

THEORIES OF STATE

Ph : 011-35521496
09899156495

- **LIBERAL THEORY OF STATE**
- **(1) Classical:**
- Liberals said that state emerge due to the **consent of the people** and **social-contract** is mechanism for getting the consent of the people.
- Therefore, for liberals state is a **machine** (**mechanistic concept**-state is **artificial**, made by the people).
- **Laissez-faire state:-** It is a French term which means **leave alone**. The function of state is like **night watchman** (Locke) which is responsible for maintaining law and order. It is also known as a '**Police state**'.

BY-RAJESH MISHRA

Visit us at : www.saraswatias.com

● (2) Welfare:

- Liberals always believe in **democratic-constitutional** state. But the functions and responsibility of state expanded, state became 'nanny state' or 'cradle to grave state'.

Two models of welfare state are as followed:-

- (i)UK:- Progressive taxation and state control over public sector industries.
- (ii)USA:- Based on the concept of progressive taxation.
- Now the functioning of state is to manage health care facilities, education, providing employment and abolition of property. **Beveridge Report** (1942) identified five giants namely **want, diseases, ignorance, squalor, idleness**. Green says the function of state is to **hindering the hindrances**.

- **(3) Neo-liberal:**

(1) Criticism of welfare state:- In the book *The Road to Serfdom* (1944), Hayek said that collectivism or socialism and totalitarianism are the two sides of same coin. Both disregard liberty and autonomy of individuals. He said that monopoly of state over economic activities is harmful for liberty of individuals.

(2) Rolling back of state:- Nozick (state anarchy and utopia) is neo-liberal or libertarian who said that powerful state goes against the basic concept of liberty. Hayek also wrote in the Constitution of Liberty, welfare state curtails the autonomy, self-reliance, independence and risk taking capability of individuals.

- **(3) Minimal and neutral state:-** Neo-liberals believe in a minimal state. Hayek said that idea of progressive taxation violates the concept of equal pay for equal work. He also said that there is a difference between misfortune and injustice. Free market unlike justice does not presuppose a distributor. On the name of welfare state bureaucracy becomes powerful which ultimately end liberty.

BY-RAJESH MISHRA

THE PLURALIST STATE

- After industrialisation and urbanisation different pressure groups were formed in the western societies. Like **trade union, student union, peasant associations** etc.
- With the development of fascist state, liberals were very much willing to protect liberty in their own societies.
- With the development of federal form of government, it was recognized that there is no single **centre of power** which exist in society.
- With the evolution if international organisations like- United Nations, **the cooperation between nation-state enhanced.**
- Laski wrote in his book '**Grammar of Politics**', that **authority is federal.**

- **LASKI'S VIEW**

- He said that society is **federal**. Therefore, state is federal and **associations of society** like family, trade union, church came into existence prior to state.
- Laski said that, each and every association is society is equally important for the development of human personality.
- He never accepted the supremacy of state, but he said that the primary role of state is to **promote the harmony and coordination** in different associations which exist in society.
- He said that state is association **among the various associations**. Therefore, there is no single set of power and it is known as pluralist state.
- Pluralist are **not anarchist**. Therefore they do not want to destroy state but, they believe in a **decentralised state**.
- Pluralist or Laski was **against the totalitarian state or the Fascist state**.

BY-RAJESH MISHRA

● **ANALYSIS OF DAHL**

- In the contemporary world the notion of pluralist state was defined by **Robert Dahl**. He was against the Marxist theory of **class-state** and the totalitarian state of Fascists.
- Robert Dahl said that, in a 'new heaven city' where he conducted his **empirical study- multiple or various groups** exist in society. Therefore, the **present** form of liberal state is infact the Pluralist state.
- He said that each and every group **compete** with others for getting more and more **power** but later he admitted that **business houses** are more important or powerful in comparison to the other groups.

- **MODELS OF PLURALIST STATE**

- Pluralist state can be categorized in the following:-

- **(i) Neutral state:-** It means state is neutral towards each and every group or association in society.

- **(ii) Broker state:-** It means state try to protect its own interest rather than protecting the interest of others.

- **(iii) Weather vance model of state:-** It means state is not neutral towards each and every association but it always tries to protect the interest of the most powerful groups in society.

- **REJECTION OF MARXISM**

- Pluralist state is against the **monoist** concept of state and it also rejects the **class analysis** of state by Marxist.

BY-RAJESH MISHRA

MARXIST THEORY OF STATE

- **STATE AS A CLASS INSTRUMENT**
- In **The Communist Manifesto**(1848) 'the executive of the modern state is but a committee for managing the common affairs to the whole bourgeoisie'. From this perspective, the state is clearly **dependent upon society** and entirely dependent upon its **economically dominant class**, which in capitalism is the **bourgeoisie**.
- **Lenin** thus described the state starkly as '**an instrument for the oppression of the exploited class**'.
- For Marx, state is **not natural** but, it emerge during the **development and evolution** of society. State came into existence due to emergence of **private property** and **class-divided society**.

RELATIVE AUTONOMY OF STATE

- A second, and more complex and subtle, theory of state can nevertheless be found in Marx's analysis of the revolutionary events in France between 1848 and 1851, *the Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* ([1852] 1963). Marx suggested that the state could enjoy what has come to be seen as 'relative autonomy' from the class system, the Napoleonic state being capable of imposing its **will** upon society, acting as an '**appalling parasitic body**'.
- If the state did articulate the interests of any class, it was **not those of the bourgeoisie**, but those of the most **populous class** in French society, the **smallholding peasantry**.
- Although Marx did not develop this view in detail, it is clear that, from this perspective, the autonomy of the state is only relative, in that the state appears to **mediate** between **conflicting classes**, and so maintains the **class system** itself in existence.

BY-RAJESH MISHRA

Visit us at : www.saraswatiias.com

- **NEO-MARXIST**

- Neo-marxist are critical towards the **pluralist** concept of state.
- Neo-marxists rejected theory of **economic determinism** propounded by orthodox Marxists but they have also **criticized welfare state and the pluralist state. Ralph Miliband's the State in Capitalist Society (1969). He emphasized over understanding of bureaucracy, army and judiciary. In short, he focuses over the managerial class for understanding the state.**
- **(a) INSTRUMENTALIST**
- Miliband is not focusing over the economic factors. Managerial class is a **new instrument of exploitation.** Miliband is focusing over superstructure and said that civil services, political parties play a primary role for protecting the capitalism.

BY-RAJESH MISHRA

- **(b)STRUCTURALIST**
- **Nicos Poulantza's Political Power and Social Classes(1973)**. He is focusing over the **structures** of society. It is comprised of **political** structure, **ideological** structure, **legal** and **technical** structure too. Therefore, state is not only dependent over the economic structures.
- **Nicos Poulantza's** view is influenced by **Louis Althusser** who said that now capitalist state becomes an ideological state. Capitalist state continuously reproduce the capitalist mode of production.
- **The repressive apparatus** like police, army, court. An **ideological apparatus** includes right, freedom, media, church and education system.

THE FEMINIST PERSPECTIVE

- **RADICAL FEMINIST**
- **Carol Pateman** says that welfare state is an agency of **patriarchy**. From within a feminist perspective, politics is seen as an activity definitely **not restricted** to the domain of **public decision-making**. Indeed, central to feminist arguments is the critique of other narrow definitions and understanding of **politics as something operating in the public domain**.
- Many feminists seek to **challenge** and **undermine** traditional divisions in society between the **public** and the **private**. Feminist campaigns have help to **politicize** and bring upon the public agenda associated with private or personal life: **abortion and reproductive rights, women's health, domestic violence, incest, sexuality and language**.
- In *Walby's Theorising Patriarchy*, she underlays six interrelated structures through which gender relations are constructed and reproduced. These are **paid employment, household, production, culture, violence** and the **state**.

BY-RAJESH MISHRA

Visit us at : www.saraswatiias.com

- **LIBERAL FEMINIST**

- The state may not necessarily take on an **overt interventionist role** to enforce its desires, however. Rather, it plays a crucial role in **determining what is**, and importantly, **what is not, social behaviour**.
- The state however, still largely **frowns** upon other forms of alternative living, such as **gay couples**, or single parents, particularly **single mothers** that do not conform to the **dominant construction** and **perceived prominence** of the **private nuclear family** as the **core** of our society.
- The state can also sometimes, as in the case of **homosexuality**, directly use the **force law** to **support** and **enforce** its views.
- The state also seek to identify ideologically **what is** and **what is not political**. The **right to ownership** and **accumulation of private wealth** and **property** is supported and promised by the state.

POST-COLONIAL THEORY

- Modern nation state emerged in the European Continent due to modernisation and urbanisation. However, modern state in **Asian-African** nations emerge due to the **colonial subjugation**.
- Post-colonial state refers the state of **Asia, Africa and Latin America**. Therefore, **liberal** and **Marxist** interpretation of post-colonial state is **not sufficient**.
- **(1)NON-MARXIST INTERPRETATION**
- **Atul kohli** describe about the **uniqueness** of Indian state because political system is **democratic, secular** and recognized **liberty** and **equality**. But religion, community is a **vital force** in society.
- **Rasheeduddin Khan** describe Indian state as a **total state**. it is not based on **terror** and **one party dictatorship** but **social hierarchy** and **inequality** exist in society.

- **Gunnar Myrdal** coined the term **soft state**. He said that state in South-Asian society is relatively **weak**. Soft state refers inability of state to make people obey the laws and regulations. State also **fails to maintain discipline**.
- **Amartya Sen** says that soft state is more **utilitarian** for Indian society.
- **(2) MARXIST INTERPRETATION**
- **(a) Over developed state:-** **Hamza Alvi** said that state are **more stronger** in post-colonial societies in **comparison to society**. It is created by the colonial forces.

- **(b) New meaning of Class:-** Hamza Alvi said that state is not an instrument of any **single class**. It is **relatively autonomous** which maintains mediation and balance. Bourgeoisie class includes:-
 - (i) Metropolitan Bourgeoisie.
 - (ii) Indigenous Bourgeoisie.
 - (iii) Landed class.
- **(c) Bureaucratic military Oligarchy:-** After independence from the **colonial subjugation** state is still under the control by bourgeoisie. Bureaucratic military oligarchy is supported by the **political parties**.
- **Political leadership** along with **bureaucratic military oligarchy** involve in the tussle for getting more and more power. Therefore post-colonial state are still imperialist.

GLOBALISATION AND STATE

- **David Held** identified **gaps** in sovereignty due to globalisation. **Michael Mann** said that **role of state and state is different**. He said that now state are having less concern with **sovereignty** and **security** and they are more interested to protect their **economic interest** in global market.
- **Susan strange** says that now role of state is changing it is no longer **Hobbesian** or **Hegelian** state. It is more like a medieval state based on **shared sovereignty**.
- It is age of **multi level governance** where **sub state** is emerging in form of autonomy for various groups and **regional organisations** and international organisations also influencing the functions of state.