

## CHAPTER 1- POLITICAL THEORY: AN INTRODUCTION

### INTRODUCTION

Political theory explains the meaning and significance of values such as **freedom, equality and, justice and other related concepts**. It examines the extent to which freedom or equality are actually present in the institutions that we participate in everyday life. At an advanced level, it looks at whether existing definitions are adequate and how existing institutions (government, bureaucracy) and policy practices must be modified to become **more democratic**. The objective of political theory is to **train citizens to think rationally** about political questions and **assess the political events** of our time.

### POLITICS

- Politics is an **important and integral** part of any society.
- Mahatma Gandhi once observed that politics envelops us like the coils of a snake and there is no other way out but to wrestle with it.
- No society can exist without some form of **political organisation and collective decision making**.
  - A society that wants to sustain itself needs to take into account the multiple needs and interests of its members.
  - A number of social institutions such as the family, tribes and economic institutions, have emerged to help people fulfil their needs and aspirations.
- **Governments** also have a significant role. Politics has a major focus on the formation and operation of governments.
  - Governments determine our **economic, foreign, and educational policies** which can either improve or endanger people's lives and security.
  - We take an active role by forming associations, organizing campaigns, and negotiating with others to influence government goals.
- Politics arises from the fact that we have different visions of what is just and desirable for us and our society.
- It involves the multiple negotiations that go on in society through which collective decisions are made.
- People may be said to engage in political activity whenever they negotiate with each other and take part in collective activities which are designed to promote social development and help to resolve common problems.

Values and principles like democracy, freedom, equality etc. have inspired people and guided policies. These are built upon the ideas and principles debated almost since the time of Kautilya, Aristotle to Rousseau, Karl Marx, Mahatma Gandhi and Dr. B.R. Ambedkar.

- **B.C., Plato and Aristotle:** They discussed with their students whether **monarchy or democracy** was better.
- **Rousseau:** He first argued for **freedom as a fundamental right** of humankind.
- **Karl Marx:** He argued that **equality was as crucial as freedom**.
- **Mahatma Gandhi:** He discussed the meaning of genuine **freedom or swaraj** in his book *Hind Swaraj*.
- **Dr. Ambedkar:** He argued that the **scheduled castes** must be considered minorities and as such, must receive special protection.

### SCOPE OF POLITICAL THEORY

- Political theory deals with the ideas and principles that shape constitutions, governments and social life in a systematic manner.

- It clarifies the meaning of concepts such as **freedom, equality, justice, democracy, secularism** and so on.
- It probes the significance of principles such as rule of **law, separation of powers, judicial review**, etc.
- This is done by examining the arguments advanced by different thinkers in defence of these concepts.
  - Though **Rousseau or Marx or Gandhi** did not become politicians, their **ideas influenced generations** of politicians everywhere.
  - There are also contemporary thinkers who draw upon them to defend freedom or democracy in our own time.
  - Besides examining arguments, political theorists also reflect upon our current political experiences and point out trends and possibilities for the future.

### SIGNIFICANCE OF POLITICAL THEORY

- **Issues concerning freedom, equality and democracy:** Issues concerning freedom, equality, democracy, arise in many areas of social life and they are being implemented in different sectors at different paces.
  - Equality may exist in the political sphere in the form of **equal rights**, it may not exist to the same extent in the economic or social spheres.
  - People may enjoy equal political rights but still be discriminated against socially because of their **caste or poverty**.
  - Some are able to achieve whatever goals they set for themselves while many are unable even to go to schools so that they can have decent jobs in the future. For them, freedom is still a distant dream.
- **New interpretations:** Though freedom is guaranteed in our Constitution, we encounter new interpretations all the time.
  - For instance, the **right to life** has been interpreted by the Courts to include the **right to livelihood**.
  - The right to information has been granted through a new law. Societies frequently encounter new challenges which generate new interpretations.
  - The fundamental rights guaranteed by our Constitution have been amended and expanded over time through judicial interpretations and government policies which are designed to address new problems.
- **New dimensions and threats of freedom:**
  - For example, global communications technology is making it easier for activists to network with one another across the world for protecting tribal cultures or forests. But it also enables terrorists and criminals to network.
  - Even though netizens (citizens of the internet) do not like government control, they recognise that some form of regulation is necessary to **safeguard individual security and privacy**.

### POLITICAL THEORY IN PRACTICE

- There are many definitions of equality or freedom or justice provided by our political theorists.
- Our idea of equality is quite complex and the reason we have many definitions is because the meaning of equality is dependent on the context. For example:
  - Equality means equal opportunity for all but sometimes special treatment may be justified.
  - Equality must involve some kind of fairness so that people are not **unduly exploited and disadvantaged by economic factors**.
- Political theorists engage with everyday opinions, debate possible meanings and thrash out policy options in case of equality as well as other concepts.

## RELEVANCE OF POLITICAL THEORY

- **Relevant for all target groups:** Political theory is relevant for –

- All the politicians who practice politics.
- For all bureaucrats who make policies.
- For those who teach political theory.
- For lawyers and judges who interpret the Constitution and laws.
- For activists and journalists who expose exploitation and demand new rights.

All school students may choose one of the above professions in the future and so indirectly it is relevant for them.

- **Basic knowledge of the political ideas:**

- For all the citizens to act responsibly, it is helpful to have a basic knowledge of the political ideas and institutions that shape the world .
- It is crucial that citizens learn to be **reasonable and informed** if they have to participate in gram sabhas or offer views on websites and polls. They have to be thoughtful and mature so they can use new media to discuss and express their common interests.

- **Advantage in global information order:**

Political theory exposes us to systematic thinking on justice or equality so that we can polish our opinions and argue in an informed manner and for the sake of common interests. Such skills of debating rationally and communicating effectively are likely to be great assets in the global informational order.

In ancient Greece, in the city of Athens, **Socrates** was described as the '**wisest man**'. He was known for questioning and challenging popularly held beliefs about society, religion and politics. For this he was condemned to death by the rulers of Athens.

His student Plato wrote extensively about the life and ideas of Socrates. In his book '**The Republic**', he created the character Socrates and through him examined the question – **what is justice?**

## CHAPTER 2: FREEDOM

### INTRODUCTION

In order to be in charge of their own life, express themselves freely, and safeguard their culture and future, individuals seek freedom. While freedom is important, social living necessitates norms and regulations, which sparks discussions about separating required restrictions from other restrictions.

#### The Ideal of Freedom

##### Nelson Mandela:

- Nelson Mandela in his autobiography titled **Long Walk to Freedom** talks about his personal struggle against the-
  - apartheid regime in South Africa,
  - about the resistance of his people to the segregationist policies of the white regime,
  - about the **humiliations, hardships and police brutalities** suffered by the black people of South Africa.
  - These ranged from being bundled into townships and being denied easy movement about the country, to being denied a free choice of **whom to marry**.
- For Mandela and his colleagues it was the struggle against such unjust constraints, the struggle to remove the obstacles to the freedom of all the people of South Africa.
- He spent **twenty-eight years of his life in jail**, often in solitary confinement for this freedom.

##### Aung San Suu Kyi:

- She remained under **house arrest in Myanmar**, separated from her children, unable to visit her husband when he was dying of cancer, because she feared that if she left Myanmar to visit him in England she would not be able to return.
- She saw her freedom as connected to the freedom of her people.

### FREEDOM

- **Absent of constraints:**
  - Freedom is said to exist when external constraints on the individual are absent.
  - An individual could be considered free if he/she is not subject to external controls or coercion and is able **to make independent decisions** and act in an autonomous way.
  - A free society would be one which enables all its members to develop their potential with the **minimum of social constraints**.
- **Ability to express freely:**
  - Freedom is also about expanding the ability of people to **freely express themselves** and develop their potential.
  - Freedom in this sense is the condition in which people can develop their **creativity and capabilities**.
- No individual living in society can hope to enjoy **total absence of any kind of constraints** or restrictions.
  - It becomes necessary then, to determine which social constraints are justified and which are not, which are acceptable and which should be removed.
- To be free, a society must widen the area in which individuals, groups, communities or nations, will be able to charter their own destiny and be what they wish to be.
  - Freedom allows the full development of the individual's **creativity, sensibilities and capabilities**.
  - A free society is one that enables one to **pursue one's interests** with a minimum of constraints.

- It is considered valuable because it allows us to make choices and to exercise our judgement.
- It permits the exercise of the individual's powers of reason and judgement.

### Swaraj

- The term Swaraj incorporates within it two words — **Swa(Self) and Raj (Rule)**.
  - It can be understood to mean both **the rule of the self and rule over self**.
  - Swaraj, in the context of the freedom struggle in India referred to freedom as a constitutional and political demand, and as a value at the social-collective level.
  - Swaraj was such an important rallying cry in the freedom movement inspiring Tilak's famous statement — "**Swaraj is my birth right and I shall have it.**"
- It is the understanding of Swaraj as Rule over the Self that was highlighted by **Mahatma Gandhi** in his work **Hind Swaraj (1909)** where he states, "**It is Swaraj when we learn to rule ourselves**".
  - Swaraj is **not just freedom but liberation** in redeeming one's self-respect, self-responsibility, and capacities for self-realisation from institutions of dehumanisation.
  - Gandhiji believed the development that follows would liberate both individual and collective potentialities guided by the principle of justice.

### SOURCES OF CONSTRAINTS

- **Power of the rulers over the people:** Restrictions on the freedom of individuals may come from domination and external controls.
  - Such restrictions may be imposed **by force** or they may be imposed **by a government** through laws which embody the power of the rulers over the people and which may have the backing of force.
  - This was the form of constraint represented by colonial rulers over their subjects, or by the system of apartheid in South Africa.
  - Some form of government may be inevitable but if the government is a democratic one, the members of a state could retain some control over their rulers.
  - That is why **democratic government is** considered to be an **important** means of protecting the freedom of people.
- **Social Inequality:** Constraints on freedom can also result from social inequality of the kind implicit in **the caste system**, or which result from **extreme economic inequality in a society**.

### NEED OF CONSTRAINTS

- **Reduce chaos in society :** We need some constraints or else society would descend into chaos.
  - There are numerous reasons why disagreements may develop in a society which may express themselves through **open conflict**.
  - Every society needs some mechanisms to **control violence and settle disputes**.
  - As long as we are able to respect each other's views and do not attempt to impose our views on others we may be able to live freely and with minimum constraints.
  - Ideally, in a free society we should be able to hold our views, develop our own rules of living, and pursue our choices.
- **Constraints for creating free society:** A strong commitment to our beliefs requires that we must oppose all those who differ from or reject our views.
  - We see their views or ways of living as unacceptable or even undesirable.
  - Under such circumstances we need **some legal and political restraints** to ensure that differences may be discussed and debated without one group coercively imposing its views on the other.

### Liberalism

- As a political ideology, liberalism has been identified with **tolerance as a value**.

- Liberals have often defended the right of a person to hold and express his/her opinions and beliefs even when they disagree with them.
  - Liberals tend to give priority to **individual liberty** over values like equality.
  - They also tend to be suspicious of political authority.
- **Present day liberalism** acknowledges a role for welfare state and accepts the need for measures to reduce both social and economic inequalities.

### HARM PRINCIPLE

- Harm principle was given by **John Stuart Mill** in his essay “**On Liberty**”.
- He distinguishes between two actions –
  - **Self-Regarding actions:** These are those actions that have consequences only for the **individual actor** and nobody else.
  - **Other Regarding actions:** These are those actions that also have **consequences for others**.
- He argues that with respect to actions or choices that affect only one’s self, self-regarding actions, the state or other external authority has no business to interfere.
- With respect to actions that have consequences for others, actions which may cause harm to them, there is some case for **external interference**.
  - The ‘**harm caused**’ must be ‘**serious**’. Constraining actions by the force of law should only happen when the other regarding actions cause serious harm to definite individuals.
  - For **minor harm**, Mill recommends **only social disapproval** and **not the force of law**.

**In the constitutional discussions in India, the term used for justifiable constraints is ‘reasonable restrictions’.**

- The restrictions may be there but they must be reasonable, i.e.,
    - **capable of being defended by reason**
    - **not excessive**
    - **not out of proportion to the action being restricted**
- since then it would impinge on the general condition of freedom in society.

### NEGATIVE AND POSITIVE LIBERTY

#### NEGATIVE LIBERTY

- This seeks to define and defend **minimum area** in which the **individual would be inviolable**, in which he or she could do or become whatever he or she wished to be.
- This is an area in which no external authority can interfere.
- The existence of the ‘**minimum area or non-interference**’ is the recognition that human nature and human dignity need an area where the person can act **unobstructed** by others.

#### POSITIVE LIBERTY

- Positive liberty are concerned with explaining the idea of ‘**freedom to**’.
- It is concerned with looking at the conditions and nature of the relationship between the individual and society and of improving these conditions such that there are fewer constraints to the development of the individual personality.
  - The individual to develop his or her capability must get the benefit of enabling positive conditions in **material, political and social domains**.
  - They must also have the opportunity to participate in the decision making process so that the laws made reflect their choices, or at least take those preferences into account.

**Positive liberty recognises that one can be free only in society (not outside it) and hence tries to make that society such that it enables the development of the individual whereas negative liberty is only concerned with the inviolable area of non-interference and not with the conditions in society, outside this area, as such.**



## FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION

- Freedom of expression is a fundamental value and for that society must be willing to **bear some inconvenience** to **protect it** from people who want to **restrict it**.
- **John Stuart Mill** in his book “**On Liberty**” offered **four reasons** why there should be freedom of expression even for those who adopt ideas that appear ‘**false**’ or **misleading today**.
- **No idea is completely false**: What appears to us as false has an element of truth. If we ban ‘false’ ideas, we would lose that element of truth that they contain.
- **Truth does not emerge by itself**: It is only through a conflict of opposing views that truth emerges. Ideas that seem wrong today may have been very valuable in the emergence of what we consider right kind of ideas.
- **Conflict of ideas** : This is valuable not just in the past but is of continuing value for all times.
  - Truth always runs the risk of being reduced to an unthinking cliché. It is only when we expose it to opposing views that we can be sure that this idea is trustworthy.
- **Uncertainty of truth**: We cannot be sure that what we consider true is actually true.
  - Very often ideas that were considered false at one point by the entire society and, therefore, suppressed turned out to be true later on.
  - A society that completely suppresses all ideas that are not acceptable today, runs the danger of losing the benefits of what might turn out to be very valuable knowledge.

### Views on Banning

- It is harmful for the long-term prospects of freedom in a society because once one begins to ban then one develops a **habit of banning**.
- When constraints are backed by organised social, religious or cultural authority or by the might of the state, they **restrict our freedom** in ways that are difficult to fight against.
- However, if we willingly, or for the sake of pursuing our goals or ambitions, **accept certain restrictions**, our freedom is not similarly limited.
- Freedom embodies our capacity and our ability to make choices. And when we make choices, we have also to accept **responsibility for our actions and their consequences**.

- “**Ramayana Retold**” was written by **Aubrey Menon**.
- “**Satanic Verses**” novel written by **Salman Rushdie**.
- “**Freedom from Fear**” is the book written by **Aung San Suu Kyi**.
- “**Long Walk**” to Freedom is the autobiography of **Nelson Mandela**.
- “**Hind Swaraj**” is a book written by **Mahatma Gandhi**.

## QUESTIONS

1. Consider the following statements:

1. Nelson Mandela's autobiography, ‘Brave New World’, narrates his personal struggle against the apartheid regime in South Africa.
2. Aung San Suu Kyi, inspired by Nelson Mandela, wrote a book titled ‘Long Walk to Freedom’ while under house arrest in Myanmar.

Which of the statements given above is/are correct?

- a. 1 only
- b. 2 only
- c. Both 1 and 2
- d. Neither 1 nor 2

**Answer: D**

**Explanation:**

- **Statement 1 is incorrect**: Nelson Mandela's autobiography, titled ‘Long Walk to Freedom,’ indeed narrates his personal struggle against the apartheid regime in South

**Africa.** In the book, Mandela discusses the resistance of his people to the **segregationist policies** of the white regime, as well as the hardships and police brutalities suffered by black people in South Africa.

- **Statement 2 is incorrect: Aung San Suu Kyi, who was under house arrest in Myanmar, drew inspiration from Gandhi's thoughts on non-violence. During her time in confinement, she wrote a book of essays titled 'Freedom from Fear'. This book reflects her perspective on the importance of living a dignified human life, free from fear and oppression. 'Brave New World' is actually a dystopian novel written by Aldous Huxley, and it is unrelated to Aung San Suu Kyi.**

**Source:** Class 11<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Political Theory/ Chapter 2/ Freedom

2. Which one of the following statements best describes the concept of freedom?

- Freedom is solely defined by the absence of external constraints or coercion on an individual, enabling them to make independent decisions and act autonomously.
- Freedom is a subjective term with no specific definition, varying from person to person and society to society.
- Freedom encompasses the absence of external constraints as well as the conditions that allow individuals to freely express themselves and develop their potential.
- Freedom is the ability to achieve total absence of any kind of constraints or restrictions, allowing individuals to live without any limitations.

**Answer: C**

**Explanation:**

- **Option (c) is correct: Freedom is not solely defined by the absence of external constraints or coercion on an individual. While the absence of constraints is one aspect of freedom, it is not the only dimension. Freedom also involves the ability of individuals to freely express themselves, develop their creativity and capabilities, and make choices autonomously.** It recognizes that no individual can hope to enjoy total absence of any kind of constraints or restrictions, but a free society should strive to minimize unnecessary social constraints and provide opportunities for individuals to pursue their interests and develop their talents.

**Source:** Class 11<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Political Theory/ Chapter 2/ Freedom

3. Consider the following statements about the concept of Swaraj:

1. Swaraj refers to freedom from all restraint which 'independence' often means.
2. Subhash Chandra Bose emphasized the importance of ruling oneself in his work Hind Swaraj.
3. Swaraj only signifies political freedom and does not involve personal liberation.

How many of the statements given above is/are correct?

- Only one
- Only two
- All three
- None

**Answer: D**

**Explanation:**

- **Statement 1 is incorrect: The word Swaraj is a sacred word, a Vedic word, meaning self-rule and self-restraint, and not freedom from all restraint which 'independence' often means.**



- **Statement 2 is incorrect: In his work titled Hind Swaraj, Mahatma Gandhi emphasized the significance of self-rule and self-governance.** He stated that Swaraj is achieved when individuals learn to rule themselves, focusing on inner transformation and self-discipline. Gandhi believed that true freedom begins with self-control and self-realization.
- **Statement 3 is incorrect: Swaraj encompasses not only political freedom but also personal liberation and self-realization.** It goes beyond mere political independence and extends to the emancipation of individuals from institutions that dehumanize and restrict their self-respect, self-responsibility, and capacity for self-realization.

**Source:** Class 11<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Political Theory/ Chapter 2/ Freedom

4. Which of the following sources can lead to constraints on the freedom of individuals?

1. Social inequality
2. Extreme economic inequality
3. Domination
4. Government-imposed restrictions through laws

Select the correct answer using the code given below:

- a. 1, 2 and 3 only
- b. 2, 3, and 4 only
- c. 1, 3 and 4 only
- d. 1, 2, 3 and 4 only

**Answer: D**

**Explanation:**

- **Statement 1 is correct: Social inequality can lead to constraints on the freedom of individuals.** In systems like the caste system, individuals are categorized into rigid social classes based on birth, and their opportunities and freedoms are significantly limited based on their caste.
- **Statement 2 is correct: Extreme economic inequality can also result in constraints on the freedom of individuals.** When there is a significant gap between the wealthy and the impoverished, those with limited economic resources often face barriers to accessing education, healthcare, and opportunities for social and economic advancement.
- **Statement 3 is correct: Domination and external control, whether imposed by individuals or institutions, can impose constraints on individual freedom.** When individuals are subjected to external control, their freedoms and rights may be suppressed, leading to constraints on their autonomy and self-determination.
- **Statement 4 is correct: Governments can also impose constraints on individual freedom through laws and regulations.** While laws serve as essential mechanisms for maintaining order and protecting societal well-being, they can also be used to curtail individual liberties if misused or abused.

**Source:** Class 11<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Political Theory/ Chapter 2/ Freedom

5. According to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, what is the meaning of freedom, and what does it encompass?

- a. Freedom implies equal opportunities for all individuals regardless of their social class or background.
- b. Freedom is primarily concerned with political liberation only.
- c. Freedom is restricted to the emancipation of women from societal restrictions.
- d. Freedom is the elimination of economic disparities among the rich and poor.

**Answer: A**

**Explanation:**

- **Option (a) is correct:** Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose believes that freedom should encompass equal opportunities for everyone, regardless of their social class or background. It implies the removal of barriers and restrictions that hinder the progress and development of individuals and classes.
- **Option (b) is incorrect:** While political liberation is an essential aspect of freedom, it is not the sole focus according to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. He mentions that freedom goes beyond political bondage and includes other dimensions as well.
- **Option (c) is incorrect:** Freedom is not solely concerned with the emancipation of women. Instead, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose emphasizes freedom for both men and women, suggesting a more inclusive perspective.
- **Option (d) is incorrect:** Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose mentions the equal distribution of wealth as part of his concept of freedom. This implies that he recognizes the need for eliminating economic disparities between different sections of society.

**Source:** Class 11<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Political Theory/ Chapter 2/ Freedom

6. Which one of the following statements accurately reflects the concept of constraints in society?
- Constraints are primarily imposed to restrict personal freedoms and suppress individuality.
  - A free society can exist without any constraints or regulations as long as individuals respect each other's views.
  - Constraints are only justified when they protect individuals from physical harm or coercion.
  - Constraints are necessary to maintain order and prevent chaos in society, as differences and conflicts can arise among individuals.

**Answer: D**

**Explanation:**

- **Option (d) is correct:** Constraints are needed in society because disagreements and conflicts can emerge due to differences in ideas, opinions, ambitions, and competition for resources. These conflicts can lead to violence and loss of life. **Therefore, society requires mechanisms to control violence, settle disputes, and prevent chaos. Constraints play a crucial role in maintaining order and preventing society from descending into chaos.**

**Source:** Class 11<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Political Theory/ Chapter 2/ Freedom

7. Which one of the following statements best describes modern liberalism?
- Modern liberalism mainly emphasizes the importance of family, society, and community as valuable entities.
  - Modern liberalism recognizes the need for a welfare state and measures to reduce social and economic inequalities.
  - Modern liberalism asserts that government has no obligation to protect liberty
  - Modern liberalism advocates for a minimal role of the state and a completely free market.

**Answer: B**

**Explanation:**

- **Option (b) is correct:** Modern liberalism does recognize the need for a welfare state and supports measures to reduce social and economic inequalities. Liberals believe that the government has a role in ensuring basic social and economic rights, providing a safety net for those in need, and promoting equal opportunities for all individuals. This may involve policies such as progressive taxation, social welfare programs, and regulations to protect vulnerable populations.

**Source:** Class 11<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Political Theory/ Chapter 2/ Freedom

8. According to John Stuart Mill's 'harm principle,' which of the following statements is true?

- a. The state has the authority to interfere with an individual's liberty of action to prevent harm to themselves.
- b. External authorities have the right to intervene in both self-regarding and other-regarding actions.
- c. Social disapproval is the appropriate response for actions that cause serious harm to others.
- d. Imposing reasonable restrictions on actions that cause serious harm is necessary to protect freedom in society.

**Answer: D**

**Explanation:**

- **Option (d) is correct:** Mill argues that individuals or external authorities are justified in interfering with an individual's liberty of action only when it is necessary to prevent harm to others. This means that self-regarding actions, which only affect the individual and not others, should not be interfered with. However, actions that have consequences for others and cause harm to them can be subject to external interference. Mill also emphasizes that the harm caused must be 'serious' in order for external constraints to be imposed. For minor harm, he recommends social disapproval rather than legal punishment. Only when other-regarding actions cause serious harm to specific individuals should reasonable restrictions be imposed by the state, ensuring that the constraints are not excessively severe and do not undermine overall freedom in society.

**Source:** Class 11<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Political Theory/ Chapter 2/ Freedom

9. Consider the following statements about the negative and positive liberty:

1. Negative liberty refers to the absence of external constraints and the existence of an inviolable area in which individuals can act unobstructed.
2. Negative liberty is concerned with the conditions and nature of the relationship between the individual and society.
3. Positive liberty emphasizes the need for access to education for the development of individual capabilities.

How many of the statements given above is/are correct?

- a. Only one
- b. Only two
- c. All three
- d. None

**Answer: B**

**Explanation:**

- **Statement 1 is correct:** Negative liberty refers to the absence of external constraints and the existence of an inviolable area in which individuals can act unobstructed. It emphasizes the idea of 'freedom from' external interference, where individuals have a minimum area of non-interference that is considered sacred and should not be violated by external authorities.
- **Statement 2 is incorrect:** Negative liberty is not primarily concerned with the conditions and nature of the relationship between the individual and society. Instead, it focuses on the inviolable area of non-interference and protecting individuals from external authority.
- **Statement 3 is correct:** Positive liberty emphasizes the need for material resources, political participation, and access to education for the development of individual

**capabilities.** It recognizes that individuals can only be truly free within society and aims to create conditions that enable individuals to develop their potential fully.

**Source:** Class 11<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Political Theory/ Chapter 2/ Freedom

10. Which of the following statements best reflects John Stuart Mill's defense of freedom of expression, as outlined in his book *On Liberty*?
- John Stuart Mill argued that all ideas, regardless of their truth value, should be allowed to be expressed with moral and legal restrictions.
  - John Stuart Mill believed that false ideas should be banned to avoid confusion and promote the acceptance of true ideas.
  - John Stuart Mill emphasized that truth can only emerge through the clash of opposing views and that ideas considered wrong today may have contributed to the development of correct ideas.
  - John Stuart Mill advocated for suppressing all ideas that are not widely accepted by society to ensure the preservation of true knowledge.

**Answer: C**

**Explanation:**

- Option (c) is correct: John Stuart Mill emphasized that truth can only emerge through the clash of opposing views and that ideas considered wrong today may have contributed to the development of correct ideas.** In his book, Mill argues that even ideas that may be considered false or misleading today should be allowed to be expressed because they may contain elements of truth. He believes that the clash of opposing views is essential for the emergence of truth and that ideas considered wrong at one point may have played a crucial role in the development of correct ideas. Mill's argument highlights the value of freedom of expression and the dangers of suppressing ideas based on their current acceptance by society.

**Source:** Class 11<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Political Theory/ Chapter 2/ Freedom

## CHAPTER 3: EQUALITY

### INTRODUCTION

The concept of equality is a core value in our Constitution. It explores the meaning and importance of equality as a moral and political ideal. The pursuit of equality does not necessarily mean treating everyone the same in all circumstances. To achieve equality and reduce inequality, different approaches are needed in various spheres of life.

### IMPORTANCE OF EQUALITY

- Equality is a **powerful moral and political ideal** that has inspired and guided human society for many centuries.
- As a political ideal the concept of equality invokes the idea that all human beings have an equal worth regardless of their **colour, gender, race, or nationality**.
- Even though it is a widely accepted ideal which is embodied in the constitutions and laws of many countries, yet, it is **inequality** which is most visible around us in the world as well as within our own society. **For example-**
  - We can see slums existing side by side with luxury housing.
  - Schools with world class facilities and airconditioned classrooms along with schools which may lack even drinking water facilities or toilets.
  - Waste of food as well as starvation.

### HISTORY OF EQUALITY

- In the eighteenth century, the French revolutionaries used the slogan '**Liberty, Equality and Fraternity**' to revolt against the landed feudal aristocracy and the monarchy.
- The demand for equality was also raised during **anti-colonial liberation struggles in Asia and Africa during the twentieth century**.
- It continues to be raised by struggling groups such as women or dalits who feel marginalised in our society.

### MEANING OF EQUALITY

- Distinctions between human beings on grounds of race and colour seems unacceptable. This violates our intuitive understanding of equality which tells us that all human beings should be entitled to the same respect and consideration because of their common humanity.
  - However, treating people with equal respect need **not mean** always **treating them in an identical way**.
  - The smooth functioning of society requires division of work and functions and people often enjoy different status and rewards on account of it.
- The commitment to the ideal of equality does not imply the elimination of all forms of differences. It merely suggests that the treatment we receive and the opportunities we enjoy **must not be pre-determined by birth or social circumstance**.

### EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITIES

- All people, as human beings, are entitled to the same rights and opportunities to develop their **skills and talents, and to pursue their goals and ambitions**.
  - This means that in a society people may differ with regard to their choices and preferences.
  - They may also have different talents and skills which results in some being more successful in their chosen careers than others.

- It is not the lack of equality of status or wealth or privilege that is significant but the inequalities in people's access to such basic goods, such as education, **health care, safe housing, that make for an unequal and unjust society.**

### NATURAL AND SOCIAL INEQUALITIES

Natural Inequalities	Social Inequalities
These are those that emerge between people as a result of their <b>different capabilities and talents.</b>	These are those that emerge as a consequence of <b>inequalities of opportunity or the exploitation</b> of some groups in a society by others.
These are the result of the different characteristics and abilities with which <b>people are born.</b>	These are <b>created by society.</b>

- The distinction between acceptable and unfair inequalities is **not always clear** or **self-evident in society.**
- Inequalities that have existed for a long time may seem justifiable if they are based on natural factors, such as inherent characteristics that people are born with and cannot easily change.
- But some differences which could be considered natural need no longer be **seen as unalterable.**
  - For example- advances in medical science and technologies have helped many disabled people to function effectively in society.
- Given these complexities, it would be difficult to use the natural/ socially-produced distinction as a standard by which the laws and policies of a society can be assessed.
  - For this reason many theorists today differentiate between **inequality arising from our choices and inequalities operating on account of family or circumstance in which a person is born.**

### THREE DIMENSIONS OF EQUALITY

#### POLITICAL EQUALITY

- Political equality normally include **granting equal citizenship** to all the members of the state.
  - Equal citizenship include basic rights such as the **right to vote, freedom of expression, movement and association and freedom of belief.**
  - These are legal rights, guaranteed by the constitution and laws.
- Inequality can exist even in countries which grant equal rights to all citizens which are often the result of differences in the resources and opportunities which are available to citizens in the social and economic spheres.
- It is necessary to **remove any legal hurdles** which might exclude people from a voice in government and deny them access to available social goods.

#### SOCIAL EQUALITY

- The pursuit of equality requires that people belonging to different groups and communities have a **fair and equal** chance to compete for goods and opportunities.
- It's important to lessen the effects of social and economic inequality and to ensure that everyone in society has access to a set of basic necessities.
- In India, a special problem regarding equal opportunities comes **not just from lack of facilities but from some of the customs** which may prevail in different parts of the country, or among different groups.
- For instance, states should make policies to **prevent discrimination or harassment of women** in public places or employment, to provide incentives to open up education or certain professions to women.



- Social groups and individuals also have a role to play in raising awareness and supporting those who want to exercise their rights

### ECONOMIC EQUALITY

- Economic inequality in a society is characterized by significant differences in **wealth, property, or income between individuals or social classes**.
- Measuring the degree of economic inequality can be done by comparing the-
  - **relative gaps between the richest and poorest groups.**
  - **estimating the number of people living below the poverty line.**
- With equal opportunities, inequalities may continue to exist between individuals but there is the possibility of improving one's position in society with sufficient effort.

### IMPACT OF INEQUALITIES ON SOCIETY

- Inequalities which remain relatively untouched over generations, are more **dangerous for a society**.
- The contrast between the wealthy classes and the persistently poor can lead to **resentment and potentially even violence**.
- Efforts to change society in the direction of more equality and openness may be hampered by the influence and strength of the rich classes.

#### Feminism

- **Definition:** Feminism is a political doctrine advocating **equal rights for both women and men**. Feminists believe that societal gender inequalities can be changed to enable free and equal lives for all.
- **Patriarchy:** It refers to a social, economic and cultural system that **values men more than women** and gives men power over women.
  - It is based on the assumption that men and women are different by nature and that this difference justifies their unequal positions in society.
- **Division of labour:** Patriarchy produces a division of labour by which women are supposed to be responsible for **"private" and "domestic"** matters while men are responsible for work in the **"public" domain**.
  - Feminists question this distinction by pointing out that in fact most women are also active in the "public" domain.
- **Pursuit of Gender Equality:** Feminists fight for the elimination of all **inequalities between men and women in both the public and private spheres**.
  - They desire to provide women more power and decision-making capacity throughout all spheres of life.

### MARXISM AND LIBERALISM

#### MARXISM

- **Marx's analysis:** He argued that the root cause of entrenched inequality was private ownership of important economic resources.
- **Influence on State Policies:** Economic power allows the owners to influence state policies and laws, posing a threat to democratic governance.
- **Root of Social Inequality:** Marxists argue that economic inequality supports other forms of social inequality, such as rank and privilege.
- **Solution:** To tackle inequality in society we need to go beyond providing equal opportunities and try and ensure public control over essential resources and forms of property.

#### LIBERALISM

- **Principles:** Liberals uphold the principle of competition as the most efficient and fair way of distributing resources and rewards in society.

- **State Intervention:** Liberals acknowledge the need for some state intervention to ensure minimum standards and equal opportunities.
- **Fair Selection Process:** Competition, when open and free, is considered the fairest method for selecting candidates for jobs or education.
- **Different Strategies for Inequalities:** Liberals support specialized approaches to solve political, economic, and social inequality because they do not view these issues as being inseparable.
- **Main problem:** Liberals' main concern is with unjust and pervasive injustices that prevent people from reaching their full potential.

### SOCIALISM

- **Meaning:** Socialism is a term used to describe a collection of political ideologies that developed in response to the injustices perpetuated by the industrial capitalist economy.
- **Main concern:** The main concern of Socialism is how to minimise existing inequality and distribute resources justly.
  - Socialists want some form of government regulation, planning, and control over certain important areas like education and healthcare, even though they are not completely against the market.
- **Five kind of inequalities:** Rammanohar Lohia, identified five kinds of inequalities that need to be fought against simultaneously:
  - **Inequality between man and woman**
  - **Inequality based on skin colour**
  - **Caste-based inequality**
  - **Colonial rule of some countries over others and,**
  - **Economic inequality**
- In his eyes, the fight against **these five injustices amounted to five revolutions**. He increased this list of revolutions by two more-
  - **Revolution for civil liberties against unjust encroachments on private life**
  - **Revolution for non-violence, for renunciation of weapons in favour of Satyagraha.**

These were the **seven revolutions or Sapta Kranti** which for Lohia was the ideal of socialism.

### WAYS TO PROMOTE EQUALITY

#### ESTABLISHING FORMAL EQUALITY

- **Historical Inequalities:** Customs and legal frameworks that restrict particular segments of society, particular opportunities and rewards have supported social, economic, and political inequality.
- **Restrictions:** Poor people were denied voting rights in many countries, women faced restrictions in professions and activities, the caste system in India limited opportunities for lower castes, and high positions were reserved for specific families.
- **The Role of Government and Law:** Achieving equality requires ending these restrictions and privileges. Governments and laws should no longer protect systems of inequality.
- **Role of constitution:** The Constitution plays a vital role in ensuring equality. It prohibits discrimination based on religion, race, caste, sex, or place of birth. It also abolished the practice of untouchability.
- **Equality in Modern Constitutions:** Most modern constitutions and democratic governments uphold the principle of equality, treating all citizens equally under the law, irrespective of caste, race, religion, or gender.

#### EQUALITY THROUGH DIFFERENTIAL TREATMENT

- Formal equality or equality before the law is important but it may not be enough to achieve true principle of equality.
  - In some cases, **treating people differently is necessary** to ensure they have equal rights and opportunities.

- It is essential to recognize the differences that hinder access to equal opportunities.
- **Affirmative action to enhance equality:** Some countries adopt policies of affirmative action to enhance equality of opportunity.
  - India has implemented **reservation policies as a form of affirmative action.**
  - The idea of affirmative action seeks to eliminate specific obstacles to equality of opportunity and advance inclusivity.

### AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

- **Beyond Formal Equality:** Affirmative action recognizes that formal equality by law may not be enough to eliminate deeply rooted social inequalities.
- **Past Inequalities:** It aims to minimize and eliminate entrenched forms of social inequalities, often focusing on addressing the cumulative impact of historical injustices.
- **Forms of Affirmative Action:** It can take various forms, such as preferential spending on facilities, scholarships, special admissions, or reserved seats in education and jobs.
- **Debates:** In countries like India, the policy of quotas or reserved seats has sparked considerable debate and disagreement.
- It is justified by the **historical discrimination and exclusion** experienced by certain communities, making it difficult for them to compete on equal terms immediately.
- **Temporary Measure:** Affirmative action is intended to be a time-bound measure, assisting disadvantaged groups until they can compete on an equal footing.
- **Criticism:** Some theorists argue against affirmative action, questioning whether treating people differently can genuinely lead to greater equality.

### CRITICS OF POSITIVE DISCRIMINATION

- **Principle of Equality:** Critics argue that affirmative action policies like reservations go against the principle of equality.
- **Unfairness and Reverse Discrimination:** They see reservations as unfair because it denies equal treatment to other sections of society.
- **Reinforcement of Prejudices:** Making distinctions based on caste or color can perpetuate caste and racial prejudices.
- **Focus on Eliminating Social Distinctions:** Critics believe that the goal should be to eliminate social distinctions that divide society.

### MOTIVES FOR POSITIVE DISCRIMINATION

#### Equality as a Guiding Principle vs. Equal Rights of Individuals

- Equality as a guiding principle of state policy should not be confused with the equal rights of individuals.
  - Individuals have the right to equal consideration for education and public sector employment, but competition should be fair.
  - People from deprived backgrounds may face disadvantages while competing for limited seats or jobs.

#### Addressing Disadvantages and Special Help

- First-generation learners and members of excluded groups (e.g., dalits, women) deserve **special help to compete on an equal footing.**
- Social policies should strive to provide equal opportunities and fair chances for individuals.

#### Debate on Social Policies

- The debate revolves around how to achieve equal opportunities and whether to reserve seats or provide special facilities.
- Identifying the deprived can be based on **economic or social inequalities arising from the caste system.**

#### Promoting Equality

- Differential treatment may be necessary to realize the goal of equality but requires careful justification and reflection.
- Liberals are cautious of deviations from **identical treatment**, considering historical practices like the caste system and apartheid.

#### Caution in Differential Treatment

- While considering differential treatment, it is crucial to assess whether it is necessary for a particular group to enjoy the same rights as others.
- Differential treatment should be justified as a means to **promote a society that is fair and just**.
- It's important to take precautions to prevent the establishment of new systems of domination and oppression as well as the reemergence of dominant groups' **unique rights and power in society**.

#### QUESTIONS

1. Which of the following statements best reflects the significance of equality?

- a. Equality is a religious concept that promotes the belief in a shared humanity among all individuals.
- b. The demand for equality has been a driving force in various historical struggles against social and institutional inequalities.
- c. Equality is an unattainable ideal that contradicts the natural differences in talent and ability among human beings.
- d. Inequality is a permanent and inevitable feature of social life and should be accepted as such.

**Answer: B**

**Explanation:**

- **Option (b) is correct: The statement that demand for equality has been a driving force in various historical struggles against social and institutional inequalities highlights the historical importance of the demand for equality in challenging and fighting against social and institutional inequalities.** It recognizes that equality has been a motivating factor in movements such as the French Revolution, anti-colonial liberation struggles, and ongoing struggles for the rights of marginalized groups like women and dalits. By emphasizing the role of equality as a driving force for change, this statement underscores the moral and political significance of striving for a society where all individuals are treated with equal consideration and respect, regardless of their characteristics or backgrounds. It acknowledges that equality is not just an abstract concept but a powerful ideal that has inspired and guided human societies for centuries.

**Source:** Class 11<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Political Theory/ Chapter 3/ Equality

2. Which of the following statements reflects the concept of equality?

1. Differentiated treatment based on an individual's occupation or role can be considered acceptable under the notion of equality.
2. Pursuing different ambitions does not undermine the principle of equality, as long as individuals have the opportunity to develop their potential.
3. The ideal of equality requires the complete elimination of all forms of differences in society.

Select the correct answer using the code given below:

- a. 1 and 2 only
- b. 2 and 3 only
- c. 1 and 3 only
- d. 1, 2 and 3

**Answer: A**

**Explanation:**

- **Statement 1 is correct: Differentiated treatment based on occupation or role can be acceptable** as long as it does not violate the principle of equality.
- **Statement 2 is correct: Pursuing different ambitions and goals does not undermine equality as long as individuals have the opportunity to develop their potential.** Equality does not imply eliminating all differences but ensuring equal opportunities.
- **Statement 3 is incorrect: The ideal of equality does not require the complete elimination of all forms of differences in society.** It acknowledges that differences may exist in society, but the treatment and opportunities individuals receive should not be predetermined by birth or social circumstance.

**Source:** Class 11<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Political Theory/ Chapter 3/ Equality

3. Which one of the following statements best captures the essence of equality of opportunities in a just society?
- a. Equality of opportunities implies that everyone should have the same skills and talents to pursue their goals and ambitions.
  - b. In a just society, people should have equal status, wealth, and privilege regardless of their choices and preferences.
  - c. Equality of opportunities means that individuals should have equal access to basic goods such as education, healthcare, and safe housing.
  - d. In an equal society, success in chosen careers should be evenly distributed among all individuals.

**Answer: C**

**Explanation:**

- **Option (c) is correct: The statement emphasizes that equality of opportunities is about ensuring that all individuals have equal access to essential resources and services that enable them to develop their skills, pursue their goals, and live fulfilling lives.** It recognizes that people have different skills, talents, and career choices, but the focus is on addressing the inequalities in access to fundamental goods, rather than attempting to make everyone identical in their abilities or outcomes. This concept acknowledges that disparities in status, wealth, or privilege are not inherently problematic, but it is the lack of equal access to basic goods that leads to an unequal and unjust society.

**Source:** Class 11<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Political Theory/ Chapter 3/ Equality

4. Which of the following statements about political equality are correct?
- 1. Political equality guarantees equal resources and opportunities to all citizens.
  - 2. Political equality ensures equal citizenship and basic rights.
  - 3. Political equality is solely based on legal rights and the constitution.
  - 4. Political equality alone can establish a just and egalitarian society.

Select the correct answer using the code given below:

- a. 2 only
- b. 1 and 3 only
- c. 2, 3 and 4 only

d. 1, 2, 3 and 4

**Answer: A**

**Explanation:**

- **Statement 1 is incorrect: Political equality refers to equal citizenship and basic rights, such as the right to vote, freedom of expression, movement, association, and belief. It does not guarantee equal resources and opportunities in the social and economic spheres.**
- **Statement 2 is correct: Political equality involves granting equal citizenship to all members of the state.** This includes ensuring that all citizens have the same basic rights, such as the right to vote, freedom of expression, movement, association, and belief.
- **Statement 3 is incorrect: Legal rights are a fundamental aspect of political equality, but they are not the only consideration.** Political equality also involves equal access to opportunities, resources, and the ability to participate in the political process.
- **Statement 4 is incorrect: While political equality is an important component of a just and egalitarian society, it is not sufficient on its own to achieve this goal.** Considerable inequality can exist even in countries that grant equal rights to all citizens. **Social and economic inequalities, as well as other factors such as cultural and systemic barriers, need to be addressed to establish a truly just and egalitarian society.**

**Source:** Class 11<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Political Theory/ Chapter 3/ Equality

5. Which of the following statements align with liberal theories on economic equality?

1. Liberals believe that competition is the most efficient and fair way of distributing resources and rewards in society.
2. Liberals argue that economic inequality is the root cause of social inequality.
3. Liberals advocate for public control over essential resources and forms of property to tackle inequality.
4. For liberals the principle of competition is the most just and efficient way of selecting candidates for jobs or admission to educational institutions.

Select the correct answer using the code given below:

- a. 1 and 4 only
- b. 2 and 3 only
- c. 1 and 3 only
- d. 3 and 4 only

**Answer: A**

**Explanation:**

- **Statement 1 is correct: Liberals uphold the principle of competition as the most just and efficient way to distribute rewards in society.** They believe that in free and fair conditions, competition allows individuals to receive due rewards for their talents and efforts.
- **Statement 2 is incorrect: Liberals do not necessarily view economic inequality as the root cause of social inequality.** They believe that inequalities in different spheres, such as political, economic, and social, should be tackled appropriately, and each sphere may require different strategies to address inequalities.
- **Statement 3 is incorrect: Liberals generally do not advocate for public control over essential resources and forms of property as a means to tackle inequality.** They prioritize the principle of competition and believe that as long as competition is open and free, inequalities are unlikely to become entrenched.
- **Statement 4 is correct:** For liberals the principle of competition is the most just and efficient way of selecting candidates for jobs or admission to educational institutions.



**Source:** Class 11<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Political Theory/ Chapter 3/ Equality

6. Consider the following statements:

1. Feminism is a political doctrine of equal rights for women and men.
2. Patriarchy is based on the assumption that men and women are different by nature and that this difference justifies their unequal positions in society.

Which of the statements given above is/are correct?

- a. 1 only
- b. 2 only
- c. Both 1 and 2
- d. Neither 1 nor 2

**Answer: C**

**Explanation:**

- **Both statements are correct: Feminism is a political doctrine of equal rights for women and men. Feminists are those men and women who believe that many of the inequalities we see in society between men and women are neither natural nor necessary and can be altered so that both women and men can lead free and equal lives.**
- Feminists argue that patriarchy is a social, economic, and cultural system that values men more than women and gives men power over women. **It is based on the assumption that men and women are different by nature, and this difference justifies their unequal positions in society.** This includes the division of labor, where women are expected to take care of private and domestic matters while men are responsible for work in the public domain. Feminists challenge this division and argue for equality and the elimination of gender inequalities.

**Source:** Class 11<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Political Theory/ Chapter 3/ Equality

7. Who among the following argued that the struggle against various forms of inequality constitutes multiple revolutions within the framework of socialism?

- a. Karl Marx
- b. Friedrich Engels
- c. Ram Manohar Lohia
- d. Vladimir Lenin

**Answer: C**

**Explanation:**

- **Option (c) is correct: The person who argued that the struggle against various forms of inequality constitutes multiple revolutions within the framework of socialism is Ram Manohar Lohia.** Lohia, an Indian politician and socialist thinker, believed that different forms of inequality, such as economic, social, gender, caste, and racial inequalities, had independent roots and needed to be fought separately and simultaneously. He proposed that each of these inequalities represented a separate revolution within the overall framework of socialism. Lohia's perspective was different from the views of Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, and Vladimir Lenin, who focused primarily on class inequality and the economic aspects of socialism.

**Source:** Class 11<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Political Theory/ Chapter 3/ Equality

8. Which one of the following statements is correct about the attainment of equality?
- Equality can only be achieved by implementing stricter legal systems.
  - The government and the law of the land should no longer protect systems of inequality.
  - Equality can only be achieved by providing privileges to certain sections of society.
  - The Constitution allows discrimination on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex, or place of birth.

**Answer: B**

**Explanation:**

- Option (b) is correct: The first step towards bringing about equality is to end the formal system of inequality and privileges.** This means that the government and the law of the land should stop protecting these systems of inequality. Equality requires that all restrictions or privileges should be brought to an end, and the Constitution plays a role in prohibiting discrimination on various grounds such as religion, race, caste, sex, or place of birth. Therefore, it is evident that the government and the law should no longer protect systems of inequality in order to achieve equality.

**Source:** Class 11<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Political Theory/ Chapter 3/ Equality

9. Which one of the following statements is consistent with the concept of 'equality through differential treatment'?
- Treating all individuals the same, regardless of their circumstances, ensures equality.
  - Special provisions such as ramps for disabled individuals enhance equality.
  - Women working at night do not require any additional protection.
  - Policies of affirmative action are unnecessary and hinder equality of opportunity.

**Answer: B**

**Explanation:**

- Option (b) is correct:** The statement acknowledges that in order to ensure equal rights and opportunities, it may be necessary to treat people differently based on their circumstances. **Providing special provisions such as ramps for disabled individuals acknowledges and addresses the specific needs and challenges they face, allowing them an equal chance to access public spaces.** This differential treatment is aimed at enhancing equality by removing barriers and promoting inclusivity.

**Source:** Class 11<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Political Theory/ Chapter 3/ Equality

10. Which of the following statements accurately represents the concept of affirmative action and its implementation?
- Affirmative action is a measure to minimize and eliminate entrenched social inequalities caused by past discrimination.
  - Policies of affirmative action can take various forms, such as preferential spending, scholarships, and reserved seats.
  - Affirmative action is a permanent solution to social inequalities and should not be time-bound.
  - Critics argue that affirmative action policies, particularly reservations, violate the principle of equality and perpetuate discrimination.
  - Special assistance through affirmative action is crucial to help deprived groups overcome existing disadvantages and compete on equal terms.

Which of the statements given above are correct?

- a. 1, 2, 3 and 4 only
- b. 3 only
- c. 1, 2, 4 and 5 only
- d. 1, 4 and 5 only

**Answer: C**

**Explanation:**

- **Statement 1 is correct: It highlights the idea that formal equality established by law is not sufficient to address deeply rooted inequalities.** Affirmative action recognizes the need for additional positive measures to correct the cumulative effects of past discrimination and promote social equality.
- **Statement 2 is correct: Affirmative action can be implemented through a range of measures, including preferential spending on facilities for disadvantaged communities, providing scholarships and hostels, and offering special consideration for admissions to educational institutions and jobs.** These different forms of affirmative action aim to provide equal opportunities and address historical disadvantages.
- **Statement 3 is incorrect: Affirmative action is generally considered a temporary or time-bound measure.** The intention is to provide special assistance to disadvantaged groups, helping them overcome existing disadvantages and eventually compete on equal terms. The goal is to create a more egalitarian and just society, where equal treatment and opportunities are available to all.
- **Statement 4 is correct: Some critics argue that policies of affirmative action, especially reservations or quotas, can be seen as reverse discrimination.** They contend that such policies may deny other sections of society their right to equal treatment and reinforce social divisions.
- **Statement 5 is correct: It emphasizes the importance of providing special assistance through affirmative action to deprived groups.** The aim is to help them overcome existing disadvantages, which may be a result of historical social prejudice and discrimination. By offering support and equalizing opportunities, affirmative action seeks to enable these groups to compete on equal terms with others.

**Source:** Class 11<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Political Theory/ Chapter 3/ Equality

## CHAPTER 4: SOCIAL JUSTICE

### INTRODUCTION

Justice is concerned with how we live in society, how public life is organized, and the moral standards by which social obligations and benefits are apportioned to various members of society. Justice has been defined in a variety of ways throughout history by various civilizations and eras, demonstrating the dynamic character of this idea.

### STUDYING JUSTICE THROUGHOUT CULTURES AND AGES

- **Ancient India:** Justice was viewed as a king's first responsibility in ancient Indian civilization since it was connected to maintaining dharma, the righteous social order.
- **In China:** In China, Confucius advocated for kings to maintain justice by rewarding virtue and punishing wrongdoers.
- **In "The Republic":** Plato discussed justice through a dialogue between Socrates and his young friends, who questioned why one should be just when unjust behavior often seemed more rewarding.
  - Socrates argued that an unjust society would **lead to insecurity and harm** for all, emphasizing the long-term benefits of obeying laws and being just.
  - Justice involves the well-being of all individuals, and it is not solely about favoring friends and harming enemies or pursuing self-interests.
- The idea that justice involves giving each person their due, continues to be important, but our understanding of what is due to a person has evolved.
- **Modern concept:** According to the **German philosopher Immanuel Kant, human beings possess dignity.**
  - Modern concepts of justice are closely linked to human dignity, ensuring equal opportunities for individuals to develop their talents and pursue their goals.
  - Justice requires giving due and equal consideration to all individuals, respecting their dignity and well-being.

### THREE PRINCIPLES OF JUSTICE

#### EQUAL TREATMENT FOR EQUALS

- **Equal Importance in Modern Society:** There is a general consensus that every person in modern society is equally important. However, determining out how to pay each person their due poses difficult problems.
- **The Principle of Treating Equals Equally:** The idea of treating equals equally is one of the proposed guiding principles to deal with this problem.
  - It is based on the idea that because everyone has basic human characteristics they should all be granted the same rights and treatment.
- **Ensuring Equal Opportunities in Liberal Democracies:** Liberal democracies emphasize granting **civil rights, political rights, and certain social rights** to ensure equal opportunities for all members of society.
- **Putting an End to Discrimination:** Beyond equal rights, the principle of treating equals equally emphasizes the need to eliminate discrimination based on-
  - **Class,**
  - **Caste,**
  - **Race or,**
  - **gender**
  - Individuals should be assessed based on their actions and work, rather than their group identity.

- **Addressing Unfair Differences:** This principle emphasizes that it is improper and unreasonable to treat people differently based merely on their caste or gender when they are performing the same tasks.

### PROPORTIONATE JUSTICE

- **Equal Treatment is Not the Only Rule:** Although equal treatment is a fundamental of justice, there are situations in which it may be considered unjust.
- **Fairness in Exam Evaluation:** In educational contexts, it wouldn't be considered as fair if all students achieved the same marks on a test.
  - Fairness can entail rewarding students based on the caliber of their responses and the diligence they demonstrated during the exam.
- **Fairness Includes Proportional Benefits:** In some situations, justice entails compensating people in accordance with the scope and caliber of their work.
  - The **effort, talents, and potential risks** associated with the activity should all be taken into consideration.
- **Different Rewards for Different Work:** It is generally accepted that while people should be paid equally for equal effort, different kinds of work can merit differently rewards.
  - Factors such as effort, skills, and risks should be considered in determining such rewards.
- **Addressing Inequities:** Some professions, like miners, skilled craftsmen, or those in potentially dangerous yet socially valuable jobs like policemen, might not always receive just compensation compared to others in society.
  - To achieve justice in society, the **principle of equal treatment must be balanced with the principle of proportionality.**

### RECOGNITION OF SPECIAL NEEDS

- **Third Principle of Justice:** A third principle of justice involves a society considering the special needs of individuals while distributing rewards or duties. This principle aims to **promote social justice.**
- **Equality and Beyond:** Treating people equally in terms of their basic status and rights is vital for justice in society.
  - However, non-discrimination and proportional rewards might not ensure overall equality in people's lives or in the society.
- **Providing Equal Treatment:** The principle of considering special needs extends the idea of treating equals equally, recognizing that certain individuals may not be equal in some essential aspects.
  - People with disabilities or specific needs might require special help and support.
- **Identifying Inequalities:** Identifying which inequalities should warrant special assistance can be challenging.
  - Factors like physical **disabilities, age, lack of access to education, or healthcare** are commonly considered grounds for providing special treatment.
- **Addressing Complex Inequalities:** In societies with significant disparities in living standards and opportunities, treating everyone equally in all aspects could perpetuate inequality. Recognizing special needs helps in creating a more equal and just society.
- **Reservations and Quotas:** In countries like India, social discrimination based on caste compounds the lack of access to education and healthcare.
  - To address these complex inequalities, the Constitution allows for reservations in government jobs and quotas for educational institution admissions for **Scheduled Castes and Tribes.**

### BALANCING PRINCIPLES OF JUSTICE

- Prioritizing rewarding merit might disadvantage **marginalized sections due to historical inequalities** in access to resources like education and nourishment.

- Different groups within a country may favor distinct policies based on the principle of justice they emphasize.
  - This can lead to **conflicting interests and perspectives** on how to achieve a just society.
- Governments have a duty to balance these many ideals and bring them into harmony in order to build a just society.
  - To accomplish this objective, **policies and strategies** that take into account the various needs and objectives of various sections of the population must be developed.

### IMPORTANCE OF JUST DISTRIBUTION

- **Beyond Fair Treatment:** Social justice goes beyond treating individuals fairly under laws and policies. It also involves just distribution of goods and services, both within a society and between nations.
- **Addressing Economic and Social Inequalities:** Redistributing resources may be required in countries with considerable economic or social inequality in order to level the playing field for all citizens.
  - Social justice within a country requires not only equal treatment under the law but also equal access to –
    - **basic living conditions, and**
    - **opportunities.**
  - This ensures that individuals can pursue their goals and aspirations freely.
- **Initiatives for Social Equality:** In India, the Constitution **abolished untouchability** to promote social equality and grant access to **temples, jobs, and basic necessities** for people belonging to lower castes.
  - **Land reforms** have also been implemented by state governments to achieve more equitable distribution of land.
- **Controversial Debates:** Discussions on resource distribution and equal access to education and employment often **evoke strong emotions** and, in some cases, even violence.
  - People's futures and livelihoods may be perceived to be at stake.

### JOHN RAWL'S THEORY OF JUSTICE

#### FAIR DECISION-MAKING

- When deciding on the organization of society, people often prioritize their personal interests, especially concerning the future of their children.
- However, such perspectives cannot form the basis of a theory of justice for a society..
- Rawls proposes a **fair decision-making process** by imagining ourselves behind a "**veil of ignorance.**"

#### THE VEIL OF IGNORANCE

- We do not know our future position in society that whether we will be born privileged or disadvantaged, in a higher or lower caste, rich or poor behind the veil of ignorance.
- People who are rational and don't know how they will perform in the future would look at the society from a perspective of the **worst-off.**
- They would **strive for laws** that guarantee the weaker groups have fair opportunities and that everyone, regardless of class, has access to services like **education, health care, and housing.**

#### FAIRNESS IN RULES

- While it may be challenging to erase our identities and be self-sacrificing, the "veil of ignorance" approach allows people to think in their self-interest while considering the worst-off.
  - This approach encourages **rational thinking, leading to fair laws and policies.**
- The chosen policies should benefit society as a whole while protecting the worst-off without weakening the better-off.



- Fairness is the result of **deliberate action and not just generosity or kindness.**

### RATIONAL THINKING

- Rawls therefore argues that rational thinking and not morality, could lead us to be fair and judge impartially regarding how to distribute the benefits and burdens of a society .
- The theory enables individuals to determine what is **best for themselves and others**, making it a compelling approach to address questions of fairness and justice.

### PURSUING SOCIAL JUSTICE

#### RECOGNIZING SOCIAL INJUSTICE

- In a society where deep and persistent disparities exist between the wealthy and powerful and the excluded and deprived, **social justice is lacking.**
- Justice does not demand complete uniformity and equality in how individuals live.
- However, a society would be deemed unjust if the disparities between the rich and the poor were so significant that it appeared as though they were living entirely different worlds..

#### BASIC MINIMUM CONDITIONS

- A just society ensures that people have basic minimum conditions to lead **healthy, secure lives** and develop their talents as well as equal opportunities to pursue their goals.
- Various methods of calculating the basic needs of people have been devised by different governments and by international organisations like the **World Health Organisation.**
- Determining basic needs involves calculating-
  - **nourishment,**
  - **housing,**
  - **clean water supply,**
  - **education, and**
  - **a minimum wage.**
- Providing these basic conditions is considered to be responsibility fulfilled by democratic governments.

#### BURDEN ON GOVERNMENT

- Providing the basic needs of all citizens may be challenging for governments, especially in countries with a large number of poor individuals, like India.
- Disagreements arise regarding the best approach to help the disadvantaged without harming the better-off members of society.

#### DEBATE ON PROMOTING EQUALITY

- There is now debate about whether encouraging **open competition through free markets** would be the best method to assist the underprivileged without harming the wealthier members of a society in our culture as well as other parts of the world .
- Others argue that the government should be in charge of ensuring that the poor receive a basic minimum, potentially through **resource redistribution.**

#### CURRENT DEBATES IN SOCIETY

- Different political associations in India support diverse strategies for assisting underprivileged populations, such as the rural or urban poor, and these groups are debating the relative advantages of various programs aimed at reducing inequality.

### FREE MARKETS VERSUS STATE INTERVENTION

### SUPPORT FOR FREE MARKETS

- Supporters of free markets maintain that as far as possible, individuals should be free to own property and enter into contracts and agreements with others regarding prices and wages and profits.
- They believe that free markets, without state interference, lead to a just distribution of benefits based on **merit and talent while incompetent would get less benefits**.

### CHANGING VIEWPOINTS

- Some free market supporters now accept limited restrictions, such as –
  - ensuring a basic minimum standard of living for equal opportunities.
- Private agencies may be encouraged to provide services like health care and education, while state policies empower people to access these services.
  - Role of the state should only be to maintain a framework of laws and regulations to ensure that competition between individuals remains **free of coercion and other obstacles**.

### THE NEUTRALITY OF MARKETS

- People believe that free markets are **neutral and unbiased** which highlights the skills and abilities rather than caste, religion, gender, etc.

### ARGUMENT AND CRITICISM

- Free markets offer consumers more choices, but concerns arise regarding affordability and quality for basic goods and services.
- In some cases, government intervention might be necessary, especially for marginalized areas and vulnerable populations.
- While private enterprise may offer superior services, their high cost can exclude the poor, leading to **increased social inequality**.
- Critics argue that free markets often **benefit the already privileged**, undermining social justice.

### DISAGREEMENTS IN A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

- In a democratic society, debates about distribution and justice are healthy because they force us to examine –
  - **diverse perspectives, and**
  - **rational defenses of views.**
- Since social and economic inequality still exists in many nations, there is a need for negotiations and agreements to move toward justice.

### QUESTIONS

1. Which of the following statements accurately reflects the concept of justice?
  - a. According to Plato, being unjust and manipulating rules for personal gain is ultimately more advantageous than being truthful and just.
  - b. The well-being of all people, including the opportunity to develop talents and pursue chosen goals, is an important aspect of justice according to Immanuel Kant.
  - c. Justice in different cultures and traditions is universally understood as the pursuit of individual interests and the manipulation of rules.
  - d. The understanding of justice has remained unchanged since the time of Plato, with a focus on maintaining a just social order.

**Answer: B**

**Explanation:**

- **Option (b) is correct:** The statement that accurately reflects the concept of justice is 'The well-being of all people, including the opportunity to develop talents and pursue chosen goals, is an important aspect of justice according to Immanuel Kant'. This statement captures the idea that justice involves considering the well-being of all individuals and granting them equal opportunities to develop their talents and pursue their goals. It aligns with Immanuel Kant's perspective on justice and the concept of human dignity.

**Source:** Class 11<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Political Theory/ Chapter 4/ Social Justice

2. Which principle of justice emphasizes the importance of rewarding individuals in proportion to the scale and quality of their effort, taking into account factors such as required skills and potential dangers involved in their work?
- a. Principle of Equality
  - b. Principle of Meritocracy
  - c. Principle of Solidarity
  - d. Principle of Proportionality

**Answer: D**

**Explanation:**

- **Option (d) is correct:** The principle of justice that emphasizes the importance of rewarding individuals in proportion to the scale and quality of their effort, taking into account factors such as required skills and potential dangers involved in their work, is the **Principle of Proportionality**. The Principle of Proportionality recognizes that treating everyone equally in certain situations may not result in fairness or justice. It suggests that individuals should be rewarded or compensated in proportion to the effort, skills, and risks they undertake in their work. This principle acknowledges that different kinds of work may require varying levels of effort, skill, and involvement, and therefore, the rewards should reflect these differences.

**Source:** Class 11<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Political Theory/ Chapter 4/ Social Justice

3. Which one of the following statements best captures the concept of recognizing special needs in the distribution of rewards and duties, as a principle of justice?
- a. Treating individuals with special needs equally in all respects promotes a just society.
  - b. Non-discrimination and proportional rewards based on efforts ensure equality in society.
  - c. The principle of equal treatment can be extended to accommodate individuals with unequal characteristics.
  - d. Providing special help to people with disabilities contradicts the principle of equal treatment.

**Answer: C**

**Explanation:**

- **Option (c) is correct:** The statement that best captures the concept of recognizing special needs in the distribution of rewards and duties, as a principle of justice, is 'The principle of equal treatment can be extended to accommodate individuals with unequal characteristics'. This statement acknowledges that while justice may require treating individuals equally in terms of their basic status and rights, there can be circumstances where certain individuals have unequal characteristics or special needs that necessitate different treatment. It recognizes that equal treatment does not necessarily mean treating everyone exactly the same, but rather taking into account the unique circumstances and needs of individuals. By extending the principle of equal

treatment to accommodate these inequalities, society can strive towards a more just and inclusive system.

**Source:** Class 11<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Political Theory/ Chapter 4/ Social Justice

4. Which of the following statements accurately represents the concept of social justice and the need for just distribution?
1. Just distribution is only relevant at the international level, ensuring that goods and services are distributed fairly between different nations.
  2. Social justice requires not only equal treatment under the law but also the equitable distribution of resources within a society.
  3. Different state governments have focused solely on implementing land reforms to achieve social justice within a country.

Select the correct answer using the code given below:

- a. 1 and 2 only
- b. 1, 2 and 3 only
- c. 2 and 3 only
- d. 2 only

**Answer: D**

**Explanation:**

- **Statement 1 is incorrect:** While international justice is an important aspect, social justice also encompasses the distribution of resources within a society. It narrowly limits the concept of just distribution to the international level, focusing on the fair distribution of goods and services between different nations.
- **Statement 2 is correct:** Social justice goes beyond equal treatment under the law and includes the equitable distribution of resources within a society. This means that in order to achieve social justice, there needs to be a fair distribution of goods and services among different groups and individuals in a society. This distribution should aim to provide a level playing field and ensure basic equality of life conditions and opportunities for all citizens.
- **Statement 3 is incorrect:** It suggests that different state governments have solely focused on implementing land reforms as a means to achieve social justice within a country. While land reforms can be a part of efforts to achieve just distribution, they do not represent the entirety of social justice.

**Source:** Class 11<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Political Theory/ Chapter 4/ Social Justice

5. According to John Rawls' theory of justice, which of the following best describes the concept of the 'veil of ignorance'?
- a. A hypothetical scenario where individuals prioritize their personal interests over the welfare of society.
  - b. A situation in which people are unaware of their future position in society and make decisions based on the worst-off members.
  - c. An approach that requires individuals to think selflessly and make decisions based on the good of society as a whole.
  - d. A belief that rational thinking is essential for moral judgment and fair distribution of benefits in a society.

**Answer: B**

**Explanation:**

- **Option (b) is correct:** According to John Rawls' theory of justice, the concept of the 'veil of ignorance' involves individuals imagining themselves in a situation where they have to make decisions about the organization of society without knowing their own position or status within that society. Under this hypothetical scenario, people are unaware of whether they will be born into privileged or disadvantaged positions, rich or poor, and so on. Rawls argues that when individuals are behind this 'veil of ignorance,' they will naturally make decisions based on the worst-off members of society. Since they do not know their own future position, they will want to ensure reasonable opportunities and important resources, such as education and healthcare, are available to everyone, including the less privileged. This perspective helps promote fairness and justice in society.

**Source:** Class 11<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Political Theory/ Chapter 4/ Social Justice

6. Which of the following statements reflect the key points regarding pursuing social justice?
1. Social justice can be defined as the absence of extreme economic disparities in a society.
  2. Justice requires absolute equality and sameness in the living standards of individuals.
  3. Providing basic conditions of life to all citizens is solely the responsibility of a democratic government.
  4. The debate on achieving social justice revolves around promoting open competition through free markets versus government intervention.

Select the correct answer using the code given below:

- a. 1, 3 and 4 only
- b. 1, and 4 only
- c. 2 only
- d. 1, 2 and 3 only

**Answer: B**

**Explanation:**

- **Statement 1 is correct:** When there are significant disparities in wealth and power between different groups in society, social justice is considered to be lacking. The absence of extreme economic disparities implies a more equitable distribution of resources and opportunities, which is a fundamental aspect of social justice.
- **Statement 2 is incorrect:** Absolute equality and sameness in living standards are not required for justice. While social justice aims to reduce unjust inequalities, it does not demand complete uniformity or eradicate all differences in living standards. Instead, it focuses on ensuring that basic minimum conditions for a decent life are met for all individuals.
- **Statement 3 is incorrect:** While it is generally recognized that a democratic government has a responsibility to provide basic conditions of life to its citizens, it is not solely their responsibility. Achieving social justice requires collective effort and involvement from various sectors of society, including government, non-governmental organizations, community groups, and individuals.
- **Statement 4 is correct:** There is an ongoing debate on the best approach to achieve social justice. Some argue that promoting open competition through free markets can lead to economic growth, job creation, and better opportunities for the disadvantaged. Others advocate for government intervention and redistribution of resources to ensure a more equitable distribution of wealth and opportunities.

**Source:** Class 11<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Political Theory/ Chapter 4/ Social Justice

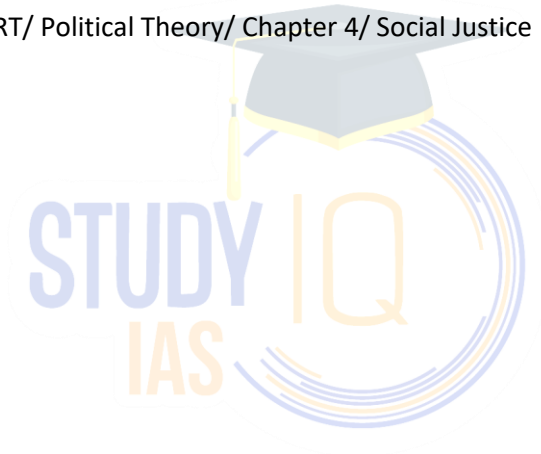
7. Which one of the following statements accurately represents the viewpoint of supporters of free markets?
- a. Supporters of free markets advocate for complete state control over property ownership and contractual agreements.
  - b. Free market supporters believe that market transactions alone can guarantee a just distribution of benefits and responsibilities in society.
  - c. Free market supporters argue that the state should intervene extensively to regulate prices, wages, and profits in order to ensure fairness.
  - d. Supporters of free markets emphasize the importance of state-controlled provision of basic services, such as healthcare and education.

**Answer: B**

**Explanation:**

- **Option (b) is correct: Supporters of free markets argue that if markets are left free of state interference, the voluntary exchange of goods and services will lead to a just distribution of benefits and duties in society.** They believe that individuals should be free to own property, enter into contracts, and compete with each other to gain the greatest benefit. According to this viewpoint, the market is seen as neutral and concerned only with the talents and skills individuals possess, rewarding merit accordingly.

**Source:** Class 11<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Political Theory/ Chapter 4/ Social Justice





## CHAPTER 5: RIGHTS

### INTRODUCTION

The concept of rights plays a significant role, especially as members of democratic countries. Fundamental political and civil rights, such as the right to vote, form political parties, and participate in elections are discussed. However, the notion of rights has evolved beyond these conventional boundaries. In present times, people are demanding new rights, such as the right to information, clean air, and safe drinking water, reflecting the changing needs of society.

### CONCEPT OF RIGHTS

- **Meaning:** A right is essentially an **entitlement or a justified claim**. It denotes what we are entitled to as citizens, as individuals and as human beings. Society must recognize these legitimate claims and uphold them.
- **Desires and Rights:** Not everything that is deemed pleasant or necessary is a right. Personal preferences, such as what to wear or how late you stay out, are not the same as rights.
  - There is a distinction between **what one wants and what one is entitled to**, and what can be designated as rights.
- **Rights for Respect and Dignity:** Rights are primarily claims essential for leading a life of respect and dignity.
  - Collective recognition of rights stems from their contribution to self-respect and dignity.
  - Example: The right to livelihood offers economic independence, crucial for dignity.
- **Freedom of Expression:** Freedom of expression encourages **uniqueness and creativity**. By making it easier for people to communicate their ideas and thoughts, it additionally contributes immensely to democratic governance.
  - **Freedom of expression is considered universal** which is benefitting for all members of society.
- **Rights for Well-being and Development:** Rights are claimed as necessary for human well-being, enabling individuals to develop talents and skills.
  - The right to education, for instance, enhances reasoning abilities, provides useful skills, and enables informed choices.
  - Education is seen as a universal right, benefiting all members of society.
- **Limitations on Rights:** Certain activities which are harmful to health and well-being cannot be claimed as rights.
  - Prohibited drugs, shown to be injurious to health and relationships, cannot be insisted upon as rights.
  - **Smoking and drug usage** may endanger others, making them incompatible with the concept of rights.

### SOURCE OF RIGHTS

- **Rights in the Past:** Political thinkers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries held that human beings were born with inherent rights that were bestowed by either nature or God.
  - Natural rights were seen as **unbreakable and impenetrable** by any power.
  - Three fundamental natural rights were identified- **the right to life, liberty, and property, from which all other rights were derived**.
  - Natural rights were used to oppose arbitrary power and safeguard individual freedom.
- **Emergence of Human Rights:** The term "**human rights**" is now more commonly used than "**natural rights**."
  - The idea of a natural law or norms given by nature or God is increasingly seen as unacceptable today.

- Human rights are considered as guarantees that humans seek to lead a minimally good life.
- **Intrinsic Value:** Human rights are based on the idea that each and every person has an intrinsic value and is valued in their own right.
  - Every person is entitled to certain rights simply by virtue of being human.
  - This notion challenges existing inequalities based on **race, caste, religion, and gender**.
  - The **UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights** expands on this notion of rights and aims to ensure that everyone can live in dignity and respect.
- **Human Rights Struggles:** The idea of universal human rights has been used by oppressed people all over the world to fight against discriminatory laws and pursue equal opportunities and rights.
  - As societies encounter new problems and dangers, the list of human rights has grown over time.
  - This includes demands for rights to protect the natural environment, livelihood, children's rights, and more.
  - Such claims **express moral outrage** and act as a rallying call to extend rights to all human beings.
- **The Power of Human Rights:** These assertions frequently enjoy widespread acceptance and raise the urgency of defending human dignity and welfare.
  - Advocacy efforts, such as **Bob Geldof's** appeal to end poverty in Africa, showcase the scale of public support for human rights causes.

#### Immanuel Kant on human dignity

- He highlighted the deep meaning of human dignity. Irrespective of their status, money, or level of education, everyone has the right to be treated with an **appropriate level of respect simply because they are a human**.
- Kant argued that treating people with dignity is not just a matter of kindness but a **moral obligation**.
  - This idea became a rallying point for those struggling against social hierarchies and for human rights.
- Kant's position represents the moral conception of rights, which is based on two main arguments-
  - First, we should **treat others as we would like to be treated ourselves**, implying that we must respect the dignity of others as we would want ours respected.
  - Second, we should **not treat others as mere means to achieve our ends**, like using objects for our purposes. Instead, we should respect them as human beings with intrinsic value.

#### LEGAL RIGHTS AND THE STATE

- **Constitutional Recognition of Rights:** A Bill of Rights, which grants citizens certain rights, can be found in the constitutions of many nations.
  - Constitutional recognition gives these rights primary importance, as **constitutions represent the highest law of the land**.
  - In India, these rights are called Fundamental Rights, and they are considered of fundamental importance.
  - Claims that take into account a nation's **historical and cultural context** may be added to some rights..
- **Legal recognition:** The successful outcome of human rights appeals depends on the legal acknowledgment of right.
  - The endorsement by the state gives rights a special status in society but does not form the basis for their claim.

- Rights have changed over time to encompass formerly marginalized groups and to be consistent with modern ideas of dignity and respect.
- **Claiming Rights from the State:** Most claimed rights are directed towards the state, urging it to take action to fulfill citizens' demands.
  - For instance, the right to education requires the state to provide basic education facilities.
  - While society may contribute, the primary responsibility lies with the state.
- **Obligations:** Rights impose obligations on the state, dictating both what it must do and refrain from doing.
  - For example, the right to life obliges the state to protect citizens from harm and punish offenders.
  - Rights may also demand certain policies or conditions that ensure a good quality of life for citizens.
- **Restraints on State Actions:** In order to preserve individual life and liberty, rights also impose restrictions on state acts.
  - The right to liberty mandates that the state give reasons before restricting a person's freedom.
  - The authority of the state is used to promote people's welfare, holding leaders responsible for their deeds.

## KINDS OF RIGHTS

### POLITICAL RIGHTS

- Political rights grant citizens equality before the law and the right to participate in the political process.
- These rights include the –
  - **right to vote**
  - **elect representatives**
  - **contest elections**
  - **join political parties.**

### CIVIL LIBERTIES

- Civil liberties include the right to a **free and fair trial, freedom of expression, and the right to protest and dissent.**
- Civil liberties are the foundations of a democratic form of government, together with political rights.

### PROTECTING INDIVIDUAL WELL-BEING

- Rights aim to protect the well-being of individuals by making the government accountable to the people.
- Political rights ensure that the concerns of individuals take precedence over those of rulers and allow citizens to **influence government decisions.**

### FULFILLING BASIC NEEDS FOR POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

- For political rights to be exercised fully, basic needs such as **food, shelter, clothing, and health must be met.**

- Democratic societies are recognizing the importance of economic rights, providing facilities like adequate wages and reasonable working conditions to meet these needs.
- Initiatives like **rural employment guarantee schemes** aim to assist the poor in meeting their basic needs.

## RECOGNIZING CULTURAL CLAIM

- Democracies are increasingly acknowledging the cultural claims of their citizens.
- Rights like the right to have primary education in one's mother tongue and the establishment of institutions for preserving language and culture are deemed necessary for a good life.

## EXPANDING THE LIST OF RIGHTS

- The list of rights in democracies is continuously expanding to encompass conditions necessary for a decent life.
- While certain rights, like the **right to life, liberty, equal treatment, and political participation** are considered basic and essential, other justified claims or rights are being recognized.

### Rights and responsibilities

- **Duty to Preserve the Common Good:** Individuals are compelled by their rights to go beyond their own needs and interests and protect things that are beneficial to everyone.
  - **Protecting the environment, maintaining ecological balance, and ensuring sustainable development** are essential for the well-being of all and future generations.
- **Respecting Other People's Rights:** Exercising one's rights also involves **respecting the rights of others**.
  - Important concepts include not interfering with other people's decisions, granting others the same rights we want for ourselves, and abstaining from exploiting your own rights to hurt or rob someone else of theirs.
- **Balancing Rights in Conflict:** In situations where rights conflict, individuals must find a balance.
  - For example, the right to freedom of expression should not violate someone's right to privacy.
- **Vigilance about Limitations on Rights:** The government should not be allowed to restrict a citizen's rights, especially when doing so is in the **interest of national security**.
  - Although protecting national security is essential, restrictions that jeopardize civil liberties should be closely examined.
- **Preventing Authoritarianism:** Governments should exercise caution when extending authority that has the potential to **restrict people's civil liberty**.
  - Those who have been arrested ought to have access to legal representation and the chance to argue their case in court.
  - Excessive powers can lead to authoritarianism, undermining the very purpose of government, which is the well-being of the citizens.
- **Rights and Democratic Society:** While rights can never be absolute, they form the foundation of a democratic society.
  - Vigilance in protecting individual rights and the rights of others is vital for maintaining a just and democratic society.

### Universal Declaration of Human Rights

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted on December 10, 1948, by the General Assembly of the United Nations. The preamble of the declaration highlights the following key points:

- The declaration emphasizes the **inherent dignity and equal and inalienable rights** of all members of the human family as the cornerstone of a just and peaceful world.
- The declaration acknowledges that disregard and contempt for human rights have led to **barbarous acts that outrage humanity's conscience**.
- To prevent resorting to rebellion against **tyranny and oppression**, the rule of law should protect human rights.
- The development of friendly relations between nations is crucial to foster **global peace and cooperation**.
- The Charter of the United Nations reaffirms the **faith in fundamental human rights**, the dignity and worth of every human being, and the equal rights of men and women.
  - It also commits to promoting **social progress and better living standards**.
- Member States have pledged to work with the United Nations to promote **universal respect** for and observance of **human rights and fundamental freedoms**.
- A common understanding of human rights and freedoms is vital for **fulfilling the pledge** made by Member States.

The General Assembly proclaims the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as a common standard for all peoples and nations, with the goal of promoting respect for these rights through education and progressive measures.

### QUESTIONS

1. Consider the following statements with reference to Rights:

1. Rights represent entitlements and justified claims that are considered due to individuals and society.
2. Rights are solely based on individual wants and aspirations, disregarding the collective view of society.

Which of the statements given above is/are correct?

- a. 1 only
- b. 2 only
- c. Both 1 and 2
- d. Neither 1 nor 2

**Answer: A**

**Explanation:**

- **Statement 1 is correct: Rights are entitlements and justified claims that are considered due to individuals and society.** They represent something that individuals are entitled to as citizens, individuals, and human beings. Rights are recognized and upheld by society as legitimate claims.
- **Statement 2 is incorrect: Rights are not solely based on individual wants and aspirations.** They are not determined solely by personal desires but are based on collective views and considerations of society. Rights represent conditions that society collectively sees as a source of self-respect and dignity.

**Source:** Class 11<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Political Theory/ Chapter 5/ Rights

2. Consider the following statements about the concept of rights?

1. Rights are bestowed upon individuals by rulers or societies.
2. Natural rights are derived from the law of nature and are inherent to individuals.
3. Human rights are guarantees that individuals seek for a minimally good life.
4. The list of human rights has remained static and unchanged over the years.

How many of the statements given above are correct?

- a. Only one
- b. Only two
- c. Only three
- d. All four

**Answer: B**

**Explanation:**

- **Statement 1 is incorrect:** Political theorists in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries argued that rights are not bestowed upon individuals by rulers or societies. **Instead, they believed that rights are given to us by nature or God, meaning they are not conferred by a ruler or a society.**
- **Statement 2 is correct: Natural rights are derived from the law of nature and are inherent to individuals.** It argues that individuals are born with certain rights, such as the right to life, liberty, and property. These natural rights are considered inalienable and cannot be taken away by anyone.
- **Statement 3 is correct: Human rights are increasingly seen as guarantees that individuals themselves seek or arrive at in order to lead a minimally good life.** It suggests that human rights are based on the assumption that all persons are entitled to certain things simply because they are human beings, and that each person possesses intrinsic value and should have equal opportunities to be free and realize their full potential.
- **Statement 4 is incorrect: The list of human rights has expanded over the years as societies face new threats and challenges.** It provides examples such as the need to protect the natural environment, demands for rights to clean air, water, sustainable development, and the rights of women, children, and the sick. This suggests that the list of human rights has evolved and expanded to address emerging issues and concerns.

**Source:** Class 11<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Political Theory/ Chapter 5/ Rights

3. With reference to Immanuel Kant's perspective on human dignity, consider the following statements:
1. Human beings possess dignity that is elevated above all price.
  2. Human beings should be treated with dignity regardless of their education, wealth, or moral character.
  3. The moral conception of rights, as per Kant, emphasizes treating others as means to our ends.

How many of the statements given above are correct?

- a. Only one
- b. Only two
- c. All three
- d. None

**Answer: B**

**Explanation:**

- **Statement 1 is correct: According to Kant, everything in the world can be either assigned a price (something that can be replaced or valued in terms of something else) or dignity (something that is invaluable and cannot be equated with anything else).** Kant believed that human beings, unlike objects, possess inherent dignity that cannot be replaced or diminished by any external factors.
- **Statement 2 is correct: Kant argued that every person, regardless of their social status, education, wealth, or moral character, deserves to be treated with a minimum level of**



**dignity.** This means that even if someone is uneducated, poor, or morally flawed, they should still be treated as a human being and be granted a certain level of respect and dignity.

- **Statement 3 is incorrect: Kant's moral conception of rights actually emphasizes treating others as ends in themselves rather than means to our ends.** According to Kant's ethical theory, known as deontology, individuals should never be treated merely as instruments or tools to achieve our own goals. Instead, they should be treated as autonomous beings with inherent dignity and moral worth, deserving of respect and consideration. Kant's emphasis is on the intrinsic value of individuals, not their instrumental value.

**Source:** Class 11<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Political Theory/ Chapter 5/ Rights

4. Which one of the following statements accurately reflects the relationship between legal rights and the state?
- a. Legal recognition of rights through a constitution grants them primary importance and ensures their protection by the government.
  - b. Legal endorsement is the sole basis on which rights are claimed, disregarding moral appeals or historical context.
  - c. The state is solely responsible for fulfilling individuals' rights, and society's contribution is negligible.
  - d. Rights impose obligations on the state to act in certain ways and refrain from certain actions, ensuring individual liberties.

**Answer: D**

**Explanation:**

- **Option (d) is correct: The legal rights place obligations on the state to act in specific ways and refrain from certain actions. When individuals assert their rights, they make demands upon the state to fulfil those rights.** The state has the primary responsibility to initiate necessary steps to ensure that rights are fulfilled. Rights indicate what the state must do and what it must not do. For example, the right to life obliges the state to make laws that protect individuals from harm and to punish those who cause harm. Similarly, the right to liberty suggests that the state cannot arbitrarily arrest individuals but must provide reasons and produce an arrest warrant. Therefore, legal rights impose obligations on the state to act in certain ways and respect individual liberties.

**Source:** Class 11<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Political Theory/ Chapter 5/ Rights

5. Which of the following statements about different kinds of rights in democracies are correct?
1. Political rights include the right to vote, the right to form political parties, and the right to participate in the political process.
  2. Civil liberties encompass the right to a fair trial, freedom of expression, and the right to protest and dissent.
  3. Cultural rights involve the right to receive primary education in one's mother tongue and the establishment of institutions to preserve and teach one's language and culture.
  4. Basic rights, such as the right to life, liberty, equal treatment, and political participation, are considered the primary rights in democracies.

Select the correct answer using the code given below:

- a. 1, 3 and 4 only
- b. 2, 3 and 4 only
- c. 1, 2 and 3 only
- d. 1, 2, 3 and 4

**Answer: D**

**Explanation:**

- **Statement 1 is correct: Political rights in democracies include the right to vote, the right to form political parties, and the right to participate in the political process.** These rights ensure that citizens have the opportunity to contribute to the decision-making processes of their government.
- **Statement 2 is correct: Civil liberties encompass a range of rights that protect individual freedoms and ensure a fair and just society.** These rights include the right to a fair trial, freedom of expression, and the right to protest and dissent. Civil liberties provide individuals with the means to express their opinions, challenge authority, and seek legal remedies if their rights are violated.
- **Statement 3 is correct: Cultural rights refer to the rights of individuals or groups to preserve and practice their own language, culture, and traditions.** This includes the right to receive primary education in one's mother tongue and the establishment of institutions to promote and teach one's language and culture. Cultural rights recognize the importance of diversity and the preservation of cultural heritage within a democratic society.
- **Statement 4 is correct: Basic rights, such as the right to life, liberty, equal treatment, and political participation, are considered fundamental or primary rights in democracies.** These rights are typically enshrined in constitutions or international declarations and are seen as essential for the protection and well-being of individuals in society. Other rights, such as economic and cultural rights, are often considered as complementary to these basic rights.

**Source:** Class 11<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Political Theory/ Chapter 5/ Rights

6. Which one of the following statements best reflect the key idea regarding Rights and Responsibilities?
- a. Rights and responsibilities impose obligations on individuals and the state, emphasizing the importance of considering the common good and respecting the rights of others.
  - b. Sustainable development, protection of the ozone layer, and maintaining ecological balance are individual responsibilities that do not require state intervention.
  - c. Citizens should prioritize their personal rights and interests over the well-being of future generations.
  - d. Governments should have unrestricted powers to ensure national security, even if it means curtailing the civil liberties of individuals.

**Answer: A**

**Explanation:**

- **Option (a) is correct: Rights not only impose obligations on the state but also on individuals. It emphasizes the need for individuals to consider the well-being of all and protect the common good.** This includes actions such as protecting the environment, minimizing pollution, and maintaining ecological balance, which are essential for everyone. Furthermore, it states that individuals should grant the same rights to others that they seek for themselves and refrain from interfering in the choices made by others. This highlights the principle of equal and same rights for all.

**Source:** Class 11<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Political Theory/ Chapter 5/ Rights

7. Consider the following statements about the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR):
1. It was adopted and proclaimed by the International Criminal Court in December 1949.
  2. It universally recognised fundamental human rights for the first time.
  3. It recognizes that the promotion of universal respect for and observance of human rights is a shared commitment among Member States and the United Nations.

How many of the statements given above are correct?

- a. Only one
- b. Only two
- c. All three
- d. None

**Answer: B**

**Explanation:**

- **Statement 1 is incorrect: The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) was indeed adopted and proclaimed by the General Assembly of the United Nations on 10 December 1948.** It was a significant milestone in the promotion and protection of human rights globally.
- **Statement 2 is correct: It universally recognised fundamental human rights for the first time.** The preamble of the UDHR clearly states that the recognition of the inherent dignity and equal and inalienable rights of all individuals is the foundation of freedom, justice, and peace in the world.
- **Statement 3 is correct: The UDHR recognizes that the promotion of universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms is a shared commitment among Member States and the United Nations.** The preamble of the UDHR reaffirms the faith of the peoples of the United Nations in fundamental human rights and their determination to promote social progress and better standards of life. It also highlights the importance of cooperation between Member States and the United Nations in achieving these goals.

**Source:** Class 11<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Political Theory/ Chapter 5/ Rights

## CHAPTER 6: CITIZENSHIP

### INTRODUCTION

Citizenship implies full and equal membership of a political community. It encompasses the rights, responsibilities, and privileges granted to individuals as members of a specific nation or state. There are ongoing debates and struggles concerning the interpretation of "full and equal membership" which involve issues such as the rights of marginalized groups and the inclusivity of citizenship. Different countries follow different criteria for granting citizenship and it examines the varying requirements for citizenship, such as birthright, naturalization, and dual citizenship.

### CONCEPT OF CITIZENSHIP

**Meaning:** Citizenship is **full and equal membership** in a political community provided by states.

It grants individuals a collective political identity and certain rights associated with their state of belonging.

Citizens identify themselves as members of their respective countries, such as Indians, Japanese, or Germans.

Citizens expect rights and protection from their state, even when traveling abroad.

**Importance of full membership:** Thousands of illegal immigrants and stateless people live in poor circumstances with no rights.

Some individuals are forced to live as refugees due to the **lack of state membership**.

For many people, achieving full state membership becomes an important aim for which they are prepared to fight.

**Nature of rights granted:** The exact nature of the rights accorded to citizens may differ from one state to another.

They would often include –

**civil rights like the freedom of expression or belief**

**political rights like the right to vote**

**socio-economic rights like the right to a minimum salary or the right to education.**

One of the fundamental rights of citizenship is **equality of rights and status**.

**Citizenship is Beyond State Relations and Obligations:** Citizenship goes beyond the state's relationship with its members.

It involves citizen-citizen interactions and obligations towards one another and society.

These obligations include both the **moral obligations** to actively engage in and contribute to the common life of the community as well as the legal obligations imposed by the state.

### STRUGGLES FOR EQUAL CITIZENSHIP AND RIGHTS

Throughout history, people have fought for their freedom and rights against strong monarchies and colonial rulers.

Many European countries experienced such struggles, some of them violent, like the French Revolution in **1789**.

Asian and African colonies demanded equal citizenship during their struggle for independence.

In South Africa, black Africans fought against the white minority for equal citizenship, leading to significant changes in the 1990s.

Modern struggles for equal membership and rights continue in various parts of the world, such as the **women's movement and the dalit movement in India**.

### FULL AND EQUAL MEMBERSHIP

**Need:** Even though they may be fellow citizens, requests to **restrict access to "outsiders"** may be made if jobs, facilities like medical care or education, etc., are few.

**Right to Freedom of Movement:** India provides its residents the **right to free movement**, which is crucial for workers in particular.

Different regions of our country have built labor markets for both skilled and unskilled employees.

**Resistance:** Due to competition for jobs, local people may oppose the arrival of workers from outside their territory, which occasionally results in calls for job restrictions or coordinated violence against "outsiders."

The justification of such movements is a complicated matter since it must strike a balance between the **rights of citizens to pursue employment** and the **worries of local inhabitants about a lack of employment opportunities**.

It is possible that poor migrants would receive different treatment than competent immigrants, creating concerns about the equality of rights for all citizens, regardless of their economic situation.

**Debates and Discussions:** Current national discussions center on what constitutes "**full and equal membership**" for all citizens, particularly in the context of the freedom to live and work anywhere in the nation.

In democratic cultures, disagreements over such matters can be resolved by demonstrations, public advocacy, going to court, and having dialogues to come up with workable solutions.

### **Martin Luther King**

In the southern states of the **USA, the 1950s** witnessed the emergence of Civil Rights Movements battling against disparities between the black and white populations.

Such inequalities were maintained in these states by a **set of laws called Segregation Laws** through which the **black people were denied many civil and political rights**.

These laws created separate areas for coloured and white people in various civic amenities like railways, buses, theatres, housing, hotels, restaurants, etc.

**Martin Luther King Jr.** was a well-known figure in the Civil Rights Movement who battled for equality and dignity for all people, regardless of race or color.

King presented several **arguments against segregation**.

He emphasized that it not only degraded black communities but also harmed the quality of life for white communities.

It created barriers preventing cooperation for the country's overall benefit.

Martin Luther King Jr. called for **peaceful and non-violent resistance** against segregation laws, advocating for creative protests to achieve civil rights rather than resorting to physical violence.

## **EQUAL RIGHTS**

**Urban Poor:** Every Indian city has significant populations of slum-dwellers and squatters. They often live in poor conditions, **lacking basic amenities like lack of private toilets, running water etc.**

The city probably spends relatively little on providing slum-dwellers with services such as sanitation or water supply.

Despite their low wages, they contribute significantly to the economy through various professions and small businesses.

Even fundamental political rights like the right to vote may be difficult for them to exercise since they may find it challenging to **give the fixed address necessary** to be listed on the list of voters.

**Growing Awareness:** Governments, non-governmental organizations, and the people who live in slums are all becoming more aware of the situation of the urban poor.

Policies like the **national policy** on urban street vendors aim to provide recognition and regulation for street vendors

It also seeks to protect their rights and allow them to practice their trade without interference.

**Marginalized Groups:** Tribal people and forest dwellers also face marginalization due to the pressure of increasing populations and **commercial interests seeking natural resources**.

Commercial pressures to extract resources that may be present in forests or along the shore, as well as the tourism sector, represent a threat to the way of life and survival of tribal peoples and people who live in woods.

Governments struggle to protect their rights and livelihood while balancing development needs.

**Equal Rights and Opportunities:** Ensuring equal rights and opportunities for all citizens is a complex task for governments.

In order to increase equality among citizens, policy must take into account the varying requirements of different groups.

**Evolving Interpretation:** The concept of equal citizenship evolves with changes in the world situation, economy, and society.

While finding answers to every issue may not be simple but granting all individuals the same rights and protections should be the guiding concept of governmental actions.

### CITIZENSHIP, EQUALITY AND RIGHTS

British sociologist, **T. H. Marshall** defined citizenship in his book **Citizenship and Social Class (1950)**. According to his idea, the key concept of citizenship is that of 'equality'.

First it suggests that **the quality of the aforementioned rights and obligations has improved.**

Second that the **number of persons receiving them is increasing.**

Marshall sees citizenship as involving three kinds of rights which together make it possible for the citizen to lead a life of dignity-

**Civil rights** protect the individual's life, liberty and property.

**Political rights** enable the individual to participate in the process of governance.

**Social rights** give the individual access to education and employment.

### SUPREME COURT'S DECISION ON SLUM-DWELLERS' RIGHTS:

**Background:** Social activist **Olga Tellis** filed a Public Interest Litigation against the Bombay Municipal Corporation on behalf of pavement dwellers and slum-dwellers in 1985.

The petition claimed their **right to live in slums** and pavements since there was no alternative accommodation available near their workplaces.

Evicting them without providing alternatives would **lead to a loss of their livelihood.**

**Decision:** In a major ruling, the Supreme Court recognized that Article 21 of the Indian Constitution, which protects the right to life, also protects the right to livelihood.

The court determined that if the pavement dwellers were to be removed, it was the government's duty to ensure their **right to shelter by offering them alternative housing.**

### CITIZEN AND NATION

#### CONCEPT OF NATION STATE

The French revolutionaries in 1789 made the earliest claims regarding the sovereignty of the nation state and the democratic rights of individuals.

Nation states assert that their borders define more than simply a territory since they also encompass a distinct culture and common past.

Among other things, the national identity can be expressed through symbols like a **flag, national song, language, or certain ceremonial rituals.**

#### NATIONAL AND POLITICAL IDENTITY



The majority of modern states have a diverse population in terms of religions, languages, and cultural traditions.

Democratic states strive to establish a **national identity that can be shared by all citizens**, promoting inclusivity.

However, many countries tend to define their identity in a way that makes it easier for some citizens to identify with the state than others.

This may result in **some persons being granted citizenship while others are not**.

France, for instance, claims itself on being both inclusive and secular. People continue to live according to their private morals and practices. Determining what is public and what is private is not always easy.

## CRITERIA FOR GRANTING CITIZENSHIP

Each nation has its own requirements for giving citizenship to new candidates. In nations like Germany or Israel, granting citizenship may be prioritized based on ethnic or religious grounds.

## CITIZENSHIP IN INDIA

**Background:** India defines itself as a **secular, democratic nation state**, promoting unity among diverse religious, regional, and cultural communities.

The movement for independence aimed to bring together people of different backgrounds, and the Partition of 1947 strengthened the commitment to maintain a secular and inclusive character.

**Granting equal citizenship:** The Indian Constitution ensures full and equal citizenship for Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, women, remote groups, and others in order to accommodate the nation's diversified society.

It sought to respect other languages, faiths, and cultural customs without compelling people abandon their own beliefs.

**Provisions in constitution:** The Constitution outlines provisions about citizenship in **Part Two** and subsequent laws passed by Parliament.

Citizenship in India can be acquired through –

**Birth,  
Descent,  
Registration,  
Naturalization, or  
Inclusion of territory.**

The Constitution guarantees rights and obligations of citizens, prohibiting discrimination based on religion, race, caste, sex, or place of birth.

It also **protects the rights of religious and linguistic minorities**.

**Controversies:** Despite inclusive provisions, struggles and controversies persist, such as the women's movement, the dalit movement, and issues related to development projects.

India's history shows that **democratic citizenship is a constant and ongoing project**, where new problems and demands are always made, requiring negotiation in a democratic state.

## UNIVERSAL CITIZENSHIP

We often assume that full membership of a state should be available to all those who ordinarily live and work in the country as well as to those who apply for citizenship.

States, however, fix criteria for citizenship in their constitutions and laws, leading to **restrictions on unwanted visitors**.

**Problem of Migrants:** Despite barriers like walls and fences, significant migration occurs worldwide due to wars, persecution, famine, and other reasons.

People displaced by such events may become **stateless or refugees** if no country accepts them or they cannot return home.

They may be **forced to live in camps or become illegal migrants**, facing limited access to work, education, and property.

**Problems faced by nations:** The UN has appointed a High Commissioner for Refugees to address the plight of stateless and refugee populations.

Many nations face a **difficult moral and political problem** when deciding how many people to accept as citizens.

Nations may have laws stating that they will welcome people fleeing persecution or armed conflict, but they may also be **wary of handling an uncontrollable influx or security issues**.

**India's approach:** India takes pride in offering refuge to persecuted peoples, such as the **Dalai Lama and his followers in 1959**.

Along India's borders, immigration from nearby nations continues, leaving some people as stateless or undocumented migrants for an extended period of time.

Only a relatively small number of them are eventually granted citizenship.

## GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP

The concept of global citizenship reminds us that national citizenship might need to be supplemented by an awareness that we live in an interconnected world and that there is also a need for us to strengthen our links with people in different parts of the world and be ready to work with people and governments across national boundaries.

## INTERCONNECTED WORLD

**Tele-Communication:** The way we communicate has significantly changed as a result of new technologies like the internet, television, and mobile phones.

**Shared empathy and worries:** As new modes of communication have put us into immediate contact with developments in different parts of the globe.

We can watch disasters and wars on our television screens as they are taking place.

This has helped to develop sympathies and shared concerns among people in different countries of the world.

## SUPPORTERS OF GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP

**Work towards global citizenship:** Despite the lack of a global civilization and universal community, people feel connected to one another beyond national borders.

**Failure of states in some sphere:** The idea of national citizenship assumes that our state can give us protection and rights, yet states today are dealing with a number of issues that they are unable to resolve on their own.

It might make it easier to deal with problems which extend across national boundaries and which therefore need cooperative action by the people and governments of many states.

## SUPPORTING STATES

Socio-economic disparities or other issues may jeopardize the right to equal citizenship within a nation.

Such problems can ultimately only be solved by the governments and people of that particular society.

## QUESTIONS

1. Which one of the following statements best reflects the concept of citizenship?

Citizenship refers to the full and equal membership of a political community, providing individuals with a collective political identity and certain rights.

Citizenship entails exclusive membership to a particular ethnic or religious group, granting individuals special privileges and opportunities.

Citizenship is a purely legal concept that does not involve any moral or social obligations towards fellow citizens or the community.

Citizenship is primarily defined by the socio-economic status of individuals and their contribution to the country's economic development.

**Answer: A**

**Explanation:**

**Option (a) is correct: The statement captures the essence of citizenship by emphasizing that it entails being a full and equal member of a political community.** Citizenship provides individuals with a collective political identity, meaning they identify themselves as members of a specific nation-state, such as Indians, Japanese, or Germans. Furthermore, citizenship grants individuals certain rights, which may vary from state to state but commonly include political rights (such as the right to vote), civil rights (such as freedom of speech or belief), and socio-economic rights (such as the right to a minimum wage or education).

**Source:** Class 11<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Political Theory/ Chapter 6/ Citizenship

2. Which one of the following statements is true regarding the right to freedom of movement in a democratic society?

The right to freedom of movement is limited to skilled and affluent workers only.

The right to freedom of movement includes the right to live or work in any part of the country.

Poor migrants are always welcomed into areas with scarce job opportunities.

The right to freedom of movement can only be exercised within one's own state.

**Answer: B**

**Explanation:**

**Option (b) is correct: In a democratic society, the right to freedom of movement typically implies that citizens have the freedom to travel, live, and work in any part of the country without facing undue restrictions.** This right is not limited to skilled and affluent workers only. Poor migrants may not always be welcomed into areas with scarce job opportunities. However, the right to freedom of movement extends to all citizens, allowing them to exercise their choices regarding living and working locations.

**Source:** Class 11<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Political Theory/ Chapter 6/ Citizenship

3. Consider the following statements about Martin Luther King Jr:

He fought against segregation laws in the southern states of the USA.

He advocated for violent resistance against the segregation laws.

How many of the statements given above is/are correct?

1 only

2 only

Both 1 and 2

Neither 1 nor 2

**Answer: A**

**Explanation:**

**Statement 1 is correct: Martin Luther King Jr. was a prominent leader of the Civil Rights Movement in the United States during the 1950s and 1960s.** He played a crucial role in

advocating for an end to racial segregation and discrimination, particularly in the southern states of the USA.

**Statement 2 is incorrect: Martin Luther King Jr. strongly advocated for peaceful and non-violent means of protesting against segregation laws and racial injustice.** He believed in the power of civil disobedience, peaceful protests, and non-violent resistance as effective strategies for bringing about social change. He inspired and led numerous nonviolent demonstrations, including the famous March on Washington in 1963, where he delivered his iconic 'I Have a Dream' speech.

**Source:** Class 11<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Political Theory/ Chapter 6/ Citizenship

4. Consider the following statements about equal rights and citizenship in relation to the urban poor and marginalized groups:

The national policy on urban street vendors was introduced in order to regulate their activities and minimize harassment from authorities.

Ensuring equal rights and opportunities for all citizens is a straightforward task for the government as uniform policies can be applied to different groups of people.

The *Olga Tellis vs Bombay Municipal Corporation* judgment in 1985 ruled that eviction of pavement dwellers using unreasonable force is a violation of their right to livelihood.

How many of the statements given above are correct?

Only one

Only two

All three

None

**Answer: B**

**Explanation:**

**Statement 1 is correct:** National policy on urban street vendors was framed in January 2004.

**The policy aimed to provide recognition and regulation for vendors, enabling them to carry out their profession without harassment as long as they complied with government regulations.**

**Statement 2 is incorrect: Ensuring equal rights and opportunities for all citizens is not a straightforward task for the government.** It acknowledges that different groups of people may have different needs and problems, and the rights of one group may conflict with the rights of another. To achieve equal rights, policies need to take into account the different needs and claims of people, rather than applying uniform policies to all groups.

**Statement 3 is correct:** The *Olga Tellis vs Bombay Municipal Corporation* judgment in 1985 ruled that eviction of pavement dwellers using unreasonable force, without giving them a chance to explain is unconstitutional. **It is a violation of their right to livelihood.**

**Source:** Class 11<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Political Theory/ Chapter 6/ Citizenship

5. Which of the following statements about nation states, national identity, and citizenship are correct?

Nation states claim their boundaries define a unique culture and shared history.

Democratic states define their national identity to be as exclusive as possible.

Religious symbols and practices are strictly limited to the private sphere in democratic countries.

India's Constitution attempted to provide equal rights to all citizens without forcing them to give up their personal beliefs, languages, or cultural practices.

How many of the statements given above are correct?

- Only one
- Only two
- Only three
- All four

**Answer: B**

**Explanation:**

**Statement 1 is correct: Nation states often assert that their boundaries not only encompass a specific territory but also represent a distinct culture and a shared historical background.** They believe that these elements contribute to their national identity.

**Statement 2 is incorrect: Democratic states usually strive to define their national identity to be as inclusive as possible.** They aim to provide a political identity that can be shared by all citizens, regardless of their religious, linguistic, or cultural backgrounds. The goal is to create a sense of unity and belonging among diverse populations.

**Statement 3 is incorrect: In democratic countries, religious symbols and practices are not always strictly limited to the private sphere.** There can be debates and controversies surrounding the extent to which religious symbols and practices can enter the public sphere. Different countries have varying approaches and policies regarding the expression of religious beliefs in public life.

**Statement 4 is correct: India's Constitution aimed to accommodate the diverse society within the country. It sought to provide equal rights to citizens from various backgrounds, including historically marginalized groups, women, and remote communities.** The Constitution recognized the importance of personal beliefs, languages, and cultural practices, and sought to protect them while ensuring equality and inclusivity.

**Source:** Class 11<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Political Theory/ Chapter 6/ Citizenship

6. Which one of the following statements is **not** correct about universal citizenship?

Universal and inclusive citizenship is an ideal that many states support, but each state also establishes criteria for granting citizenship.

Stateless people often face difficulties in accessing basic rights such as work, education, and property ownership.

The United Nations has appointed a High Commissioner for Refugees to assist and advocate for refugees and stateless individuals.

India has a policy of accepting and providing refuge to those fleeing persecution or war, resulting in a relatively large number of stateless individuals eventually obtaining citizenship.

**Answer: D**

**Explanation:**

**Option (d) is the correct answer:** India has a policy of accepting persecuted peoples and providing refuge, as it did with the Dalai Lama and his followers in 1959. However, it also states that many people who enter India from neighboring countries remain stateless for many years or generations, living in camps or as illegal migrants. Only a relatively few of them are eventually granted citizenship. **Therefore, the statement that a relatively large number of stateless individuals eventually obtain citizenship in India is incorrect.**

**Source:** Class 11<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Political Theory/ Chapter 6/ Citizenship

7. Which one of the following factors has contributed significantly to the development of a sense of global citizenship in today's world?

Socio-economic inequalities within countries

Immediate access to global news through new modes of communication

The concept of national citizenship

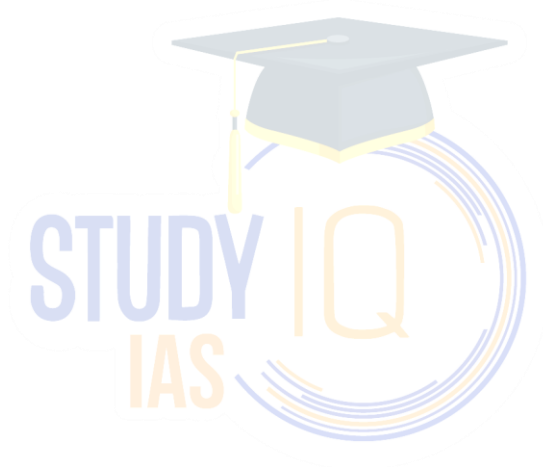
Government's role in protecting individual rights

**Answer: B**

**Explanation:**

**Option (b) is correct:** The new means of communication, such as the internet, television, and cell phones, have brought a major change in the way we understand our world. These new modes of communication have put people into immediate contact with developments in different parts of the globe. People can watch disasters and wars as they happen on their television screens, which has helped develop sympathies and shared concerns among people in different countries. **This immediate access to global news has played a crucial role in creating a sense of interconnectedness and shared humanity, leading to the development of a sense of global citizenship.**

**Source:** Class 11<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Political Theory/ Chapter 6/ Citizenship





## CHAPTER 7: NATIONALISM

### INTRODUCTION

Nationalism refers to the ideology or sentiment that emphasizes the importance of a strong and cohesive national identity. In addition to assessing its potential to result in discriminatory acts and disputes between different nations, nationalism can promote unity and a sense of belonging among citizens.

### CONCEPT OF NATIONALISM

Nationalism is a complex term with **diverse interpretations and associations**.

While nationalism remains a powerful force, there is no universal agreement on the definitions of "**nation**" or "**nationalism**."

**Historical Significance:** Nationalism has been a prominent political ideology that has influenced history during the last two centuries.

**Impact of Nationalism:** Nationalism has inspired both strong loyalties and deep hatreds, united and divided people, liberated nations from oppressive rule, but also caused conflicts and wars.

**Phases of Nationalism:** In the nineteenth century Europe, it led to the unification of a number of small kingdoms into larger nation-states.

This process of **unification and consolidation** resulted in the formation of the modern-day states of Germany and Italy. Throughout addition, many new states were established throughout Latin America.

Along with the consolidation of state boundaries, **local dialects and local loyalties** were also gradually consolidated into **state loyalties and common languages**.

**Break up of empires:** Nationalism also accompanied and contributed to the break up of large empires such as the Austro-Hungarian and Russian empires in the early twentieth century in Europe as well as the break-up of the British, French, Dutch and Portuguese empires in Asia and Africa.

**Redrawing of State Boundaries:** Nationalist struggles have contributed to the drawing and redrawing of the boundaries of states and empires.

Various groups and regions continue to make nationalist demands, which occasionally **spark separatist movements inside preexisting nation-states**.

These separatist movements have emerged among a number of groups, including the Tamils in Sri Lanka, the Kurds in Turkey and Iraq, the Quebecois in Canada, the Basques in northern Spain, and the Kurds.

Some groups in India also speak in nationalist terms. Today's Arab nationalism may seek to create a pan-Arab union of Arab nations, but separatist movements like those of the Basques and Kurds want to maintain the boundaries of existing states.

### NATIONS AND NATIONALISM

A nation is distinct from other groups or communities and is not like a family based on personal relationships.

Unlike tribes and family groups, nations do not require connections of marriage and ancestry among their members or intimate knowledge.

It is a popular misconception that shared characteristics like language, religion, ethnicity, or ancestry lead to the formation of nations.

However, not all nations have a common language, religion, race, or descent. Examples like Canada and India show linguistic and ethnic diversity within a nation.

Nations are, to a large extent, "**imagined**" **communities** where people share collective beliefs, aspirations, and imaginations to form a sense of identity and unity.

The nation is based on **certain assumptions** made by its members about the collective whole they identify with.

**People's imagination** plays a crucial role in forming the concept of a nation and binding its members together.

The collective **beliefs and aspirations** contribute to the formation of a shared identity and sense of unity among the nation's members.

## ASSUMPTIONS ABOUT THE NATION

### SHARED BELIEFS

**Belief in Nationhood:** A nation is primarily constituted by shared beliefs rather than tangible elements like **physical characteristics or behavior**.

**Not Physical Entities:** Unlike mountains, rivers, or buildings, nations are not made up of physical objects but rather are the collective identities that are shaped by the beliefs of their inhabitants.

**Collective Identity:** By referring to a group of people as a nation, we recognize their shared identity and aspiration for a free and independent political existence.

**Comparing Nations to Teams:** Nations can be compared to teams, where individuals work or play together and consider themselves part of a collective group.

**Shared Beliefs:** Nations exist when their members believe in their shared identity and sense of belonging together. This **shared belief forms the foundation of their nationhood**.

### HISTORY

**Historical Identity:** People who identify as a nation also have a strong sense of their own ongoing history. Because of this, nations believe they are reaching both into the present and the future.

**Drawing on Collective Memories:** Using **collective memories, legends, and historical records**, nations define their historical identities.

**Examples from India:** Nationalists in India invoked its ancient civilisation and cultural heritage and other achievements to claim that India has had a long and continuing history as a civilisation and that this civilisational continuity and unity is the basis of the Indian nation.

**Unity Amid Diversity:** Despite outward diversity, there is an underlying sense of oneness that has held the Indian people together throughout ages, according to **Jawaharlal Nehru's** observations in "**The Discovery of India**."

### TERRITORY

**Significance of Territory:** Nations develop a sense of **collective identity** when they identify with a certain place they have inhabited for a considerable amount of time.

**Imagining a Homeland:** Due to a person's affection for their native country, they may refer to it as their homeland, using terms like "**motherland**," "**fatherland**," or "**holy land**."

**Example of Jewish People:** The Jewish people, despite being dispersed, consider Palestine as their original homeland, often referred to as the "**promised land**."

**Indian Nation's Identity:** India identifies with its rivers, mountains, and regions on the Indian subcontinent, reflecting the significance of this territory.

**Conflict Over Territory:** Conflicts often arise when multiple groups lay claim to the same territory, making the aspiration for a homeland a major cause of global disputes.

### SHARED POLITICAL IDEAS

**Shared Vision of the Future:** A nation's collective aspiration for an independent political existence and a shared vision of the kind of state they want to build distinguishes them from other groups.

**Affirmation of Values and Principles:** Members of a nation embrace a set of values and principles like-  
**Democracy**  
**secularism, and**  
**liberalism**

which serve as the **foundation for their collective identity**.

**Political Identity as a Nation:** The shared commitment to political ideals represents their political identity as a nation, uniting them under common principles.

**Democracy and Obligations:** In a democracy, it is shared commitment to a set of political values and ideals that is the most desirable basis of a political community or a nation-state.

Within it, members of **political community are bound by a set of obligations.**

These obligations arise from the recognition of the rights of each other as citizens.

**Strengthening the Nation:** Acknowledging and **accepting obligations to fellow citizens** enhances the nation's strength, making it a test of loyalty to the nation.

### COMMON POLITICAL IDENTITY

**Shared Cultural Identity vs. Political Vision:** Some people think that a common cultural identity, such as a language or ancestry, is necessary to unite people as a nation. However, this strategy might put **democratic ideals in jeopardy.**

**Dangers of Forging Identity Based on Religion:** Major religions have internal diversity with different sects and interpretations.

Creating a national identity solely based on religion may lead to an **authoritative and oppressive society.**

**Cultural Diversity and Imposing Identity:** Culturally diverse societies may have people of different religions and languages coexisting.

Imposing a single religious or linguistic identity to belong to a state can exclude certain groups and limit religious liberty and language rights.

**Emphasizing Political Identity in Democracies:** To preserve democratic values, nations should focus on shared political ideals.

Loyalty to a set of values enshrined in the Constitution is more inclusive than adherence to specific cultural aspects.

Due to the above reasons, it is desirable to imagine the nation in **political rather than cultural terms.** Democracies need to emphasise and expect loyalty to a set of values that may be enshrined in the constitution of the country rather than adherence to a particular religion, race or language.

### NATIONAL SELF – DETERMINATION

**Introduction:** Nations seek the right to self-determination, the ability to govern themselves and determine their future development.

Claims for self-determination often arise from a **sense of common identity** and the desire to form a state that protects and privileges the culture of the group.

**Historical Context in Europe:** In the 19th century, the idea of "**one culture - one state**" gained acceptance, leading to the reorganization of state boundaries after World War I.

The **Treaty of Versailles** established new independent states, but it was challenging to satisfy all demands for self-determination.

Besides, re-organisation of state boundaries to satisfy the demands of one culture - one state, **led to mass migration of population** across state boundaries.

Millions of people as a consequence were displaced from their homes and expelled from the land which had been their home for generations.

Many others became victims of communal violence.

**Accommodating Minorities in Nation-States:** Reorganizing boundaries to create separate nation-states did not always guarantee a single ethnic community within each state.

**Minority communities** within nation-states often faced **disadvantages and unequal treatment** as equal citizens remained a challenge.

The only positive aspect of these developments was that it granted political recognition to various groups who saw themselves as distinct nations and wanted the opportunity to govern themselves and determined their own future.

**National Liberation Movements in Asia and Africa:** During struggles against colonial domination, national liberation movements sought political independence to protect collective interests.

However, ensuring statehood for each cultural group proved difficult, leading to **ongoing migration, border conflicts, and violence.**

**Problems of Nation-States:** Independent nation-states frequently encounter problems when minority groups in their borders demand the right to self-determination.

A dilemma exists over the right to national self-determination because some nation-states take action against these minority claims.

**Resolving the Dilemma:** Many states face the dilemma of how to deal with self-determination movements.

The solution lies in –

**making existing states more democratic and equal**

**ensuring that diverse cultural and ethnic identities coexist as partners and equal citizens.**

Respecting the rights and cultural identity of minorities is essential for building a strong and united nation-state, gaining loyalty from its members.

**Conclusion:** National self-determination remains a complex issue for nation-states worldwide.

Building more **democratic and inclusive states** is vital for resolving self-determination challenges and fostering a sense of unity among diverse populations.

#### Demand for National Self- Determination in Basque

Basque region is recognised by the Spanish government as an 'autonomous' region within the Spanish federation. But the leaders of **Basque Nationalist Movement want this region to become a separate country.**

Basque nationalists argue that their culture, language, and history are distinct from the rest of Spain.

The Basque region has a long history of autonomy, resisting Spanish rulers' attempts to abolish it. During the 20th century, **under Spanish dictator Franco**, the region's autonomy was further restricted, leading to the **ban on the Basque language.**

Autonomy was later restored, but Basque nationalists remain suspicious of the Spanish government's intentions and fear cultural dilution due to outsiders.

Whether Basque nationalists are justified in demanding a separate nation is a complex question that requires a deeper understanding of the **region's history, culture, and political dynamics.**

The notion of Basque being a nation depends on various factors, including the level of cultural and historical distinctiveness, and the desire for self-determination among the people.

#### NATIONALISM AND PLURALISM

Once we give up the notion of **one-culture, one state**, it becomes important to think about how various groups and cultures may coexist and thrive inside a nation.

Today, many democracies have implemented policies to **recognize and safeguard the identities of groups of cultural minorities** that reside on their territory.

The kinds of group rights which have been granted in different countries include-

**Constitutional protection** for the language, cultures and religion, minority groups etc

Sometimes identified communities also have the **right to representation** as a group in legislative bodies and other state institutions.

These rights **ensure equal treatment and protection for members** of minority groups and their cultural identity.

**Inclusive National Identity:** Defining national identity inclusively, acknowledging the importance and unique contributions of all cultural communities within the state.

**Self-Determination and Independent Statehood:** Right to national self-determination does not include the right to independent statehood.

It would **be impossible and undesirable** to grant independent statehood to every group that sees itself as a distinct cultural group, or nation.

It might lead to the formation of a number of states too small to be economically and politically viable and it could multiply the problems of minorities.

The right has now been reinterpreted to mean granting certain democratic rights for a nationality within a state.

The claims of identity should not be allowed to **lead to divisions and violence**.

**Multiple identities:** In a democracy, a citizen's political identity ought to include all of their possible identities. Allowing intolerant and integrating expressions of nationality and identity to grow would be risky.

### Tagore's critique of Nationalism

"Patriotism cannot be our final spiritual shelter; my refuge is humanity. I will not buy glass for the price of diamonds, and I will never allow patriotism to triumph over humanity as long as I live." -

**Rabindranath Tagore.**

He was **against colonial rule** and asserted India's right to independence.

He felt that in the British administration of the colonies, there was no place for '**upholding of dignity of human relationships,**' an idea which was otherwise cherished in the British civilisation.

Tagore made a distinction between opposing **western imperialism and rejecting western civilisation.**

While Indians should be rooted in their own culture and heritage, they should not resist learning freely and profitably from abroad.

A critique of what he called '**patriotism**' is a persistent theme in his writings.

He was very critical of the narrow expressions of nationalism that he found at work in parts of our independence movement.

He was particularly concerned that rejecting the west in favor of what appeared to be Indian traditions would **not only be restrictive in and of itself**, but could also easily develop into hostility toward other foreign influences such as Christianity, Judaism, Zoroastrianism, and Islam, all of which have historically existed in our nation.

## QUESTIONS

1. Which one of the following statements best reflects the concept of a nation and nationalism?

Nations are formed based on common descent, language, or ethnicity only.

Nations are characterized by face-to-face relationships and direct personal knowledge of all members.

Nations do not require personal acquaintance or shared descent, but are held together by collective beliefs and imagination.

Nations are defined by a common language and religion, but may include various ethnicities and races.

**Answer: C**

**Explanation:**

**Option (c) is correct: The statement highlights the idea that nations are not solely based on common descent, language, religion, or ethnicity.** It also acknowledges that nations are different from face-to-face relationships and direct personal knowledge of all members (as mentioned in option b). Instead, nations are formed and sustained by the collective beliefs, aspirations, and imaginations of their members. People in a nation may never come face-to-face with most of their fellow nationals, and they may not share ties of descent, but they still identify with and value their nation.



**Source:** Class 11<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Political Theory/ Chapter 7/ Nationalism

2. Which of the following statements accurately represent the characteristics and dynamics of nations and their collective identities?

Beliefs and collective identity are fundamental to the constitution of a nation.

Nations are primarily defined by their physical characteristics and behaviour.

Shared political values and principles are essential for the strengthening of a nation.

Cultural identity, such as language or religion, is the most effective way to bind individuals together as a nation.

How many of the statements given above are correct?

Only one

Only two

Only three

All four

**Answer: B**

**Explanation:**

**Statement 1 is correct: Beliefs and collective identity are fundamental to the constitution of a nation.** Nations exist based on the shared belief of their members that they belong together and have an independent political existence.

**Statement 2 is incorrect: Nations are not primarily defined by their physical characteristics or behavior.** Instead, nations are defined by their collective identity and vision for the future.

**Statement 3 is correct: The shared political values and principles, such as democracy, secularism, and liberalism, are essential for the strengthening of a nation.** Recognition of obligations to fellow members based on these values is seen as the strongest test of loyalty to the nation.

**Statement 4 is incorrect: The idea that cultural identity, such as language or religion, is not the most effective way to bind individuals together as a nation.** There are dangers of imposing a single religious or linguistic identity, as it may exclude certain groups and limit the ideals of equal treatment and liberty in a democracy. **Instead, emphasis must be laid on shared political values and ideals as the basis for a nation's collective identity.**

**Source:** Class 11<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Political Theory/ Chapter 7/ Nationalism

3. Which one of the following statements is correct about national self-determination?

National self-determination refers to the right of a nation to govern itself and determine its future development, often arising from a common identity and the desire to protect its culture.

The process of granting political recognition and independence to culturally distinct communities has effectively resolved the issue of accommodating minorities as equal citizens within nation-states.

National liberation movements in Asia and Africa primarily aimed to establish political independence and statehood, disregarding the interests of cultural groups claiming distinct nationhood.

The solution to addressing self-determination movements lies in creating new states rather than making existing states more democratic and equal, ensuring the cultural and ethnic identities of minorities are respected.

**Answer: A**

**Explanation:**

**Option (a) is correct: Nations seek the right to govern themselves and determine their future development. This claim is made by people who have a sense of common**



**identity and often have lived together on a specific land for a long time.** The desire for self-determination is closely tied to the protection of their culture. This statement aligns with the definition and understanding of national self-determination.

**Source:** Class 11<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Political Theory/ Chapter 7/ Nationalism

4. Which one of the following statements about the Basque Nationalist Movement and their demand for a separate nation is correct?

The Spanish government recognizes the Basque region as an autonomous region within the Spanish federation, which satisfies the demands of the Basque Nationalist Movement.

The Basque Nationalists argue that their culture and language are distinct from the Spanish culture, and they desire complete independence from Spain.

The Basque Nationalist Movement solely relies on violent means to press for their demand for a separate nation.

The Basque region willingly surrendered its autonomy to Spanish rulers during the Roman days, establishing a harmonious relationship between the two regions.

**Answer: B**

**Explanation:**

**Option (b) is correct: The leaders of the Basque Nationalist Movement are not satisfied with the current autonomy granted to the Basque region within the Spanish federation.**

They want the region to become a separate country, indicating their desire for complete independence. The Basque culture is very different from the Spanish culture, with its own language that doesn't resemble Spanish. The Basque Nationalists have used both constitutional and violent means in the past to press for their demand, but it is not stated that they solely rely on violent means. Additionally, the Basque region has never surrendered its autonomy to Spanish rulers.

**Source:** Class 11<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Political Theory/ Chapter 7/ Nationalism

5. Which one of the following statements is correct about nationalism and pluralism?

The Indian constitution does not provide any provisions for the protection of cultural minority communities.

Group rights granted to minority communities aim to protect their cultural identity and ensure equal treatment under the law.

Granting separate statehood to all distinct cultural groups is desirable and feasible.

The recognition of group identities can lead to divisions and violence in society.

**Answer: B**

**Explanation:**

**Option (b) is correct: The democratic societies, including India, have introduced measures to recognize and protect the identity of cultural minority communities.** These measures include constitutional protection for language, culture, and religion, as well as representation in legislative bodies and state institutions. These group rights are justified as providing equal treatment and protection for members of these groups and safeguarding their cultural identity.

**Source:** Class 11<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Political Theory/ Chapter 7/ Nationalism

6. Consider the following statements about the Rabindranath Tagore's critique of nationalism:

Tagore believed that patriotism should be the ultimate spiritual shelter for individuals.

Tagore saw British administration as a means to uphold the dignity of human relationships.

Tagore encouraged Indians to reject Western civilization in its entirety.

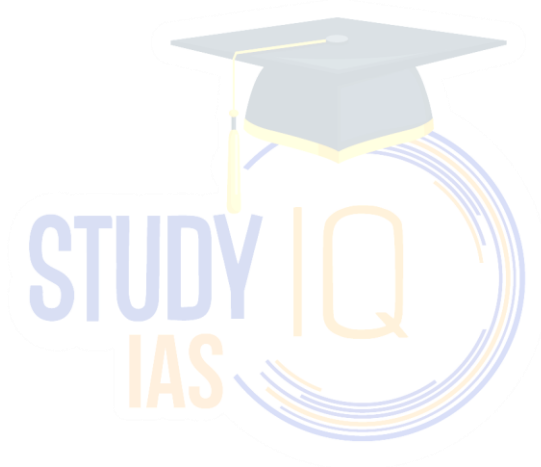
Tagore was critical of narrow expressions of nationalism and feared hostility towards foreign influences.

**Answer: D**

**Explanation:**

**Option (d) is correct: In his critique of nationalism, Tagore expressed his concern about the narrow expressions of nationalism that he observed within parts of the Indian independence movement.** He believed that such narrow nationalism limited people's perspectives and could lead to hostility towards foreign influences. Tagore emphasized the importance of maintaining an open mind and learning from different cultures and traditions, including those from abroad. He did not advocate for rejecting Western civilization entirely, but rather emphasized the need to strike a balance between rootedness in one's own culture and an openness to learning from other civilizations.

**Source:** Class 11<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Political Theory/ Chapter 7/ Nationalism



## CHAPTER 8: SECULARISM

### INTRODUCTION

A democratic state must ensure equality for all communities and cultures when they coexist in the same nation. This might be offered using the secularism concept. The concept of secularism is often discussed and debated in public in India. In addition to ministers and religious nationalists, secularism is criticized by certain politicians, social activists, and even academics.

### CONCEPT OF SECULARISM

It is a normative idea that aims to create a secular society free from **inter- religious dominance or intra-religious dominance**.

It advocates for **religious freedom and equality** both inside and across religions.

A nation that adheres to the principle of secularism must uphold some sort of defined policy toward religion and religious communities.

### INTER-RELIGIOUS DOMINATION

The Indian Constitution guarantees every citizen the right to live in freedom and dignity throughout the nation, yet in practice, discrimination and exclusion still exist.

Three stark examples illustrate this-

The **1984 massacre** of over 2,700 Sikhs in Delhi and other parts of the country, with many feeling that the guilty were not adequately punished.

**Hindu Kashmiri pandits** faced forced displacement from the Kashmir valley and have been unable to return home for more than two decades.

In 2002, over 1,000 persons, mostly Muslims, were massacred during **post-Godhra riots in Gujarat**, leading to many families unable to return to their villages.

These instances all include discrimination with members of particular religious communities being singled out and persecuted due to their religious affiliation, depriving them of their fundamental freedoms and rights.

Secularism stands as a **doctrine that opposes all forms of inter-religious domination**, emphasizing the need to combat religious persecution.

### INTRA-RELIGIOUS DOMINATION

Some individuals see religion as the "**opium of the masses**" and think it will cease to exist if everyone's basic wants are met and everyone is content with their lives.

But this perspective is delusional because human potential has limitations and because suffering is part of the existence of people.

Secularism is not fundamentally anti-religious because it recognises the importance of **religion, art, and philosophy as responses to human suffering**.

Despite this, religion also has deep-rooted problems, such as-

**inequality between male and female members**

**discrimination against certain sections, like dalits in Hinduism.**

Organized religion can be taken over by conservative factions that do not tolerate dissent, leading to religious fundamentalism and sectarian violence.

Secularism opposes not only inter-religious domination but also intra-religious domination within religious communities.

Secularism seeks to create a society devoid of all forms of institutionalized religious domination and aims to promote **freedom within religions and equality between and within religious communities**.

### SECULAR STATE

## NEED OF SECULAR STATE

Religious discrimination can be prevented by working together for **mutual enlightenment and education**.

Individual examples of generosity and kindness can lessen **prejudice and mistrust** between groups of people but these are not enough.

States have enormous public power in modern societies, and how well they function will undoubtedly have a significant impact on the success of any effort to build a society **free from intercommunal violence and religious discrimination**.

For this reason, we need to see what kind of state is needed to prevent religious conflict and to promote religious harmony.

## ROLE OF THE STATE IN PREVENTING RELIGIOUS DOMINATION

The state's role is crucial in creating a society with less inter-community conflict and religious discrimination.

A secular state **should not be governed by the heads of any particular religion**. Separation of religious and political institutions is essential for **peace, freedom, and equality**.

Theocratic nations, such as **the Papal states of Europe** in the course of the medieval era, are known for their oppression and refusal to let members of other religious groups the right to practice their religion freely.

The state must not have a **formal, legal alliance with any religion** to be truly secular. It should be committed to principles derived from non-religious sources.

These principles include promoting –

**peace,  
religious freedom,  
equality, and  
freedom from religious oppression and discrimination.**

## DIFFERENT CONCEPTIONS OF SECULARISM

The **mainstream western conception**, represented by the American state, emphasizes strict separation of religion and state to promote secular values.

The **alternative conception, exemplified by the Indian state**, also supports separation but allows some accommodation for religious matters while promoting secular goals.

## THE WESTERN MODEL OF SECULARISM

**Common Characteristics of Secular States:** Secular states are **neither theocratic nor do they establish a state religion**. They practice mutual exclusion, where the state does not intervene in religious affairs, and religion does not interfere in state affairs.

**Independent jurisdiction:** Each has their own area of influence, and no official policy may be justified solely on the basis of religion. No governmental policy may be based on a religious classification.

**State cannot aid any religious institution:** It cannot financially support religious communities' educational institutions or interfere with their operations, so long as they stay within the broad parameters established by the legislation of the land. For example-

If a religious institution forbids a woman from becoming a priest, then the state can do little about it.

If a religious community excommunicates its dissenters, the state can only be a silent witness.

If a particular religion forbids the entry of some of its members in the sanctum of its temple, then the state has no option but to let the matter rest exactly where it is.

**Interpretation of Liberty:** In this conception of secularism, freedom and equality are viewed primarily from an individual perspective.

Liberty is seen as the **freedom of individuals**, and equality is understood as **equality between individuals**.

The emphasis is on individual rights, and there is limited consideration for the liberties of communities or the idea of community-based right.

**Emphasis on Intra-Religious Domination:** The historical context of most Western societies, apart from Jewish presence, was characterized by religious homogeneity.

Due to this homogeneity, the focus was primarily on **intra-religious issues rather than inter-religious matters**.

The strict separation of the state from religious institutions was aimed at ensuring individual freedom and reducing religious influence on governance.

Consequently, issues related to inter-religious equality and minority rights were often neglected.

This form of mainstream secularism has no place for the idea of state supported religious reform.

**Strict separation of state and religion** means the state does not actively support religious reforms.

### Kemal Ataturk's Secularism

Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, a prominent leader who rose to power **after World War I**, introduced a **unique form of secularism in Turkey** in the first half of **the twentieth century**.

Ataturk's secularism required active action and the **eradication of religious practices** rather than a fundamental separation from organized religion.

One of his primary objectives was to eliminate the influence of the **Khalifa (religious leadership)** from the public life of Turkey.

Ataturk believed that in order to modernize and bring Turkey out of its state of decline, a break from traditional thinking and expression was required.

To achieve this, Ataturk implemented aggressive reforms to modernize and secularize Turkish society.

He even changed his own name from **Mustafa Kemal Pasha to Kemal Ataturk**, symbolizing a break from tradition and embracing a new identity as the **"Father of the Turks."**

Traditional Muslim attire, such as the **Fez cap**, was **banned through the Hat Law**, while Western clothing was encouraged for both men and women.

The **Western (Gregorian) calendar** was adopted, replacing the traditional Turkish calendar, and in 1928, the **new Turkish alphabet**, based on a modified Latin form, was introduced.

### INDIAN MODEL OF SECULARISM

Indian secularism is fundamentally different from Western secularism and does **not focus only on church-state separation** and the idea of inter-religious equality is crucial.

**Distinctive Nature of Indian Secularism:** Indian secularism is fundamentally different from Western secularism, as it arose in a context of deep religious diversity that preceded Western modern ideas and nationalism.

It focuses on **both church-state separation** and the idea of **inter-religious equality**, giving equal importance to intra-religious and inter-religious domination.

**Focus on Equality Within Communities:** Indian secularism places a strong emphasis on equality within communities, rejecting merely tolerating behavior that might yet permit some degree of dominance and freedom.

In India, secularism adopted principles of intercommunity equality and **eliminated hierarchical beliefs** with the introduction of Western modernism.

**Religious Freedom of Individuals and Minority Communities:** The religious freedom of individuals to practice the religion of their choice is upheld by Indian secularism.

Additionally, it acknowledges the right of minorities to practice their religion freely, allowing them to exist, preserve their culture, and run educational institutions.

**State-Supported Religious Reform:** Indian secularism accommodates the idea of state-supported religious reform.

The Indian Constitution has **banned untouchability** and enacted **laws against child marriage** and **inter-caste marriage** sanctioned by Hinduism.

**Engagement with Religion as Needed:** Following the American secularist model, the Indian state can either disengage from religion or, if necessary, engage with it in an intelligent manner.

Engagement can take the form of fighting against religious tyranny (such as banning untouchability) or promoting the rights of religious minorities (such as by sponsoring minority educational institutions).

**Complexity of Indian Secularism:** The complexity of Indian secularism goes beyond "**equal respect for all religions.**"

It involves principled state intervention in all religions, which may show disrespect to some aspects of each religion.

For instance, **caste-hierarchies sanctioned by religions are not acceptable** within Indian secularism.

**Emphasis on Peace, Freedom, and Equality:** In a nation where religious diversity and inter-communal harmony are the norm, Indian secularism aims to promote the principles of **peace, freedom, and equality.**

It aims to establish a nation where **religious liberty is upheld** and **religious dominance**, whether inter- or intra-religious, is **reduced.**

**Indian Secularism vs. Western Secularism:** Indian secularism's approach goes beyond individual liberty and separation of church and state, incorporating measures for inter-religious harmony and minority rights.

Western secularism, in contrast, emerged from societies with more religious homogeneity, leading to its primary focus on individual freedom and church-state separation.

## CRITICISMS OF INDIAN SECULARISM

### ANTI-RELIGIOUS

Secularism opposes institutionalized religious domination, but it is not inherently anti-religious. It aims to ensure that all religious and nonreligious groups are treated equally and impartially.

**Secularism and Religious Identity:** Some argue that secularism threatens religious identity, but in reality, it promotes religious freedom and equality.

Secularism safeguards religious identity rather than threatening it.

It does challenge certain forms of religious identity that are **dogmatic, violent, fanatical, exclusivist, or promote hatred** toward other religions.

This does not imply destroying religion completely, but rather **addressing negative elements within some religious practices.**

### WESTERN IMPORT

**Criticism:** Some criticize secularism as linked to Christianity and consider it unsuited for Indian conditions. However, many aspects of modern Indian life, such as trousers, the internet, and parliamentary democracy, have Western origins, and their adoption does not necessarily imply unsuitability.

**Secularism's Independent goals:** For a state to be truly secular, it must have its **own independent goals and not merely adopt Western practices.**

Western secular states became secular by challenging the control of established religious authority over social and political life

The mutual exclusion of **religion and state**, characteristic of Western secular societies, is not the defining feature of all secular states.

Different societies interpret the idea of separation differently, leading to **varying models of secularism.**

**India's Unique Secularism:** India has evolved a variant of secularism that is not solely borrowed from the West but has both Western and non-Western origins.



The idea of peaceful co-existence of different religious communities is essential in India's secularism.

**Blend of Influences:** While Western secularism emphasizes church-state separation, India's secularism stresses the importance of peaceful coexistence between religious communities.

**India's secularism is a blend of influences**, incorporating principles from both Western and non-Western sources to suit its unique context.

### MINORITISM

**Criticism:** A third accusation against secularism is the **charge of minoritism**. It is true that Indian secularism advocates minority rights.

A person has a prior right to the satisfaction of his or her significant interests. The most fundamental interest of **minorities must not be harmed** and must be protected by constitutional law.

Minority rights are protected by the Indian Constitution as long as those rights uphold their **fundamental objectives**.

**Minority rights are necessary special privileges:** Minority needs to be treated with the same respect and dignity with which all others are being treated. These need not be nor should be viewed as special privileges.

### INTERVENTIONIST

**Misreading Indian Secularism:** Some critics argue that Indian secularism is restrictive and interferes excessively with the right to practice one's religion.

However, this view misinterprets Indian secularism's concept of **principled distance and non-interference**.

**Principled Distance and Non-Interference:** Indian secularism condemns mutual exclusion and maintains a moral separation between the state and religion. Non-interference is also acceptable, and excessive intervention is not implied.

**State-Supported Religious Reform:** Indian secularism permits state-supported religious reform but not coercive imposition from above.

**Dilemma of Personal Laws:** The dilemma arises regarding personal laws of different religious communities (marriage, inheritance, etc.).

Some view them as **community-specific rights** protected by the Constitution, while others see them as **unjust and unequal**.

**Manifestations of Freedom and Domination:** Personal laws can be seen as both manifestations of freedom from inter-religious domination and instances of intra-religious domination.

**Potential for Reforms:** Complex doctrines involve internal conflicts, but **reforms are possible**. Reforms should aim to uphold **minority rights and equality between men and women**.

**Facilitating Reforms:** The government should serve as a bridge by encouraging liberal and democratic viewpoints in all religions. Neither the state nor religious organizations should compel **reforms by coercion**, nor should the state completely relieve itself of responsibility.

### VOTE BANK POLITICS

Critics argue that secularism encourages the politics of vote banks, and this claim has some truth to it. In a democracy, politicians naturally seek votes, which is an essential part of democratic politics but the critical aspect is the **motivation behind seeking votes**.

If politicians seek votes solely for their self-interest or power, it is unfair. The key is whether it also aims to benefit the group in question.

The secular project, which attempts to preserve minority interests, is successful when secular politicians seek **the votes of minorities and keep their commitments**.

The concern arises when the welfare of one group is sought at the expense of the welfare and rights of other groups, **leading to injustice**.

Those who disagree with this position should present proof of numerous occasions where secular vote-bank politics in India routinely support minority and harm the interests of the majority.

The concept of vote bank politics is not inherently problematic, it is the form that generates injustice that needs scrutiny.

All political parties use vote bank politics in relation to various social groups, not just secular parties.

### IMPOSSIBLE PROJECT

**Criticism:** Secularism cannot work because it tries to do too much to find a solution to an intractable problem.

**Problem:** People with deep religious differences will never live together in peace.

**False claim:** The history of Indian civilisation shows that this kind of living together is realizable. It is **possible to live together in an unequal world**. A hierarchically organized system could accommodate everyone. This will not work when equality is increasingly becoming a dominant cultural value.

**Indian secularism:** The future of the world is reflected in **Indian secularism due to migration and globalization**.

Societies in Europe, America, and some of the Middle East are becoming more diverse in terms of cultures and religions as individuals from former colonies migrate to the West and global movement accelerates.

The Indian experiment of secularism, with its focus on **religious diversity and coexistence**, is being closely observed by the whole world.

#### Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru on Secularism

In independent India, Nehru defined secularism as a state that offers equal protection to all religions without favoring or establishing one as the official state religion.

He believed in secularism as a **means of protecting religious freedom and promoting social reforms**, rather than being hostile to religion.

Nehru, unlike Atatürk in Turkey, did not advocate complete separation between religion and state.

He acknowledged that a **secular state can interfere in religious matters to bring about social reform**.

Nehru played a key role in enacting laws that abolished **caste discrimination, dowry, and sati, and extended legal rights and social freedom to Indian women**.

One of Nehru's unwavering stances was his complete opposition to all forms of communalism.

He strongly **criticized communalism**, particularly from the majority community, as a threat to national unity and the integrity of India.

### QUESTIONS

1. Which of the following statements accurately reflects the concept of secularism?

Secularism promotes the dominance of a particular religious group in a society, ensuring their social, political, and economic benefits.

Secularism guarantees equal treatment and opportunities for individuals of all religious backgrounds within a society.

Secularism advocates for the exclusion of religious minorities from social, political, and economic benefits in a society.

Secularism promotes discrimination and marginalization.

**Answer: B**

**Explanation:**

**Option (b) is correct: Secularism is a principle that advocates for the separation of religion and state. It promotes the idea that the government should remain neutral and not**

**favour or endorse any particular religious belief or group.** Instead, secularism ensures that individuals of all religious backgrounds, as well as those who adhere to no religion, are treated equally under the law and have equal access to social, political, and economic benefits.

**Source:** Class 11<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Political Theory/ Chapter 8/ Secularism

2. Consider the following statements about the inter-religious domination in India:

The Constitution of India guarantees the right to live with freedom and dignity to every Indian citizen in any part of the country.

Secularism primarily opposes inter-religious domination but does not address intra-religious domination.

Which of the statements given above is/are correct?

1 only

2 only

Both 1 and 2

Neither 1 nor 2

**Answer: A**

**Explanation:**

**Statement 1 is correct: The Constitution of India does guarantee the right to live with freedom and dignity to every Indian citizen in any part of the country.** This principle is enshrined in various articles, such as Article 14 (Right to Equality) and Article 19 (Protection of Certain Rights Regarding Freedom of Speech, etc.).

**Statement 2 is incorrect: Secularism opposes both inter-religious and intra-religious domination. While inter-religious domination refers to the discrimination and persecution of individuals or groups from one religion by another, intra-religious domination refers to discrimination or oppression within a particular religious community.** Secularism aims to ensure equal treatment and protection of all individuals regardless of their religious beliefs, and it opposes any form of domination or discrimination based on religion, whether it is inter-religious or intra-religious.

**Source:** Class 11<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Political Theory/ Chapter 8/ Secularism

3. Consider the following statements regarding the characteristics and principles of a secular state:

A secular state should be governed by the heads of various religious groups to ensure religious equality and harmony.

Theocratic states are known for their reluctance to allow freedom of religion.

The nature and extent of separation between state and religion may take different forms, depending on the specific values it aims to promote.

How many of the statements given above are correct?

Only one

Only two

All three

None

**Answer: B**

**Explanation:**

**Statement 1 is incorrect: In a secular state, the governance should not be vested in the heads of various religious groups. Instead, a secular state should ensure that the government is separate from any specific religious authority or influence.** The goal of a

secular state is to ensure religious equality and harmony by treating all religious groups equally and not favoring one over the others.

**Statement 2 is correct: The lack of separation between religious and political institutions in theocratic states often leads to hierarchies and oppressions,** as well as a reluctance to allow freedom of religion to members of other religious groups.

**Statement 3 is correct: The separation between state and religion can take different forms depending on the values a secular state aims to promote. There is no one-size-fits-all approach to the separation of state and religion.** The specific nature and extent of separation can vary, but the underlying goal is to promote values such as peace, religious freedom, equality, and freedom from religiously grounded oppression and discrimination.

**Source:** Class 11<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Political Theory/ Chapter 8/ Secularism

4. Consider the following statements about the Western model of secularism:

In the Western model of secularism, the state refrains from interfering in religious affairs.

The Western model of secularism advocates for a complete separation between religion and state.

According to the Western model of secularism, the state can financially support religious educational institutions.

The Western model of secularism prioritizes individual liberty and equality, with limited emphasis on community-based or minority rights.

How many of the statements given above are correct?

Only one

Only two

Only three

All four

**Answer: C**

**Explanation:**

**Statement 1 is correct: According to the Western model of secularism, the state does not intervene in religious affairs, and religion does not have a direct influence on state matters.** There is a clear separation between the two.

**Statement 2 is correct: The Western model emphasizes a complete separation between religion and state, with each having its own distinct sphere of authority.** The state does not have jurisdiction over religious matters, and religion does not have jurisdiction over state matters.

**Statement 3 is incorrect: The Western model of secularism does not allow the state to provide financial support to religious educational institutions or hinder the activities of religious communities.** The state is expected to remain neutral and not favour or impede any particular religious group.

**Statement 4 is correct: Individual liberty and equality are fundamental principles in the Western model.** However, community-based or minority rights are often given limited emphasis in this model, with more focus on individual rights.

**Source:** Class 11<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Political Theory/ Chapter 8/ Secularism

5. Consider the following statements about Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's version of secularism in Turkey and its differences from Indian secularism:

Atatürk aimed to modernize and secularize Turkey by implementing various reforms, such as encouraging Western clothing, and adopting a modified Latin alphabet.

Indian secularism emphasizes principled distance from organized religion rather than active intervention and suppression.

Which of the statements given above is/are correct?

- 1 only
- 2 only
- Both 1 and 2
- Neither 1 nor 2

**Answer: C**

**Explanation:**

**Statement 1 is correct: Ataturk aimed to modernize and secularize Turkey through various reforms. These reforms included banning the Fez, a traditional cap worn by Muslims, and encouraging Western clothing for men and women.** He also introduced the Western (Gregorian) calendar and adopted a modified Latin alphabet, replacing the traditional Turkish calendar and Arabic script.

**Statement 2 is correct: Indian secularism emphasizes principled distance from organized religion rather than active intervention and suppression.** In India, the state is expected to maintain neutrality and treat all religions equally, allowing individuals to freely practice their religion without interference or favouritism.

**Source:** Class 11<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Political Theory/ Chapter 8/ Secularism

6. Consider the following statements about the distinctive features of Indian secularism:

Indian secularism is an imitation of Western secularism, focusing primarily on religion-state separation.

Indian secularism recognizes the religious freedom of individuals and minority communities, including the right to maintain their own culture and educational institutions.

Indian secularism implies equal respect for all religions practices, without any intervention by the state.

How many of the statements given above are correct?

- Only one
- Only two
- Only three
- None

**Answer: A**

**Explanation:**

**Statement 1 is incorrect: Indian secularism is not an imitation of Western secularism that primarily focuses on church-state separation.** The Indian model of secularism has distinctive features.

**Statement 2 is correct: Indian secularism recognizes the religious freedom of individuals and minority communities, including their right to maintain their own culture and educational institutions.**

**Statement 3 is incorrect: Indian secularism does not imply equal respect for all religions and their practices without any state intervention.** The state can intervene in religious matters to promote equality and address issues like caste-hierarchies, which may contradict certain aspects of organized religions.

**Source:** Class 11<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Political Theory/ Chapter 8/ Secularism

7. Consider the following statements regarding Jawaharlal Nehru view on secularism:

He believed in equal protection by the state for all religions.

He practiced and believed in a particular religion.

He advocated for a complete separation between religion and state.

Nehru opposed communalism and considered secularism essential for national unity and integrity.

How many of the statements given above are correct?

Only one

Only two

Only three

All four

**Answer: B**

**Explanation:**

**Statement 1 is correct: Nehru emphasized the importance of a secular state that protects all religions and does not favour one over the others.** He believed in providing equal rights and protection to individuals practicing different religions.

**Statement 2 is incorrect: Nehru did not practice any religion and did not believe in God.** Although he did not have personal religious beliefs, he did not view secularism as being hostile to religion.

**Statement 3 is incorrect: Nehru did not advocate for a complete separation between religion and state.** He believed that a secular state could intervene in religious matters to bring about social reforms. Nehru played a key role in enacting laws that abolished caste discrimination, dowry, and sati, and he worked towards extending legal rights and social freedom to Indian women.

**Statement 4 is correct: Nehru was firm and uncompromising in his opposition to communalism, particularly the communalism of the majority community, which he saw as a threat to national unity.** He believed that secularism was not only a matter of principles but also the only guarantee for maintaining the unity and integrity of India.

**Source:** Class 11<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Political Theory/ Chapter 8/ Secularism

8. Consider the following statements about the criticisms of Indian secularism:

Critics argue that minority rights advocated by Indian secularism grant special privileges and are not justified.

Indian secularism is criticized for being excessively interventionist and interfering with the religious freedom of communities.

Critics claim that secularism encourages vote bank politics, prioritizing the welfare of minority groups over the majority.

How many of the statements given above are correct?

Only one

Only two

All three

None

**Answer: C**

**Explanation:**

**Statement 1 is correct: Critics claim that minority rights advocated by Indian secularism grant special privileges to specific religious communities, which they argue is unjustified.** However, proponents of secularism argue that minority rights are justified in order to protect the fundamental interests of minorities and ensure equality and dignity for all individuals and communities.



**Statement 2 is correct: Critics argue that Indian secularism is excessively interventionist and interferes with the religious freedom of communities.** However, defenders of Indian secularism explain that it follows the concept of principled distance, which allows for non-interference in religious matters.

**Statement 3 is correct: Critics claim that secularism encourages vote bank politics, where politicians seek the votes of specific religious or minority groups to secure their support.** They argue that this approach may prioritize the welfare of minority groups over the majority and lead to an imbalance.

**Source:** Class 11<sup>th</sup> NCERT/ Political Theory/ Chapter 8/ Secularism

