social science approaches regained importance.

- The decline of behaviouralism led to a post-Behavioural phase in Political Science.

- The challenge posed by Marxism, Neo-Marxism as well as the philosophical, feminist and post modernist strands were decisive in the decline of behaviouralism.

1.4.5   Political Economy Approach

This method is identified fully with Marxist theory and approach. Marxism which emerged in the 19th century in Europe is inclusive of philosophical, politico-economical, political and sociological aspects.

The term Political Economy was first used among the European thinkers of 18th century. Study of the economic process, including production of goods, trade and national income combined with government policy on economic process was in its early agenda.

Adam Smith, David Ricardo, John Stuart Mill, Thomas Malthus, and Karl Marx were the chief exponents of political economy. It was initially identified with the liberal tradition of economic thought.

However, Karl Marx changed the traditional approach and thought associated with political economy. While engaging in an in-depth study of how the capitalist economy worked, Marx also introduced a new theoretical system. He called it 'historical materialism.' As a method of analysis, it proposed that human society should be studied as a total process consisting of history, society, economy, politics and ideology. In such a study, the interrelationships between all these spheres should also be examined. The main theoretical components of historical materialism, proposed by Marx were:

- In the study of human society, society should be taken as a totality. Marx used the term 'social formation' for the totality of society.

- A social formation consists of two spheres/bases
    - (a) Economic base
    - (b) Super structure (which consists of social, political, cultural and ideological sub-structures).

- The transformation and changes occurring in the super structure of the social formation are not independent, isolated developments; but they take place as responses or manifestations of the functions in the economic base.

- The fundamental dynamic of economic, social and political transformation in any society is the 'class struggle'. Class struggle is the result of division of society into hostile classes. This too is based on economic reasons. Property ownership or non-ownership is the basis of class differentiation. Class struggle takes place between the two classes who possess economic power and do not possess economic power.

The Political Economy Approach in the social sciences as well as political science was based on the above basic Marxist ideas. Radical social and political scientists saw them as an alternative to the empirical and behavioural approaches.

The distinguishing feature of political economy approach in the social sciences is the primacy given to what is known as 'class analysis.' It meant that at the heart of social and political phenomena are social classes, class interests, and class conflicts. Thus, social and political analysis in political economy approach required 'class explanations'.

Political scientists who advocated Political Economy approach critiqued the behavioural/scientific approach advancing the following arguments:

- Behavioural politics studied only the manifestations on the surface but not the real core themes of politics. The core themes in politics are classes, class conflict, the state, and resistance to power. Behaviouralism totally ignored these themes.

- Behavioural Political Science was politically conservative and opposed to any change of the existing system of power.

- It neglected reconstruction and reforming of the existing political structures. It only served the dominant powers in society and the world.

There are several features of the alternative approach presented by Marxist-oriented political economy approach to the study of politics:

- Identification of economic and social class roots of political phenomena.
- Building an analysis of the totality, and not of individual parts, of the phenomenon under study.
- Acknowledgement of the decisive role played by economic and class factors on politics.
- Recognition of power, authority, class differentiation, class conflict, state, and social resistance to domination as fundamental themes in politics.
- The goal of political inquiry is to build a radical critique of the dominant structures of power in social, political, economic and ideological domains.
- The belief that critical political science inquiry should aim at social and political transformation.

1.4.6   Sociological Approach:

Sociology and political science are two closely related academic disciplines. These two were separated as distinct disciplines during the late 19th century in American universities. The separation became clearer during the early 20th century. Even then, political science and sociology continue to maintain a close affinity. In fact, the sub-field of Political Sociology is linked to both political science and sociology.

Political science inquiry and analysis have been enriched by the theories, approaches and research methods of sociology.

- Leading social theorists of the 19th century such as August Comte, Karl Marx and Max Weber were pioneers in both modern Political Science as well as Sociology.

- The Frankfurt School of Social Research that consisted of a group of very influential thinkers during the mid 20th century conducted research on themes relevant to both Sociology and Political Science.
- Influence of sociology and anthropology is evident in both the theory and method of modern political science.
- Sociological inquiry seeks to understand social structures, social organization, social units, relations between man/woman and society, social stratification, social transformation and all human action in relation to them.

  - Anthropology, which is a sub field of sociology, seeks to closely understand human action in social, cultural and religious contexts.

  - Sociological and anthropological approaches are very helpful for political scientists to gain a broader and better understanding of certain problems and themes studied in political science.

      Example: Political parties are an important theme in political science. Traditionally they were studied by using party agendas and programmes, election manifestoes, party histories, policy documents, speeches by leaders, newspaper reports, and interviews with party leaders.

      These are important aspects of how political parties work. However, they do not give us a full picture of how political parties function in society.

  For us to understand how politics and political parties work in actual society and social and cultural contexts, the sociological and anthropological theories, approaches and research methods would be very useful. Then we can find better answers to questions like the following: Why do citizens participate in politics? Who actually hold political power at the community and local levels in urban as well as rural settings? How do factors such as wealth, caste, class, family, and gender shape citizens' political action and participation? We need answers to questions such as these in order to understand the close relationships between political parties and society. Sociology and anthropology provide us better and more useful theories, approaches and methods.

1.4. 7 Feminist Approach

The feminist approach, which had a major influence on political and social inquiry, became an academic field during the early 1970s. Feminist theory and politics are an important aspect of the feminist movement as well. The feminist approach posed some fundamental questions about politics and also contributed to re-conceptualizing the meaning of the very idea of politics.

The questions asked from the perspective of feminism in political inquiry are different from conventional political science questions.

For example:

>Why are women excluded from the domain of politics?
>Is it correct to continue politics mainly as a domain of activity for men?
>
>Why has society historically subjected women to a secondary status, marginalization, oppression and discrimination? Should it continue any longer?
>
>What are the social, political, cultural and ideological structures that continue to keep women under oppression?
>
>Are liberal and socialist visions for human and social emancipation adequate for the emancipation of women as well?

In order to find answers to these and similar questions, Feminism has introduced a number of new theoretical concepts. Examples are:

Gender
Gendered/Male-Female division of labour
Patriarchy
Women's oppression
Androcentrism/ Male centrism
Male Domination
Women's liberation

We can briefly outline how Feminist approach has changed the political science inquiry.

- Reconceptualization from the gender perspective of almost all key categories of political theory and inquiry such as the state, political power, democracy, socialism, freedom, equality, justice, rights, discrimination, exploitation, oppression, resistance, public policy, representation, citizenship.

- Bringing gender into the fundamental categories of political theory, such as class, nation, society, and citizenship.

- Altering the conventional political science idea, originated during the Greek period, that politics is an activity in the 'public sphere.' Feminism has introduced the idea that politics takes place in the "private sphere" as well.

- Introducing the idea of 'emancipation of women', in addition to human and social emancipation, as a normative goal of politics.

Proposed Learning Activities

1.   Encourage students to formulate questions like the following:

    Example 1:   Name two political thinkers engaged in normative political inquiry.
        I   ………………………………..
        II   ………………………………..

    Example 2:   Who are the political philosophers who wrote the following books?
        I   *The Republic*   ………………………………
        II   *Politics*   ………………………………

2.   Plan group presentations under the following topics.
   i.   Philosophical/normative approach in political science
   ii.   Comparative approach
   iii.   Multi-disciplinary approach
   iv.   Scientific/ behavioural approach
   v.   Political Economy approach
   vi.   Sociological approach.

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2. Political Science and Its Sub Fields

Competency 2 : Prepare to study Political Science by identifying the thematic sub-fields of the discipline..

Competency Levels : 2.1 Study the nature and subject areas of the thematic sub fields.

2.2 Examine their role in the political life of society.

Periods :

Learning Outcome : • Name and describe the sub-fields of Political Science.

• Explain how each of these sub-fields make the subject matter of Political Science holistic.

• Make use of that knowledge to think critically about the political world.

Introduction :

Political science as an academic discipline has developed through a long period of 24 centuries. In this lesson, we identify the sub fields that constitute political science as a field of social science inquiry.

We will focus on five major sub fields of political science. **Political philosophy** is the sub field with the longest history that goes back to the early phase of political science in ancient Greece. The other sub field with a similar long history is **political ideologies**. A sub field that came to political science through modern social sciences is **political theory**. **Political institutions** are also an important sub-field in modern political science. The other important thematic area is **comparative politics**. These are the **core areas of political science**.

In the lesson 1, we have already discussed some of these topics briefly when we learnt about the approaches to political science inquiry. Therefore, what is presented in this lesson is a continuation.

2.1 Political Philosophy

As we learned in the previous lesson, political philosophy focuses on three thematic issues. They are:

i. **Clarifying the meanings** of key concepts employed in political science inquiry. Examples are state, power, citizenship, freedom, equality, and justice.

ii. Asking, and finding answers to, **fundamental questions** about politics. For example: What is the state? Why do people need a state? What is the purpose of the state? How did the state originate? What is politics?

iii. Proposing **normative goal**s to politics, political institutions, and public policy. Examples of such normative goals are freedom, equality, justice, common good, social emancipation.

From the classical Greek period to contemporary times, political philosophers have been concerned with such themes as justice, liberty, rights, equality, political emancipation, purpose of the state, and nature of the state. However, there has been very little or no consensus among political philosophers on any of these themes. Rather, there have been many disagreements and debates among them. And these continue to be contested concepts in political philosophy, making it an exciting field to study.

In order to gain a basic sense of the themes that different political philosophers have been concerned with, the following table is helpful.

Theme	Political Philosophers of Classical, Medieval and Early Modern Periods	Contemporary Political Philosophers
Justice	Plato, Aristotle, St. Augustine, St. Thomas Aquinas, Thomas Hobbes, David Hume, Immanuel Kant, Rousseau, John Stuart Mill, Karl Marx	John Rawls, Robert Nozick, Michael Sandel, Martha Nussbaum, Mahatma Gandhi
Equality	Aristotle, Hugo Grotius, Hobbes, John Locke, Immanuel Kant, John Stuart Mill, Karl Marx, Alexis de Tocqueville, Herbert Spencer	Mahatma Gandhi, Michael Walzer, Charles Taylor, Ronald Dworkin.
Rights	Kant, de Tocqueville, Locke, Hume, Adam Smith, Marx, Montesquieu	Isaiah Berlin, Ronald Dworkin, John Rawls, Charles Taylor
Liberty/Freedom	Plato, Aristotle, Hobbes, Locke, Marx, Jeremy Bentham	Isaiah Berlin, Friedrich Hayek, John Rawls, Philip Petit
Nature of Politics	Plato, Aristotle, St. Augustine, Machiavelli, Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau, Kant, Hegel, Marx	C. Wright Mills, Jurgen Habermas, Charles Taylor, Michel Foucault
Nature of the State	Aristotle, Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau, Marx	John Rawls, Jurgen Habermas, Charles Taylor

Philosophy had a prestigious place in political thought and analysis till the 19th century. However, during the middle of the twentieth century, political philosophy suffered a setback, due to the rise of empiricist/positivist, or 'scientific', political science. However, during the decade of 1970s,

there occurred a return of philosophy to political science. That shift began in 1971 with the publications of John Rawls' book, *A Theory of Justice.* The discussions and debates this book inspired among political scientists, philosophers and social theorists led to the revival of the importance of political philosophy.

2.2   Political Ideologies

- Political ideologies such as liberalism, socialism, democracy, social democracy, fascism, neo-liberalism, and nationalism have played key roles in shaping politics, political processes, and political institutions in the world.

Political Ideology: Definition

- A political ideology is a **set of political ideas** that influence politics in society, guide political action and has the capacity to attract large sections of people to its beliefs, visions and world views. Any political ideology will have the following features:

  - It consists of a cohesive set of ideas.
  - It is capable of shaping the political consciousness, political beliefs and visions of various sections of society.
  - It has the capacity to mobilize and guide sections of society for political action.

Let us elaborate these points through three examples of major political ideologies, liberalism, socialism and nationalism.

2.2.1   Liberalism

- The fundamental principle in liberalism as a political ideology is **individual freedom**. Liberals believe that individual freedom is the corner stone of the freedom of society as a whole and that it should be the basic principle in economic, social, political and cultural domains as well.

- The historical context for the emergence of liberalism was the collapse of feudalism and the **rise of capitalism** in Europe.

- The liberal economic principle of 'free market' was closely linked to the liberal political **principle of freedom**, or liberty. The liberal argument that the political field should be 'free' from government control later incorporated into the liberal political theory of democracy. That is how the concept of 'liberal democracy' developed.

- Political ideology of liberalism has made a major contribution to shaping many political institutions, their principles and practices in the modern world. The following are some

  Examples:
  Institutions   Parliament, political parties, mass media, independent judiciary, limited and accountable government.

Principles	Individual freedom, separation of powers, rule of law, checks and balances, fundamental rights, and the right to private property.
Political Practices	Free and fair elections, the duty of government to protect citizens' liberty, guarantee of individual freedom, minimum government intervention in economic and social spheres, separation of religion and the state, and limits to political power.

2.2.2 Socialism

- Socialism originated in Europe during the 19th century and then evolved into an influential political ideology by the early 20th century. It also became **a critique of and an alternative to both capitalism and liberalism.**

- A major argument advanced by the socialist ideology was **social equality** and social ownership of property. This argument emerged against the extreme conditions of poverty and socio-economic inequalities in Europe after the industrial revolution, particularly in England, France and Germany.

- It was Karl Marx who later developed this basic idea into a political and social theory through a more radical version of the concept of 'socialism.' The core idea of socialism in Marxist theory is that true socialism can be established only after the overthrow of capitalist system and making the working class the ruling class through a 'socialist revolution.'

- Socialism's contribution to the politics of the twentieth century can be summarized under four headings:

    - Presenting itself as a powerful **alternative to the liberal ideology** and its concepts of freedom, equality and social emancipation.

    - Advancing the **vision of socialism** as an alternative to liberal democracy.

    - Presenting a **radical critique** of exploitation, social oppression, and social inequalities, which are integral to capitalism, socialist ideology brought to the centre of political thought ideas of equality, rights, freedom and social emancipation of the oppressed masses.

    - Socialism remained a powerful political ideology that provided a vision and **guidance to mass movements** in the non-European world as well, seeking social and political freedom.

2.2.3 Nationalism

- Nationalism is a major political ideology spread throughout the world during the twentieth century.

- As a political ideology, nationalism is centred on **the idea of 'nation'**. In an elementary sense, it is an idea of a nation that enables human groups with the same language, religion, culture and living in a shared territory, to imagine themselves as one 'national' unit.
  \

- Later, the idea that a 'nation' of a people with a shared cultural identity are also a '**political community**', with the right to form a state, developed. That is the beginning of nationalism as a political ideology.

- Nationalism as a modern political ideology first emerged in the nineteenth century Europe. Subsequently, particularly during the early and mid twentieth century, it spread to Asian, African and Latin American continents.

The political role of nationalism can be summarized as follows:

- It is nationalism as a political ideology that enables communities with shared cultural or linguistic identities to imagine themselves as distinct political communities as 'nations.' Language, religion, culture and the territory are the identities through which communities imagine themselves to be '**nations as political communities**'.

- The modern nation-state is essentially constructed within the framework advanced by nationalism. Its fundamental assumption is that each nation has a right to form its own political unit. It has also advanced the view that modern **nation-states** should be linguistically, culturally, and politically **homogenous**.

2. 3 Political Theory

In modern political and social thought, the concept 'theory' is used as a **conceptual devise** to explain why particular socio-political phenomena – events and occurrences — occur. It is an idea which came to social sciences from natural sciences.

Let us first understand what 'theory' is. Then we can understand the concept of 'political theory' better.

2.3.1 What is 'Theory'?

This basic idea of theory is illustrated in the following examples taken from natural and social science fields:

Phenomenon	Field of Study	Theory
Why is it an object in space – a ball, leaf, stone, a coconut – falls vertically, on the earth? Why does not it move horizontally?	Physics	Theory of gravity
Why are price of a commodity goes up when there is a shortage of it in the market?	Economics	Demand and Supply theory
Why is it that some social groups turn to rebellion when there is rapid social change?	Political Science	Theory of Relative Deprivation

In modern science, a **'theory' is also a formula**, a brief statement formulated in accordance with the causal logic of science, showing a **cause and effect relationship between two occurrences or events**. It suggests a particular event occurred as an outcome of a particular cause. The usual task of a scientific theory is to explain how an entire phenomenon – not just one event – occurs in a manner that has a law-like logic. For example, the theory of gravitation has such **a law-like logic,** because it can be applied to all objects that move vertically in the space.

Thus, a theory is a scientific device which scientists – natural as well as social – employ **to explain** a whole phenomenon of events or occurrences.

Building theory is an important task in both natural and social sciences.

2.3.2   Theory in Political Science

Normative theory in political science

- Political science is a discipline that not only has many theories, but also has a special place for theory. There are two types of theories in political science:

    - Normative theory
    - Scientific theory

- **Normative theory** is usually identified with political thought and philosophy. It originated with Plato and it continues to be important in modern political science too. Its basic feature is the commitment to propose better alternatives in politics – a better state, a better system of government, and better public policies etc. -- based on value judgements and ethical considerations.

- In this sense, the concept 'normative' in normative political theory has two objectives: (a) to imagine better political alternatives, and (b) to prescribe those alternatives. Thus, normative political theory is both critical and prescriptive.

- A few twentieth century normative political theories are John Rawls' theory of justice, Philip Pettit's theory of republican freedom, and Jurgen Habermas' theory of the public sphere.

2.3.3   Scientific Theory in Political Science

The idea of scientific theory, as opposed to the traditional normative theory, came to political science during the 1930s. This was the time when all the social sciences were becoming 'scientific' inspired by the natural sciences. This is called the **'scientific turn'** in the study of society.

The 'scientific' social and political sciences also understood theory in the same way that the natural sciences understood it. That is, the task of scientific theory is to explain why things occur   in society the way they do in accordance with a law like regularity. Theory building is discovering such laws. Thus, a theory is a 'law' that explains what happens in the social and political world. It also assumes that social and political scientists engage in research to build such law like theories, or 'theoretical systems.'

Scientific theories are different from normative theories in one fundamental aspect. The scientific theories are **'empirical theories'** in the sense that they are based on empirical data and evidence. Normative theories do employ evidence; yet they often reflect the theorists' personal beliefs and value judgments.

The tradition of scientific theory in political science is called '**positivist political science.**' Positivist is another word of 'empiricist.' In modern political science, the theory of political modernization, the theory of political systems, and theories of behaviouralism, and some theories of comparative politics are built as 'scientific' or 'positivist' theories.

Modern political theory consists of both normative and scientific theories.

Meanwhile, the twentieth century and contemporary political science consists of a range of streams of political theory. They are: Liberal political theory, Republican political theory, Marxist political theory,   Post-Marxist political theory, Theory of political modernization, Post-modern political theory,   Feminist political theory and Post-colonial political theory.

2. 4   Political Institutions

- In political science inquiry, we focus on political institutions for two major reasons. First, politics itself is institutionalized in a variety of ways. Second, most political practices and processes have been developed around political institutions. Meanwhile, several social

science disciplines such as economics, sociology, law, and education treat institutions as an important theme of study.

- When we look at institutions, we can see that there are laws, regulations, practices and ethical standards associated with them. Institutions in society also have specific purposes and objectives.

- Institutions in society can be classified as 'formal institutions' and 'informal institutions.'

- Examples of **formal institutions** in society are schools, universities, municipal councils, parliament. They are established through, and governed by, formal laws, rules, and regulations. These formal institutions have buildings, premises and personnel. They are tangible and visible.

- Examples of **informal institutions** in society are family, kinship, social classes, and patriarchy. They exist in society in a way that is not materially visible or tangible. However, we encounter them and we experience their effects.

In this lesson, we discuss four important political institutions. They are (a) the state and government, (b) political parties, (c) pressure groups, and (d) civil society. As we can see later, these political Institutions have both formal and informal characteristics.

2. 4.1 State and Government as Political Institutions

- The core and fundamental political institutions in any society are the state and the government. Most of the other political institutions derive their existence, authority, and legitimacy from the state and government.

   Examples are parliament, cabinet, judiciary, local government, the police, the armed forces, prisons, schools, universities, and government departments.

- Although the state and government are mutually connected, they are not the same. As political institutions, they also have separate identities and spheres of function. This **distinction between the state and the government** is particularly pronounced in modern democratic societies.

- In modern democracies, **the state is the central institution of political power** in which political sovereignty of the community is institutionalized. It has a relatively longer existence than the government. **The government is the main institutional agency of the state**. In democracies, the government is the political institution elected by the people and authorized by the people to carry out the functions of the state. Unlike the state, the government has a limited term of office.

- This distinction between the state and government was not visible in pre-democratic political systems. In those systems, people did not elect the government. Neither did they authorize the government to rule. The King was both the state and the government.

- The **separation of the state and government** as political institutions first occurred in Europe. Its historical backdrop was the collapse of the feudal social and political order, and the emergence of the liberal democratic political order. In fact, the **conceptual and functional distinction between the state and the government** is a fundamental feature of modern democracies.

State as a Political Institution

- As a political institution, the state is the most well-organized political entity in modern societies. The modern state is organized within a well-defined territory. It has clearly demarcated borders. The state has the authority, right and means to maintain its rule over all citizens who are members of the state within that defined territory. In political science that authority is called '**sovereign power**.' The state has a range of institutions to enforce this authority. Government is one among them.

- As a political institution, the state also has a legal framework. We call it constitution. The constitution defines the state's nature, its structures, powers and institutional composition. The legislature, the executive, the judiciary, the police and the armed forces, and the bureaucracy are the chief institutional entities that the state possesses and uses in order to operationalize its sovereign power. All these institutions of the state have their own rules, regulations and personnel. Study of Constitutions is a major aspect of the study of the state.

- The government functions as a political institution in the form of the chief agency of the state. The government performs on behalf od the state legislative functions, executive functions, implementation of laws, liaising with the citizens and maintaining relations with other states.

- Although distinct from each other, yet inter-connected, the state and the government have a range of overlapping functions. These overlapping functions are operationalized through the following institutions:

• Legislative institutions	Parliament, legislative assemblies or state legislatures in federal systems, provincial councils.
• Executive Institutions	The cabinet, ministries, departments, public corporations, bureaucracy
• Judicial institutions	Judicial bodies and courts starting from the Supreme Court
• Institutions of defence and law and order	Armed forces, the police, prisons.

- The state is the oldest and the most central institutional theme in political science inquiry. Political science from Plato up to today has not yet exhausted inquiring into the question of the state.

- The following are the key themes of the state that the political thinkers and theorists have been concerned with: Nature of the state, Origin of the state, Purpose of the state, Authority of the state and sovereignty, State, society, and citizen, Limits of state power, and State models and changes

In classical political thought, there is no mention of the government in the way we understand it today. The reason is that it discussed only pre-modern and pre-democratic state forms in which there was no distinction between the state and government. Classical political thinkers used the concepts of the state and government interchangeably, suggesting more or less similar meanings. This distinction became clearer in the modern democratic state, after the 18th century.

In political science literature, as well as popular parlance, the concept 'government' is usually employed to make distinctions between different types of government or constitutional models. However, the term 'government' is also used to describe different types of governments such as, democratic governments, non-democratic governments, pre-democratic governments, republican governments, unitary governments, federal governments, coalition governments, capitalist governments, socialist governments and post-socialist governments.

In Lesson Four we will have a more systematic classification of governments.

2.4.2 Political Parties

- As political institutions, political parties are an integral component of modern politics, especially democratic politics.

- The history of political parties is not very long. It is connected with the development of modern representative politics. In Europe and America, political parties began to develop only during the mid-nineteenth century. In countries like India and Sri Lanka, this process began during the mid-twentieth century.

- In general, there are two background factors that led to the development of political parties.

  - **Spread of the representative system of government:** With this, the role of political parties became important as the central institutional mechanism of representative government.

  - **Spread of universal franchise**: This lead to the development of existing 'interest groups' into larger entities called political parties with mass membership and new organizational structures.

- Political parties are organizations aimed at gaining governmental power by means of elections or other means.

- Andrew Haywood, a British political Scientist, in his book *Politics (2013)*, shows that there are four factors that distinguish political parties from social movements and other political groups in society. They are:

  - Political parties try to capture and control governments by **gaining political power**.

  - Political parties are organizations that have **members** with 'membership cards."

  - Political parties have **policy frameworks** that address many subjects and issues pertaining to government policy. (Some times, occasionally there can be political parties with focus on a single issue).

  - Political parties have **distinct policy** and **ideological identities** (for example, rightist, Left-wing, centrist, social welfarist, nationalist).

- During the evolution of political parties during the past one hundred years or so, political scientists have shown interest in the following themes:

  - **Classification of political parties**: (a). Cadre-based parties and mass parties, (b) representative parties (parties that represent public opinion) and integrative parties (parties that shape and mobilize public opinion), (c) constitutional parties and revolutionary parties, (d) Left-wing parties and Right-wing parties.

  - **Functions of political parties**: (a) representation, (b) elite formation and elite recruitment, (c) setting up political goals, (d) interest articulation and aggregation, (e) mobilization and leadership, (f) organizing of government's activities.

  - **Party Systems**: (a) one-party systems, (b) bi-party systems, (c) dominant one-party systems, (d) dominant two-party systems, (e) multi-party systems.

  - **Functioning of parties and their strategies**: (a) party ideologies, (b) electoral strategies and tactics, (c) recruitment of members and fund raising, (d) social bases of political parties, (e) party structures, (f) patron-client networks.

- Most of the studies on political parties in the global political science literature are on the European and American political parties. These are experiences in advanced industrial and liberal modern democratic as well as non-democratic societies. But, when we study political parties in non-Western societies of capitalist underdevelopment, we can see differences in the nature of political parties and their functioning.

2. 4. 3 Pressure Groups

Pressure groups as political institutions have been discussed extensively in European and American political science literature. Interest groups and lobbying groups are two other terms used for pressure groups.

Interest groups can be defined as organized groups of citizens with the objective of fulfilling the needs and interests of members, with specific sets of aims and objectives.

Lobbying groups are those who try to influence law, public policy and government decisions by meeting and interacting with politicians and officials. Lobby groups try to influence the decisions of politicians and officials with specific objectives in mind. Lobbying groups may some time work for monetary payment for the service they provide for their clients. Suppose a consumer group of citizens wants to impose restrictions on the sale of liquor in neighborhoods, they can either be a lobbying group themselves, or hire a professional lobbying group to do it for them.

Lobbying groups are very active in America. In the American policy making process, legislative lobbying is quite prevalent.

The role of pressure, interest and lobbying groups is relevant to political science analysis because of their role in **influencing legislation,** policy-making, and decision making of governments. Their role is somewhat parallel and supplementary to that of political parties.

Pressure groups are a form of formal organizations. In Sri Lanka as well as the West, they function as formal organizations and associations. They have constitutions, office holders and even a paid staff.

Businessmen, industrialists, farmers, executive officers, religious groups, professional groups, and women have formed such pressure/interest/lobbying groups.

Examples from Sri Lanka are Tea Small-holders' Association, Planters' Association, Ceylon Chamber of Commerce, Government Medical Officers' Association, All Ceylon Buddhist Congress, and the Private Bus Operator's Associations. In Sri Lanka, however, lobbying styles and practices are different from America.

In the political science literature, trade unions and social movements are NOT classified as pressure groups or interest groups.

From the perspective of strategies they adopt to achieve their objectives, there is a key difference between political parties and pressure groups. Political parties try to change public policy by becoming ruling parties or joining a government. In contrast, pressure groups try to influence policy and government decision while staying out of government.

- Most pressure groups are organizations based on single-issue agendas. Examples are environment protection organizations, pensioners' associations, bus commuters' associations, export traders' associations, and citizens' groups opposed to death penalty.

- There are also pressure groups with broad political agendas. Examples are social movements and associations with agendas on democracy, human rights, women's rights, and minority rights.

- There are arguments for and against pressure groups. interest groups, and lobby groups.

Arguments in Favour

- There are issues that are specific to specific groups of people which are not normally addressed by political parties, because such issues may not agree with party ideologies or electoral interests. Pressure groups, interest groups and lobbying groups bring to government and public attention such issues, even if they are potentially unpopular.

- They are complementary to political parties and in fact fill a vacuum in party politics.

- They deepen democracy by mobilizing citizens who have an interest in policy issues, promote discussion and critique among citizens on government policies and decisions. This leads to better democracy.

- They strengthen the democratic capacities of society by being a check on the government's potentially arbitrary and anti-democratic behaviour.

Arguments Against

- Pressure/interest/lobbying groups are efforts by elitist and middle class citizens. Their activists are mostly middle class or upper class citizens. Those who benefit from their activities are also elites, not the ordinary people.

- These groups represent very limited and specific issues and interests which have no direct impact on the larger populace as such.

- In some countries, these groups have a lot of power, disproportionate to whom they represent. Although they wield power, they are not elected by the people. They are not accountable to the citizens either.

- Although the democratic process is an open one, these groups are not open or transparent.

2.4.4 Civil Society

Civil society can be defined as 'the **social space** within which citizens get together and organize themselves outside and **autonomous of the state** in order to achieve their common goals.' This concept is also employed to describe citizens' associations that work towards the welfare of their members as well as society, independent of the state. The first is the wider meaning of 'civil society.' The second is its narrow meaning.

The concept of civil society has a prominent place in the contemporary democratic theory too. Both modern theories of democracy and civil society state that a presence of a strong and active civil society is evidence of a strong and healthy democracy.

In the conceptual history of civil society, we can identify five meanings of it. They are:

- **Classical liberal meaning**: In this meaning, civil society is the space between the state and family which allows individuals to act on their own. Based on this premise, Immanuel Kant and Friedrich Hegel, two German philosophers, argued that civil society was also the space of capitalist market, that exist between the state and the family.

- **Classical Marxist meaning**: Karl Marx further built on Hegel's idea that civil society was the capitalist market. Marx used the concept as a synonym for capitalist society. Thus, in Marx's use of the term, civil society is the capitalist society. In this Marxist conceptualization of civil society, what takes place in civil society is competition among people within capitalist society in order to achieve their individualistic and selfish goals. Thus, in civil society people have no opportunity or freedom to achieve their common goals, or collective welfare, because they are driven by selfish and individualistic interests.

- **Associational Democratic meaning**: According to the theory of associational democracy, civil society is the space available for citizens within democracy to form their own associations in order to work towards their common interests, independent of the government. This understanding of civil society as the space for associational democracy of the citizens was first developed by Alexis de Tocqueville in his book *Democracy in America*. De Tocqueville was a 19th century French political philosopher. However, de Tocqueville did not use the term 'civil society' in his writings. The word he used was 'civic life.' However, this terms means exactly what we mean today as civil society.

- **The New Marxist Gramscian meaning**: Antonio Gramsci, an Italian Marxist philosopher, gave a new Marxist meaning to the concept of civil society in his writings during the 1930s. According to Gramsci, civil society is the social and cultural space that exists between the state and the citizens. Civil society consists of religion, culture, and education as well as associations such as trade unions, citizens' voluntary associations, church groups, and the mass media. The ruling classes intervene in this social and cultural space to gain control of it as a strategy to maintain their power over citizens. Gramsci used the term 'hegemony' to describe the ruling class power thus

established. In order to secure and maintain their 'hegemonic power' through people's consent ruling classes make interventions in the sphere of civil society. Culture and ideology are the means by which such control of civil society is established.

In Gramsci's theory, civil society is also the space where the resistance to ruling class hegemony can also develop through the mobilization of citizens.

- **Civil society as space for democratic political action:** Civil society began to acquire this meaning during the 1970s and 1980s. It was used to describe the social-political movements of resistance that emerged in authoritarian and non-democratic societies in Asia, Latin America, and Eastern Europe. In the absence of political parties in these countries, 'civil society groups' led the struggles for political freedom and democracy. They include trade unions, church groups, artists' and writers' associations, cultural movements, peasants' and students movements. The concept of 'civil society movements' also became popular in this particular context.

  These civil society movements thus emerged as social movements with political agendas such as democracy, human rights, women rights, and environment protection. They began to take up issues that political parties are reluctant to include in their agendas. Thus, politically mobilized civil society movements offered political activism outside and alternative to established political parties. Therefore, the term 'non-party political formations' came to be used to describe these civil society movements.

2.4.5   Civil Society as both Social Movements and Their Social Space:

- The above discussion shows us that the concept of civil society is now being employed to mean both movements for independent social and political action of citizens as well as the social space that allows such action.

- These movements are different from pressure groups, interest groups and lobbying groups which we discussed earlier. Examples of contemporary civil society movements are workers' movements, peasant movements, women's movements, religious movements, human rights movements, movements for media freedom and movements for environment protection.

2.4.6   Civil Society Movements and Political Parties

Such civil society movements, although they take up political issues, are different from political parties. The key differences are the following:

- Political parties seek to gain political power and control the government. Civil society movements do not have such agendas or objective for 'coming to power.'

- Political parties take part in electoral politics. Civil society movements might support political parties at elections, but would not directly take part in elections.

- Political parties have clear political programmes covering a range of policy issues. The programmes of civil society movements are limited in scope, restricted to the issues of their specific interest.

- Political parties have memberships, subjected to party ideology and discipline. Civil society groups have loose membership affiliations.

2.4.7 Why Does Political Science has an Interest in Civil Society?

There are several reasons why political scientists are interested in studying civil society.

- Civil society groups and movements engage in politics paralleled and sometimes complementary to political parties.

- Civil society represents a political space which is outside and autonomous of the state and political parties.

- Civil society offers new space and opportunities for citizens' political participation which are not available with political parties.

- An active civil society helps deepen democracy.

- In political mobilization, civil society groups take up important public issues that are usually ignored by political parties.

- By mobilizing citizens on common issues, civil society movements empower citizens.

2. 5 Comparative Politics

- In the Lesson I, the nature and evolution of the comparative approach to political science was discussed. That discussion is relevant to this lesson too. Please link it to this topic.

- Comparative politics developed as a specific field of political science during the 1950s and after.

- It originated in American political science and later developed as a specific area of inquiry as well as an approach within political science.

- The study of comparative politics began with Plato and Aristotle. They compared different political systems prevailed in Greek city-states in order to propose a better political model.

- Machiavelli also used the comparative method of political inquiry.

- The modern comparative political science began with the need felt by political scientists in the West to study the systems of politics and governments in non-Western societies. The traditional

political science was based primarily on the European and American experience. The need to look beyond the West led to the modern comparative politics.

- Thus, political scientists began to study political systems and their special features in the 'Third World' and the socialist countries led by Soviet Russia. This led to a change in the Europe and America centrism in the discipline of political science.

- Comparative politics then became a methodological approach when political scientists began to compare political systems and then arrive at generalized conclusions. For example, by studying electoral systems and voter behaviour in different countries, political scientists could build generalizations   about electoral politics. This method is called comparative method in political inquiry.

2.5.1 Why are Political Scientists Keen about Comparative Politics?

- When we study politics comparatively, we can have a better understanding of the politics of our own country.

- When we compare politics of a number of countries, we have a better, overall picture of politics.

- One key objective of modern political science is producing generalizations about political processes comparing several countries. Comparative politics is popular among political scientists because of that reason.

2.5.2 What do Political Scientists do in Comparative Politics?

- Political Scientists compare politics of different countries. This is called '**cross-national comparison**'. For example, studying how the PR system of elections works in different countries.

- Political scientists also compare political phenomena within a single country. This is called **'within-country comparison'**. An example is electoral participation within a country, by different demographic groups such as men, women, youth, older voters, rural and urban voters etc.

- There is also **international comparison** based on specific themes. For example, themes such as problems of democratization in post-authoritarian societies, working of different electoral systems, advantages of presidential and parliamentary systems of government, trends in women's political participation.

Proposed Learning Outcomes and Activities

After studying the fields that constitute the discipline of political science, prepare a wall newspaper or a magazine.

References/Recommending Reading

01. Bhargava, Rajeev and Ashok Acharya, (2008), *Political theory: An Introduction*, New Delhi; Pearson Education

02. Goodin, Robert E, (ed) (2009), *The Oxford Handbook of Political Science*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

03. Heywood, Andrew, (2013), *Politics,* London: Palgrave Macmilan.

06. Newton, Kenneth and Van Deth, Jan W. (2010), *Foundations of Comparative Politics*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

3. The State

Competency 3 : Lays the foundation for a theoretical and practical understanding of the state in which the student is a citizen.

Competency Levels :
3.1 Explain the concept, 'the state.'
3.2 Examine the nature of the state based on classification of states.
3.3 Analyze different models of modern state through the concepts in Political Science
3.4 Analyze the state and its nature through concepts and theories of Political Science.

Periods : 55

Learning Outcome :
- Define the state and describe its functions.
- Describe the features of modern territorial and nation - state.
- Describe the impact of globalization on states.
- Classify and describe different models of the state.
- Define the concepts state, sovereignty of the state and citizen.
- Describe the functions and the institutional structure of the state.
- Distinguish the state, government and regime.
- Name and describe the theoretical approaches to the study of the state.
- Identify the features of the state most suitable to promote human freedom.

Introduction :

- The last lesson enabled us to have a basic understanding about the state as a political institution. We also saw the relationship and difference between the state and government. In this lesson, we further explore the concept of the state.

- The state is a major theme in political science. It is also a social institution which affects the lives of all of us, directly as well as indirectly. It is not easy for any individual to live without being affected by the state. An individual begins her/his first encounter of the state when the birth is registered. It is an encounter that lasts till that individual's death.

- Individuals also get membership of the state through citizenship. Citizenship offers individuals the protection of the state as well a range of rights guaranteed by the state.

- An important feature of the state is that it is an entity which we cannot see or touch. It **is not a tangible material** reality. However, it **exists everywhere** in society. It is the state which protects its citizens. The state guarantees citizens certain rights and entitlements. By guaranteeing law and order, it creates peaceful conditions for its citizens to live. It is also the responsibility of the state to ensure economic development and social welfare. Similarly, it is the state which controls and disciplines us as citizens.

3. 0 Understanding the State

- The basic principle through which we can understand the state is that **the state is a social phenomenon** which has evolved historically. It means that the state as a social institution has originated in human society under specific historical conditions, and evolved by taking different forms. In brief, the state is a specific product of society, evolved through history. It also means that **the nature** of the **state has evolved though different historical conditions**. This is exactly what we can see from the evolution of the state from its tribal forms to modern forms.

  The state can be defined as **the sum total of the structures and institutions of political power that have been created to rule over society.**

3.1 The State and Its Functions

The traditional understanding of the state is constructed on three spheres of functions:

- Legislative function – making laws
- Executive function – implementing laws
- Judicial function – administration of justice.

This classification of the state's functions is helpful for us to understand the state at a preliminary level. However, the role and functions of the state are much wider and more complex.

In the contemporary world, the modern state has the following range of functions:

- The **trusteeship over law**, social order and property - This is the oldest function of the state. It has the following responsibilities:
  - (a) Ensuring law and order and social peace through policing and deploying armed forces whenever necessary.
  - (b) Dispensation of justice, administration of judicial institutions and punishment.
  - (c) Making and interpreting of law.
  - (d) Policy making and implementation.

- **Economic management** and direction. State responsibilities under this function are:
  - (a) Taxation
  - (b) Directing the economic trajectories of society and economic planning.

- **Social Control**, direction and management. This function of the state entails:
  - (a) Determination and management of the patterns of income and wealth distribution in society.
  - (b) Deciding standards in the economy and commerce
  - (c) Social welfare, social protection and other welfare measures such as poverty alleviation.
  - (d) Deciding public policies for health, housing, education, transport and similar social domains.

- **Maintenance of Law and Order:** The state has the responsibility to maintain law and order, and social peace within its territorial boundaries. For that task, the state has the authority, institutions, resources, and the personnel. The police and the judiciary are institutions through which the state maintains mechanisms of control, discipline and surveillance.

- **Declaration of war and peace** is a responsibility and function only the state has. The state engages in internal and external wars. Internal wars are necessary for the state to ensure the security of the state from internal threats. External war occurs in instances when the security of the state is threatened by external enemies.

3.1.1. The State as the Central Institutional Expression of Political Power in Society

- **Political community** is one way of human beings organizing themselves collectively. The **state is the central expression of that togetherness as a political community**.

- There are also other forms of community into which people organize themselves. Voluntary associations, political parties, trade unions, social movements and religious groups are examples.

- However, the state is superior to all these communities. This is the basis for Aristotle's famous statement that "the state is a human association. But, it is superior to all other associations." Of course, the human associations that Aristotle had in mind were limited to the family and the neighborhood of several families.

- There are two meaning s in the statement that the **state is the highest human community**. They are the Aristotlean meaning, and Weberian meaning.

    i. **Aristotlean Meaning:**
        At the very beginning of his book *Politics*, Aristotle advanced the concept of the state as a human association. However, it is also the highest human association, because its aim is the highest welfare of the entire society. Other associations are committed to the welfare of only their members. The state is the highest human association because its purpose is welfare of the whole society.

    ii. **Weberian Meaning:**
        Max Weber was a German social theorist of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. He was also a founder of modern Western sociology. In his lecture 'Politics as a Vocation,' delivered in 1914, he defined the state as follows:

        "The state is a human community that (successfully) claims the monopoly of the legitimate use of violence within a given territory."

In Weber's definition of the state, the special feature of the state, compared with other political entities in society, is that the state alone has **the monopolistic right to use violence,**

or coercive power, as a legal right. Everybody else gets that right only if the state permits.

It is this monopoly of the legitimate use of violence that enables the state to control, discipline, and punish everybody else living within its boundaries. The state has laws, institutions, and personnel to carry out that authority. Parliament, laws, bureaucracy, the judiciary, the police and the armed forces, prisons are institutions that only the state can possess. Thus, the state has an authority to which no other organization in society can lay claim.

That special authority the state alone possesses is called in political science '**sovereignty.**' Any other community can enjoy even a small share of that authority only with the permission of the state.

Understanding the modern state
- The modern state has two distinguishing features, compared with the pre-modern state:
    (i) It is a teritorial state
    (ii) It is a nation-state

3. 1. 2 Modern Territorial State

The modern territorial state is organized on four principles. They are:

- Defined territory
- Nationhood
- Government
- Sovereignty

3.1.2.I Defined Territory

- The modern state exits and is organized within well-defined territorial boundaries. The pre-modern state did not have such clearly defined territorial boundaries.

- While definite territorial boundaries are a special feature of the modern state, those boundaries are also accepted in international law. Other states usually accept and respect those boundaries. In contrast, boundaries of the pre-modern state were flexible, and often violated by neighboring states.

- The state boundaries can be natural, like coasts, mountains and forests. Or sometimes they are artificial. Being an Island Sri Lanka's modern state has natural territorial boundaries. In contrast, Pakistan and India have artificial boundaries.

- Modern territorial state boundaries have airspace as well.

- Territory is the primary material asset of the state. That is why '**territoriality'** is so important for the modern state. That is also why inter-state war leads to the annexation of territories of other states.

- Citizens' identity with a state is also associated with the state's territory.

- Territory and the land belonging to the state is also the material basis of the idea of 'patriotism', or the love for the state.

3.1.2.II   Nationhood

- The formation of modern state and modern nations has occurred as similar historical processes. The joint outcome of these two processes is the emergence of the modern '**nation-state'**.

- The concept of the modern nation-state is built on two fundamental assumptions. (a) Each nation has a right to form its own sovereign, independent state, and (b) One nation is equal to one state, and one state is equal to one nation.

- The idea of **nationhood** has also given rise to the **ideology of 'nationalism'**. Nationalism provided the ideological reasoning for the formation of the modern state.

- Nationalism is the political ideology which advances the belief, or consciousness, that all people living within the territorial boundaries of the state should have a common identity, and therefore be one nation. This is also one reason for the modern state being viewed as a 'nation-state'.

- Thus, 'nationhood' is considered to be an important foundation of the modern state.

3.1.2.III   Government

- Since we have already discussed the topic government, in Section 2.4.1, we will have only a brief summary here.

- Government is the institution which puts into operation the state's sovereign power.

- Government implements on behalf of the state its law-making, executive and judicial functions. Therefore, the government is usually considered of having three main domains of functions – legislative, executive, and judicial.

- There are several forms and models of government. Democratic governments, authoritarian governments, socialist governments are examples of one set of forms. Monarchy, presidential system, parliamentary system, mixed government are examples of another set of government forms.

3.1.2. IV   Sovereignty

- Sovereignty is a special power/ authority which only the state possesses.

- It is an authority which no other organization in society can claim.

- The powers of the state arising from sovereignty includes legislative, executive, security, and judicial powers.

- With sovereign power, the state commands others and not commanded by others.

- It is because of the sovereign power that the state is unique and supreme within its territorial boundaries. It is also because of the sovereign power that every institution and individual within the state obeys the will of the state.

3. 1. 3   Modern Nation-State

In this lesson, we have already come across the concept 'nation-state' several times. Now it is the time to learn about it further.

- Nation-state is a social science concept we use to describe the modern state.

- The idea of nation-state first developed in the 18th century Europe.

- Its basic meaning is the idea of '**one nation-one state; one state-one nation.**''

- The state of France formed after the revolution of 1789 is usually considered as the first European nation-state.

- Nation-state is considered as particularly modern state form, because the pre-modern states were not nation-states in the sense of one-nation-one state. Pre-modern states did not have strictly demarcated boundaries or internationally recognized borders. Political power was not centralized either. People living within the state had many linguistic, religious and local identities. Thus, people in pre-modern states did not constitute 'nations' in the modern sense of the term.

- In contrast, modern nation-states insist on **homogeneity of national identity**. It assumes that one nation should have one cultural, linguistic and sometimes religious identity. That is why modern nation-states with citizens of different linguistic, religious and regional identities are facing problems of national unity. In political science, we call such situation as **'crisis of nation building.'**

- Therefore, some political scientists are proposing that the modern nation-state should be re-conceptualized as **plural states.**

- In such plural states, a 'nation' can consist of a number of 'ethnic groups.' Ethnic groups are communities with their own language, religion, culture and region, yet living within a larger territorial state. This idea suggests that the modern nation-state can consist of a number of different cultural/ethnic communities.

- This idea also suggests that the modern state should be a '**pluralist state**,' in which political power is shared through constitutional arrangements such as derduction and federalism.

3.1. 4 Globalization and the State

The modern state is also going through some significant changes. Globalization is a key factor in this process.

- Globalization is a process facilitated by **neo-liberal economic reforms**. Its consequences on the state have been felt in the new trend in which external forces, outside the nation-state, have begun to exercise dominance over the state.

- Examples of these developments that have transcended the limits of the nation-state are the global flow of capital, electronic technology, global information flow through information revolution, cultural globalization, and international movement of labour.

- How have these new developments impacted on the state? There are two approaches to finding answers to this question:

  - The end of the nation-state argument
  - Restructuring of the nation-state argument

- **The end of the nation-state argument** begins with the assumption that globalization has put the nation-state in a severe crisis. The French political thinker Jean-Marie Gehenno first developed this argument in his book *The End of the Nation-State* (1995). He argued that globalization had weakened the social foundations of the nation-state based on the territorial principle. He also argued that globalization has made nation-state's territorial boundaries meaningless. The reason, according to Gehenno, is that capital, labour, information technology and human organizations can now not only easily move beyond the boundaries of the nation-state, but also the nation-state has no control over their global mobility. They in fact ignore the nation-state. These developments have made the territorial principle of the nation-state irrelevant.

- The end of the nation-state thesis also says that the importance of 'nation' has also been declining. The argument goes as follows: Under globalization, human relations have become tentative, superficial and fragile. As a result, there are no stable, lasting or permanent bonds that can keep human communities together. What we have under globalization are temporary networks, and not human bonds. As a result, the idea of the nation, which is based on stable human bonds as political communities, has been severely weakened.

- David Held, a British political scientist, wrote an essay in 1991 entitled "Democracy, Nation-State and the Global System." There, he argued that under globalization, a new global system has come into being. A key feature of this new global system is that no single state, even a powerful state, can control it. The new global system has thus escaped the control by the nation-state system.

- Held also argued that in the new global system, '**transnational networks**' emerged and the states cannot control them. Similarly, non-state international organizations can even control and influence the most powerful states.

- Thus, the weakening of the nation-state is viewed as a direct outcome of globalization.

- The second argument says that the nation-state is not coming to an end under globalization. Instead, what has happened is that global capital has escaped the control of the nation-state and acquired a new sense of autonomy from the nation-state. This has led to **re-structuring of the nation-state**, and not its weakening or ending. The states have learnt to work with the new global system. Thus, the states may have been weakened by the forces of globalization, but they have not come to an end. (see also the discussion under 'neo-liberal state' in the next section).

3.2   State Forms/Models and Classification

Historically and throughout the world, there have been many forms or models of the state. We can classify these models into the following nine types:

- Tribal state
- Greek City-state
- Monarchy
- Liberal democratic state
- Socialist state
- Fascist state
- Colonial state
- Post-colonial state
- Neo-liberal state.

3.2.1   Tribal State

Tribal states are primitive political units in tribal societies. They did not have complex political structures or institutions which we observe in modern societies.

Political power was not centralized, but dispersed in society. Tribal leaders of small communities held primitive forms of political power. Sometimes, tribal leaders took decisions collectively for the community. Later they developed into 'tribal councils.' 'Lichchavi councils' in ancient India were an advanced form of such tribal councils.

The tribal councils maintained the unity of the tribal community.

A village leader, with limited powers, sometimes held the leadership of the tribe. His authority stemmed from his seniority within the tribe. Therefore, the tribal councils took the forms of the councils of elders of the tribe.

Tribal leaders were also warriors. They fought with other tribes for resources and on religious grounds.

Political practices in tribal states were based on traditions and rituals.

3. 2. 2 Greek City-State

The Greek city-states were the first political conscious state form in Europe. It evolved in Greece after the tribal state.

The practices and ideas developed during the Greek city-states have provided inspiration for even the modern politics and political thought.

The city-states evolved around the self-governing forms of small communities organized in equally small geographical units. Their political units were also built around clans and tribes. These were the basic political units in ancient Greece.

The economic, social and intellectual life of Greece also revolved around these political units called city-states.

There were two factors that were unique to Greek city-states. (a) They were politically well- organized small units, and (b) As political units, they were independent of each other.

Citizens of each city-state were very proud of their own city. They were not ready to identify themselves with another city. The religion of the city was also the religion of all its citizens. Thus, the population of each city-state had a great degree of homogeneity.

However, the citizenship in Greek city-states was not extended to all living in the city. Only property owning adult men were citizens. Women, slaves and immigrants had no citizenship rights.

There were many state forms in ancient Greek city-states. Some were republics. Others were oligarchies, democracies, and monarchies.

The **republican model** is the most important political legacy of the Greek city-states. In the Greek republican model, citizens had a direct role in governance.

Thus, a major feature of the republican political system in Greek city-states was direct democracy. It enabled citizens to directly take part in the law-making, municipal

administration and judicial matters. Thus, the concept of **'active citizenship'** was a part of the Greek political tradition.

The importance of the Greek city-state model can thus be seen in two of its legacies: (a) democracy, and (b) republicanism.

3. 2 3 Monarchical State

Monarchy has been a pre-modern state model existed in many societies in the world. Its key feature has been that political power was monopolized by a king, whose right to rule was hereditary.

The king/queen derived his/her political legitimacy from tradition and heredity.

In monarchies, all state power –legislative, administrative, military, and judicial – was in the hands of the king/queen. That power was not subjected to any limits or constraints, except by tradition. The will of the ruler was the law of the state. Thus, the king/queen enjoyed 'absolute' political power. Thus, the monarchical state is a form of '**absolutist state'.**

The **divine theory** of the state rationalized this absolutist nature of the monarchical state.

In absolutist monarchical states, political institutions remained in an underdeveloped state. The concentration of all power – legislative, executive, administrative, military, judicial – in the hands of one individual was the reason. Thus, the state institutions developed only around the royal court.

In monarchical state, there was no conception of citizenship as we understand it today. People living within the state were the king's '**subjects'** with no rights as such. The kings 'subjects' had obligations to the king, and not citizenship rights.

Historically, the monarchical state was the political form under slavery as well as feudalism in Europe as well as Asia. It also evolved from the tribal state.

3. 2. 4 Liberal Democratic State

- The liberal democratic state began to emerge in Europe during the seventeenth century. Its historical context was characterized by two developments: (a) decline of feudalism, and (b) emergence of mercantile capitalism.

- Liberalism provided the ideology for the liberal democratic state. As an ideology it developed in England and then spread to other European countries and America.

- As a political ideology, liberalism opposed the monarchy and the absolutist state and argued strongly for **individual freedom.** It also argued for a state form that accepts   individual freedom in the economic, social and private spheres.

- Liberalism and democracy did not develop together. Liberalism developed first as an economic ideology advocating non-interference of the state in the economic sphere and the free market. Democracy was its political form which evolved in the political struggles against the European feudal monarchy.

- Democracy argued for the government by the people with accountability to society and it envisioned a specific political order in society. On the other hand, liberalism argued for freedom in the economic sphere and it envisioned a specific economic order, free of government control. Liberal democracy is the synthesis of these two visions. The two brought together capitalism and democracy.

- The idea of political democracy that evolved in Europe after the 17th century later joined hands with economic liberalism. That is how **'liberal democracy'** came into being.

- Thus, we can say that the liberal democratic state is essentially the state under capitalism.

- 'Government by the people' is the key idea on which the ideology of the liberal democratic state is built. '**Representative democracy**' or 'government by people's representatives' is the other key principle derived from it.

- The following are the basic features of, and requirements for, a liberal democratic state, based on the theory of representative government:

  - Freedom and liberty
  - Equality
  - Majority rule
  - Popular/people's government
  - Constitutionalism
  - Rule of law
  - Independence of the judiciary
  - Government accountability
  - Free and fair elections
  - Competitive party system

(Teachers should discuss these topics in the classroom).

3. 2. 5 The Socialist State Model

- The model of the socialist state developed during the first half of the twentieth century. Soviet Russia after 1917 Revolution was the first socialist state.

- The theory of the socialist state was based on Marxist socialist theory developed in the 19th century. It was also developed as an alternative to the capitalist or liberal democratic state.

- The Marxist theory described the socialist state as the political model to be built after the working class revolution which overthrew capitalism and capitalist state.

- The vision of the socialist state was to build a **socialist egalitarian society** without exploitation and class differentiation.

- The socialist state pays great attention to the material well being and living conditions of its citizens. The provision of basic human needs such as education, employment, health, and housing to all its citizens on the principle of equality is a key objective of the socialist state.

- Ensuring socialist equality is to be facilitated in the socialist state by the **state ownership of wealth,** property and means of production. The absence of private ownership of property and the '**socialization'** of the economy marks a fundamental difference in socialism from capitalism. This has led to the state monopoly in the economic sphere. Socialist believed that under the **'dictatorship of the proletariat'**, a key task of the socialist state was to establish social, or common, ownership of property and socialization of the economy. Socialists believed that this situation would lead to the **abolition of social classes** and class inequalities in society.

- The theory of socialist state also believed that once social classes are abolished in a socialist society, the need for the state to exist in society would also disappear. This is described in the Marxist theory as '**withering away of the state**.'

- The socialist state is fundamentally different from the liberal democratic state. According to socialist theory, the 'owners' of the socialist state is the working class. The basis of politics is not liberal democracy, but 'the dictatorship of the proletariat.'

- In the socialist state model, there is no political competition through a system of political parties. There is no multi-party system under socialism. It is a single-party system.

- A number of European and Asian countries experimented the socialist state model during the 20th century. They are Russia, China, East Germany, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Vietnam, and North Korea. Cuba in the Caribbean is the sole surviving socialist state in the world. China has moved away from socialism.

- The socialist state system in Russia and the Eastern Europe collapsed during the 1980s. China has deviated significantly from the socialist model. Socialist model is no longer considered as an effective alternative to capitalism.

3.2 6 The Fascist State

The fascist state was based on the fascist ideology, which emerged in Germany and Italy during the 1930 and 1940s. Adolf Hitler in Germany and Benneto Mussolini in Italy were its leaders. According to the Fascist ideology, the state is the supreme political institution in

society. All citizens and institutions should be unconditionally subordinate to the state. The Fascist ideology is also militarist and racist.

Hitler described the state as the nation's soul and the ultimate honour and image. It is the state that represents the nation. Therefore, the fate of the nation and the state is identical. This fascist claim comes from the extreme nationalism of its ideology.

This ideology has led to the fascist **'cult of the state**.' It has meant a number of things. First, the state is the supreme political institution of society. It is most powerful too. And it is the duty of all citizens to obey and surrender to the will of the state. It is by surrendering to the state that individuals realize their freedom. Secondly, this fascist idea represents an extreme form of authoritarianism, which is called '**totalitarianism.**' That is why in political theory, the fascist state is described as 'totalitarian state.'

This fascist ideology of the state has been inspired by Friedrich Nietzsche's idea of 'super man,' Fascists equated the all powerful state to the super man. Thus, the state is viewed as supreme, noble, above society, and unique with no parallel institutions.

Fascist considered their state not as a part of society, but an entity which stands above society. Thus, the state has a mystic authority. People can understand it only by surrendering to the state. The state exists for its own sake, and not for any other purpose.

Cult of the leader was another feature of the fascist state. The leader is supposed to embody the fate of the nation. He was supposed to embody the wisdom of the nation with super human qualities. Obedience to the leader was considered as the supreme duty of the citizens.

3. 2.7 Colonial State

- The colonial state is the form of the state developed in societies militarily captured by the British, French, Portugese, Dutch and Spanish colonial powers. These were mostly non-European societies. They were directly ruled by these European colonial powers after military conquest.

- Historically, the colonial state developed after the 16th century. In Sri Lanka too, it developed after the 16th century. During the Portugse and the Dutch colonial rule, only the coastal districts were under the colonial rule, After the British conquered the Kandyan kingdom in 1815, they established the colonial state covering the entire island.

- Pre-colonial states in the colonial societies in Asia such as India, Indonesia and Sri Lanka were mainly feudal societies with various forms of monarchical state. In Africa and Latin America, they were mostly tribal states.

- The colonial state was a form of the state established by means of military conquest. Therefore, the state itself was a highly militarized entity, run by a Governor or Vice-Roy who combined civil and military authority. Rulers of the colonial state were not accountable to the local populations. They were accountable only to the rulers of the colonizer societies.

- The primary purpose of the colonial state was to ensure colonial economic exploitation and transfer of resources to the colonizer country.

- After the establishment of the colonial state, the following political changes occurred in the colonized societies:

    - The colonial state had **bigger territories** under its control than the local pre-colonial states. It is because, the colonial rulers brought together many small political units to form large colonial terriotories. By establishing its authority over large territories, the colonial state also paved the way for modern, post-colonial states with large territorial units with diverse populations.

    - The state became **highly militarized** because it was established by means of conquest and warfare. The stability of the colonial state was also ensured by internal warfare against local resistance and national liberation movements.

    - The colonial state was also a **highly centralized** state whose authority prevailed over large territories and large and diverse populations. This eventually led to the centralized nature of the post-colonial state as well.

    - The colonial state was established in colonial societies as **military-bureaucratic entities.** It was not a democratic state at all. The local elites were incorporated into the colonial government not as representatives of the local populations, but as representatives of the colonizer. They received land, money and positions in return. They eventually became a part of the colonial state structure. Their main tasks were collecting taxes for the colonial rulers and assisting the colonial administration.

3.2.8   Post-Colonial State

- Sri Lanka was a colonial state until 1948 and then became a post-colonial state. So did countries like India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Indonesia, and Burma.

- The theory of the post-colonial state was developed by Hamza Alavi, a British political scientist of Pakistani origin. He developed this theory in his 1972 article, "State in Post-Colonial Societies: Pakistan and Bangladesh."

- Based on Alavi's theory, we can identify the following as the main features of the post-colonial state:

- The post-colonial state further continued the structures of the colonial state with minor changes. Political independence did not mark a break with the colonial past.

- In most post-colonial societies, democratization did not reach completion after independence. Overthrow of democratic civilian government by means of military coups and establishment of the authoritarian state has been a common feature among many such societies. The exceptions are very few, like India and Sri Lanka.

- A special feature of the post-colonial state is the presence of a **strong military-bureaucratic apparatus** as the central structure of state power. It is legacy of the colonial state. Political independence did not alter this system. They were more powerful than civilian political institutions and political parties.

- The presence of strong military and bureaucratic institutions over civilian political institutions has been an obstacle to the democratization process in these societies.

3. 2. 9 Neo-Liberal State

Economic Background

The decline of the welfare state in the developing world and the collapse of the socialist state system created new conditions for the economic and political forces of world capitalism to expand further without much challenge.

Against this backdrop, the market economy could expand beyond the boundaries of the nation-state. The nation-state could no longer impose conditions or restrictions on the global capitalist market economy. Finance capital was the driving force behind these new developments.

The relationship between capitalist economy and the state has gone through two major changes in the past, and the neo-liberal state represents its third stage. In the first phase of liberal market economy, the policy was **laissez fairism.** It meant that the government should allow the economy to function on its own through market mechanism, without state intervention. The task of the state was managing the social and political spheres. In the second stage, **social welfarism** replaced laissez fairism. This marked the beginning of the European welfare state during the 1930s. In the present third stage, the welfare state is dismantled and the old liberal doctrine of **state non-intervention** in the economic sphere has been reintroduced. This is actually the meaning of neo-liberalism.

Neo-liberalism seeks to restructure the relationship between the economy and the state by forcing the state to allow the market forces to run and manage the economy. This has meant the dismantling of the welfare state, privatization of the public sector of the economy, and giving a free hand to the market forces to manage the capitalist economy. The role of the state has been confined to what

has been termed as **'governance functions'**. That is, to be involved in functions of running the government, and not getting involved in economic functions, except deciding the policy framework.

Thus, in the neo-liberal economic and political theory, the state is described as '**minimum government**'. The minimum government is supposed only to facilitate the proper functioning of the economy by providing the legal framework, policy framework, security and protection to investments and capital, and ensuring social peace for the market to function effectively. Thus, the role of the state is seen under neo-liberal reforms as a '**managerial state'.**

In the new neo-liberal framework, the government should keep the national economies open to international capital, technology and labour. This is the objective of **'liberalization'** or 'opening up of the economy'.

Political-Ideological Background

Among political thinkers who advocated the theory of neo-liberal state were Friedrich von Hayek an Robert Nozick. Von Hayek (1899-1992) was a Hungarian-Austrian economic theorist. Nozick (1938-2002) was an American political philosopher.

The basic political idea of neo-liberal state is that the state/government involvement to protect the rights of citizens should be minimal. The reason is that rights which the people enjoy are their inherent rights as human beings, and not ones given by the state.

Robert Nozick has argued that the powers and functions of the state should not be beyond policing functions. The state's primary function is the protection of property and it should not exceed that limit. This idea has inspired the concept of **minimum state**, advanced by the neo-liberals.

Thus, another key political idea of neo-liberal state is the notion of '**non-interventionist state.**' It means that the state should not interfere in controlling the economic and social spheres. The policy of de-welfarization of the state is an outcome of this concept of non-interventionist state.

The concept of welfare state in the past enabled the state intervention to protect the poor and vulnerable sections of society through social welfare policies, market control, price control, subsidies and the provision of public services at low cost. The political ideology of neo-liberal state is opposed to this role of the state. It wants the market to decide how resources and incomes are distributed in society and prices are determined.

De-welfarization of the state has also meant the government outsourcing social welfare activities to non-governmental organizations. Its objective is the reduction of government expenditure.

The Concept of Minimalist State

The idea of minimalist state is an old liberal political idea, and the neo-liberals have revived it. The concept means that the state should retreat or withdraw from intervening in the economic and social spheres, allow the market forces to operate freely. This concept coincided with the de-welfarization of the state.

The minimum state's intervention should be limited to managing the political and social peace.

3. 3   Political Concepts Relating to the State

3.3.1   State and Sovereignty

- The basic meaning of 'sovereignty' is 'supreme authority.' The basic idea of state sovereignty suggests that the state is supreme in society and that it has supreme authority over other institutions. However, in political science, it has acquired a wider and complex meaning.

- It was Jean Bodin (1530-1596), a French political and legal thinker, who first employed this concept. In his definition, the sovereignty is the supreme authority which the state exercises over its citizens and subjects. Similarly, the state with sovereignty does not submit to the authority of another institution which has similar sovereign power.

- Sovereignty of the state has two aspects: (a) **internal sovereignty,** and (b) **external sovereignty.**

- Internal sovereignty means that any independent state has power and authority to seek and secure the obedience and loyalty of any individual within its territory.

- External sovereignty means that a state with sovereignty does not submit to another sovereign state. This allows a sovereign state to maintain its internal policies without the interference of an outside power.

- Political theory has traditionally assumed that sovereignty is a stable, all-pervasive authority of the sate which is invisible and inalienable. This approach was developed in the process of the development of the unitary and centralized modern state in Europe.

- However, this conceptualization of state sovereignty has been challenged by federalism and globalization. The political and legal theory of federalism is built on the principle that sovereignty can be shared among different constituting units of the state. This federal concept of '**shared sovereignty**' has been developed in relation to modern multi-ethnic nation-states.

- Under globalization, domestic decision - making aspect of state sovereignty has been severely eroded. Now there are '**supra-national organizations**' that are more powerful than the nation-states in deciding a country's domestic policies. The United Nations, European Union, ASEAN, The World Bank, and International Monetary Fund (IMF) are traditional supra-national organizations. The new ones are the World Trade Organization (WTO), Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), and European Court of Justice examples of new ones.

- In the economic sphere, because of the international flow of capital, power of the supranational economic, trade and financial organizations such as the World Bank, IMF and WTO has tremendously increased, raising new questions about the traditional concept of state sovereignty. Is political concept of state sovereignty as understood until a decade or two ago is any longer valid? Isn't the concept in need of reformulation? Aren't small and weaker states in the global system compelled to compromise their national sovereignty? are such questions.

3.3.2 The State and Citizen

The literal meaning of the word 'citizen' is 'city-dweller.' But its political and legal meaning is **'member of the state.'**

The political concept of citizen originated in ancient Greece. Aristotle was the first political thinker to define it. According to Aristotle, citizen is the person who actively takes part in public affairs, or affairs of the government. This definition reflects the political conditions in ancient Greek city-states in which citizens actively took part in public affairs. Thus, the Greek idea of Citizenship is 'active citizen.'

However, in large and complex modern states, all citizens do not take part in public affairs. Because of representative democracy, citizens' political activism is limited to voting and getting political information. Citizens' participation in decision-making and administration is through their representatives, and therefore by indirect means. This reflects '**passive citizenship**' under modern, representative government.

In modern politics, the relationship between the state and citizens has two key aspects:

- Political rights that citizens enjoy, and
- Citizens' political obligations.

Thus, the relationship between the citizen and the state is mediated though p**olitical rights and political obligations.**

Obedience and loyalty to the state is the citizens' primary political obligation. It comes in return of the rights citizens enjoy as members of the state.

In modern political theory, there are three conceptions of citizenship.

- **Liberal, passive concept of citizenship**: In this theory, citizens are entitled to certain rights by the mere fact of their being 'members' of the state by virtue of citizenship. Citizens do not have to fight for their rights, because the liberal state grants them to the citizen.

- **Republican, active citizenship**: This concept is associated with the republican political theory. Its basic premise is that by being a member of a state does not automatically

enable citizens to have rights. They have to be demanded and fought for through active participation in politics.

- **Social Citizenship**: This is also a reaction to the inadequacies on the liberal theory of citizenship. It argued that in societies with deep inequalities, poor citizens do not have access to rights as citizens. Therefore, the state should provide social rights to citizens through welfare policies. Then only can citizens enjoy the rights entitled to them as members of the state. Social rights are not included in the liberal concept of citizenship. That is why professor T. H. Marshal, an English sociologist, argued for 'social citizenship.'

Why should citizens be obliged to the state? This question is known in political theory as the question of 'political obligation.' There are different answers to this question proposed by different traditions of political theory:

- According to Aristotle, citizens obey the state because the state is the highest association in society that provides the highest welfare to its citizens.

- According to the social contract theory, the state-citizen relationship is defined by the social contract that sets up the state. Therefore, the state and citizens have mutual obligations. The state provides security and protection to citizens and for protection and security, the citizens obeys the state.

- According to the liberal political theory, it is the state that protects the natural rights of the citizens. That is the basis of citizens' political obligation to the state.

- According to Rousseau's republican theory, the state represents the 'general will' of the society. Therefore, all citizens are obliged to obey the state.

3.2 3   The State, Government and Regime

- As we learnt in Lesson Two, the state and government are the most central and fundamental political institutions in any society.

- All other political and administrative institutions in society are derived from the state and government.

- However, the state and government are not identical, although in their functions they might sometimes overlap. Even in popular use, the two concepts are often taken to mean the same entity. Yet, in political theory we need to make distinction between the two.

- The state is the final institutional entity in society that embodies the sovereignty of a nation or a political community. The government is its functional agent, which puts into operation the sovereignty of the state. Thus, the government is subordinate to the state.

- The distinction between the state and the government has not always been there in political theory and thought. The distinction became clear only under the modern, liberal democratic state.

- In the pre-modern and pre-democratic state forms, the ruler was both the state and the government. In the pre-modern states, there was no institutional separation between the executive, legislative and judicial functions of the state. Al these powers were held by one institution, the king/queen. Liberal democratic state changed this. The functional spheres of state powers were separated. And the 'government' emerged as the political institution, composed of people's representatives elected for a limited period in office. With it came the principle of 'elected government,' with accountability to the people.

- Government is the principal institution through which the state operationalizes its sovereign power.

- Parliament and the Cabinet are the core institutions of government. The bureaucracy helps the government to implement its plans.

- Because of the elected principle, government is usually appointed for a limited period. In contrast, the state, on behalf of which the government functions, has a relatively long time span. This represents a key difference between the state and government.

- The government consists of the legislative and executive branches of the state. They are institutional agents of the state. The legislative branch of government consists of elected representatives of people in Parliament. The executive branch of government consists of the cabinet of ministers and the officials and the bureaucracy. Cabinet in the Westminster model consists of members of parliament. In the French and American traditions, they are not elected. The bureaucracy is also an unelected branch of the government.

- Judiciary is not usually considered as a branch of government, in order to ensure its institutional independence, although the judiciary functions in cooperation with the government.

- A government can be sent out of power by the people peacefully, at an election. However, for the state to be overthrown, an external war of invasion and internal revolution is required.

What is 'Regime'?

- 'Regime' is a concept that has come to circulation recently in Sri Lanka with some negative connotations. However, in political science, it is a neutral concept with a specific meaning.

- 'Regime' as a concept somewhat similar to what the government means. However, it has a specific meaning somewhat different from government.

- We can define 'government', as we saw in the previous section, as the institutional entity that people elect in order to carry out the functions of the state. In democracy, a government is also the institutional structure consisting of parliament, the cabinet and the bureaucracy. Usually, the prime minister gives leadership to government. In rare situations, like in Sri Lanka under the 1978 constitution, President can be the head of government, in addition to being the head of state.

- Now, we usually employ the concept 'regime' to characterize a government by referring to a unique identity it possesses. The word 'regime' reflects such specific identities of the government. For example:

  - To characterize a government as a regime in relation to its leader. Examples, Jayewardene regime, Rajapaksa regime, Bandaranaike regime, Nehru regime, Indira Gandhi regime, and Narendra Modi regime.

  - To characterize a government in relation to its composition. For example, a coalition regime, a multi-party regime.

  - To describe a government by reference to its class nature: a bourgeois regime, an intermediate class regime, a working class regime.

  - To identify a government through its ideological orientation and policy commitments: Examples: welfare regime, socialist regime, nationalist regime, democratic regime, authoritarian regime.

3. 4   Theoretical Approaches to the Nature of the State

3. 4. 1 Social Contract Theory

The social contract theory emerged in a historical context where the European feudal state was coming to an end. The theory of divine origin of the state also came to be rejected when the feudal monarchy faced resistance from newly developed mercantile capitalist classes. These new classes also saw the feudal social and economic order under the political authority of the absolute monarchy, as a major obstacle to their interests.

This was also the historical period in which the new social and economic order of capitalism was developing. The capitalist classes wanted to replace the feudal aristocracy as the ruling class. Amidst their resistance, a new idea about the state emerged. That viewed the state not as creation of God, but an entity that was created by human beings in society.

Thus the social contract theory was the first political theory that saw the state not as a divine creation, but as a human creation in society. 'The idea that the state is a product of an agreement made by human beings organized in society' is the basic thesis advanced by the social contract theory.

Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, Immanuel Kant and Jean -Jacques Rousseau were the main European political thinkers who developed this thesis into a major political theory. But each of them had special political reasons to develop their own versions of the social contract theory.

For example, Thomas Hobbes (1588 – 1679) supported the King of England during the civil war of 1642-48. He wanted to see political stability restored after the chaotic civil war. His book *Leviathan* written in 1652 advanced the first modern elaboration of the social contract theory to argue for a strong ruler, whose authority was derived from society, and from an agreement among people who established both the society and the state.

John Locke (1632-1704), on the other hand, was supporting the side of parliamentarians against the monarchy during the civil war. He represented the interests of the new merchant capitalist classes who were seeking political power. Thus, Locke's version of the social contract theory argued for a state accountable to society where people held ultimate political power. He also proposed a representative government with limited powers. Thus, Locke's version of the social contract theory shaped the core ideas of modern liberal democratic theory.

Rousseau (1712-1778), who lived in France during the era of French Revolution, was also strongly antimonarchist and against the power of the French aristocracy. He was for the total abolition of feudal political power and transferring it to the people, with people as direct stakeholders of political power. Thus, his version of social contract theory sought to develop an argument for '**popular sovereignty'.**

Despite these differences, the social contract theory has the following core idea about the origin of the state: Human beings living in a historical stage where there was no organized society or political authority, decided among themselves that they needed to bring to end that original state of anarchy. Thus, they had an understanding, or an 'agreement', among themselves to form a '**political society**', or a 'state', and they also elected a ruler to rule over them in order to provide them security, and an orderly and organized social life.

(Teachers can elaborate these points in the classroom).

3. 4. 2 Marxist Theory of the State

Marxism was a broad social philosophy that emerged during the 19th century with a philosophy as well as a set of economic, social and historical theories.

Karl Marx (1818 – 1884) and Friedrich Engels (1820-1895), founders of Marxism, advanced an entirely new theory of the state and its origins.

Marxism also argued that the state was not a divine, but human creation, However, the Marxist origin theory of the state is very different from the social contract theory. The state originated because of the irreconcilable class conflicts in society, as an instrument in the hands of property owning social classes. This thesis is linked to the Marxist theory of social classes and class conflict.

Briefly, the Marxist theory of classes and the origin of the state states the following:

- **Stateless phase in human society:** In human history, there was a very early phase during which there were no inequalities or social classes among human beings. There was no state either. This classless and stateless phase of early human history is called '**primitive communism.'**

- **Origin of private property and social classes**: When the human society evolved further, a system of private property developed in place of common ownership of resources. This led to divisions in society between property-owning and property-less human groups. This was the beginning the emergence of social classes based on economic inequalities.

- **Class Conflict**: Social classes have conflicting economic interests and goals, because the property owning classes constantly wanted to exploit these property-less classes as slaves, or labourers. This led to an open conflict between exploiting and exploited social classes. Marx described this as 'class conflict.'

- **Class conflict and the state**: Because of the class conflict, the property owning and exploiting classes need an instrument, or an institution, to establish and maintain their power over the property-less and exploited classes. This instrument used violence to suppress the exploited social classes. This is the beginning of the state. The Marxist theory says that the state originated in human history in the context of class conflict, as an institution to manage the class conflict and as an instrument of the ruling classes to suppress the subordinate social classes.

In the Marxist theory, the state has developed through different stages of human history. These stages have been tribal society, slavery, feudalism and capitalism. During each stage, the state power remained in the hands of the dominant class of society – tribal leaders, slave owners, landed aristocracy and the bourgeoisie, respectively. That is why the state in those stages are called the tribal state, slave state, feudal state, and capitalist state.

According to the Marxist theory, the modern state is a capitalist state, and it is the state of the capitalist class. It is the instrument of the capitalist class to maintain the capitalist system that thrives on the exploitation of the working class. Therefore, for the emancipation of the working class and other oppressed social classes, the **abolition of the capitalist state** is essential.

The Marxist theory also says that it is the historical task of the working class to abolish the capitalist state. The first stage of this process is the overthrow of the capitalist class from power, by capturing the capitalist state. This event is called in the Marxist theory the 'working class revolution.' The Communist Party was supposed to provide leadership to the working class in this revolution.

Socialism is the stage of historical development after capitalism, which the Marxist theory predicted. It calls the state under socialism the '**socialist state.'**

Socialists believe that the socialist state should not be one like the liberal democratic state. It should allow the capitalist and exploiting classes to political organize themselves. Only the communist party of the working class can exist under socialism. Thus, the socialist states in Soviet Russia and other socialist countries have been a **'one-party states**.' The socialist state has thus been described by the socialist themselves as '**dictatorship of the proletariat.**'

Marxists also believed that socialism was to be the last stage of the state in its historical evolution. Since socialism leads to the abolition of social classes, the need for a state to exist will disappear. The Marxist called this '**withering away of the state.'**

However, the predictions of the Marxist theory of the state about the socialist state and the withering away of the state have not become realities. Socialism has not been able to replace capitalism globally. Instead, socialism itself faced a major crisis and then collapsed during the 1980s. Although Marxists believed that the socialist state would be an alternative to the liberal, capitalist state, it failed to become a viable alternative.

3. 4. 3 Liberal Theory of the State

We have already gained a basic understanding of the liberal political theory.   We know that Liberalism as an ideology emerged during the 17th and the 18th century in Europe. Its core premise was individual freedom. The theory of the liberal state is built on this core idea.

It was John Locke's and Immanuel Kant's philosophical elaboration of the idea of individual freedom under capitalism that constituted the basis of the political theory of liberal state. Montesquieu, a French political philosopher, Jeremy Bentham and John Stuart Mill, English political philosophers, also contributed to a great deal for the development of the liberal political theory of the state.

The key contributions made by these political philosophers in the early phase of the liberal political theory can be summarized as follows:

- As we have already seen in this Lesson, John Locke developed the contractual obligation of the government to protect the life, liberty and private property rights of the individual citizens. He also advanced the theory of limited government, with accountability to society. Locke was also the theorist of representative government, which is a core concept of the liberal political theory of the state.

- Immanuel Kant continued with the social contract theory and developed a sophisticated argument for individual autonomy in a liberal society. He further developed Locke's idea of limited state by introducing the concept of the **'state of rights**.' This concept laid the foundation for the liberal theory of 'constitutional state' in which the exercise of the governmental power is constrained by the law that provides for the rights of citizens.

- Montesquieu advanced the theory of **separation of powers** which later provided the conceptual framework for the American constitution. In order to prevent the government

from becoming tyrannical, — that is oppressive – Montesquieu advanced the thesis that the legislative, executive and judicial powers of the state should not be concentrated in one individual or one institution. Rather, they should be institutionally separated.

- Jeremy Bentham (1748 – 1832), a British political philosopher, was the first liberal thinker to bring the government's role to the liberal theory of the state. Seeing mass poverty under industrial capitalism, he advocated that the government through legislation should intervene in regulating economic aspects of society. Bentham built this argument for bringing government action to regulate economic and social processes in his famous philosophy of **utilitarianism**. His argument was that government's legal reform should aim at ensuring the maximum benefit to the largest number of people

We have already noted that liberalism has also advanced an economic and social theory. In its economic theory, developed by such economic thinkers as Adam Smith and David Ricardo, the notion of free –market and the policy of laissez fairism developed. The liberal theory of the state was a political extension of this economic theory. Thus, there should be a separation between the economic and political domains. The state, which controls the political domain should not control the economic domain. It should rather facilitate the free functioning of the market and protect the rights of individuals to freely engage in economic activity.

Stages of liberal theory of the state

The liberal political theory of the state has also evolved through **three stages.** (i) Classical liberalism, (ii) Post-classical, or new, liberalism, and (iii) Neo-liberalism.

The **classical liberal theory** of the state had the following components:

- The state should protect and promote **individual freedom**. It included the individual's right to life, security as well as private property. The state that violates this commitment runs the risk turning itself into a tyranny.

- There should also be **separation between the state and government.** Government is an elected body, with a limited tenure in office and it is elected by the citizens. The government is the institution that mediates between, and links, the state and the citizen. And the government's powers and authority are limited by a contractual obligation to protect the life, liberty and freedom of individual citizens.

The **post-classical, or new, liberal** political theory was developed during the early twentieth century.

- It advocated **government intervention** to ensure **social welfarism**, in the context of mass poverty and deep social inequalities caused by industrial capitalism. Thus, welafrist capitalism was different from free-market capitalism. It argued for state intervention to regulate negative consequences of the liberal economy. In this approach, they rejected laissez fairist approach of classical liberalism.

- Among the key thinkers of the post-classical liberal political thought were T. H. Green and Leonard Hobhouse. They were inspired by Jeremy Bentham's utilitarian philosophy.

The Neo-liberal theory of the state, which emerged during the 1980s.

- It wanted return to the free market capitalism with limited government intervention. It also advocated the dismantling of the welfare state, justified under the new liberal political and social thought during the early and mid twentieth century.

- The concept of minimalist state, which we saw earlier, is a part of the neo-liberal political theory.

3.4.4 Feminist Political Theory and the State

Feminist theory does not have its own theory of the state. It has a theory of power. It is through the feminist theory of power the feminist approach to the state can be understood.

"**Gender**" is a core theoretical category of feminism. Gender means not biological differences in sex as such, but socially constructed differences between men and women. Feminism strongly criticizes and rejects gendering human relations on the basis of biological differences in sex. Feminism also criticizes the romanticization of male and female biological differences, since it leads to ideologies and structures of male supremacy over women.

Thus, gender is socially constructed male-female difference that produces unequal power relations between men and women. It is the basis of structures of power that oppress and marginalize women and ensure male authority and dominance. **Patriarchy** is the key social institution that reproduces gender-based inequalities and oppression.

There is no single feminist theoretical approach. Liberal, socialist and radical are the three main feminist schools.

In the absence of a specifically feminist theory of the state, feminists approach to the state is identified either with Marxism or Liberalism.

The Marxist or socialist feminist as well liberal understanding of the state says that the state is an institutional instrument of male domination and that it is essentially an embodiment of patriarchy.

However, there is a key difference between the Marxist/socialist and liberal feminist approaches to the state. Socialist feminists see patriarchy as linked to capitalism and argue for the abolition of capitalism for the emancipation of women. In contrast, liberal feminists argue for reforming patriarchy within capitalism through legal and policy reform.

Feminist movements throughout the world have also emerged as major social and political movements in the contemporary world.

Learning Outcomes and Activities

1. **Students speak on any of the topics chosen by lot**.

   i.   The state as the central institutional expression of political power.
   ii.   Modern territorial state
   iii.   Modern nation-state
   iv.   Globalization and the state
   v.   Tribal state
   vi.   Greek city-state
   vii.   Monarchy
   viii. Liberal democratic state
   ix.   Socialist state
   x.   Fascist state
   xi.   Colonial state
   xii.   Post-colonial state
   xiii. Neo-liberal state

2. **Prepare a booklet with the following topics:**

   i.   State and other associations
   ii.   State and citizenship
   iii.   Relationships and differences between the state, government and the regime
   iv.   Social contract theory
   v.   Marxism
   vi.   Liberalism
   vii.   Feminism

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4. Forms of Government

Competency 4   :   Express the ability to analyze forms of government through different models of government in the world.

Competency Levels :   4.1   Describe models of governments based on the distribution of state power.

4.2   Describe the models of government based on the organization of executive power.

Periods   :   30

Learning Outcome   :   •   Identify and define models of government based on the distribution of state power.

•   Indicate the features, merits and demerits of the above models of government.

•   Identify and define models of government based on organization of executive power.

•   Discuss comparatively the effectiveness of each model of government.

•   Analyze the features of the systems of government in Sri Lanka at present using the models learned in this lesson.

Introduction   :

In the last lesson, we had a basic understanding of the concept of government. In this lesson, we will try to deepen that understanding

We have two objectives in this lesson. First, we will identify and describe different models of government. Secondly, we will identify these different forms or models of government on the basis of (a) how the sovereignty, and (b) executive powers of the state are structured and organized.

We will first learn how models of government can be classified according to the ways in which the **sovereignty of the state is shared and organized** and where it is located. Then, we will compare them on the basis of **where the sovereign power is located** and also discuss their advantages and disadvantages.

We will also discuss the specificities of each model of government on the basis of **how executive power is organized.** This will enable us to understand the nature of cabinet government, presidential system, the mixed government as well as authoritarian system.

4. 1   Forms of Government According to How Sovereign Power is Shared and Organized

4. 1.1   The Unitary Model

In the unitary model of government, the sovereignty of the state is located only at the central government. Since the legislative authority of the state is vested with the central government, institutions of governance in the periphery such as the local government can exist only at the will of the central government. This creates a system of centralization of government with no check on the central authority. In the case of local government, the central government can abolish, alter or change them according to its own will.

There are many states in the world organized as unitary states. They are better suited for small states without ethnic diversity. When compared with the complex nature of federal governments, the unitary model has a simpler structure. However, even in a unitary system, the relationship between the centre and local government in the periphery can be rather complex too.

Main Features of Unitary Model

- Sovereign power of the state is vested with one, single national institution.

- The Central government enjoys all the sovereign authority of the state.

- There are lower levels of government in a unitary model, such as local government. However, the center has complete authority and control over them.

- The legislature in the unitary system tends to be unicameral, with a single legislative body.

Compared with the federal system, the unitary state is viewed as less complex and more efficient.

Recent Trends in the Unitary Model

There is a tendency for unitary governments to be decentralized. This is aimed at giving more powers to institutions of government at the lower and local levels. However, decentralization does not mean devolving of political authority to lower levels of governance. It devolves only administrative powers. This tendency has gained momentum since the early 1990s.

Dispersal of administrative power to the lower levels under unitary models take place in three ways:

- **Deconcentration**: Deconcentration is an entirely administrative measure. What it does is re-location of the staff of the central government at various local locations. The objectives are expansion of public administration, making administration accessible to citizens and lowering administrative costs.

- **Decentralization**: This is aimed at transferring responsibilities of policy implementation to sub-national units. Britain and the Scandinavian countries provide best examples of this system. There, the local government institutions have power to implement welfare programmes with or without the consent of the central government. In Britain, they even prepare social welfare plans and programmes for the local communities.

- **Devolution**: This system aims at transferring a range of legislative and decision-making powers including executive and judicial powers to local institutions. France, Italy and Spain have this system. The United Kingdom gave devolution to Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland in 1999. However, in the British system of devolution, the centre can take back those powers by an ordinary law in parliament.

4. 1. 2 Federal Model of Government

- The federal model is more than a system of coordinating administrative authority as in the unitary model. Rather it is a system in which sovereign power is shared with **a multi-level system of government** (Hague & Harrop, 2013). Thus, in a federal system, legal sovereignty of the state is shared between the central and units in the periphery provinces or states. These units in the periphery have a degree of autonomy from the central government. Thus, they cannot be abolished by the central government. The units cannot alter the powers of the central government either.

- The conceptual basis of the federal model is **unity within diversity.** It accepts diversity of the population on ethnic, cultural, regional and historical grounds, and enables those diverse units to come together to form one state and at the same time maintain some measure of independence. It is also a system of government that requires a great deal of bargaining and negotiations between units and the central government as well as among the units. That is why the federal models is seen as a complex system of government.

- There are different systems of federalism based on the level of autonomy the units enjoy. In some system, there autonomy is greater (Examples, the USA, Canada, Germany) than other systems (Example, India).

Despite such differences, the federal model as a whole has some specific features. They are:

- The structure of government has two levels, (a) national or central government, and (b) provincial or state governments.

- Both the central and provincial governments have extensive powers. These are autonomous powers. One level of government cannot use the powers of the other level.

- Both levels of government have specific powers constitutionally allocated for them. The central government has powers over a range of 'national subjects' such as defence, foreign affairs, immigration, and finance. Usually, the list of provincial or state powers includes subjects such as education, agriculture, health, local government, and social welfare.

- The division of powers between the centre and provinces are usually elaborated in the constitution. Since the constitution provides the legal framework of devolution of powers between the centre and the provinces, those powers cannot be altered or withdrawn arbitrarily, or unilaterally, by the central government.

- Because of the above reason, constitution in the federal states is usually rigid. In the United States, a constitutional amendment requires the approval of the 2/3 of the state legislatures, in addition to the approval of the Senate and the house of Representatives. In Australia and Switzerland, constitutional amendments require a referendum as well.

- In federal systems, there are arrangements to allow the participation of provinces in national level policy and decision – making. The institutional mechanism for this is the system of bi-cameral legislature. The Senate, or the Second Chamber, in federal systems provides representation for the provinces or states.

- Federal systems also have arrangements for dispute resolution between the central and provincial/state governments. This function is vested with the Supreme Court, or the Constitutional Court, which has the authority to interpret the constitution.

- While the unitary systems of government have evolved over a long period of time, the federal systems are created under specific circumstances and due to specific reasons and by means of negotiations, bargaining and compromise. Most federal systems have been created in the form of a number of independent political units coming together to form one state, but maintaining some measure of independence for the federating units. Therefore, making a federal constitution is a complex process of negotiations to decide which units to be united and which powers to be shared by the centre and the federal units. Therefore, in establishing a federal government, the constitution-making process assumes a special significance. Forming a unitary government is less complex.

Reasons for Setting up Federal Governments

- Federal systems have been usually formed by a group of independent political units when the need for **political unity** among them arose. The security from external threats and economic development have been the two main reasons for many federal states to be formed.

- The **geographical size** of the country is another reason. Very large states such as America, Canada, Australia, Mexico and India can be better managed politically and administratively through federal arrangements. Because of the vastness of territory, population can be communities with different languages, cultures and identities, sometimes with their own laws, customs and traditions of self-government. Federalism is better suited for such states with very large territories.

- **Diversity of population** is another. This diversity is reflected in language, religion, culture, history and ethnic identity. A federal system allows this 'diversity' to be reflected in how the

national state is organized and government structured. For example, the Indian federal system is based on the linguistic identity of states. In Indian federal units such as Jammu and Kashmir, and Punjab, the religious identity is the key factor. In such contexts, the federal principle of 'unity in diversity' is well reflected.

Positive Features of the Federal System

Unlike in the unitary systems, federal systems enable the local and provincial interests to voice their demands and aspirations through constitutionally-established institutions of power-sharing.

The Second Chamber in federal systems is the institutional space for the periphery to take part in the legislative and governance process at the national level.

Because of the decentralization of state power, federal units can act as a system of checks and balance over the center. It leads to better democracy.

Federalism provides for an institutional mechanism for unity in divided and diverse societies. It is particularly suitable for societies divided along ethnic and regional identities. Federalism by its very nature is a political system suitable for diverse societies. Belgium is a good example of how federalism provided a bridge of unity across divided ethnic communities.

It provides better political and administrative unity for states with large territories while preventing centralization

Negative Features of Federalism

The experience of the twentieth century federalism is that federalism has not been able to prevent centralization of state power and administration.

Federalism can also lead to consolidation of separate identities. It may not produce unity, as the experience of Yugoslavia shows.

Federalism is also being criticized for producing complex and inefficient systems of government.

How Federal Systems have been Established

Historically, there have been three paths to setting up federal systems.

- Coming together of previously separate and independent political units in order to pursue common and shared goals. The American confederation of 13 states established in1787 is a good example. The other examples are the establishment of Swiss Federation in 1848, Canadian Federation in 1867, and Australian Federation in 1897/98. Security an economic considerations are the main motives for this path to federalism.

- Re-structuring a divided unitary state as a federal state. Belgium is the example of this model. When Belgium was divided alone Dutch-speaking, Italian speaking and French-speaking ethnic identities, the Belgium state was re-structured during the 1970s and 1980s. Eventually, in 1995, Belgium became a federal state

- Transformation of an existing state into a federal state on the basis of ethnic diversity. Spain, Malaysia and South Africa are examples.

4.1.3 Semi-Federal Systems of Government

Semi-federalism mixes features of both unitary and federal models. Therefore, it is a system that is in between unitarism and federalism.

India is a good example of semi-federalism. Its federal features are devolution of power to states, and power-sharing between the central government and state governments. The state governments have their own legislatures and council of ministers headed by a Chief Minister. The state governments also have extensive powers, including police powers. The state governments have some measure of autonomy, not full autonomy as in American, Canadian, German or Australian federal systems.

While the Indian government has these federal features, the constitution does not call it federal. Neither is it called unitary. However, it has unitary features. Key among them is the power of the central government to dissolve, or bring under the central government, state governments in certain emergency situations. The powerful bureaucracy of the central government is another unitary feature.

The state of emergency gives a great deal of powers to the central government over state governments, such as making laws for the states and taking over the state's executive functions. Under emergency, the Indian state actually assumes a character of a unitary state.

There are three types of emergencies in India, (a) national emergency, (b) state emergency, and (c) financial emergency.

National emergency is a situation of external war of invasion or internal political crisis. In such situation, the Article 352 empowers the President to declare a state of national emergency. In such situations, the state governments are brought under the direct control of the central government.

A state emergency arises in a particular state when its administrative mechanism has come to a halt. In such situations, the President can declare, under Article 356, a state of emergency within the relevant state. Its effect is bringing the entire state under the central government.

A financial emergency is declared when the country is facing a severe financial crisis.

In all these situations of emergency, the central government can dissolve state legislatures and state cabinets, and administer the state government/s through the State Governor, who represents the central government. This situation is called 'imposition of President's rule in states.' Although

technically, these actions are taken by the President, the real decision maker is the Prime Minister. Indira Gandhi as Prime Minister used these emergency powers to dissolve several non-Congress state governments. Therefore, in India the emergency powers of the central government have come under severe criticism, since they have undermined the Indian federal system.

Even in normal situations, India's central government can make laws for the states, which are federal units.

It is because of these powers of the central government that K. C. Wheare has described the Indian constitution as a **semi-federal** one. He also says that the Indian system is a unitary system with federal features, rather than a federal system with unitary features.

4.1.4   Confederations

Confederation is an extreme form of federalism in which federal units have more powers than under normal federalism. Confederations have been formed when independent political units get together to form a union. In the Confederal Union, all units want to maintain their independence by establishing a relatively weak central government. Sovereignty is held by, and shared among, the federating units, and not by the centre.

In a confederation, most of the powers are with the units and the centre has only limited powers. Central government's powers are decided by the units.

An example of the confederation is the American confederation of 13 states, established in 1781 under Articles of Confederation.

4. 2   Forms of Government According to How Executive Powers are Organized

Under this criterion, there are three types of government. They are (a) parliamentary, (b) presidential, and (c) mixed.

4. 2. 1 Parliamentary Form of Government

- The parliamentary form usually follows the British Westminster model. This was the model of government established in British commonwealth countries. It is found in European countries with some modifications.

- The key feature of the parliamentary model is the legislative supremacy of parliament and the political leadership of the executive – Cabinet of ministers – being chosen from among members of parliament.

Features of the Parliamentary model:

- In a parliamentary system, the executive authority is the cabinet which consists of members of parliament. The Cabinet in the parliamentary system is called 'political executive', headed by the Prime Minister.

- Prime Minister is the leader of the party or the coalition of parties that enjoys the majority of support in the House of Representatives.

- Prime Minister selects his/her ministers from among members of parliament. The Cabinet becomes the central institution of government.

- The government's survival and continuity depends on the majority support of MPs in parliament. This means that in a parliament, the executive is directly dependent on, and accountable to, parliament elected by the people.

- Head of State in a country where parliamentary system exists is not usually elected directly by the people. S/he is appointed by the government, or elected by an electoral college, as in India.

- Prime Minister and the Cabinet are answerable to parliament, individually and collectively.

4.2.2 Presidential System

In the democratic world, presidential system is an alternative to the parliamentary system.

There are two main presidential models in the world today, the American and the French.

Features of the Presidential System

The key feature of the presidential system of government is that the President gives leadership to the government and he/she represents the sovereignty of the state, and is elected directly by the people with a separate popular mandate, independent of parliament/Congress. Similarly, the President as the Head of State is the central institution of state power.

In presidential systems, President and Parliament/Congress are elected at two separate elections. This is meant to enable the executive and the legislature to have separate and independent popular mandates.

There is a clear division of labour between the executive branch of the state, which is headed by the President, and the Legislature. President's executive branch is usually more prominent and powerful than the legislature.

The executive branch is not accountable to the legislature as such. It can function independent of the legislature. However, the legislature can have some control over the President and the Executive.

In the American and French models of presidential government, cabinet ministers as members of the presidential executive are not members of the legislature. If they are members at the time of the appointment, they quit from their membership in the legislature. This ensures separation

of powers between the executive and the legislature. It is also one unique feature of the presidential system.

Mixed System

The mixed system of government is also called '**hybrid system.**' It is a system that combines features of two or more different systems. Usually, a mixed system of government combines features of presidential and parliamentary systems.

A hybrid system that combines features of presidential and parliamentary models is also called **'semi-presidential.**' In the semi-presidential system, there is (a) cabinet of minister headed by the Prime Minister and answerable to parliament, and (b) a President with executive powers independent of parliament.

The other features of the semi-presidential system are:

- President is directly elected by the people.
- President has a considerable degree of executive powers.
- President and the cabinet headed by the Prime Minister are parallel centers of executive power.

Since a semi-presidential system is a hybrid system, it has two centres of executive power, the President and the Prime Minister. This can create problems when the President and the Prime Minister are from two opposing parties. The French have invented a solution to this called '**cohabitation**.' It means co-existence between two opposing centres of government.

Examples of semi-presidential system are Sri Lanka after the 19th Amendment, Bulgaria, Lithuania, Macedonia, Madagascar, Mali, Mozambique and Rumania.

Autocracy

The main feature of an autocratic government is the concentration of state power in the hands of a single individual, who is usually the head of state or head of government. Decisions of such a ruler are not amenable to legal or political constraints. Autocratic rulers also totally defy popular opposition and resistance. The notion of **'one man rule'** encapsulates these features of an autocratic government.

In autocratic governments, the ruler is usually the head of the executive who subordinates the legislature and the judiciary to the total control by the executive.

Although autocratic governments have been usually present in pre-modern and pre-democratic political contexts, in the modern world it has emerged as a **post-democratic** political form with strongly anti-democratic features.

Autocratic governments have emerged in the modern world in a variety of contexts. Military dictatorships have provided the most fertile context for autocratic governments. Pakistan's military governments under Generals Ayub Khan and Zia Ul Huq, and Indonesia's military government under General Suharto were examples. When democratic governments faced severe crisis, there has been a tendency for autocratic governments to emerge even with popular support. Fascism in Italy and Germany, under Mussolini and Hitler, emerged as extreme forms of autocratic governments in such a historical context. In socialist countries too, autocratic governments developed. The Soviet Union under Joseph Stalin had an autocratic government. Russia under Vladimir Putin is an example of autocracy in a post-socialist setting.

Some of the Middle Eastern and Arabic countries have also produced autocratic governments under kings and presidents. The context has been the non-transition of any of those societies to modern democracy. Turkey under President Tayyip Erdogan provides another contemporary example.

Autocratic governments are usually justified on the argument that they are more efficient and effective than democratic governments to manage political instability and crisis situations. However, because of their extremely oppressive nature, autocratic governments themselves tend to produce new instabilities and crises, often leading to popular revolts, and greater instability.

Learning Activities

Organize debate on the following themes:

i. Models of government based on how state power is organized.
ii. Models of government on how executive power is divided.

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05 Political Ideologies

Competency 5	:		Demonstrate the understanding of various political ideologies and their role in shaping modern political processes and institutions.

Competency Levels : 5.1 Identify different political ideologies.

5.2 Critically examine their basic features and functions in the field of politics.

Periods : 30

Learning Outcome :
- Define political ideologies.
- Compare and analyse different political ideologies.
- Analyse the impact of political ideologies on politics.
- Use this knowledge to think of better political futures.

Introduction :

Political ideologies are bodies of systematically articulated political beliefs and ideas that normally exist in any society. They shape and influence the society's political consciousness, guide people to political mobilization and action, and contribute to shaping the political processes and institutions.

Thus, political ideologies are an important component of politics. Therefore, they constitute an important field of political science inquiry too.

Usually, a political ideology can revolve around a set of ideas advanced by one individual thinker and political actor, or several thinkers and actors. For example, liberalism as a political ideology has developed through contributions made by several thinkers. Fascist ideology had two major thinkers, Benito Mussolini and Adolf Hitler. The Gandhian ideology of non-violence is the teachings of one thinker, Mahatma Gandhi.

We must also note at the beginning that some political ideologies are also political philosophies and theories at the same time. Liberalism, Marxism, Republicanism and feminism are examples. It means that (a) these are simultaneously ideologies, theories and philosophies, and (b) as ideologies, they have theoretical and philosophical roots. Therefore, to understand such ideologies, we need to go to their theoretical and philosophical foundations as well.

The aim of this lesson is to enable students to identify and be familiar with a few of major political ideologies. The ideologies we focus on are:

- Liberalism
- Socialism
- Republicanism
- Social Democracy
- Fascism
- Nationalism

- Secularism
- Feminism

In the previous lessons we have already come to know about several of these ideologies. Those discussions are useful for this lesson. In topics that have already been discussed in previous chapters, we will try to learn new things in this lesson.

5. 1   Liberalism

In lesson 1, we have already gained a brief introduction to liberlism as a political ideology. The English word 'liberal' is derived from the Latin word, *liber*. It means 'freedom.'

In political and economic thought of liberalism, the idea of freedom meant the freedom from the interference by government. The aim of such freedom was to secure '**individual freedom**' of citizens in organizing and enjoying their life. The value of such freedom became important in the context of European autocratic monarchical governments where the state exercised absolute control over society.

It is in such a historical context that liberalism emerged as an economic and political ideology in the 17th and 18th century Europe to resist the feudal economic, social and political structures.

The feudal state in Europe was an absolutist form of government with no freedom available in the modern sense. That is why liberalism took the idea of individual freedom as its core principle. It also opposed the king's arbitrary powers to control and interfere in trade and taxation. Emancipation from arbitrary economic and political control of the king was also the key interest among the newly emerged mercantile classes.

It was this basic idea of 'freedom' that was developed into an elaborate body of liberal economic and political thought.

Liberal political thinkers were also reacting to the absolutist state of European monarchies that denied freedom to citizens by using the state and its institutions as instrument of oppression. They wanted to prevent governments becoming both oppressive and tyrannical. Liberals were also suspicious of the state, because it always had the potential to be oppressive.

That is why liberal political thinkers advocated **mechanisms to protect citizens and their freedom from the arbitrary power of the state** and rulers. Rule of law, fundamental rights, constitutionalism, limited government and separation of powers are the key mechanisms that seek to protect the citizens from arbitrary government.

The core liberal idea of freedom from, (a) government interference, and (b) constraints imposed by the government, had philosophical and political meanings.

5.1.1 Philosophical Meaning of Liberal Freedom

Its philosophical meaning is the '**autonomy of the individual**'. This idea led to the liberal philosophical argument of '**negative freedom**'. It means the freedom of individuals from government or external constraints.

Examples of negative freedom are (a) freedom **from** arbitrary arrest, (b) freedom **from** arbitrary taxation by government, and (c) freedom **from** torture.

5.1.2 Political Meaning of Liberal Freedom

Laissez fairism is the key political meaning of liberal freedom. It originated as an economic doctrine of free market, or freedom in the economic sphere.

In its political sense, laissez fairism suggested a specific doctrine about the role of government in society. It thus meant that the government should not interfere in social, economic and political spheres. This is an idea that sought to secure the **autonomy of public life**, in addition to the autonomy of individuals.

The extension of the liberal philosophical meaning of 'negative freedom' to the political sphere has led to the liberal principles of fundamental rights and freedoms, rule of law, limited government, and checks and balances.

5.1.3 Liberalism and Individual Freedom

As we have already noted, individual freedom is a basic doctrine in classical liberal ideology. It is also a key concept in the contemporary political and constitutional theory of liberalism. It is central to the philosophical, economic, social, and political doctrines of liberalism.

The theory of individual freedom is built on the following assumptions:

- Society is constituted by individual citizens. Therefore, society is a collection of individuals.

- Each individual in society is a free-thinking, rational and autonomous human being.

- Those free, rational and autonomous individuals can fulfill their human potential fully only when they are free from external constraints, particularly, interference by the state.

- It is the duty of the government to create and secure an environment that enables individuals to utilize their freedom and potentialities fully for the enjoyment of good life.

- Such an environment can be created through rule of law, fundamental rights, and minimum government interference in economic and social spheres. Such a government is called '**liberal government.**'

5.1.4 Liberal Political Thought – Key Liberal Political Thinkers and their Ideas

Thomas Hobbes (1586 – 1679)

Hobbes was not a liberal thinker. He was in fact a monarchist who preferred an autocratic state that could control political chaos and uncertainty. However, his social contract theory of the state has laid the foundation for the liberal theory of the state.

His political thought contained three key political ideas that were further developed by the later liberal thinkers. They were: (a) the individual is prior to the state, (b) Individuals are rational beings with the capacity to making political judgments for themselves, and (c) the state is a human creation.

John Locke (1632 -1704)

Locke was the thinker who really inaugurated the liberal political thought. Locke was strongly anti-monarchist. In the war between monarchists and parliamentarians in England, he took the side of parliamentarians against the king.

Locke developed the basic premises of his liberal political theory in the book *Two Treatises on Government*, published in 1690. The following are the key principles of Locke's liberal political theory.

- People are the source of political power and sovereignty.

- Rulers get the authority to govern from the people and it is a power given by the people on trust. Government is like a **trusteeship.**

- Rulers are bound by the terms of that trusteeship relationship. It is their responsibility to honour the terms and condition of the 'social contract' that bind the government with society. Thus, government's relationship with society is a '**conditional and contractual relationship.'**

- **People have a right to recall** their rulers if they violate the conditions of the 'contract.'

- Government's **authority is limited.** It is limited by two conditions: (a) Government's authority is limited to the terms and conditions on which the people have entrusted the rulers to govern, (b) People give authority to rulers to govern over them only for a limited term of office. This Lockean concept is known as the doctrine of '**limited government**.'

Montesquieu (1689 -1755)

Montesquieu was a French political thinker who advanced the theory of **separation of powers**. He developed this theory in his book, *The Spirit of Laws*, published in French in 1748.

The core argument in the concept of separation of powers is the legislative, executive and judicial powers of the state should be exercised through institutional separation of those powers. In other words, those powers should not be concentrated in the hands of one individual or institution.

If these powers are held and exercised by the same individual or institution, it would lead to tyrannical government, which will seriously deny citizens their freedom. Separation of powers is the way to prevent tyranny.

The American constitution is based on Montesquieu's theory of separation of powers.

Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778)

Rousseau was a French political thinker. He further developed the social contract theory of the state.

Rousseau was not a strictly liberal thinker. He was a republicanist thinker. Yet his ideas have been incorporated into the liberal political thought.

Rousseau's main concern was **a paradox about the state**: although people created the state to protect their freedom and liberty, the state nevertheless violates peoples' rights, freedom and liberty.

Rousseau's solution to this paradox is that the state power should be used to serve **the common good of all** in society.

Rousseau's thesis was based on two conceptual arguments:

- The first is the notion of '**General Will'.** The state/government represents not the will of the rulers or a privileged minority in society, but the collective will of the whole society.

- The second is the notion of '**popular sovereignty**'. It is the people, not the state or rulers, who possess sovereignty. People's sovereignty is indivisible and inalienable.

5. 2   Socialism

The brief discussion we had on socialism in lesson I is relevant to this lesson too.

Socialism as a political ideology emerged during the 19th century Europe. It was a reaction to the industrial capitalism and the unprecedented class divisions, social misery, poverty and inequalities it produced.

By the 19th century, a trade union movement had also been developed fighting for the rights of the working classes who have been subjected to severe levels of exploitation.

The idea of socialism developed through two stages:

- It first developed by advancing the idea of 'common property', in place of capitalism's 'private property.' It believed that by establishing common ownership of property and by transforming the productive process into a common process of society, inequalities under the system of private property could be addressed.

- During the second stage, Karl Marx and Engels reworked this early idea of socialism through their theories that came to be known as Marxism. They described their new concept of socialism as **'scientific socialism.'**

Marx and Engels published a booklet in 1848 called "Manifesto of the Communist Party.' It presented in a summary form the key elements of their 'scientific socialism.' They are:

- The capitalist social and economic system is built on the exploitation of labour power of the workers.

- As long as private property and private ownership of means of production exists, exploitation of labour and class inequalities will continue.

- Exploitation of labour, deep social inequalities and mass poverty are endemic to capitalism. They could be eradicated only when capitalism is replaced by a socialist socio-economic system. A socialist revolution is necessary for such a fundamental change.

- Under socialism, means of production would be commonly owned by society. Economic production and distribution would be a social process. There would not be concentration of wealth in the hands of a few. Social wealth will be distributed equally in society. In the absence of private property, class inequalities and eventually classes themselves, will disappear.

- In a capitalist society, the initiative for such a socialist transformation should be taken by the working class. The working class should provide leadership to the socialist revolution. The revolution will also be the culmination of the class struggle between the capitalist and working classes.

- The key task of the socialist state it the abolition of private property and transformation of the capitalist economic and social system into a socialist system.

- Socialism is the first stage of a further social development towards communism.

Now we can see that socialism like liberalism was an ideology aimed at socio-economic and political transformation.

During the 19th and 20th centuries, the working classes throughout the world were inspired by the socialist theory and vision to launch resistance movements and struggles against capitalism. Trade

union, student and peasant movements throughout the world were also influenced by the socialist ideology. Revolutions in Russia, Eastern Europe, China, and Cuba also were inspired by Marxist socialism.

During the twentieth century there emerged softer versions of socialist ideologies. The African socialism, third world socialism, Arab socialism were such new versions. Many Third World political leaders such as Nehru (India), Sukarno (Indonesia), Nasser (Egypt), NKruma (Ghana) and Bandaranaike (Sri Lanka) were also inspired by socialist ideas of equality and social justice.

5. 3   Republicanism

Like liberalism, republicanism is also a political theory, philosophy and ideology.

Republicanism as a political ideology has influenced modern political theories and thinking about political community, citizenship, and freedom as well as the nature and purpose of the state.

As political theories and ideologies do, liberalism and republicanism have similarities as well as differences.

As a political concept as well as ideology, republicanism has a long history, longer than liberalism and socialism. In fact its history goes back to classical Greek and Roman political thought. Aristotle was the first major republican political thinker.

The republican political thought has evolved through four stages.

- Classical Republicanism: This was the phase of Greek and Roman republicanism. Its major exponents were Aristotle, Polybius and Cicero.

- Republicanism during European Renaissance – Machiavelli of Italy was its main thinker.

- Eighteenth Century French and American Republicanism: Rousseau and Montesquieu of France, and Thomas Jefferson and James Madison of America were its key thinkers.

- Twentieth Century Republicanism: Its key spokespersons are Hannah Arendt, Quentin Skinner, and Philip Petit.

The following are the core teachings of Republicanism:

- Republicanism is totally opposed to monarchy. It in fact developed in opposition to monarchy. That is how republicanism evolved in Europe during the 18th and 19th centuries in parallel with liberalism.

- According to republicanism, people are the owners and holders of sovereignty, not the ruler/king. This idea is also similar to liberalism.

- Republicanism stresses that the head of state should be elected by the people. An elected head of state is also a key republican principle. It developed after the 18th century.

- Republicans accord an active role for the citizens. Citizens should be politically active, vigilant and participatory. A republican citizen is a politically active person, who is committed to the common good of the community. This is the key characteristic of a republican citizen. It is an idea originated with Aristotle. According to the republican political theory, being politically active is the key political quality/virtue of a citizen. This is called '**civic virtue'.** This republican idea differs from liberalism.

- When citizens are organized in a political community, its main objective is achieving common good for all members through **political action.**

- The goal and purpose of politics is **freedom**. Citizen cannot achieve and defend freedom if they are passive citizens. Only an active citizenship can defend freedom. Active citizenship means political participation and engagement by citizens. This idea is conceptualized in the republican theory of '**civic engagement**.'

The last three teachings are specific to the Republican ideology.

5.3.1 Differences between Republicanism and Liberalism

Citizen and Politics

- According to the republican ideology/theory, citizenship is not merely the membership of a state. It is a membership of a **'political community' of active citizen**s. Citizens should engage in active politics for the common good of the entire political community. '**Political engagement**' means being politically active in the company of other citizens to protect freedom and common good. Only through active citizenship can citizens defend their freedom.

- The liberal conception of citizenship is different. It does not expect citizens to be politically active in the republican sense. Citizenship is the membership of the state/political community. In a liberal democratic society, the citizens enjoy their freedom alone, without the need for active participation. The reason is that the democratic state has the laws, rules, institutions and procedures to ensure citizens their freedom. Thus, the liberal citizen is a **'passive citizen'** whereas Republican citizen is an **"active citizen".**

Freedom

- Liberalism conceptualized freedom as 'individual freedom.' It is freedom form external constraints by the government or society. It is also freedom which the individuals have in order to live the life of their choice, and without interfering with the freedom of others. This freedom without, and from, constraints is called 'negative freedom'.

- According to the Republican theory and ideology, freedom is a goal which citizens have to achieve and defend through struggle. Freedom is also a common good of the entire community which constantly runs the risk of being lost. It is a threatened right. Defending the freedom requires more than the legal and institutional framework that liberalism emphasizes. It calls for active political participation of citizens, or 'civic engagement.'

5.3.2 Contemporary Republican Thought

Hannah Arendt, Quentin Skinner and Philip Petit are the leading republican political thinkers of the twentieth century. There republican political thought the following three key ideas:

- Freedom as **freedom from domination.**

- **Civic engagement** as the means to defending freedom.

- **Civil republicanism,** which considers citizens' active political participation is the key to freedom and meaningful political life.

5. 4   Social Democracy

Social democracy is a political ideology originated during the second half of the 19th century. Originally, t was a part of the Marxist-oriented working class movement in Europe. In the early twentieth century, social democracy began to move away from Marxism and incorporate elements from liberal democracy. This twentieth century version of social democracy continues to have adherents, even today.

The pioneer of the social democracy as an ideology and a movement was the German Social Democratic Party. It was formed in 1860s, based on the German working class movement. Initially, it was inspired by Marxism.

Social democratic political parties expanded throughout Europe during the first part of the twentieth century. After the World War II, there was a revival of social democratic movements in Germany and Scandinavian countries.

The main characteristic of the twentieth century social democracy is that its ideology is built on a mixture of capitalism and socialism, with an emphasis on the latter. Its ideology contains elements from both liberalism and Marxism, without identifying itself with either liberalism or Marxism. That is why sometimes social democracy is described as a mixture of capitalism and socialism.

During the early twentieth century, social democracy, which earlier had a Marxist orientation, developed a new ideology which is non-Marxist and non-revolutionary. The leader of this ideological shift was Edward Bernstein (1850—1932), a former Marxist leader of the German social democratic movement.

As a former Marxist, he abandoned the belief in a working class revolution. He argued that the working class could achieve socialist goals through the parliamentary path and reforms. This became the core idea of the new social democratic ideology.

After the 1930s, social welfarism joined with the social democratic ideology. After the coming together of social democracy and social welfarism, social democracy came to be regarded as a soft version of socialism.

As a political ideology, social democracy has the following key ideas:

- Capitalism cannot solve issues of deep economic inequalities, poverty and social injustices. These are creations of capitalism itself. Therefore, capitalism should be rejected.

- Socialism, as an alternative to capitalism, proposed strong solutions to problems generated by capitalism. However, social democrats rejected revolution as the path to socialism. They preferred **an evolutionary path to socialism** through parliamentary politics and socio-economic reform.

- The way to implement socialist solutions to capitalism's problems is reforming the capitalist system on the basis of the socialist principles of **equality and social justice**.

- Reforming capitalism on the basis of socialist principles calls for the following policy strategies:

    (a) **State Intervention in the Economic Sphere**: This is a clear deviation from the liberalisms laissez faire capitalism. It proposes the control and direction of the economy by means of state intervention. Social democrats believe that capitalism's ill effects (poverty, income disparities, and social inequality) can be addressed by the state participation in the economy.

    (b) **Mixed Economy**: This means the combining of economic policies of capitalism and socialism. It envisages the co-existence of the market economy with state participation in the market economy.

    (c) **Social Welfarism**: The liberal free-market capitalism has no concept of social welafarism. In fact, it is opposed to welfarism. However, social welfarism is a cornerstone in the social democratic ideology.

    (d) **Redistribution of Wealth and Income**: Since capitalism creates inequalities in income, wealth and access to resources, social democracy advocates policies aimed at re-distributing income and wealth. Taxation from the rich and directing that wealth for the welfare of the poor is the social democratic policy alternative.

    (e) **Collective Bargaining**: Social democracy has historically been founded on the working class movement. Therefore, protecting the rights of workers against

capital is a key principle of social democracy. Collective bargaining between the capital and labour, or employers and the labour unions with the participation of government, is a specifically social democratic policy.

5. 5   Fascism

Liberalism emerged in the 17th -18th centuries, and socialism during the 19th century. Fascism as an ideology emerged during the third and fourth decades of the 20th century.

As an ideology as well as a political movement, Fascism developed in Italy and Germany during the period between the first and second world wars.

The word 'fascism' was initially used to describe the political movement developed in Italy under Benito Mussolini. It later spread to Germany and Japan as a racist, militarist and totalitarian political ideology.

The German fascism came to be called **'Nazism.'** It is the shortened form of the German word which has the meaning **'National Socialism,'**

Background

Fascism developed in Italy and Germany as an ideology and movement totally opposed to liberalism, democracy, socialism and communism.

In the background was the acute political crises developed in Germany and Italy after defeat at the World War I. The great economic depression of the 1920s had worsened this crisis.

Ideology

Adolph Hitler, the leader of German Nazism, wrote a book in 1925-26 entitled *Mein Kampf* (*My Fight*). This book had advanced all the key ideological tenets of Fascism. Hitler wrote this book in the prison. Mussolini added to the fascist ideology.

The following are the key components of the fascist ideology:

- **Totalitarianism**

  Fascism sought to establish a particular kind of dictatorship. In this form of dictatorship, the state had absolute control over society and citizens. In political theory, it is called 'totalitarianism.' Totalitarianism is a also in ideology which grants absolute power to the state and the ruler over society.

  Totalitarianism is thus a modern form of dictatorship associated with fascism.

- **Cult of the State**

  It was Mussolini who started the ideology of the cult of the state. Its basic idea was that each and every citizen should accept, without any questioning, the absolute dominance of the state and totally and unconditionally surrender to the state. It is by doing so that citizens realize freedom. This surrender to the state is like an act of worshiping the state.

- **Cult of the Leader**

  Acceptance of the absolute authority of the leader unconditionally and willingly is a special feature of the fascist ideology.

  In Germany, the word *Fuhrer* was invented to describe Hitler as the supreme leader.

- **Extreme Racism**

  Extreme racism was developed as a part of German Fascist ideology. Under Nazism, Germans were considered as the greatest and the holiest Aryan race. Jews were viewed as the absolute enemy of the German Aryan race. That is why Nazis killed millions of Jews. The ideology of extreme and militant racism justified the genocide of the Jews.

- **Extreme Militarism**

  German fascist militarism had two sources. The first was the plan to bring the entire world under the great 'Aryan' race of the Germans. The second was the need to 'free' the German Aryan race from the threat of inferior 'non-Aryan' races.

  German fascists initiated the Second World War, invaded European countries and killed millions of Jews and gypsies, motivated by this extreme militarism and racism.

- **The Use of Violence and Terror as Political Weapons**

  The fascist state and the fascist project sought to bring the entire German society under the control of the fascists. They used violence and terror to intimidate and even imprison and kill opponents. Such violence and terror was unleashed by youth groups organized by the Nazi party. They enjoyed state protection.

  The fascists also organized themselves to kill and annihilate any social or ethnic group who opposed their project. Thus genocide became a political weapon in the hands of fascists.

  Those people who opposed the fascists had only two options: Fleeing the country or subjected to be killed.

  Fascism in Europe officially came to an end when German and Italy were defeated during the Second World War.

Fascism is one of the darkest blemishes in the history of entire human civilization.

Although fascism has been defeated, its ideology continues to be popular among small white racist groups in Europe and America.

5. 6   Nationalism

Please refer to the brief discussion on 'nationalism' in lesson 1.

Nationalism developed as a major political ideology during the 19th and 20th centuries.

Nationalism is both a political ideology as well as a social and political movement. It is also a major factor that has contributed to the defining of modern nation-state, political conflicts and inter-state relations.

Nationalism has shaped the trajectories of modern human history and political fate of human beings to such an extent that we cannot understand the modern world if we ignore it.

Defined briefly, nationalism is the idea of belonging to a 'nation' that guides into political action a community that is self-conscious of its elf as a 'nation.'

As an ideology, nationalism has two specific characteristics. They are:

- There is no unified body of thought as nationalism.

  As an ideology, nationalism is not identified with any specific thinker or philosopher. Benedict Anderson in his book *Imagined Communities* (1981) has made this point.

  Although politically very powerful, nationalism is philosophically poor. This is another point made by Benedict Anderson. Unlike other ideologies, nationalism has not produced its great thinkers or theorists. Nationalism does not have a Hobbes, a de Tocqueville, a Marx, or even a Weber (Anderson, 1983: 14).

- Although not produced by great thinkers or philosophers, nationalist ideologies emerged in different societies have certain structural similarities. For example, Sinhala nationalism, Russian nationalism, English nationalism etc., have similarities although they have developed in entirely different social contexts.

  There are three theoretical approaches to the study of nationalism.

    - **Modernist approach**: This approach argues that nation and nationalist ideology emerged in the context of the development of industrial capitalism and modern nation-state.
    - **Primordial approach**: Nationalism and nation are as old as human society, with a history of many centuries.

- **Instrumentalist approach**: Nationalism is an instrument in the hands of politicians and political elites in their political projects.

5.6.1 Basis of the Idea of 'Nation' and Nationalism

- The main task of nationalism is to provide **a collective identity** to a community which thinks about itself as a nation. It affirms the feeling of belonging to a community called 'nation'.

- If a group of people wants to think about themselves as a collective group, they should have a commonality or a common bond. This is called **'national identity'.** Markers of national identity are language, culture, religion, shared history and territoriality.

- Nationalism having started with common identity later acquires a political character. It gives a political identity to 'nation.' This is where nationalism as a political ideology becomes a force that shapes the collective political consciousness of the community, and drives and mobilizes them into political action in order to pursue political goals. Political independence, regional autonomy, securing equality and group rights, and formation of a nation-state are such political goals.

- **'Right of nations to self-determination'** is a major concept associated with the ideology of nationalism. The meaning of this concept is that every 'nation' has a right to decide its political future and fate. The right has a range of goals including independence and regional autonomy.

- One of the key functions of nationalism as an ideology is providing criteria of distinction that separates one nation from another. These distinctions are identity markers such as language, culture; religion, and history. When this sense of separation reaches extreme proportions, nations begin to think about each other as enemies. That is one of the negative outcomes of nationalism as political ideology.

5.6.2 Evolution of Nationalist Ideologies

The history of nationalism as an ideology as well as political movement shows that it has evolved in two forms. They are (a) nation-state nationalism, and (b) ethnic nationalism.

- **Nation-State Nationalism:**

    This is the classical form of modern nationalism. Its basis is the nation-state.

    This idea of nationalism views the state as identical with the nation and vice versa.

    In this sense, belonging and attachment to a nation is also belonging and attachment to the state of that nation. Examples are: Sri Lankan nation, Indian nation, Japanese nation, and American nation.

- **Ethnic Nationalism**

    Ethnic nationalism is the political consciousness of a group of people being a separate cultural community within a nation-state. Its basis can also be the common identities such as language, religion and culture.

    Ethnic communities are cultural groups living within the larger 'national' community within a nation-state. Sinhalese, Tamil, Muslim are such ethnic communities within the larger 'nation' of Sri Lanka.

    Ethnic nationalism usually develops among minority ethnic communities within the nation-states. It reflects the feeling that such minority communities experience discrimination, inequalities and injustices within the nation-state of which they are also members.

    Political demands of minority ethnic nationalisms include regional autonomy, language and cultural rights, and some times separation.

    The historical experience of nationalism since the 18th century has been a mixed one with positive and negative outcomes.

    i. The nation-state system in the modern world is primarily built on the idea of nation, as defined in nationalism.

    ii. Nationalism has introduced to modern political consciousness the very powerful idea of achieving political emancipation through national independence.

    iii. Extreme forms of nationalism have driven nations and communities in to war, violence and even genocide.

5. 7 Secularism

Secularism means the separation of religion and politics. It suggests that religion should not enter, or interfere with, the domain of politics, and politics should not interfere with religion. This is a part of socialist as well as liberal political ideologies.

Secularism is a also a principle in liberal as well as socialist constitutionalism. Liberal and socialist constitutions are usually expected to be 'secular' in nature. Its primary meaning is that the state should not be identified with religion.

There is an increasing interest in secularism in the contemporary world against the backdrop where mixing of religion and politics has led to violence, political instability and religious conflict.

There has been a continuing debate in India on secularism. The 42nd amendment introduced to the Indian Constitution in 1976 laid down that the Indian republic should be 'secular,' in addition to being ' sovereign, democratic and socialist.'

5.7.1 Conceptual Origin of Secularism as an Ideology

The idea of secularism first evolved in Europe during the 18th and 19th centuries. It evolved as a part of the European Enlightenment thought. Therefore, both liberalism and socialism inherited the idea of secularism.

In Europe secularism developed as an ideology in opposition to the control exercised by the Catholic/Christian church over the state. Secularists wanted to break the institutional links between the church and the state. The idea of **'secular state'** developed in that context.

The forces that opposed the monarchy in Europe also opposed the 'unholy alliance' between the church and the state. They also opposed the intellectual control that the church maintained over society. Thus, secularism was an ideology in the struggle against both the feudal state and the church. It eventually became a part of liberal and socialist political ideologies.

Liberalism's principles of freedom of thought, freedom of conscience and individual freedom were linked to secularism. It seeks to guarantee religious freedom to individuals on the liberal premise that the belief in a religion and its practice is a 'private' matter. Socialist idea of secularism was derived from the idea that religion was a source of social oppression.

Thus, the idea of separation of church (religion) from the state (politics) became a key slogan in both liberal and socialist ideologies.

5.7.2 Liberal Secularist Principles

- Institutional separation of church/religion from the state: is means religion should not be involved in defining the nature of the state and public policy and that the state should not interfere with religious freedom of its citizens, or interfere in the affairs of religious institutions.

- The state should not get involved with religious affairs or propagation of a religion. Practicing or not practicing a religion is an entirely a personal choice which falls within the domain of individual freedom.

- The state should not identify itself with, or favour, any religion. Religion is a personal matter, pertaining to the private domain, and not the public domain. However, the state should treat all religions equally.

- Liberalism does not advocate the abolition of religion. In the liberal ideology, religious freedom, or freedom or conscience, is a fundamental right. Liberalism is also strong on the principle that no person should be discriminated against on the basis of religion.

5.7.3 Socialist Secularism

Marxists consider religion as an instrument of social oppression. It also gives people a wrong framework to understand the world. According to Marxists, religion creates 'false consciousness' in society.

The elements of socialist secularism are as follows:

- The state should be separated from religion. The socialist state is totally independent of religion or religious influence. Under socialism, religion can exist only with the permission of the state.

- Socialism does not allow free functioning of religion or religious institutions. Religious institutions are allowed to function in socialist society only if they are not a threat to socialism. They can function only under strict state control.

- Socialism does not allow the formation of citizens' associations on the basis of religious identity.

5.7.4 Indian Secularism

- The Indian secularist ideology is based on liberal principles.

- There are two key meanings in the Indian ideology of secularism.

  (a) Indian secularism upholds the liberal principle of treating all religions equally. This principle is called in Hindi as "*dharma nirapekshatha."*

  (b) The state treats of all religions equally on the principle that all religions are equal. This principle is called "*sarva dharma sambhava."*

- The state should treat all citizens equally without discrimination or favour on the basis of religion.

- In claiming rights, the religious identity of citizens is not an obstacle.

5.7.5 Secularism and Politics

Secularism seeks to define the relationship between the state and citizen without religion being a consideration.

It does not mean politics should be free from religion, although liberals and socialist criticize religion being used in politics.

Even in secular states, there are political movements with religious identity. India is an example.

5.7.6 Secularism and World Politics

Secularism is relevant to world politics for two reasons:

i. There is a tendency for **'theocratic states'** to emerge, based on the principles of **'religious fundamentalism'** or radical religious identities.

ii. Secularism is necessary to protect the rights of people belonging to small and persecuted religious communities.

5. 8   FEMINISM

We have already gained an introduction to feminism in Lessons 1 and 3. Please recall those discussions.

Feminism's importance as a political ideology at the global level began in the early 1970s. Like other political ideologies, feminism has also been an ideology as well as a social-political movement. Its focus is the rights of women for equality, freedom and rights in domestic as well as public spheres.

Feminist politics originated in Europe and America as a social movement and then spread throughout the world.

We can identify five traditions/streams in feminist ideology and movement. They are:

- Liberal feminism
- Socialist feminism
- Radical feminism
- Post-modern feminism
- Post-colonial feminism

Liberal Feminism: This is the earliest feminist movement. It advocated that women can win their demands for equal pay, education, employment opportunities through fighting for political and legal rights. There were types of demands in the liberal feminist movement.

i. Women's right to control their own bodies.
ii. Equality in employment opportunities, wages and equal rights.

Socialist Feminism: Socialist feminists also stood for equality of women, but differed from liberal feminism on how to win their demands. Its main points are:

i. The struggle for women's liberation should not be only a women's movement. It should be linked up with other struggles in society for equality.

ii. Only socialism will guarantee liberation and full equality for women.

Radical Feminism: Radical feminists argue for the abolition of patriarchy. Patriarchy is the basis for gender-based oppression and inequalities.

Post-modern Feminism: Post-modern feminism differs from other feminisms on the argument that women and women's oppression are not similar. There are many women (working class women, coloured women, middle class women) and their conditions of oppression are different. Therefore, their demands should not be uniform.

Post-modern feminists also argue for different types of women's movements and demands to reflect the diversity and differences in women's conditions.

Post-Colonial Feminism: This strand of feminism focuses on specificity of women's conditions and experience in societies that have been subjected to colonial rule. They also argue that women's conditions in post-colonial societies are different from the Western societies. Thus, post-colonial feminism, like post-modern feminism, re-conceptualizes women's demands to reflect the experience of women in post-colonial societies.

Proposed Learning Activities

1. Individual projects

Students can be given assignments on different political ideologies, covering the following components:
- Define 'ideology'
- Introduction to any ideology being discussed
- Their key thinkers and basic ideas
- How the ideology has impacted on the subject matter of political science
- Its practical importance and current trends.

Students should be encouraged to be creative in their project.

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6. Conflict and Conflict Resolution

Competency 6	:		Demonstrate the importance of conflict resolution and skills for peace building by understanding the nature of conflicts.

Competency Levels : 6.1 Explain the theoretical and practical aspects of conflict and conflict resolution.

6.2 Comment on the importance of peace building and reconciliation.

Periods : 40

Learning Outcome :
- Define and classify conflicts.
- Define methods of conflict resolution.
- Explain the importance of early warning to identify conflict.
- Intervene to prevent conflict.
- Act as a person capable of managing conflicts.
- Explain the means of conflict resolution.
- Examine conflict management, resolution and transformation.
- Describe peace building
- Explain the importance of conflict resolution and peace building in the modern world.

Introduction :

Studying conflict and conflict resolution is an **inter-disciplinary** field. It has become an important branch in political science, law, sociology, international relations, and management studies. Political science incorporated conflict and conflict resolution as recently as the early 1980s.

In this lesson, we focus on three themes. They are:

- Definition of conflict
- Definition of conflict resolution
- Definition of peace-building and reconciliation as concepts in the field conflict resolution.

6.1 Defining Conflict

Conflict is a special relationship that exists among two or more human beings, social groups or states. The definition offered by Professor Christopher Mitchell his book *The Structure of International Conflict* (1981) is useful for our discussion. Conflict, according to Professor Mitchell, is a **relationship between two or more parties** (individuals or groups) **who have,** or think they have**, incompatible goals.**

Professor Mitchell also points out that conflict is different from rivalry, competition, and dispute. Social and political theory shows that rivalry, competition and dispute are conditions that can

develop, or transform themselves, into conflict. A conflict differs from rivalry and dispute since it has the potential to leading to violence and then produce destructive outcomes for the parties involved.

Usually, competition, rivalry and dispute are always present in human relations. As inter-personal and inter-group relations, they are in a way unavoidable. What needs to be avoided, however, is their transformation into conflict that can bring harmful consequences for the parties to the conflict.

At a very preliminary level, conflict occurs among human beings and they arise when people pursue mutually incompatible goals.

For example, a conflict can arise between two children over a mango. The desire to have the entire mango for one child is pursuing an incompatible goal.

We can extend this example to social and national levels too. When conflicts develop among social groups, ethnic groups, states, and nations, such conflicts are often caused by their commitment to achieving **mutually incompatible goals** such as wealth, power, resources, security and status.

Conflict and its Functions

Conflicts are a social phenomenon too. Let us now understand the function of conflict in society.

There are two approaches to understanding the functions of conflict. They are (a) **Positive,** or constructive, dimensions of conflict, and (b) **Destructive**, or negative, dimensions of conflict.

Positive Dimensions of Conflict

George Simmel, a sociologist, argued in his book S*ociology of Conflict* (1955) that conflicts have a number of positive functions, such as:

- Preventing stagnation of society
- Drawing attention to social problems and suggesting the urgency of their resolution
- Contributing to change among people and in society
- Promoting unity and integration of social groups.

Louis Coser, another sociologist, showed in his book *The Function of Social Conflict* (1975) that conflicts have the following constructive consequences: Conflict enables social groups that are not well-integrated to manage their tensions within the group and contribute to their closer integration.

According to the Marxist theory, class conflict is the driving force of social progress. Historical changes have occurred because of the class conflict arising out of contradictions among social groups.

Negative Dimensions of Conflict

The main negative dimension of conflict is that it sometimes leads to violence, killings, genocide, and economic and social destruction.

Examples are the first and second World Wars, inter-state war and armed conflict, civil wars within states, violent ethnic conflicts, the threat that existed until recently for a nuclear war between super powers, and global terrorism and war against terror.

The scholarly interest in conflict and conflict resolution began to develop in response to such destructive consequences of conflict during the early and mid twentieth century.

6. 2   Classification of Conflict

There are three ways of classifying conflict. They are:

- Simple classification
- Functional classification
- Political classification

6. 2. 1 Simple Classification

According to simple classification, there are four types of conflict:

i.   Inner-personal conflict
ii. Inter-personal conflict
iii. Intra-group conflict
iv. Inter-group conflict

6. 2.1. I   **Inner-Personal Conflict:** These are conflicts that individuals experience inside their own mind as inner-personal conflicts. Such inner conflicts occur due to conflicting desires, goals etc. And they are natural occurrences.

6. 2. 1. II   **Inter-Personal conflict:** These occur between two or more individuals in their interactions in situations where they have competition, differences and rivalries.

6. 2. 1. III   **Intra-Group conflict**: These conflicts within social groups among their members when they pursue different goals and aims.

6. 2. 1. IV   **Inter-Group Conflict**: these are conflict among groups for incompatible goals.

6. 2. 2 Functional Classification

The basis of this classification is the functional outcome of the conflict in the society. There are two types of functional conflict:

- Constructive conflict
- Destructive conflict

6. 2. 2. I   Constructive Conflict

Conflicts that bring positive outcomes and results are classified as constructive conflict. At the end of such conflict, parties begin to realize that they have benefitted from conflict. Therefore, they are satisfied with the outcome of the conflict. That brings a positive end to the conflict. Such conflicts enable parties to work together to find mutually satisfying and creative solutions so tat the conflict produces positive outcomes.

6. 2. 2. II   Destructive Conflict

In a destructive conflict, parties feel that they have lost because of the conflict. That feeling makes them displeased with the conflict. Therefore, the conflict does not end. Parties want to renew the conflict seeking unilateral advantage. According to Professor Karl Deutsch, when a negative conflict continues, it has the tendency to become independent of its original causes, and acquire a new dynamism from the negative consequences of the conflict.

Sri Lanka's ethnic conflict is an example.

6. 2. 3 Political Classification of Conflict

Many of the conflicts in the world are political by nature. They are not personal conflicts. Their parties are states, nations, and large human groups. They often become violent. They also have a tendency to be protracted and intractable (difficult to resolve). Taking into account the nature of these conflicts, Professor Peter Wallensteen, in his book *Understanding Conflict Resolution* (2002) has developed the following classification:

- Inter-state Conflict
- Intra-state Conflict
- State Formation Conflict

6. 2. 3. I   **Inter-State Conflict**: These are conflicts that arise between or among states. There are many reasons for such conflicts to occur. An example is conflict between states on borders or resources. Sometimes, such inert-state conflict can develop into inter-state war. Even neighbour states might also join the conflict. That can lead to internationalization of an inter-

state conflict. As happened during the Cold War, even world super powers could join such conflict indirectly.

6. 2. 3. II   **Intra-State Conflict:** These are conflicts within states. The cause of such conflict is political power. Protracted armed conflict and civil war are examples. Ethnic conflicts are an example of intra-state conflict in contemporary world.

At the beginning of internal political conflict within states, governments often treat them as mere law and order problem and use the police and the army to suppress them. Then, such conflicts have shown a tendency to develop into armed conflict and civil war.

Factors that lead to intra-state conflict are:

- Structural factors
- Socio-economic causes
- Political factors
- Cultural factors

- **Structural Factors:**

  The inability of the state to achieve national unity and integration in multi-ethnic and socially heterogeneous societies is often the main structural cause for internal conflict. When the government refuses to listen to the grievances of ethnic or social groups and fail to resolve their problems, anti-state feelings and politics develop among members of such groups. This leads to alienation between the state and communities who think that the government does not care about their grievances. Such alienation intensifies the conflict and creates conditions for even armed revolt. Then a peaceful internal conflict may develop into a violent one.

- **Economic and Social Factors**:

  It is quite normal for social groups and communities who experience extreme socio-economic inequalities, discrimination and marginalization to develop grievances about their conditions. However, when governments continue to ignore such grievances, it leads to social discontent and eventually to anti-systemic protests. It has been common in many societies that when economic disparities get sharpened, it causes political unrest and discontent. In conditions of rapid economic development and change, these conditions develop easily. In such situations trade unions, youth and student movements clash with the government.

  When minority ethnic groups do not benefit from economic development, they also develop ethnicity-based grievances. They eventually become ethnic conflicts.

Rapid industrialization and urbanization also create conditions for such social unrest and conflict, when some people feel that they are victims, rather than beneficiaries, of development projects.

- **Political Factors:** The literature on conflict has identified a number of political factors that cause internal conflict. Four of them are:

    (a) Government institutions that discriminate against certain groups of citizens.
    (b) Exclusionary political ideologies that do not consider other communities as equals or fellow citizens.
    (c) Sharp competition and contradictions among different social and ethnic groups.
    (d) Political elites who use grievances and problems among groups for their own advantage.

- **Cultural and Ideological Factors:** Culture is the main factor in ethnic conflict which is the most common conflict in the nation-states today. When ethnic minorities in multi-ethnic states feel that their religious, linguistic and other cultural identities are not recognized, and even subjected to discrimination, discontent and grievances begin to spread among them. Politicization of cultural conflict marks the beginning of ethnic conflict. Identity ideologies based on ethnicity in turn contributes to the intensification of ethnic conflict. Thus, ethnic confict usually begins as a conflict in cultural relations.

    A common feature among ethnic ideologies among majority as well as minority communities is their exclusionary nature. They are exclusionary because they do not accommodate other ethnic communities. These ideologies consider other ethnic groups as enemies, or a threat to their security and well-being. Ideologies of this type are an obstacle to national integration in multi-ethnic societies.

State Formation Conflict

According to the definition given by Peter Wallensteen, state formation conflicts are those conflicts between the government and a community living within the state claiming to a particular territory within that state. The key issue in that conflict is security of that community.

If we use this definition, most conflicts that focus on issues of ethnic identity, regional autonomy, power sharing as well as secession are state formation conflicts.

Resolution of state formation conflicts requires reforming of the existing political structures to ensure security for aggrieved communities through political accommodation.
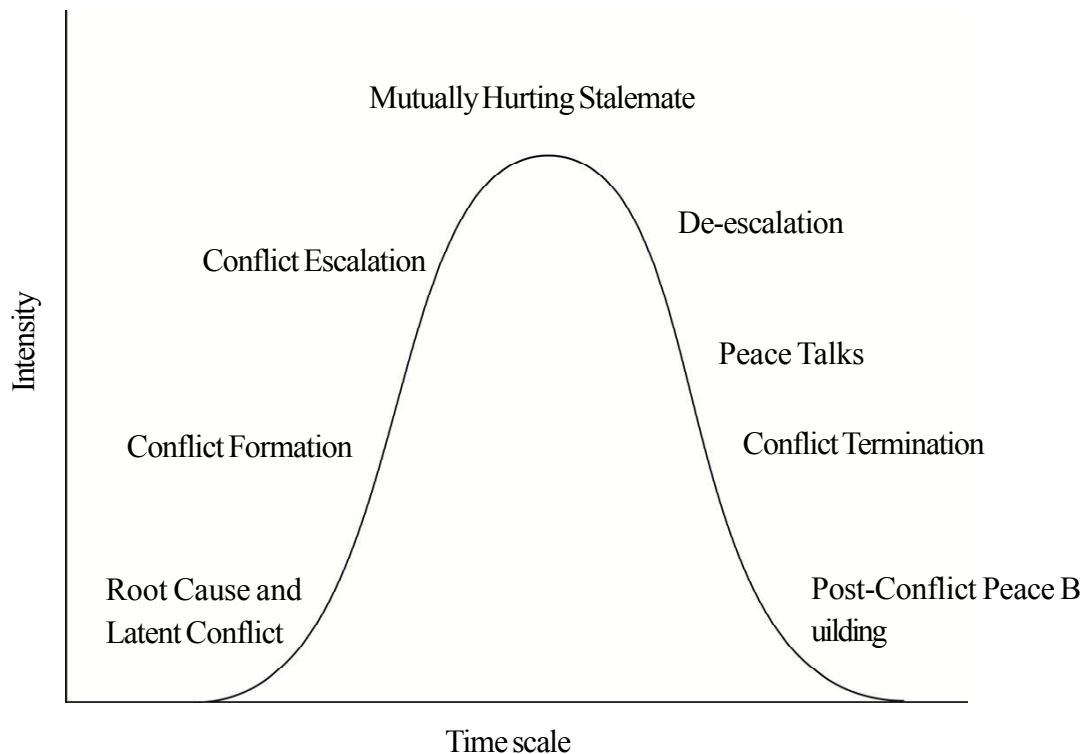
6.2.4   Conflict Life Cycle

An important concept in conflict analysis and conflict resolution is 'conflict life cycle.' It suggests that a conflict is a process with a beginning, a period of maturity and the potential to end.

It was Professor Louis Kriesberg, a pioneer in the conflict resolution field, who developed the concept of 'conflict life cycle.' According to Professor Kriesberg, conflicts do not stand still.

Rather they are subjected to development and change, and go through different phases or stages. In this change, a violent conflict, after having through several stage, might even become peaceful. On the other hand, the end of one conflict might even mark the beginning of another conflict. It is this idea of conflict moving through several stages that has provided the model for the concept of conflict life cycle.

CONFLICT LIFE CYLCE CHART

The stages in a conflict life cycle are:

- Pre-conditions
- Emergence
- Escalation
- De-escalation
- Termination

Preconditions: This is the pre-conflict phase. Its main feature is the existence of preconditions for a conflict, but they remain unrecognized, Even when they are identified, there is no acknowledgement that they would cause conflict. Acknowledgement of these preconditions enables the prevention of conflict.

Emergence of Conflict: During this stage, incompatible expectations and goals get formed. They are formed on the basis of grievances and the negative responses they receive.

Conflict Escalation: During this phase, the conflict enters into a qualitatively new phase in terms of scale and intensity. Militarization of the conflict, increased numbers of death, and destruction of life and property occur during this stage. The political conflict within the state is also transformed

into a civil war. Parties to the conflict are committed to achieving unilateral victories. In intra-state conflict, this stage is usually long in duration. The space for a negotiated settlement to the conflict does not exist during this phase.

De-escalation: After escalation, conflicts have a tendency to de-escalate. De-escalation really begins when the parties to the conflict exchange signals that they want to de-escalate. Parties reach this stage due to a variety of reasons. Lack of resources to maintain the intensity of conflict, decline of popular support, international pressure, exhaustion the parties might experience, and the weakening of the commitment to unilateral solutions are some major factors for conflict de-escalation.

The theory of mutually hurting stalemate, advanced by William Zartman, explains how a conflict escalates and begins to de-escalate. This theory applies to civil war situations. Zartman shows that when an armed conflict stays in the stage of escalation for some time, the capacity of parties to maintain the level of conflict escalation tends to diminish. It is a new situation which parties cannot win unilaterally, or achieve unilateral solutions. Parties cannot retreat, or de-escalate, unilaterally either. This is a situation of 'deadlock' which actually hurts the parties. Zartman calls this situation as a **'mutually hurting stalemate'**.

According to Zartman's theory, this is the moment when parties seek and are ready to explore joint solutions to the conflict so that both parties can claim they have not lost. Zartman says that this is the pre-condition for successful **de-escalation**. This also creates space for third party mediation to encourage parties to find a negotiated solution.

Conflict Termination: When an internal conflict is turned into a civil war and when it gets protracted over a long period of time, the ending of the conflict also takes time. Thus, conflict termination is also a process. Some armed conflict ends in a unilateral victory to one side. When the losing party is the rebels, the victorious government has the right to decide whether the grievances of the losing side should be addressed or not.

Some conflicts end through **mediation** and a **negotiated settlement**. Negotiated settlements enable parties to find shared outcomes to the conflict, without one side either winning or losing. Such solutions are called **win-win-solutions** to conflict in the sense that both sides are satisfied with the outcome. Mediation by an outside third party enables conflict parties to come to the negotiation table, to negotiate and then work out the terms of agreement. When parties terminate the conflict through a mutually agreed peace agreement, it takes the form of a compromise and mutual accommodation.

6.2.5 How to Deal with Conflicts?

Social life is full of conflicts. There are inter-personal, inter-group conflicts. There are also micro and macro conflicts. Some conflicts are violent and others are peaceful. Even peaceful conflicts have the potential to be violent.

When we look at conflicts from the perspective of conflict resolution, we must approach a conflict with the intention of resolving it in positive and creative ways. The advise we get from the literature on conflict resolutionis that the best way to resolve a conflict is to find out and address its underlying causes.

The book *Working with Conflict*, written by Simon Fisher and his team and published in 2000, gives us a number of useful approaches to dealing with conflict. They are:

- Community relations approach
- Human needs approach
- Identity needs approach
- Cultural communication approach
- Conflict transformation approach
- Problem solving approach

Each of these approaches also have their theories of conflict formation and conflict resolution.

- **Community Relations Approach**

  This approach suggests that conflicts occur because of the breakdown of community relations, that is, relations within or among communities. Mistrust, enmity and polarization are usual consequences of such breakdown of community relations. Therefore, the aim of conflict resolution should be:

  - Promotion of communication and understanding between communities in conflict.

  - Building the capacity of communities to accept their cultural, religious, and social diversity and differences.

- **Human Needs Approach**

According to human needs approach, conflicts occur when basic material, social and psychological needs of human beings are not fulfilled. These conflicts also highlight that there are unfulfilled goals with regard to freedom, security, identity, recognition, group honour, political participation etc. In resolving such human needs conflicts, the following steps are useful:

  - Encouraging parties to the conflict to identify their unfulfilled human goals and explore alternative ways to achieve those goals.

  - Assisting parties to arrive at settlements that satisfy their basic human needs.

- **Identity Needs Approach**

This approach draws our attention to how conflicts occur when communities feel that their community identity is threatened. At the heart of such feelings are past defeats, sufferings and setbacks. The following need to be done to resolve such conflicts:

- Assisting parties to identify their mutual threats and fears and enabling them to build mutual empathy and reconciliation.

- Working towards collective agreements among parties that will fulfill their basic identity needs.

- **Cultural Communication Approach**

  This approach emphasizes that conflicts occur due to incompatibility of different style of cultural communication among communities. The following are objectives of conflict resolution, as suggested in this approach:

  - Increasing the understanding among parties of each other's culture.

  - Assisting parties to abandon the negative stereotypes about each other.

  - Strengthening inter-cultural communication.

- **Conflict Transformation Approach**

  A key idea of conflict transformation theory is that conflicts occur as responses to deep inequalities and injustices in social, economic, political and cultural structures. In such conflict, transformation of the conflict itself is needed. That requires a transformative approach with the following steps:

  - Changing, or transforming, the structures and policy frameworks that have been the root causes of the injustices and inequalities.

  - Subjecting to constructive change the understanding of each other among parties to the conflict.

  - Empowering the communities and implementing policies and practices aimed at community empowerment, peace, justice, forgiving, recognition and reconciliation.

- **Problem Solving Approach**

  The basic theoretical argument of this approach is that conflicts are caused by (a) incompatible goals among parties, and (b) the **zero-sum attitudes** that parties have towards the conflict. In the zero-sum attitude to conflict, each party wants to win unilaterally, destroy or defeat the adversary, monopolize outcomes of the conflict. Problem solving approach tries to solve problems that arise from these conditions of the conflict. In order to resolve the problem, the following steps are recommended by this approach:

  - Parties should separate their personal factors from root causes and problems involved in the conflict and then approach the conflict with the aim of solving those problems.

- Facilitate solutions that enable not unilateral, zero-sum outcomes, but shared and mutually beneficial agreements.

6. 3   CONFLICT RESOLUTION POROCESS

Conflict resolution is usually a long process.

One lesson we can learn from personal as well as social and political conflicts is that even though complete resolution of a conflict is difficult, there are other way to deal with conflict. They are:

- Early Warning
- Conflict Prevention
- Conflict Management
- Conflict Transformation
- Post-conflict Peace Building
- Conflict Resolution

6. 3. 1 Early Warning

- This is a concept developed during the 1970s and 1980s.

- Its key idea is that potential conflicts can be identified by early warning signs and that addressing them at the earliest possible stage is a better way of handling conflicts.

- This requires identifying where and for what reasons and among whom conflicts have the potential to emerge and taking steps prevent them causing conflict. This approach can also identify potential parties and actors in the conflict.

- Identifying early warning sings of conflict is similar to weather forecasting. Once the conflict signs, possible places of its occurrence and the potential actors are identified, the next step is taking preventive measures.

- Identifying early warning signs of social and political conflicts and formulating preventive strategies require research, data gathering and analysis.

6. 3. 2 Conflict Prevention

The aim of conflict prevention is to identify the possible or emerging conflicts, their causes, places, and actors and taking steps to resolve them at the early stage of conflict formation.

Identifying early warning signs of conflict is one important strategy for conflict prevention.

There are two approaches to conflict prevention, (a) light prevention, and (b) deep prevention.

- **Light Prevention**: This approach seeks to prevent a conflict from entering the stage of violence.

The relevant strategies are diplomatic mediation, dialogue, negotiation, peace talks, and problem solving workshops with parties.

- **Deep Prevention:** This approach seeks to identify root causes of the conflict and prevent the escalation of the conflict by finding solutions to them.

Among deep preventive measures are economic and political reform, development programmes, strategies for income re-distribution, welfare policies, and building of new political institutions.

6. 3. 3 Conflict Management

The concept of conflict management has two meanings:

i. When resolving a conflict can take long time, conflict management seeks to limit the spread and intensity of the conflict by limiting its violent and destructive consequences. It does not seek to 'resolve' the conflict by addressing its root causes. It essentially views the conflict in a negative light. Thus, the aim is to control the negative potentialities of the conflict.

ii. The second meaning does not see conflict as negative. Rather, the conflict is seen as one between diverse and incompatible expectations and goals. Therefore, what is necessary is to allow the conflicts to express themselves within peaceful and democratic frameworks, and direct it along a path that leads to its eventual resolution.

Both approaches seek to prevent conflict developing into a crisis situation.

6. 3. 4 Conflict Transformation

A brief introduction to conflict transformation has already been given at the beginning of this chapter. Here we will further elaborate this concept.

This approach is particularly relevant to macro social-political conflicts such as civil wars and ethnic conflicts. Such conflicts are usually protracted and violent ones.

The theory of conflict transformation assumes that such protracted and violent conflicts cannot be resolved constructively by the victory of one side or mere peace agreement. Rather, it requires a process of transformation within the conflict itself. In other words, such transformations within the conflict process produces new dynamics that promotes a constructive end to the conflict.

Peter Wallensteen shows in his book *Understanding Conflict Resolution* (2002) that conflict transformation is the result of the knowledge produced through the historical process of the conflict itself. Therefore, a successful conflict transformation requires changes to take place (a) among parties to the conflict, (b) in the causes that lead to the conflict, and (c) in the objectives that the parties wanted to achieve through the conflict. That transformation occurs in such a way that it will prevent the risk of returning to civil war. Similarly, conflict transformation opens up new space for constructive end to the conflict.

The literature in he field of conflict resolution shows that conflict transformation can take place in several ways. The following are some of them.

Actor Transformation: In the process or conflict, actors to the conflict also change. New government leaders, new leaders of rebel groups, and new military leaders might emerge with new and flexible attitudes and approaches to the conflict. Such changes at the level of leadership can have positive impact on the conflict, opening up new possibilities for compromise.

Issue and Agenda Transformation: At this level of conflict transformation, issues and agendas around which the conflict revolves begin to change. Instead of maximalist and uncompromising goals, flexible goals might emerge, allowing space for compromise. Similarly, parties might begin to explore shared outcomes, instead of unilateral outcomes.

Rule Transformation: This refers to the changes in the behavior of parties to the conflict suggesting that 'rules of the game' have changed. Parties might explore mediation and negotiation instead of war.

Structural Transformation: At this level, the entire structure of the conflict, — its causes, goals, behavior of parties, rule of the game, and actors – is transformed.

6.4 Post-Conflict Peace Building

This concept is also relevant to macro social-political conflict such as ethnic conflict and civil war.

It suggests that a peace agreement or ending of the military aspect of the conflict would provide only essential pre-conditions for the resolution of the conflict. There challenge thereafter is preventing the recurrence of the conflict. There are two types of challenges and measures (a) long- and medium-term challenges and policies, and (b) short-term challenges and policies:

- **Long- and –Medium Term Challenges and Strategies**: This aspect of peace building calls for addressing the root causes of the conflict and then introducing social, economic and political reforms.

- **Short-term Challenges and Strategies**: These are immediate challenges after a peace agreement or ending the war. They have to essentially address the humanitarian and social consequences of the conflict. Resettlement and rehabilitation of the displaced citizens and the victims of the conflict, rehabilitation of combatants, rebuilding the communities and social infrastructure destroyed in the conflict, addressing issues of human rights violations and justice, and reconciliation are key short-term challenges in post-conflict peace building.

6. 5 MEANS OF CONFLICT RESOLUTION

As the discussion so far suggests, conflict resolution is a long process that involves, addressing root causes of the conflict, addressing consequences of the conflict and initiating peace building strategies and policies. The aim is to prevent the recurrence of the conflict.

The means of conflict resolution, which we discuss here, are strategies required to deal with a conflict once it is formed, and not before. Once a conflict is formed there are two needs, (a) to prevent its escalation, and (b) to resolve it. Both needs are also objectives in conflict resolution as a process.

There are four means, or strategies, that are employed in conflict resolution process. They are:

- Negotiation
- Mediation
- Peace Agreement
- Peace Building

6. 5.1 Negotiation

Negotiation between parties is necessary to prevent conflict escalation as well as to resolve the conflict.

Roger Fisher and William Ury, who wrote the famous handbook on negotiation in conflicts, *Getting to Say 'Yes*,' define negotiation as follows: "Negotiation is a basic means of getting what you want from others. It is a back-and-forth communication designed to reach an agreement when you and the other side have some interests that are shared and others that are opposed."

Negotiation is a process of 'talks' or 'discussions' that parties to a dispute or conflict employ in order to resolve it. It is a process through which parties try to arrive at a mutually acceptable, or shared, stand on the issues in dispute.

In the conflict resolution literature, there are three types or models of negotiation. They are (a) Problem-solving negotiation, (b) Contending negotiation, and (c) Yielding negotiation.

Problem – Solving Negotiation: In this method, parties to the conflict want to resolve the problems that have caused the conflict. It is a also a process that enables both parties to the conflict to work together to resolve problems. It enables parties to jointly resolve the root causes of the conflict.

Contending Negotiation: This is different from problem-solving negotiation. What happens here is that one party wants to impose its position over the other. Parties hold on to rigid and inflexible positions and even use force to change the positions of the other party for its own advantage.

Yielding Negotiation: In this approach, parties become flexible in order to find a mutually agreeable solution to the conflict.

6. 5. 2 Mediation

Mediation is a third party involvement in a conflict in order to help the parties to the conflict to find a mutually agreeable compromise to contending issues. Mediation is not a one-act event, but a process, a whole series of activities.

Mediator's activities usually include:

- Acting as a messenger between parties at the beginning.
- Assisting parties to initiate constructive communication between them, by becoming their 'postman.'
- Assisting parties to think about solutions as alternatives to the conflict.
- Bringing parties to the conflict to the negotiation table and chairing their meetings.
- Assisting parties to resolve complex problems that emerge during the talks.
- Acting as spokesperson for the parties involved in negotiations.
- Assisting parties to draft the peace agreement.
- Assisting parties to implement the peace agreement when they ask the assistance.

6. 5.3 Peace Agreement

In conflicts between states (inter-state conflicts) or within states (intra-state conflicts), when a third party mediator assists the parties in the negotiations, there is usually expectation that negotiation should in a 'peace agreement' or 'settlement agreement' being signed by the parties. 'Peace Accord' is another word for such an agreement.

When there is a third party mediation, parties sign the agreement on the advise and guidance of the mediator. The third party also participates in the signing of the agreement as a guarantor. When there is no mediator, specialists of each party draft the agreement.

There is no pace agreement when the conflict ends unilaterally with victory to one side. In such situations, the defeated party only signs a surrender document.

- **Aspects of a Peace Agreement**

  - Both parties agree to suspend, or terminate, the conflict.

  - The terms of the peace agreement are based on mutual promises that parties make to one another.

  - In the case of a civil war, parties agree to end the war, initiate disarmament or demilitarization, rehabilitation of combatants, resettlement of displaces persons, refugees and civilians, and finding solutions to human rights violations, etc.

  - The political reforms required for the settlement of the conflict are also a part of the peace agreement. One of its key aims is to enable the rebels to join the political mainstream.

  - Parties agree to implement the terms of the peace agreement fully. They might even agree to independent monitoring of how the agreement is implemented and works and how parties honour their commitments.

6. 5.4   Peace Building after Peace Agreement

Signing a peace agreement by the parties to the conflict is only the beginning of a long process of peace building. Especially in societies with protracted social conflicts and civil war, peace building is also a protracted process.

There are two major challenges in peace building after a peace agreement.

- Parties should ensure that the terms of the agreement are properly and comprehensively implemented.
- Managing the risk of returning to war and violence if the agreement is not properly implemented.

In the next section, we will discuss peace building in some detail.

6. 6   PEACE BUILDING

In this section of the lesson, we will have a deeper understanding of the concept of peace building.

6.6.1   Peace Building: Definition and Approaches

In the literature in conflict and peace studies, the idea of peace is defined in two ways: 'Negative peace' and 'positive peace.' It was Professor Johan Galtung who in 1964 introduced this classification of peace.

- **Negative Peace**: It means the condition of peace in the absence of war and violence.

- **Positive Peace**: This goes beyond peace as the absence of war and violence. It is a long-term process, built on mutual understanding among communities, peace education, international cooperation, successful conflict management to manage disputes, and closing the door for **'structural violence'** caused by deep social inequalities and injustices.

Negative peace can be achieved by mans of a peace agreement. But positive peace is more than the absence of war and violence.

'Sustainable peace' was another concept which Professor Galtung introduced to peace studies during the 1970s. Its meaning is the 'peace that can sustain itself to survive, and without losing its potential, over a long period'.

In Galtung's approach, **peace building is about building positive and sustainable peace.**

Boutros-Boutros Ghali, former Secretary General of the United Nations has also defined peace-building in his document, "An Agenda for Peace", published in 1992. The following is his definition:

Peace building is "action to identify and support structures, which will tend to strengthen and solidify peace in order to avoid relapse into conflict… [It entails] a range of measures targeted to reduce the risk of lapsing or relapsing into conflict by strengthening national capacities at all levels for conflict management, and to lay the foundation for sustainable peace and development. Peace building strategies must be coherent and tailored to the specific needs of the country concerned."

Another definition is given by Professor John Paul Lederach. According to him, peace building means **building sustainable peace** in societies where protracted violent conflicts have occurred. In order to achieve that objective, peace building should happen at grassroots levels, that is, at the level of ordinary people. Professor Lederach emphasizes the role of citizens, civil society movements and non-governmental organizations in peace building. Their participation helps rebuilding 'community trust.'

6. 6. 2 Reconciliation

The simple meaning of reconciliation is 'coming back together', or 'becoming friendly again', after a dispute or conflict during which there has been a breakdown of friendly relations.

Reconciliation is considered as an important stage in peace building in societies that have seen conflict. This is particularly necessary for societies that have had protracted civil wars and violence. The reason in such contexts is that communities are divided due to past experiences. Therefore, in such societies, reconciliation requires people who have been divided in the past joining together in peace building. It is through such a process of participation of all citizens that people can abandon the past mistrust, enmity and suspicion and build new relations of friendship, trust and mutual understanding. Thus, reconciliation requires a **'healing process'** too.

Reconciliation can take place at three levels:

- **Psychological levels**: This aims at preparing the people to deal with their painful past positively. This is a **psychological 'healing'** process.

- **Social Level**: At the social level, society needs to be prepared for peace. This aims are building friendship and forgiveness in place of revenge, empathy in place of hatred, and coming together instead of living in separation and isolation. This is a **'social healing'** process.

- **Political level**: Along with psychological and social healing processes, initiatives for **political healing** needs to be taken too. It entails addressing economic, social and political grievances

As the South African experience emphasized, linking the reconciliation process with truth seeking, justice and peace is crucial for peace building.

- '**Truth seeking'** meant finding out actually what happened during violence and sharing that information openly with victims and their families as well as people. That is an important step in the direction of healing.

- **'Justice'** means ensuring justice to all those who were victims of greave human rights violations during the conflict.

The most famous example of all these is the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa, established in 1995. It advanced a new approach to justice. Instead of traditional 'retributive justice' which seeks to punish the perpetrators, South Africans experimented with the new idea of **'restorative justice'.** In restorative justice, the key principle is **'forgiving'**, rather than revenge and punishment. In South Africa, victims of grave violence and their perpetrators, their families and relatives all came before the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Perpetrators publicly confessed to their crimes while the victims, or their family members, offered them forgiveness. In this process of justice, perpetrators and victims met directly, and discussed their past with mutual empathy.

Proposed Learning Activities

1. Divide the class into groups.
2. Divided the topics among groups for role play
    i. Early warning of conflict
    ii. Conflict prevention
    iii. Conflict management
    iv. Conflict resolution
    v. Conflict transformation
    vi. Post-conflict peace building
    vii. Negotiation
    viii. Mediation
    ix. Peace agreement.

Make arrangements for students to enact their role plays on a specific day.

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Competency 7	**:**		Identify the transformation of political, economic and social spheres of Sri Lanka under the colonial rule.
Competency Levels	**:**	7.1	Describes how colonialism and colonial rule led to transformations in the political, economic and social spheres in Sri Lanka.
		7.2	Comment on the consequences of colonial transformation occurred in Sri Lanka.
Periods	**:**		
Learning Outcome	**:**	•	Describe the trends and consequences of economic and social change in Sri Lanka under colonial transformation.
		•	Explain how the foundation for a modern state was laid.
		•	Show the origin and evolution of modern representative democracy.
		•	Analyze special features of the Donoughmore constitution.
Introduction	**:**		

This aim of this lesson is to explore how the European colonial rule impacted on Sri Lanka. It first explains what the 'colonial state' is and then focuses on how colonialism impacted on Sri Lanka's economic, social and political spheres. This lesson will focus only on the British colonial period.

Note: The discussion on the 'colonial state' in Lesson 3 is relevant to this discussion.

7. 1   Colonies and Colonial State

In world history, we can identify two ways in which colonies were created.

• People of an existing state discover new land, settle there, and establish political, economic and social institutions of the mother country, and then bring that new society under the rule of the mother country.

• A powerful state conquers by agreement or through warfare an already populated territory and establishes its rule over it.

Societies that are turned colonies under the second method come under the domination of the colonizing power. Sri Lanka became a colony in this method.

Colonial State
In political social theory, the concept **'colonial state'** is employed to analyze the relationship between the colonizer state and the state in the colony. The colonial state is the political, administrative

and military structure which is employed to act as the agent of the colonizer state and also to maintain its authority over the colonized society.

The colonial government represents the interests of the colonizer state, and not the interests of the people of the colonized society. Ruling the colonized society in accordance of the needs of the colonizing power is the main task of the colonial state. It gives priority to maintaining law and order in the colonized society. The colonial state also gives priority to the need to repress the resistance and pressure coming from the local society, and to establish and maintain the ideological dominance over the people of that society.

A special feature of the colonial state is its presence in the colonized society by force in order to serve **the interests of the colonizer state**. Therefore, without popular support within the colony, the colonial state **lacks legitimacy**. It is in order to secure these objectives that the colonial state tries to **transform the economic, social, political and cultural structures of** the colonized society.

7. 2   Colonial Transformation and Its Consequences

Sri Lanka came under Western colonial domination in 1505 and it lasted till 1948. It was the Portuguese rule first, and the Dutch rule second. While the Portuguese and the Dutch had conquered only the maritime provinces of the island, the British conquered and brought under their rule the entire island. They ruled the maritime provinces from 1796 and 1815 and in 1815 annexed the Kandyan Kingdom. The British colonial rulers also had a greater impact on the local society than did their predecessors.

- The colonizer established a state in the colony and introduced changes in the economic, social and political spheres in the colony in order to achieve certain objectives. They are:

    - Administrative and military costs of maintaining the colony was high. Ruling the colony directly from the mother country was also difficult. Setting up a **state structure in the colony with its own resources** was seen as the solution.

    - Since the life styles, cultures and interests of the people of the colonized society were incompatible with those of the colonial rulers, subjecting them to change.

    - Making use of the colonized society and its resources for the maximum benefit of the colonizer country.

In the pre-colonial Sri Lankan society, the King held the ownership of the land which was the main source of economic activity. The system of *Rajakariya* was its key feature. The ordinary people, who were mostly peasants, obtained the land for cultivation from the nearest landlords in exchange of a service to the landlord. This created a system of hierarchy in which the person at the lower end of it served those in the higher levels. The agrarian economy was also a subsistence economy in which production was primarily aimd at household consumption.

This system of cultivation and land use did not encourage private enterprise. The production did not exceed subsistence needs either. The British colonial rulers saw this system as an obstacle to profit-oriented capitalist interests. They also saw the existing system of *Rajakariya* as a barrier to securing wage labour for the newly introduced plantation economy.

This was the background against which a **new system of private ownership of land** was introduced by the British. The private ownership of land also enabled the colonial state to **tax on the land** and strengthen the income sources of the colonial administration. The Waste Land Ordinance is the key policy measure introduced for this objective. The Colebrook-Cameron reforms also envisaged the transformation of the peasant, agricultural economy for the benefit of **colonial capitalism.**

With the abolition of the Rajakariya system, the British also introduced a **competitive market for land**. This was essentially linked with the newly established plantation economy, which was a system of large-scale private enterprise, based on the investment of private capital.

Capital investment in the new competitive market economy was done in coffee, cocoa, tea, rubber and coconut plantations of commercial crops. In these plantations, modern manufacturing and industrial systems of production were employed. However, contrary to initial expectations, the local people were not attracted to working in the plantations as labourers. They continued to be engaged in subsistence agriculture. Meanwhile, the colonial state encouraged the plantation economy by **promoting modern consumption patterns, mechanization of production** and **providing infrastructure facilities** such as **transport and ports**. As a result, a system of **dual economy** emerged in Sri Lanka with a mutually separated subsistence agricultural economy and a modern, plantation economy.

The plantation economy also created a community of Tamil workers, brought from India. They remained un-integrated with the Sri Lankan society. Historians have shown that initially the local, Kandyan Sinhalese peasants were reluctant to work in plantations. As a solution to the labour problem, the colonial government **imported labour from India.**

However, the low country Sinhalese, who have already been exposed to commercial economy under the Portuguese, Dutch and British colonialism made use of the economic opportunities opened up by the plantation economy. They accumulated a great deal of capital by being contractors to supply labour and transport services, investing in the liquor trade, and trading in consumer goods. They soon became **a local class of entrepreneurs or commercial capitalists**. Leading among them were the low country Sinhalese. They were the pioneers of **local capitalist class** non-dominant caste communities.

A point that needs to be stressed is that capitalism did not develop in Sri Lanka through a long historical process of evolution. It was imposed on Sri Lankan society by the colonial state through colonial policies. The colonial capitalism also created a social system with two categories of people – those who were motivated by private initiative and enterprise and benefitted from capitalism, and those remained traditional as well as exploited or marginalized by capitalism.

Because of the colonial encounter, **two different value systems** also confronted each other. The Europeans who came to colonial Sri Lanka valued individuality and individual freedom. They also valued social mobility and change. The Sri Lankan society had a different value system in which social values were 'ascribed' in

the sense that they were linked to caste, social status, birth, and kinship. There was little room for social mobility in a strictly hierarchical society. The British colonial rulers took a number of steps to change this situation. Such colonial policies included:

Economic Policies
- Abolition of the compulsory labour service of *rajakariya*.
- Introduction of an open market for commodities and labour.
- Encouragement of trade and commerce through custom and taxation policies.
- Unification of taxation policies and introduction of a system of tax renting.
- Monetary tax in place of tax in kind.
- Introduction of a system of indirect taxation.
- Abolition of state monopoly in trade.
- Removal of restrictions for Europeans to settle in Sri Lanka so that they could invest in plantations and trade.

Political and Administrative Polices
- Reduction of the powers of the colonial governor to suit a society based on private enterprise.
- Creation of a system of five administrative provinces instead of 16.
- Reforming of the civil service.
- Establishment of a Legislative Council to assist the Governor in legislation.
- Establishment of an Executive Council.
- Reforming the system of judicial administration
- Spread of English education.

7. 3   Economic and Social Transformation

There were two types of consequences of colonial policies: intended consequences and unintended consequences. These could either positive or negative.

Intended Consequences

The colonial economic and social change occurred at two levels:
- The origin and spread of the colonial capitalism, and
- Colonial social change.

The foundation of economic changes was the **colonial capitalist econom**y. The colonizer state expected the colony to function as a source of raw material for its industries and a supplier of agricultural consumption goods for its consumer. It also wanted the colony to be a market for its manufacturing industry. As we have already noted, the abolition of *rajakariya* in order to open up a market for labour and land and later the creation of market for land for the plantations intended to serve the capitalist economy.

As a result, Sri Lanka joined the world economy as a **producer of primary agricultural goods.** The state involved in the infrastructure development and scientific research for the plantation economy.

A market economy came to be established along with a large scale commercial agricultural economy.

Unintended Outcomes

There were also unintended positive consequences of colonialism. One of such positive outcomes was the emergence of **an indigenous capitalist class**. They accumulated capital first in arrack renting and then through the participation in labour and transport contract and small trade. As we noted earlier, they did not come from dominant castes in Sinhalese society. This led to upward social mobility and the transformation of traditional social structures. The **social transformation eventually** created conditions for the development of egalitarian and democratic aspirations in Sri Lankan society.

The new class of wealthy indigenous elite also spent their wealth on social service, education and promoted developments in the cultural and religious fields.

The social transformation was also facilitated by the abolition of *rajakariya*, opening up of a market for labour, legal framework that facilitated individualism and individual rights, and English education. All these led to **reforms in the social and cultural spheres.** They were also led to the emergence of new social classes and strata of the elite. The Colebrooke-Cameron reforms directly contributed to the development of a local capitalist class.

English education and reforms in the social and cultural spheres led to the development of **a new, modern social order** in place of the feudal social order dominated by the landed aristocracy.

The emergence of a civil society in colonial Sri Lanka was another unintended consequence of colonial change. Sri Lanka's **'colonial civil society'** consisted of religious and caste associations, trade unions, women's associations, temperance societies, nationalist associations, varieties of voluntary associations, and eventually political groups. These 'civil society' groups were involved in resistance movements, as well as struggles for democratic rights.

The colonial social and cultural change also led to a new kind of social polarization between those who benefited from those reforms and who did not. Those who benefitted had wealth earned in taking part in the colonial economy or bureaucracy. They also embraced the colonial culture, values and life styles. They constituted a privileged indigenous elite, loyal to the colonial state. Those who did not benefit were those social classes who remained outside English education and economic opportunities opened up by colonialism. They formed their own 'civil society' with commitment to traditional ideals and values based on regional, religious and communal identities.

7. 4   Political Consequences of Colonialism

7.4.1   Colebrooke-Cameron Reforms

The pre-colonial political order was organized around the King, or the lord of the land. Although there was a convention that the ruler should respect traditions, that depended on the willingness of the King to follow the traditions. Thus, the pre-colonial governance was arbitrary rule of the King.

This system began to be transformed first under the Colebrooke-Cameron reforms. Subsequent reforms continued the process of change.

Colebrooke reforms abolished the system of existing dual legal system and brought the entire island under one legal regime. The Kandyan law was made a personal law on civil matters.

The island was divided in to five provinces in a bid **to unify the system of administratio**n. This was the beginning of the process that eventually led to a centralized and unitary state in Sri Lanka.

Colebrooke reforms also laid the foundation for a system of constitutional government with some measure of accountability when it restricted the arbitrary powers of the colonial governor and made the governor responsible to the Crown. The arbitrary rule of the Governor was further restricted by the creation of an Executive Council. Thus, the Governor was required to prepare the annual budget with the approved of the Executive Council.

Governor's law making powers were also subjected to limitations by establishing a Legislative Council. These later reforms on legislature were based on this model. This introduced, for the first time in Sri Lanka, the principle of representation, even tough in a preliminary form.

Subsequent Reforms

The reforms introduced by Governor McCullum in 1910 introduced the principle of **limited franchise.** Franchise right was granted to educated and property owning males.

Under McCullum reforms, the number of members of the Council was increased from 18 to 21 of which 11 members were official and 10 unofficial. Four unofficial members were to be elected on the basis of communal representation on limited franchise. Though limited in scope, this marked the beginning of **the idea of elected members** to the legislature. This was also the beginning of **'communal representation'** which was later to be abolished by the Donoughmore Commission.

Governor Manning introduced two sets of reforms that further expanded the system of representative government under the colonial state. The first Manning reforms of 1920 increased the membership of the Legislative Council from 21 to 37 with 14 official and 23 unofficial members. Thus, the unofficial members had the majority in the Council. Eleven unofficial members were to be elected on the basis of **territorial representation**. Thus, the most important aspect of the Manning reforms of 1920 was the introduction of the idea of territorial representation. The Donoughmore reforms further expanded the principal of territorial representation.

The second Manning reforms of 1924 further expanded the territorial representation. It increased the unofficial members to 37 and territorial constituencies to 23.

The expansion of the representative system of government was an outcome of agitations carried out by local political elites for a greater share of power and participation in the colonial government.

7.4.2 Donoughmore Constitutional Reforms

With the Donoughmore constitution of 1931, the foundation was laid for **a government with responsibility and accountability.**

The key reform measures introduced under the Donoughmore reforms were as follows:

- **Universal Adult Franchise**: The introduction of adult franchise for men and women over 21 years of age meant to create a system of government in which the representatives were accountable to the people. Thus, Sri Lanka was the first British colony for women to have franchise rights.

- **State Council**: The Legislative Council was abolished. A new legislature by the name of State Council was established. Under the new system, the State Council consisted of 61 members. Of them, 50 elected representatives, eight appointed by the Governor, and three officials. A speaker was also to be elected to the State Council. This was a prototype of parliament that developed in Sri Lanka after 1947.

- **Territorial Representation:** The existing system of communal representation was abolished. Representation was made entirely on the territorial basis. Donoughmore Commissioners were very critical of the communal representation and even described it as a 'canker in the body politic.'

- **Committee System**: Establishment of the Executive Committee system was another important reform measure. These Committees were introduced instead of the cabinet system which the local political elite had demanded. 57 members of the State Council, except the Speaker and the three official members, were divided into seven Executive Committees. As the name suggests, these committees were entrusted with the executive functions of the government. The Council of Ministers consisted of the seven chairmen of the committees and the three official members of the Council. Thus, executive responsibility was also given to elected representatives.

Impact

The introduction of universal adult franchise was the most important reform measure introduced under the Donoughmore system because of its **contribution to democratic development** of the country. It democratized the political system to a great extent and people began to get used to the idea that they had the right to authorize their rulers to govern. Rulers also learned that they were accountable to the people who elected them. They began to be conscious of the fact that if they did not fulfill people's expectations, they would run the risk of being rejected by the people at the next election. Thus, politicians also adjusted themselves to the democratic system of accountability.

There was no political party system under the Donoughmore system. It did ot encourage the development of a party system either. However, because of the universal franchise, a party system slowly began to evolve.

Political empowerment of the people was one of the major consequences of the Donoughmore system of government. This was largely due to its principle of **representative government** and universal franchise. It specially helped the marginalized social and ethnic groups to be conscious of their emancipation.

The emergence of the **modern welfare state** was also an outcome of the Dounoughmore system of government. Politicians elected to the State Council competed with each other to initiate social welfare prorgammes to secure popular support.

The establishment of the Council of Ministers under the Executive Committee system also had a salutary impact on the political development of the country. Chairmen of the committees began to learn how to function as a modern cabinet. Towards the end of the Donoughmore system, the minsters also learnt the importance of the principle of collective responsibility. It also enabled the members to gain executive experience by being members of the Executive Committees.

In the absence of a political party system, individual members of the State Council acquired an important place. All members also participated in both legislative and executive functions. Therefore, the State Council became an important training ground for politicians.

Minority communities also got an opportunity to get representation in the state Council. However, there was dissatisfaction among them that the system of election did not allow adequate minority representation in the State Council. When the Council of Ministers of 1936 did not include any minority members, it lead to further disaffection among the minority communities.

Expansion of civil society as well as civil society activism was another important development during the Donoughmore period. Nationalist movements, the Left movement, the trade union movement, the women's movement, religious associations, and social welfare movements were active civil society representatives during this period. The opening up of the democratic space directly contributed to the expansion of civil society activism.

Thus, the Donoughmore constitutional reforms marked a turning point in Sri Lanka's socio-economic and political transformation. These changes also marked the beginning of the rapid political change that we witnessed after independence of 1947.

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08 The Westminster Model in Sri Lanka and its Changes

Competency 8	:	Demonstrate understanding of constitutional development in Sri Lanka after independence.

Competency Levels	:	8.1	Describe the background factors of the post independent constitution making process.
		8.2	Explain features of each constitution.
		8.3	Indicate the main trends and problems of these constitutions.

Periods :

Learning Outcome :
- Examine the constitutional development and trends under the constitutions of 1947 and 1972.
- Explain comparatively the sovereignty and composition of the legislatures 1947 and 1972.
- Describe comparatively the nature and powers of the executive under the constitutions of 1947 and 1972
- Indicate the nature and limitations of minority rights.
- Discuss independence of the judiciary and its limitations.
- Examine the changes that occurred in the judiciary and public service.

Introduction :

Independent Sri Lanka's first constitution, the Soulbury Constitution, was designed in accordance with the Westminster model of government. Thus, a government of the Westminster model refers to a government which has features of the British system of government. Its key features are:

- Parliament is the central institution in the structure of government.

- A Cabinet of Ministers, which is answerable to parliament.

- Parliament enjoys legislative supremacy.

- Parliament also controls the government, led by the Cabinet of Ministers.

- The Cabinet consists of Members of Parliament.

- The Cabinet is answerable to parliament, as individual ministers and the Cabinet as a collective.

- The judiciary has only limited powers to review laws enacted by parliament.

- Two-party system, based on first-past-the-post system of elections.

The Soulbury Constitution introduced a system of parliamentary cabinet government, based on the proposals submitted by the Council of Ministers in 1944 and the recommendations of the Soulbury Commission. The Westminster model was followed in designing the cabinet government, structure of parliament, and in the nominal executive. However, there were also deviation from the Westminster model. They were:

• Soulbury Constitution was a written constitution.

• It was a relatively rigid constitution.

• Courts had power to review legislation, although it was not specifically stated.

The Soulbury Constitution accepted that Sri Lanka was a multi-ethnic and multi-religious society. The constitution also took steps to establish an independent judiciary and an independent public service. There were eight amendments introduced to the Soulbury Constitution during its years of operation (1947-1972).

8.1   Factors that led to the replacement of the Soulbury Constitution with a new constitution:

• There was an influential opinion built up in the country that Sri Lanka should not continue subjected to British Crown.

• The widespread view that the Soulbury Constitution did not grant full political independence to Sri Lanka.

• There was also an argument for making Sri Lanka a Republic.

• Problems with regard to the Public Service Commission and Judicial Service commission.

(Teachers can elaborate these points in detail).

Against this backdrop, there were two attempts to amend the Soulbury Constitution. They were:

I.   Prime Minister S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike of the MEP government appointed a join parliamentary committee on November 02, 1957 to consider amendments to the Soulbury Constitution. The Committee in its report of February 06, 1959 had reached the agreement that (a) Sri Lanka should become a Republic and that a section on fundamental rights should be included in the Constitution. There was also consensus among all parties represented in this committee on these proposals. However, because of the assassination of Prime Minister Bandaranaike on September 26, 1959, the constitutional amendment initiative did not proceed further.

II. The UNP government of 1965 appointed a parliamentary joint committee to consider the making of Sri Lanka a Republic. However, since the opposition led by the SLFP proposed an entirely new constitution, the UNP government's proposal to amend the Soulbury constitution did not succeed.

It was the United Front government of 1970 which took steps to introduce a new constitution in place of the Soulbury Constitution. The new constitution was drafted by a Constituent Assembly. It operated for six years, from 1972 to 1978.

The new constitution of 1972 had the following key features:

- It was a cabinet system of government, within the parliamentary system.

- It abolished the links with the British monarchy and established a Republic.

- The Legislature was a unicameral body.

- The National State Assembly was the sole institution that represented the sovereignty of the people.

- The Head of State, the President, was appointed by the Prime Minister who was elected by the sovereign people. (This was a semi republican principle. In the republican model, the Head of State is directly elected by the people).

- Removal of some of the checks and balances in the Soulbury Constitution. For example:

  (a) Removal of the limited scope for judicial review of legislation.
  (b) Parliament became a unicameral legislature.
  (c) Public service was brought under cabinet control.

- Constitutionalizing Sri Lanka as a unitary state.

- Giving constitutional recognition to Buddhism.

- Making only Sinhalese the official language.

- Bringing public service and judicial service under the control of political executive.

- The 1972 constitution included chapters on state policy and fundamental rights. But they were not justiciable. Citizens could not go to courts to enforce them.

8. 2 Composition of the Legislature and Sovereignty: Soulbury and 1972 Constitution

The provisions for the legislature under the 1972 Constitution can be better understood when they are compared with the Soulbury Constitution. In some aspects there was continuity. In some others, new provisions were made in the 1972 Constitution.

Under the Soulbury Constitution, Parliament consisted of three institutions: (a) The Queen (Or Governor General), (b) House of Representatives, and (c) The Senate.

The House of Representatives was the main institution of parliament. The number of members of the House was not defined in the Constitution. The number was to be decided by the Delimitation Commission after the national census once in every ten years. Therefore, the number of members of the House of representatives varied during the period of Soulbury Constitution.

Between 1947-1959, the number of MPs was 101. Of them, 95 were elected on the basis of electoral constituencies, or seats, by the voters directly. The remaining six MPs were appointed to represent the minority communities.

After 1960, the number of MPs was 157. Of them, 151 MPs were elected on the constituency basis. And six were appointed MPs.

The Senate, which was the Second Chamber of Parliament, had 30 members. Of them 15 were appointed by the Governor General on the advise of the Prime Minister. The remaining 15 were nominated by political parties represented in parliament.

The 1972 Constitution also did not mention the number of MPs to be elected. The number was to be determined by the Delimitation Commission, established under Section 77 of the Constitution.

The parliament in the Soulbury Constitution did not enjoy legislative supremacy, because,

- Parliament did not have authority to alter and repeal the Section 29 (2) of the Constitution.

- If any Act passed by parliament was not in accordance with the constitution, the judiciary had the power to declare it ultra vires (violating) of the constitution.

- Under the Ceylon Independence Act of 1947, the parliament in Britain could enact legislation for Sri Lanka on the request of Sri Lanka.

The 1972 Constitution changed this status. It made the National State Assembly (NSA) the sole authority with legislative powers.

- According to Section 5, the National State Assembly was "the supreme instrument of state power of the Republic."

- Section 44 stipulated that "the legislative power of the National State Assembly was supreme."

- The legislative power of the NSA included the power to repeal the constitution as a whole or amend any part or parts of it.

- According to Section 45, NSA could not "abdicate, delegate or alienate" its legislative power.

- According to Section 48, no court or any other institution had any power to inquire into, or question the validity of, any law passed by NSA.

Thus, unlike under the Soulbury Constitution, the legislature under the 1972 Constitution enjoyed legislative supremacy.

8. 3   The Executive: Nature and Powers

The executive established under the Soulbry Constitution was a cabinet executive. The Cabinet of Ministers was the central institution of government. It was headed by the Prime Minister who was an MP commanding the confidence and support of the majority of MPs. The position of PM usually went to the leader of the party which had won the majority in parliament. In case there was no party with a majority in parliament, the Governor General had the power to appoint the PM. The Prime Minister thus appointed was required to prove his/her majority support in parliament. The Prime Minister also had the responsibility of advising the Governor General on summoning and dissolving of parliament.

The Constitution did not stipulate the number of members of the Cabinet. It left to the decision of the PM. The Constitution also mentioned that in addition to his normal function, the PM should hold the foreign and defence portfolios. The Minister of Justice had to be a member of the Senate.

According to Section 46 of the Soulbury Constitution, the Cabinet of Ministers was in charge of the "general direction and control of the government." The Cabinet had the responsibility to decide the government policy. Cabinet decisions were implemented through the public service. The Cabinet was also collectively responsible to parliament.

Under the 1972 Constitution too, the Cabinet of Ministers was the political executive. The PM was the MP who commended the confidence of the majority of members of parliament. It was the PM's responsibility to determine the ministries, the number of ministers, and the allocation of subjects and departments among ministers. The PM also had the power to re-allocate subjects among ministers as well as remove them from the Cabinet.

The 1972 Constitution abolished the independent Public Service Commission and brought the public service under the control of the Cabinet of Ministers. A new State Services Advisory Board was established, with only power to recommend public officers for appointment. The Cabinet of Ministers was the authority in appointments to the public service. This was a departure from the Soulbury Constitution.

8.4 Minority Rights

The Soulbury Constitution had a number of provisions to protect minority rights.

- Section 29 (2) of the Constitution was a major safeguard for minority rights. It sought to prevent parliament from enacting laws discriminatory of religious or linguistic minorities. Thus, no law passed by parliament could

    (a) Prohibit or restrict the free exercise of any religion.
    (b) Impose any religion or community restrictions, liabilities or disabilities which are not applicable to any other religion or community.
    (c) Confer any privileges or advantages to any religion or community that are not applicable to other religions or communities.
    (d) Alter the constitution of any religious body without the consent of the authorities of that body.

- **Multi-Member Constituencies**

    This system enabled representation for small communities in certain districts to get parliamentary representation. The Delimitation Commission of 1946 determined the electorates of Badulla, Balangoda, Kadugannawa, Ambalangoda, Balapitiya and Colombo-Central as multi-member constituencies. However, this system did not work satisfactorily to protect minority rights.

- **The System of Nominated MPs**

    This was introduced to enable the representation of small minorities such as Europeans, Burghers and Muslims. The Governor General appointed them on the advise of the Prime Minister. However, this system too did not function satisfactorily to safeguard minority rights.

- **Senate**

    The Soulbury Commission thought the Senate would also function as a mechanism safeguarding the minority rights by minority members being appointed as Senators. However, in nominating Senators, the PM took into consideration not only the ethnic background of Senators, but also their loyalty to the ruling party and its policies. This resulted in the Senate too failing to play its role in safeguarding minority interests.

8. 5   Public Service and the Judiciary

The Soulbury Constitution entrusted the Cabinet of Ministers with the responsibility of the public service. Each minister was in charge of the functioning of departments under his/her ministry. A Permanent Secretary, appointed by the Governor General on the recommendations of the Prime

Minister, assisted the minister in running departments under each ministry. The Permanent Secretary functioned under the directions of the Minister. The Permanent Secretary coordinated between the Minster and the departments and between departments.

Meanwhile, a special feature of the Soulbury Constitution was the provisions made for safeguarding the independence of the public service. Accordingly, an independent Public Service Commission was established charged with the function of appointment, transfer, removal, and disciplinary control of public servants.

There were two reasons to appoint the Public Service Commission: (a) to safeguard the public service from political interference, (b) building confidence among minorities on the public service.

Members of the Public Service Commission –there were three of them – were appointed by the Governor General on the advise of the PM. There were also provisions to protect the Commission from political interference.

- No member of parliament was to be appointed to the Commission.
- If any member had been a public servant drawing salary at the time of the appointment as a Commissioner, he should resign from that post.
- No Commissioner was to be reappointed after the term of office ended.
- A commissioner could be removed only by the Governor General after giving reasons.
- Any person influencing the Commission's decisions was to be liable for a prison term of one year, a fine of Rs. 1000 or both.

Despite these safeguards, the Public Service Commission could not always maintain its independence. There were instances when the Ministers put pressure on the Commission. Therefore, the Commission came under criticism as well.

The 1972 Constitution marked a clear departure from the 1947 Constitution on the independence of public service. By doing away with the Public Service Commission, it brought the public service directly under the Cabinet of Ministers. Under the new system:

- The Cabinet of Ministers was in charge of the appointment, transfer and disciplinary control of public servants.

- Except the public servants of higher levels, who were appointed by the President on the advise of the PM, all the other public servants were appointed by the Cabinet of Ministers. In making these appointments, the Cabinet consulted the State Service Advisory Board. (Teachers should discuss in detail in the class the powers of the cabinet in these appointments and the functions of the State Service Advisory Board, and the State Service Disciplinary Board).

Judiciary

Our attention here is on the independence of the judiciary.

Under the Soulbury Constitution, the appointment of the Chief Justice, other judges of the Supreme Court, and Commissioners of Assize were made by by the Governor General. A Judge of the Supreme Court could serve till the age of 62. The Governor General could extend the services of a Supreme Court Judge by one year. The removal of a Supreme Court judge was the power of the Governor General on a recommendation by the Senate and the House of Representatives. The constitution had provisions to safeguard the independence of these judges.

The other judges were appointed by the Judicial Service Commission.

The Soulbury constitution had provisions to safeguard the independence of the judiciary.

(Discuss in the class the Judicial Service Commission and other provision that were meant to ensure an independent judiciary).

The 1972 Constitution introduced changes to the judiciary.

The provision that enabled making appeals to the Privy Council in the UK was repealed in 1971 and those appelate powers were given to the Court of Appeal.

It ensured continuity of the term of sitting judges of the Supreme Court and Appeals Court after the 1972 constitution came into force.

The structure of the court system could be altered by the National State Assembly by an Act. The Administration of Justice Law of 1973 did that. A new court system was thus established with the following structure:

- Court of Appeal
- Supreme Court
- High Court
- District Court
- Magistrate Court.

The Administration of Justice Law of 1973 divided Sri Lanka into 16 judicial zones and High Courts were established for each zone.

Each zone was divided into Districts and District Courts were set up accordingly.

Each zone was also divided into Divisions accordingly, Magistrate Courts were established for these Divisions.

The retiring age of Supreme Court judges was made 63.

The Judicial Services Advisory Board and the Judicial Services Disciplinary Board were established (These points should be discussed in the class in detail).

8. 6 Fundamental Rights

Inclusion of a Bill of Rights is a feature of modern liberal constitutions. The 1972 Constitution, although not a liberal constitution, had a chapter on Fundamental rights, for the first time in Sri Lanka.

The fundamental Rights chapter of the 1972 Constitution embodied the following principles:

Equality before the law and equal protection of law

Freedom of life, liberty and security

Freedom of thought

Freedom of conscience and religion

Freedom to enjoy and promote one's own culture

Freedom of speech and expression.

However, there were some serious limitations in the fundamental rights chapter of the 1972 Constitution.

- The rights and freedoms listed in the constitution were subjected to limitations.
- Although fundamental rights and freedoms were recognized in the Constitution, citizen could not seek judicial redress when a right was violated.
- Most of the rights were restricted to Sri Lanka's citizens.
- The scope of rights recognized by the Constitution was narrow.
- Rights and freedoms listed were limited to traditional civil and political rights.

Proposed Learning Activities

Prepare power point presentations showing (a) how the constitutional developments occurred under 1947 and 1972 Constitutions, and (b) what were their main trends. Students can organize their presentations under the following themes:

i. Composition and structure of the constitution and government.
ii. Nature of the Executive and powers
iii. Minority rights
iv. Judiciary and the Public Service
v. Fundamental Rights

References and Recommended Reading

01.   Coomaraswamy, Radhika, (1984), *Sri Lanka: The Crisis of the Anglo- American Constitutional Traditions in a Developing Society*, New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House Ltd.

02.   Cooray, L.J.M, (1984), *Constitutional Government in Sri Lanka*, Colombo: Lake House Investments Ltd.

03.   Goonesekere R.K.W, (1998), 'Change in Constitutional Government', in A.D.V de S Indraratna   (ed.) *Fifty Years of Sri Lanka's Independence : A Socio Economic Review,* Colombo: Sri Lanka Institute of Social and Economic Studies.

04.   Jennings, Ivor, (1948), *The Constitution of Ceylon*, Bombay: Oxford University Press

05.   Wilson, A. Jayaratnam, (1979), *Politics in Sri Lanka,* 1947-1979, London: The Macmillan Press Ltd.

06.   Wilson, A.J, (1958), ' Minority Safeguards in the Ceylon Constitution' *In Ceylon Journal of Historical and Social Studies,* 1:1, 73-95