

THE ACADEMY OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

Volume II

POLITICAL SCIENCE

**G.C.E. ADVANCED LEVEL
TEXT BOOK**

(Extended Notes)

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Political Science – G.C.E. Advanced Level Text Book

Volume II

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Political Science (G.C.E. Advanced Level)

❖ **Extended Notes - Volume I**

Unit 01 – Identifying Political Science

Unit 02 – Areas of Political Science

Unit 03 – The State

Unit 04 – Formats of Governments

❖ **Extended Notes - Volume II**

Unit 05 – Political Ideologies

Unit 06 – Conflict and Conflict Management

Unit 09 – Democratic Governance

Unit 11 – Public Policy Making

❖ **Extended Notes - Volume III**

Unit 07 – Colonial Transformation of Ceylon

Unit 08 – Westminster Format in Sri Lanka

Unit 12 – 1978 Second Republican Constitution of Sri Lanka

❖ **Extended Notes - Volume IV**

Unit 10 – Constitutions of Chosen Countries

Unit 13 – The Political Party System of Sri Lanka

Unit 14 – International Politics

Unit 15 – Sri Lanka and the World

❖ **Political Science (G.C.E. A/L) Short Notes**

❖ **Political Science (G.C.E. A/L) Summarized Notes**

❖ **Political Science (G.C.E. A/L) Model Question Papers**

❖ **Fundamentals of Political Science in Basic Terms**

Political Science – Extended Notes

Volume 2

Unit 05 – Political Ideologies

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

Introduction to political ideologies

Political ideologies can be identified as a collection of specific ideas which are influential on politics in the society. These ideologies could attract a large population in the society and guide the political system. These can be also identified as a set of ideas on lives among the society, among state or politics. When an ideology is presented by a political thinker or a group of political thinkers it receives social recognition. More social recognition allows political ideology to become a mainstream ideology in political science.

Following common features can be seen in any political ideology

- Being consistent of a set of ideas which are parallel to one and another
- Being capable of shaping the political thinking, beliefs and the future of certain parts of the society
- Being capable of encouraging social group to be politically active

Political ideologies are capable of handling and shaping political institutes, political users, governance and political behaviorism inside a political society. Specially, it should be noted that political movements and political parties are based on political ideologies. In simple terms a group of people in favor of a certain ideology is eventually attracted through political movements or political parties who represent that ideology. Also, the ideologies are capable of making such people politically active and sent into active social politics.

In this unit we shall focus on the following ideologies;

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

Liberalism

The term “liberal” is originated from the Latin term “liber”. The basic meaning of this term stands for freedom, liberation and redemption. Therefore, in simplest terms, liberalism can be identified as a political ideology which develops the freedom, liberation and redemption of people. However, we can observe that liberalism is a much broader political ideology than this interpretation cover.

The political ideology of liberalism was initiated in Europe against the feudalistic society and the autocratic monarchial system. By the 17th century new social classes were born in Europe against the autocratic rule of monarchs and Aristocrats. Out of these several classes, the merchant class can be identified as the most important class. As a result of the investments made by this merchant class a new capitalistic economic system was born in Europe.

This capitalistic economic system was based on individual freedom, private property, freedom, free market and free entrepreneurship. The liberal ideology was initially suggested to prevent the involvement of the state over the above economic system.

In other words, this newly emerged merchant class mainly intended to prevent the economic involvements of the state which controlled the market, and handled taxation on their sole discretion. This was known as the freedom free governments interferences and constrains imposed by the government.

The liberal political ideology is not developed on the views of the solitary political thinker. The ideology has been enriched by many liberal thinkers who lived in different types. The development of liberalism was contributed by political thinkers such as,

- John Locke
- John Stewart Mill
- Montesquieu
- Rousseau
- Alexis De Tocqueville

Despite the fact that liberalism has different interpretations and different streams the core concept of every liberalist is the appreciation of individualism. The appreciation of individualism is the appreciation of individual freedom. Therefore, the basic idea of liberalism is that the society is created with individuals and when individuals are assured betterment it inevitably results in the social betterment. In general, this means that the individual should be free from the restrictions of the state. In this idea liberalism carries two meanings:

- 1) Philosophical meaning
- 2) Political meaning

Philosophical meaning

Liberalist provided a new idea to define freedom instead of the conventional ideas of freedom. According to this freedom is a situation which has no restrictions or constrains. This means liberalism should be the possibility for an individual to enjoy rights without government interventions and constrains. This idea is known as the liberal philosophical argument of negative freedom.

Other than this, principles such as:

- a) Freedom from arbitrary arrest
- b) Freedom from arbitrary taxation by government
- c) Freedom from torture

are also incorporated with the concept of negative freedom

Political meaning

The political meaning of liberal freedom suggests an idea of the state following a laissez faire rule. This basically means the state makes no involvements in the lives of citizens other than protecting law and order. This meaning mainly points out that in order to assure individual freedom the state should refrain from putting obstacles in economic, political and social areas of the individual.

The liberal thinkers mainly experience the necessity in economic freedom in order to assure individual freedom. Therefore, the liberal thinkers expect the state to stay away from economic affairs completely. In order to assure such economic freedom a laissez faire rule should include,

- Free economy
- Free market
- Free entrepreneurship

Freedom is strongly attached with economic theory of capitalism. The development of liberalism was supported by the economic theory of capitalism. As the economist Adam Smith points out that the state should not get involved in economic affairs and the market should be controlled by an invisible hand.

Liberalism and Personal Freedom

The theoretical fundamental of liberalism is individual freedom. The idea of individual freedom suggests that individuals should have the space to enjoy the rights that they have naturally intended. The initial stage of liberalism followed the laissez faire state which appreciated the individual freedom.

Individual freedom is one of the main teachings of the liberal philosophy. The concept of individual freedom is developed in liberalism based on the following assumptions;

- The society is consisted of individual citizens. Therefore, the society is a collection of individuals.
- Each individual in the society is a free thinking, rational and autonomous human being. Therefore, the state should respect the autonomy of each human and allow them to think freely and act rationally.
- These free, rational and autonomous individuals are capable of fully fulfilling their human potential only when the state assures the freedom from political and social constrains. In particular, the interference made by the state.
- It is the duty of the government to create and secure an environment that allows individuals to enjoy a good life by utilizing their freedom and potentialities completely.
- Such an environment can be created by applying principles such as; rule of law, fundamental rights and limited governance and etc.
- Such a government which makes minimum interference in social and economic spheres in known as a liberal government.

The general idea of the above assumptions is mainly based on appreciating the individual freedom. In simplest terms this means that, the society is constructed of individuals and the betterment of the individual inevitably results in the betterment of the society.

Liberalism believes that every individual is a capable and rational human being with the capacity to achieve the self- betterment on his/her own. Therefore, the role of the state is simply to create the background for the individuals to achieve their own betterment.

This raises the question whether the liberal state completely restrains from controlling the lives of individuals. Liberalism believes that the state involvement should happen only when an individual act against the betterment of the other. Therefore, the laissez faire state only fulfills the duty of protecting law and order.

Key liberal thinkers and their ideas

The liberal political thought has been developed by many political thinkers throughout the year. When studying the liberal ideology, it is important to discuss the idea suggested by these liberal political thinkers. In this lesson we shall look into the following key liberal political thinkers;

- i. Thomas Hobbes
- ii. John Locke
- iii. Charles Montesquieu
- iv. Jean- Jacques Rousseau

Thomas Hobbes

By any means Thomas Hobbes cannot be recognized as a liberal political thinker. In fact, his ideas were based on power politics and supported a power centralized monarchy which was the direct opposite of liberal ideology. However, ideas of Thomas Hobbes have made reasonable and important contribution to the foundation of liberal ideology.

Thomas Hobbes lived in England from 1588-1679. During this time the political system of England was facing a power struggle between the monarch and the parliament. This divided British political thinkers into two groups. Thomas Hobbes in fact supported the monarch in this power struggle as Hobbes believed a monarchy with autocratic powers can provide political stability which is the only solution to avoid chaos and uncertainty.

Therefore, Thomas Hobbes wrote the book “Leviathan” which suggest that the state was created by a social contract. This version of social contract theory suggested by Thomas Hobbes supported the idea of an autocratic monarchy, although these ideas contributed to the development of liberalism indirectly. In fact, the views of Thomas Hobbes provided an ideal theoretical framework for future liberalist to develop their liberal ideas.

The liberal political ideology is based on individualism which means that since, the society is consistent of individuals, the betterment of the individual through assuming individual freedom. This explains that liberalism prioritizes the individual or the society and the state. Their individual ideas have been developed on the foundation made by Thomas Hobbes.

Key ideas given by Thomas Hobbes to contribute the liberal ideologies are as follows:

- a) Individualist prior to the state
- b) Individuals are rational beings with the capacity to make political judgments themselves
- c) The state is a creation of humans

Since, the above-mentioned ideas collectively provided an important contribution to the development of liberalism, Thomas Hobbes is considered as a key political thinker of liberalism despite not being a liberalist himself.

John Locke

John Locke can be considered as the pioneer of the liberal political thought. He is also considered as the most important English political thinker following Thomas Hobbes.

John Locke lived in England from 1632-1704. During the English power struggle between monarchist and the parliament. Locke supported the parliament. The basic idea of John Locke was suggested by his book “Two Treaties of Government” in 1690.

In his book Locke presented his version of the social contract theory which suggested that the ruler is responsible for the public. The intension of John Locke was mainly to develop the theoretical foundation for a constitutional limited government following the English government in 1688. The key principles of Locke liberal political thought can be summarized as follows;

1. People are the power of the social sovereignty. This means that at one point in human civilization people created state through a social contract people created state through a social contract with the sovereignty power they process. Therefore, the government is given acceptance by the people.
2. The power of the government is a trusteeship; this means that the government power is given to the rulers conditionally.
3. Rulers are bound by the terms of this trusteeship. Therefore, the social central enables a responsibility on the government to protect the liberty, life and property of citizens. Thus, the relationship between the government and the society is known as a conditional and contractual relationship.
4. People have a right to recall their rulers, if the rulers violate the conditions impose on them by the social contract. This means that the sovereignty of the state and the power of the government are given by the citizens of a state, therefore the rulers are not allowed to exercise their powers arbitrarily.
5. The government has a limited authority which means that the authority of the government should be restricted with following conditions:
 - The government is bound with conditions of the social contract
 - The origin of the sovereignty power is the people not the rulers
 - The people choose their government for a limited term of time

6. Locke identifies the legislative as the supreme authority to pass laws, however according to Locke even parliament should function under certain restrictions
 - The laws enacted by the legislature should be equal and fair to the rich and the poor, and the powerful and the powerless
 - The laws enacted by the legislature should not be arbitrary or oppressive
 - The legislature cannot increase taxes without the approval of the public or public representatives
 - Legislature should not delegate their authority to enact laws to a different body

Therefore, it can be seen that the ideas of John Locke can be considered as the basic absence of liberation. The concept of limited government was also founded by John Locke alongside this theory.

Charles Montesquieu

Montesquieu is known as the father of the concept separation of powers. This theory was developed in his work “The spirit of Law” in 1748. The theory of separation of powers made an important and a reasonable constitution to the development of liberal political thought.

Montesquieu was a known political thinker who lived in France from 1689-1755. During this time the France government was handled by a necessary. The Louis dynasty in France followed an extremely autocratic rule. This resulted in many French political thinkers coming up with anti-monarchical ideas which included Montesquieu as well.

The concept of separation of powers may refer to an idea of dividing the powers and the task of the government into 3 institutions as the executive, legislative and the judiciary. According to Montesquieu a solitary person or institution processing all three of the powers could result in the

creation of an autocracy. Montesquieu points out that such an autocracy result in the violation of individual freedom. Therefore, Montesquieu's theory of separation of powers is simply an attempt at preventing governmental tyranny.

Montesquieu's theory separation of powers was later applied practically in the American constitution. This concept later created the concept of checks and balances which also can be considered as an important factor of a liberal country.

Jean-Jacques Rousseau

Rousseau was a Swiss political thinker who lived in France from 1712- 1778. He is known for developing his own version of the social contract theory through his book "The Social Contract" in 1762.

Similar to John Locke and Montesquieu, Rousseau intended to protect the individual freedom from state violations. Therefore, Rousseau's ideas are mainly focused on checking the powers of the government in order to protect the individual freedom.

Rousseau pointed out that humans have created the state to protect their freedom and liberty although the state itself violates the freedom and the liberty of the people. This is known as the paradox about the state. Rousseau provides a solution for this paradox as Rousseau points out that the state power should serve the common goods of all in society. The theory of Rousseau is based on two conceptual arguments. They are;

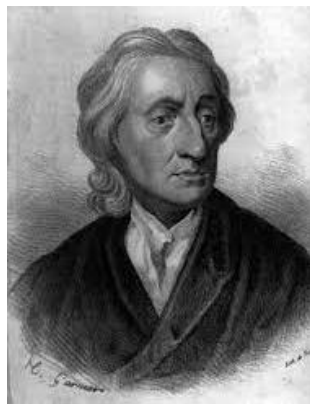
i) The General Will

According to Rousseau the state represents the collection will of all in the society instead of the will of the ruler or the will of the privileged minority of the society.

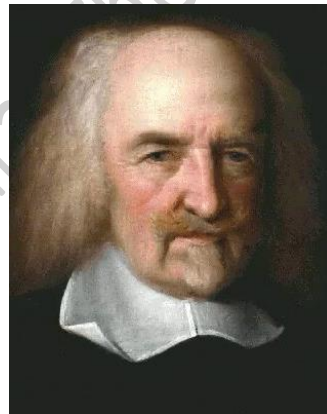
ii) Popular Sovereignty

Rousseau points out that under the social contract the people collected individual powers they possess collectively to the society when transforming from the natural society to civil society. Therefore, Rousseau points out that the sovereignty is owned by the entire society, not a state or ruler, Rousseau further states that the sovereignty of the people are indivisible and inalienable. The notion as popular sovereignty is also known as people sovereignty.

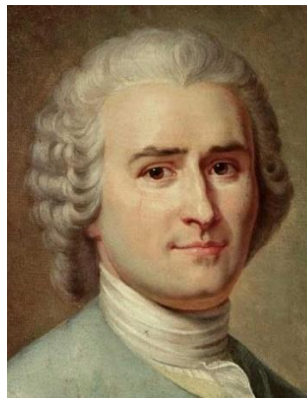
It should also be noted that Rousseau was not strictly a liberal thinker. In fact, Rousseau's teachings are mostly associated with republicanism. However, his idea does not go against liberalism rather it is incorporated with liberalism.



John Locke



Thomas Hobbes



Jean Jacques Rousseau



Charles Montesquieu

Socialism

Socialism can be identified as a political ideology as well as a political movement which suggested an alternative concept for liberal capitalism. This ideology suggested the concept of socialist state, instead of the capitalist state system. The capitalist system was gradually developed from the 15th century onwards with the individual revolution. In the 18th century capitalism was even more developed in a vast manner.

This system was completely different from the Aristocratic system which existed in the medieval era. The capitalistic system had no connection with bloodlines and cast, as everything depended on money. However, instead of the class structure which existed in the medieval era as the Aristocrats and peasants, the capitalistic system featured a different class structure as the rich and the poor.

In the early liberalism the rich minority in the society owned all businesses and factories as the poor class was the working class which had to work to earn in smaller amounts to survive in a daily basis. Since, the state was kept away from all other tasks except for maintaining law and order the social issues faced by the working class were not addressed by anyone. The individualism promoted by liberal capitalism created this class division even more severe, as liberal capitalism was favorable only for the stronger ones in the society despite the liberal theory claiming to protect everyone.

The political ideology of socialism was suggested against this unfair and unjust social system of liberal capitalism. It is important to note that the ideology of socialism is not limited to the views of Karl Marx. Socialist ideology existed way before the days of Karl Marx.

Marx is known as the political thinker who provided the most structurally organized version of socialism. Therefore, the ideology of socialism can be divided into two categories;

- a) Utopian socialism (socialist ideas before Marx)
- b) Scientific socialism (socialist ideas by Marx)

Utopian Socialism

The socialist political thinkers who existed before Karl Marx were generally known as Utopian socialist. By the 18th century socialism ideas were spreading throughout Europe. As a result of the capitalist system, all these ideas were revolving around the concept of abolishing the capitalist social system and developing a fair social system.

However, these socialist thinkers were only capable of suggesting a socialist system and unable to suggest a mechanism to practically establish the socialist system. Some thinkers did suggest mechanisms though they were practically impossible. Therefore, these ideas are known as Utopian socialism. Most of these socialist ideas were based on the Utopian concept developed by Thomas Moore. This is the origin behind the term of “Utopian Socialism”

Political thinkers such as Gabriel Marbly, Charles Fourier, Henri de Saint, Robert Owen can be considered as notable Utopian socialists. Despite the Utopian socialism being impractical it still can be considered as a landmark in political science as it provided the foundation for the development of scientific socialism. Even Frederick Engels, one of the founders of scientific socialism believes that, the Utopian socialism provided the necessary fundamental for scientific socialism. Engels pointed out that Utopian socialism has accurately identified the problem of class struggle though it lacks a practical mechanism to provide a solution.



Gabriel Marbly



Charles Fourier



Henri de Saint



Robert Owen

Scientific Socialism

This can be considered as the most organized and influential version of socialism in fact the founder of this concept Karl Marx and Frederick Engels are generally associated with the term socialism. Scientific socialism goes further from Utopian socialism to provide a practical mechanism to create a fair social system as Karl Marx stated by himself,

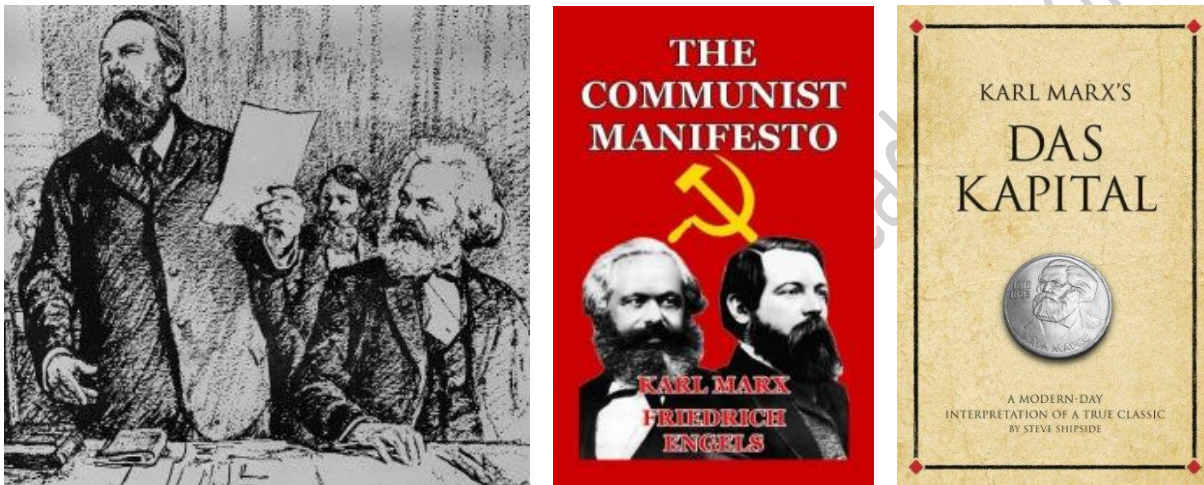
“Every philosopher defines the world, yet what is needed is changing the world”

When studying socialism, it is important to clarify key terms of Marx’s teachings.

- Socialism – Ideologies which suggest an absolute economic equality by rejecting capitalist social system and private property ownership
- Communism – The teachings on liberating the poor class of the society
- Capitalism (rich class) - The social class who owns the means of production and put laborers into work on salaries. (This class is a minority yet, is the dominating class in the society)
- Proletariat (poor class/ working class) – the social class which has to sell their labor since they do not own any means of production. (This class is the majority yet the dominated class in the society)
- Revolution – The process of the ownership of production means being transferred from one class and another class, which occurs as a result of the resisting forces and production relating

The concept of socialism and the socialist ideology are in fact quite reasonably vast as we discussed before. The concept of communism was suggested as the most organized version of socialism.

The original concept from Karl Marx was known as the communism and was later developed by other political scientists. Therefore, the term Marxism refers to the original concept suggested by Karl Marx. The Marxist theory on socialism is based on two books “The communist Manifesto” (1848) written by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, “Das Kapital” (1867) written by Karl Marx.



As provided in “The communist manifesto” the views of Karl Marx can be summarized as follows;

1. The capitalist economic system is a process developed on the labor exploitation of the working class
2. Inequality and labor exploitation would exist as long as the capitalist system exist since it is based on private property ownership and the private ownership of production means
3. In order to abolish poverty, inequality and labor exploitation it is necessary to abolish the capitalistic social economic system and establish a socialist economic system

4. The fundamental feature of a socialist system is to change the private ownership into a public ownership in terms of property and economic production means. In this case the economic resources are owned by everyone in the society collectively instead of few privileged individuals. Under these circumstances every individual is entitled to equally benefit from social resources. Since the production, transfer and consumption are equal to one and other, the society is not divided into classes on economic elements
5. The society begins its journey towards the destination of the socialist society by toppling the capitalist system. According to Marx the capitalist system can only be toppled by a social revolution led by the working class. Therefore, it is known as a socialist revolution, Marx further points out that the revolution is the climate point of the class struggle
6. The socialist revolution is the beginning of a set of radical political transformation this revolution results in the working class capturing the state power by toppling the dominance of the rich class. Hence, the capitalists lose their political power in the system.
7. Following the socialist revolution, the socialist society is created where the instrument of state is handled by the working class. In this period the power of the state is applied to create a socialist economic and social system which is based on public property ownership and economic equality
8. With the establishment of public property ownership, the capitalist system and the private property ownership gradually come to an end as a result the class difference in the society also comes to an end. Therefore, the communist social system is created which is based on equality and collectivity. Since this system has economic equality, it does not create a class struggle. In such system the state does not have the purpose to serve.

9. This is known as the withering away of the state. The communist social system is the final ultimate goal of the socialist social transformation

Therefore, it can be seen that the scientific socialism is a well theoretically constructed ideology. Also, it should be noted that this version of socialism was the most influential in practical politics. By the 20th century these socialist ideas created a political vision which inspired many socialist political movements within and outside Europe. In certain countries these political movements even resulted in revolutions which brought socialist regimes into power.

- 1917 Russian revolution
- 1949 Chinese revolution
- 1959 Cuban revolution

Other than these socialist governments were created in Eastern European countries and even Western European countries had some socialist political movements. Also, by the 20th century a new version of socialism was born as the third world socialism. Political personalities such as;

- Jawaharlal Nehru - India
- Gamal Abdul Nasser - Egypt
- Julius Nyerere – Tanzania

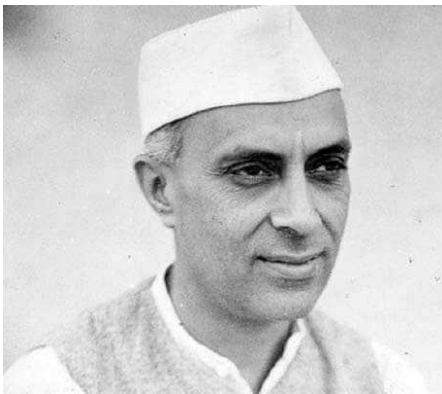
can be considered as the pioneers of this theory. Above mentioned countries are post-colonial states as they became states following gaining independence from colonizers, as these countries inherited liberal capitalism from their colonizers. The social system in these countries faced social inequality and poor economic developments. Since capitalism did not provide sufficient solutions for these problems, post-colonial states searched for alternatives within socialism.

Therefore, these states apprehended to a system where features of capitalism and socialism were combined. These countries referred to their systems with the term socialism and in political science it is known as 3rd world socialism.

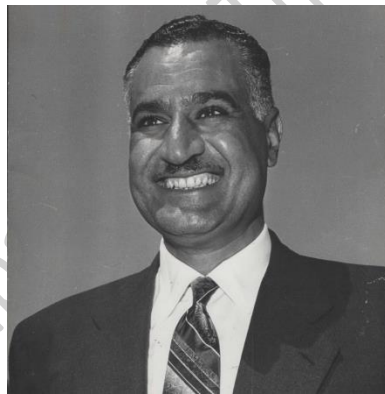
Also, it should be noted that the socialist ideology had a reasonable impact in national movements in colonial states as well.

Ex:

- Lanka Sama Samaja Party which was founded in Ceylon as a socialist political movement intended to gain full independence for Ceylon from the British Empire.
-



Jawaharlal Nehru



Gamal Abdul Nasser



Julius Nyerere



Lanka Sama Samaja Party

Republicanism

Republicanism can be identified as one of the most internal theories in modern day politics. Specially the formation of the modern nation state was highly influence by this concept. In addition to this the theory of republicanism also contributed to the development of important political concepts such as political community, citizenship, liberty and etc.

Republicanism has a long history as a theory as well as an ideology. In fact, the facts of republicanism can be traced all the way back to Greece and Roman eras. the eras of evolution in republican can be pointed out as follows;

- a. Classical republicanism
- b. Republicanism during European renaissance
- c. 18th century republicanism
- d. 20th century republicanism

Classic republicanism

This era is considered as the origin of republicanism. This era was expanded from Greek city states till the Roman Empire. The ideology of republicanism was founded in ancient Greek city states as the idea of this is that the citizen being politically in-charge was an effect. Republicanism was developed by many philosophers such as; Aristotle, Socrates, Plato (Greek philosophers) as well as Polybius, Cicero (Roman philosophers) etc.

Republican during European renaissance

During the 15th century with the rise of the theory of power politics suggested by Niccolo Machiavelli political science went through a reasonable change. Following this a new interpretation of republicanism also came into existence.

18th Century Republicanism

By the 18th century European countries as well as America went through a wave of revelation against monarchs. This revelation was inspired with the concept of citizens being in-charge of a state. Therefore, people started re-defining the ideology of republicanism which resulted in the transformation from the authoritarian nation state to modern state. Out of these revelations the French and the American Revolution are mostly important as the views of thinkers such as Rousseau, Montesquieu, Thomas Jefferson and James Madison were extremely important for the development of the ideology of republicanism.

20th Century Republicanism

This refers to the current political system of the modern nation state. In this system republicanism stands for people being in-charge of the sovereignty of the country. This concept is more effective in the modern context. In terms of the theoretical aspect the views of Hanna Arendt, Quentin Skinner and Philip Petit are considered as important.

The core teachings of Republicanism

1) Completely opposing monarchies

- In fact, it was recently developed in the 3rd revolutionary era in the 18th century against monarchy. Republicanism refers liberalism instead of monarchy

2) People being considered as the origin of the political power

- Republicanism considers people as the owners and holders of sovereignty which basically is an objective raised against the monarchical concept of the ruler or the king being in-charge of the sovereignty power. This is another aspect of republicanism parallel to liberalism

3) The head of the state being selected by the people

- Republicanism believes that the first citizen of the state, which is the head of the state should be chosen by people rather than being practically applicable. This fundamental was mainly developed after the 18th century following the American revolution and American presidential system. Also, it should be noted that even under the democratic framework this fundamental is mostly protected under presidential system rather than the cabinet system

4) The active role of citizens in the political system

- Since republicanism believes that, the citizens of a country as the origin of sovereignty. It is expected that the citizens should be politically in-charge steering the country. Therefore, the ideology of republicanism believes that, the citizens should play an active role in politics in the political system of country. In a republic, people should be politically active, vigilant and patriotic. This is necessary to assure that the citizens are committed to the common goal of the community.

- This key characteristic of republicanism was organized in Greek era as Aristotle pointed this out as civic virtue. This is one aspect of republicanism that differs from liberalism
- 5) The existence of an organized political community
- According to the ideology of republicanism, the citizens of a state are organized as a political community. Which means that, in a state citizen are already organized as a community if not it is necessary to organize as a community. This community is a must to assure betterment of each citizen and the common goal of everyone
- 6) The main purpose and the final goal of politics – “Being Free”
- Republicanism believes that the main purpose and the main goal of politics should be freedom therefore, citizens should actively constitute to protect the freedom. Republicanism points out that it is not possible to defend freedom from inactive or passive behavior of citizens. This active citizenship expanded by republicanism mainly refers to political participation and engagement by citizens in the political system. This idea is recognized by republicanism as the theory of civic engagement
- ★ It should be noted that the last 3 fundamental teachings in the above list are exclusive and specific to the ideology of republicanism

The above fundamental features point out that there is a reasonable similarity between liberalism and republicanism. However, it should be noted that as ideologies liberalism and republicanism have differences as well. These differences can mainly be summarized into 2;

- i. Citizen and politics
- ii. Freedom

Citizen and politics

- Liberalism and republicanism support two different relies in terms of citizen and politics

Republicanism features the concept of active citizens which means that each citizen has to play an active and participating role in the political system. Republicanism believes that rights of citizens are not given as a gift rather something that should be achieved by putting an effort.

Liberalism on the other hand expects citizens to play a natural role which is known as passive citizenship. According to liberalism rights are naturally initiated by citizens and a state has a duty towards its citizens to protect these rights. Liberalism does not believe in the idea of citizens having to put an effort to protect their rights.

Therefore, we can see that republicanism supports the idea of active citizens while liberalism supports the idea of the passive citizen.

Freedom

Although the concept of freedom is parallel with the ideologies of liberalism and republicanism, both these two ideologies have a slightly different interpretation on freedom.

Since liberalism is based on the concept of individual liberty, it believes that the freedom of citizen should not be compromised by any means.

Since republicanism is developed on the concept of citizens being in-charge of the political system of the country. It justifies the freedom of citizens slightly being compromised in order to get them involved in the decisions mainly in the country.

For example; a country which prioritizes being liberal would allow the citizens to vote in an election as per they wish while a country which prioritizes being republic would make it compulsory to vote or take similar measures to ensure a higher voter turnout.

A new side of republicanism has been developed recently which is known as the contemporary republicanism thought. This was developed by modern political scientists such as Hannah Arendt, Quentin Skinner and Philip Petit. They 3 are known as the pioneer thinkers of the 20th century republicanism. The contemporary republican thought is basically developed on two themes;

- i) The liberty that is established outside political dominance
- ii) Citizen activism as a medium to assure liberty

The 20th century republicanism focuses special attention on the political activism of citizens and political duties of citizens. Therefore, it also known as Citizens Republicanism.

Social Democracy

Social democracy was developed as a political ideology by the 19th century. The German social democratic parties, which were developed in 1860's, can be considered as the origin of the ideology. Following this in many European countries social democratic parties were developed which were initially organized as workers' union. Following the 2nd world war social democratic movements were further developed in Germany and Scandinavian countries. Social democracy can basically be defined as an ideology which continues the positive features of liberal democracy and the positive features of Socialism.

As an ideology social democracy appreciates the positive features of liberal democracy such as universal franchise, constitutionalism, rule of law, representative governance, comparative political party system and rights of citizens. However, social democracy prefers socialist's principles for economic management instead of capitalist principles especially social democracy allows the state to handle more economic representatives in order to minimize the class division.

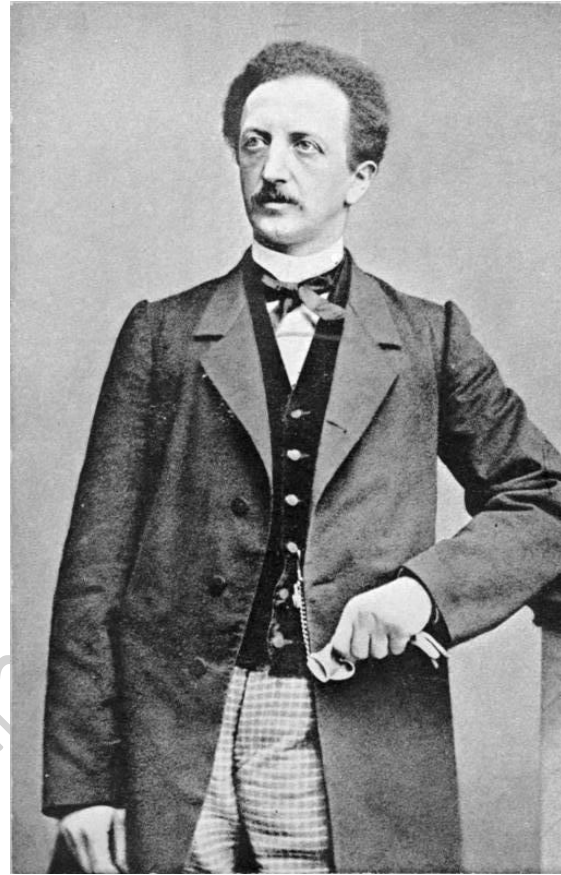
Social democracy was developed through democratic reforms which were introduced Marxism. Therefore, it can be identified as a reform of Marxism. Instead of the original idea of the social revelation in Marxism, social democracy attempts to create a moderate social ideology. Therefore, this is known as German revolution.

The most important political thinker in terms of social democracy is the German political scientist, Edward Bernstein. Also, it should be noted that, several political thinkers such as Ferdinand Lassalle have also created a foundation for this ideology. Also, Edward Bernstein himself is a Marxist he does not agree with the idea of Karl Marx in terms of developing the socialist system. Karl Marx pointed out that the capitalistic system may fall at one point as a

result of resistance by the working class. Bernstein disagrees with this idea as he believes the socialist goals of the working class can be achieved by parliament democracy.



Edward Bernstein



Ferdinand Lassalle

Since this system follows parliament democracy with certain features of socialist economic (mostly state intervenes to loan after the lower layer of the society) the social democracy is reasonable parallel to modern liberal welfare state. As a result, social democracy and welfare state had a political connection in 1930. Therefore, social democracy was considered as another stream of socialism.

The basic features of social democracy are as follows:

1. Rejecting capitalism since capitalism creates an economic inequality and social unfairness. This can be considered as a social feature in social democracy.
2. Rejecting the revolutionary socialism suggested by Marxism. Socialism was subjected as a solution for social issues created by capitalism and classic liberalism. This ideology of socialism was developed into “**scientific socialism**” by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. This ideology of socialism was suggested as a social revolution and a solution against capitalism. However, Social democracy does not agree with this idea and mostly believe in democratic mechanism.
3. Although Marxist believe that the entire society is based on the element of economics, the social democracy does not agree with that. According to Marx everything in the super structure of the society is based on the internal structure within the economic base. Therefore, Marx points out that all these institutes support the necessities of the economically powerful class. Bernstein does not agree with this idea. According to Bernstein the economical factor is in fact important yet not the solitary decisive factor.
4. Bernstein believes that problems that are created by socialism requires solutions by reforming capitalism on socialist principles. Bernstein suggests the following steps as practical solutions for these problems:
 - i. The state intervention in the economic sector
 - ii. Establishing a mixed economy with capitalist and socialist principles
 - iii. Social welfare services
 - iv. Redistributing the revenue and the capital
 - v. Collective negotiations of the working class

The difference between Marxism and Social Democracy

- I. The capitalistic system does not face a complete collapse as expected by Karl Marx
- II. Political parties do not follow strategies with the assumption of the future of the capitalistic system
- III. The social system has not evolved to a level to cause friction between social classes
- IV. The number of rich individuals increase in the society
- V. The labor exploitation done by the rich class is reasonably restrained by modern day movements
- VI. Under a proper democratic system, revolutionary transformations are not necessary

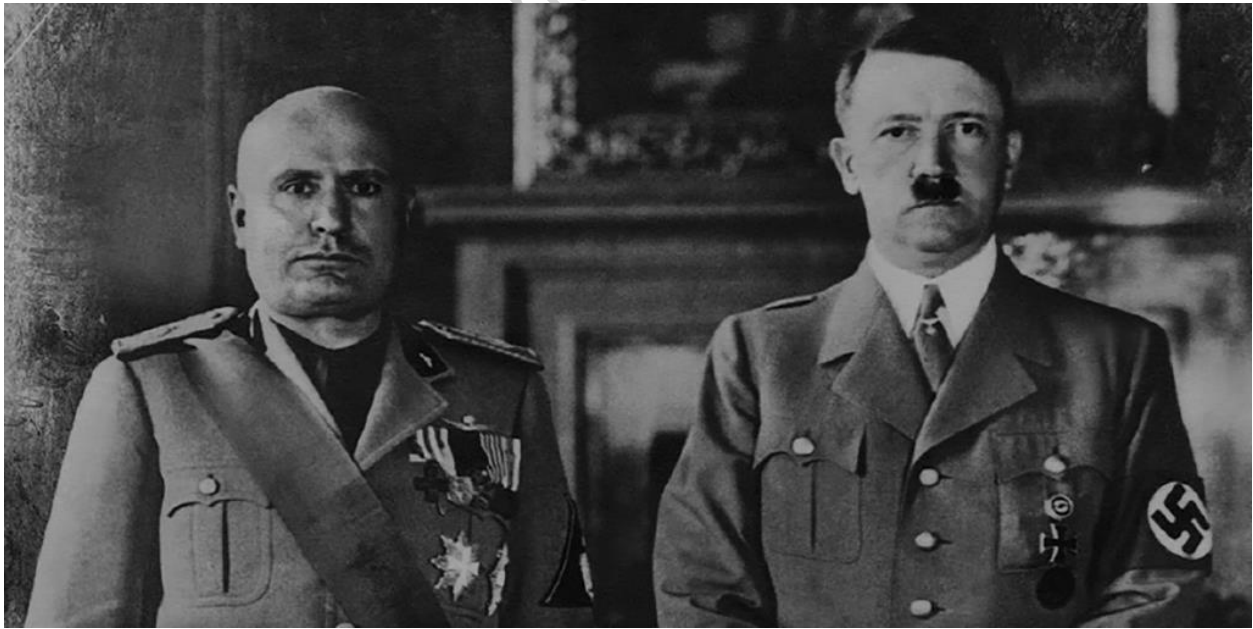
In conclusion the social democratic theory developed by Edward Bernstein provides that in order to achieve the motive of sovereign successfully, it is necessary to work towards a socialist society through necessary reforms rather than waiting for the entire capitalistic system to collapse.

Fascism

Fascism was initiated as a political ideology with the political movements against liberalism and socialism in comparison with liberalism and socialism. Fascism is mostly a recent political ideology. Liberalism was originated in the 17th & 18th centuries. Socialism was initiated in the late 19th century while Fascism as originated in early 20th century.

The ideology of fascism ideally supports an autocratic dictatorship rule although it should be noted that fascism is not exactly a synonym for a dictatorship since as an ideology fascism has its own unique features.

The term “Fascist” is an Italian term which refers to unity. The Italian dictator “*Benito Mussolini*” is considered as the **Father of Fascism**. The term fascist was later referred to identify the autocratic political systems and dominating state systems in Germany and Japan.



Mussolini and Hitler

The background behind the conception of Fascism

Mussolini and his followers founded an organization in 1915 under the name “Fasico” to promote Fascism. These organizations did take part in the Italian parliament election yet did not manage to win a seat in the Italian Parliament. However, following the first world war, Italy suffered from post war economic struggles which lead the liberal government to lose its popularity. Following this, Mussolini and the fascist ideology gained mainstream popularity in Italy. Since Fascism promoted a united independent and a strong Italy, the Italian public embraced Fascism over Liberalism and Socialism.

After 1922 Mussolini and his followers started getting political dominance in Italy and by 1926 the entire Italian political system was in the hands of Mussolini.

The Nazism in Germany is also another fascist system which was unique to Germany. This was created by **Adolf Hitler**. Similar to Italy, Germany was also struggling after the first world war which created a similar political and social background for Nazism to be born. In practical application Nazism and Fascism were mostly similar hence in political science Nazi Germany is considered as an ideal example for fascism.

In Germany Hitler’s Nazi political party managed to gain a reasonable political power by 1930’s. in 1934 following the death of president Paul von Hindenburg, Hitler centralized all his powers in the position of the chancellor and become the supreme leader of Germany.

Following the Italian and German fascist system several countries in the world also embraced fascist systems. All these countries seem to have common reasons behind the origin of a fascist government as well as the fascist rule itself in different countries seem to have similarities.

Fascism as an ideology

Out of all political ideologies, liberalism, socialism and fascism can be considered as the three mainstream and important ideologies. When we analyze the theoretical structure of these ideologies, it can be identified that **liberalism** is centralized around the individual, **socialism** is centralized around the society while **fascism** is centralized around the state. This means that fascism is a political ideology that prioritizes the greatness of the state above the individual and the society. In other words, the betterment of the individual and the betterment of the society should be compromised in order to assure the betterment of the state.

Main features of a fascism system are as follows;

1. Totalitarianism

- A fascist system features an autocracy, which means that all the political power is centralized with the ruler. The leader of a fascist nation has the absolute control over the citizens politically as well as socially. This system is known as totalitarianism.

2. Cult of the state

- Fascism is an ideology which is centralized around the state. Therefore, fascism features the absolute dominance of the state and the unconditional surrender of citizens to the state. Therefore, according to Mussolini the state is a figure which should be worshipped by the citizens. This is known as the cult of the state.

3. Cult of the leader

- Similar to the state being worshipped, fascism also features worshipping the leader. The leader of the fascist system is considered as a divine figure among average humans. Therefore, citizens are expected to follow and worship their leader unconditionally. Fascist governments intentionally promote propaganda to create a divine image of the leader. In Germany Hitler was promoted as a divine figure. The term Fuehrer (the supreme leader) to refer to their leader. Similarly, the greatness of Hitler was vastly promoted in media and education. This feature can be seen mainly in other fascist countries as well as democratic countries with the threat of fascism.

4. Extreme Racism

- In addition to promoting the supremacy of the state, fascism also promotes the supremacy of the race. During the period of Nazi Germany, the German fascist believed that the Germans to be pure *Aryan* race. This idea of racism justified the mass Jew execution and German invasions over other countries.

5. Extreme Militarism

- In simple terms fascist governments love war. As fascist believed the only mechanism to solve issues between states is going to war. Therefore, fascism also features an invasive foreign policy. According to fascist, peace is a dream of cowards and the proper policy should be blood and iron. Fascist also points out that people inherit war similar to woman inherit motherhood. The German fascist believed that the pure German should invade other countries and create a German Empire while other impure ethnicities should be executed from Germany.

6. The use of violence & terror as political weapon

- Unlike democratic liberal systems, fascist systems use violence & terror to assure political dominance. This means that a fascist government would use violence & terror to control any politically rival group. Even among the citizens criticizing or disobeying the government is handled with violence & terror. In Germany the Nazi party ran violence & terror against all rival political groups as well as the Jewish ethnicity. All these activities were done under the state protection as fascism approves political violence & terror.

7. Lack of rights & liberty

- Fascism clearly rejects the concepts of rights & liberty for citizens. Rights & liberty are openly compromised in order to assure the greatness of the state.

The interpretation on fascist by the Neo – Marxist

In 1930's the Neo – Marxist criticized fascism as they identified fascism as capitalism in decay. Mainly the teachings of Herbert Marcuse can be considered as important in this regard. According to this interpretation fascism is created when liberalism fails to maintain the capitalistic system. In other words, Fascism is capitalism in decay.



Herbert Marcuse

Nationalism

The history of nationalism runs all the way to the 16th century. Although the initial concept was originated in the 16th century, nationalism went through a standard theoretical interpretation during the 18th & 19th centuries. In addition to being an ideology, nationalism can also be identified as a social movement.

Nationalism is the main concept which provides a foundation for the modern-day nations state format. The current context of the state is based on the concept of a solitary nation lives within a nation state. It also means that each nation is a state. Therefore, the concept of nationalism has equalized state and nation.

In simple term nationalism means “A population comprised of different ethnicities yet lived within the territory of a state being considered as a nation with a common identity” Therefore, the conceptual common bond which is required for the population of a state is provided by nationalism.

The concept of nationalism can be considered as one of the most important concepts with regards to the modern contexts of politics. In addition to finding modern day format of the national stat, nationalism also has reshaped. International politics including inter-state relationship and inter-state conflicts. Most of the large-scale wars in the contemporary world (including the two world wars) have taken part with regard to nationalism. Therefore, it can be seen that the concept of nationalism is extremely influential in modern day human politics.

As a political ideology and a stream of concept, there are 2 unique features in the concept of nationalism:

- i. Nationalism is not an organized or unified theory
- ii. Unlike other ideologies nationalism did not receive contributions from major philosophers. Although it has received contributions from similar political societies.

Nationalism is also the idea of belonging to a nation and the loyalty citizens have towards their nation. Also, it should be noted that nationalism guides political communities into a self-conscious nation.

There are 3 theoretical approaches to the study of nationalism:

- 1) Modernist approach
- 2) Primordial approach
- 3) Instrumentalist approach

1) Modernist Approach

According to this approach nationalism is a concept which has a long history of several thousands of years which runs all the way to the beginning of human civilization. This approach explains that the history of nation is old as much as the human history itself. The pioneers of this approach are Ernest Gellner & Benedict Anderson.

2) Primordial approach

The practical application of the primordial approach is basically establishing the idea of nationalism with regard to a certain community through the historical interpretation. The following practical examples explain the application of the primordial approach.

- I. The Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru published the book “*The discovery of India*” in 1949 which defines the Indian nation from a historical point of view with a connection to the contemporary world.
- II. The nation of Pakistan has been defined from a historical point of view with connections to the religion of Islam, being spread in Middle East and South Asian region. With this approach the term of separating Pakistan from India in the modern context is supported.
- III. In Sri Lanka also the historical interpretation is provided to support the existence of the Sinhala nation and the Tamil nation separately.

The primordial approach has been criticized for prioritizing ethnicities over the nation state and bringing divisions within the nation states.

3) Instrumentalist approach

This is the approach provided by the Marxist to define Nationalism. According to this approach the nation is an instrument used by the rich class to gain power. The basic idea behind this approach is that nationalism is a trick played by the rich class to exploit the lower layers of the society.

In practical politics the application of this approach can be seen quite evidently. In fact, in practical politics nationalism can be seen as one of the main decisive factors behind power transformation. Nationalism is used as an instrument to:

- a) To obtain votes
- b) To enroll new members
- c) To secure vote bases of certain leaders, etc.

by using the concept of nationalism in multi – ethnic societies. In this process the idea of racial supremacy is combined with nationalism as a political strategy. This has been heavily criticized for later resulting in racism and ethnic tension.

This has become a very common scenario in politics as recent elections in USA, UK, India, SL & etc. had a massive influence of nationalism.

The basic idea of nation & nationalism

Nationalism is an ideology which provides a collective identity to a community which thinks as a nation. Therefore, nationalism is a common feeling which combines the members of a nation together. It affirms the feeling of belonging to a political community under the name nation.

In order to think as a solitary nation, members in that group should share a common bond. This is known as the national identity. Elements such as language, culture, religion, history, territoriality & etc. can be considered as the main contributing factors behind the national identity.

Nationalism which begins with the above-mentioned common identity later evolved into a deeper ideology by achieving a political character. In this stage as an ideology nationalism becomes a force which shapes the collective political consciousness of the society and mobilizes the community's political actions in order to pursue political goals such as:

- a. Political independence**
- b. Regional autonomy**
- c. Equality**
- d. Group rights**
- e. Formation of nation states & etc.**

The right of a nation to self- determination can be considered as another extremely important concept which has ties with nationalism.

This refers to the basic idea of each nation having the right to decide its own political phase and political future. However, this idea is considered controversial since it supports the power of a region to establish a new state by breaking away from their existing state. Therefore, the range of this right has a vast capacity which even includes independence and regional autonomy.

Nationalism also fulfills the key function of providing a criteria to distinguish one nation from another. These distinguishes are identified by elements such as language, culture, religion, and etc. However, when this differences get into extreme level it can result in rival attitudes among nations.

Evolution of nationalism

As an ideology, nationalism as well as the political movement attracted to nationalism, seem to have gradually evolved over the centuries. In fact, it can be noted that the evolution of nationalism has 2 major stages:

i. National state nationalism

ii. Ethnic nationalism



i. National state nationalism

This is considered as the classical form of nationalism. It is based on the idea of each nation state being considered as a nation. In other words, it supported the idea, members living within the territory of the state to be considered as the members of a solitary nation.

Ex: The passport of a Sri Lankan citizen provides the nationality of a person as a Sri Lankan. This is basically considering all Sri Lankans citizens as the members of the same nation.

The conceptual origin of this idea can be found in the 18th century where several European countries became nation states through revolutions. Most importantly 1789 the French Revolution promoted the idea of nationalism with sovereignty. This included a politically organized territorial state being considered as a nation. This was eventually developed in Europe and later embraced by other regions on the world with European colonization. According to this, nations are characterized as the Sri Lankan nation, Indian nation, American nation & etc.

ii. Ethnic Nationalism

This can be considered as the political consciousness of a group of people with a certain ethnic identity since within a nation state many ethnic groups exist, these communities tend to develop a version of nationalism of their own based on their cultural, religious or racial identity.

A nation state has many different ethnic groups living within their territory. Ex: The nation state of SL has a collection of citizens who share the nation state nationalism. However, within SL itself several ethnic groups exist as Sinhala, Tamil & Muslim. Once these communities start thinking as a political community with that ethnic identity it is known as **Ethnic nationalism**.

This nationalism is based on elements such as language, religion, culture & etc. This ethnic nationalism is mostly expressed through ethnic friction in the society when minority groups face discrimination, inequality & injustices within the nation, nation state & eventually driven to think with their ethnic identities. Ethnic identity is mostly attached with political goals and political requests made by minority groups. These include:

- i. Equal rights
- ii. Regional autonomy
- iii. Federalism
- iv. Language & culture rights
- v. At times separation as a new state

Ethnic nationalism is a much more recent concept in comparison with nation state nationalism. This mostly came into existence in 1980's with the development of minority group political movements in many nation states.

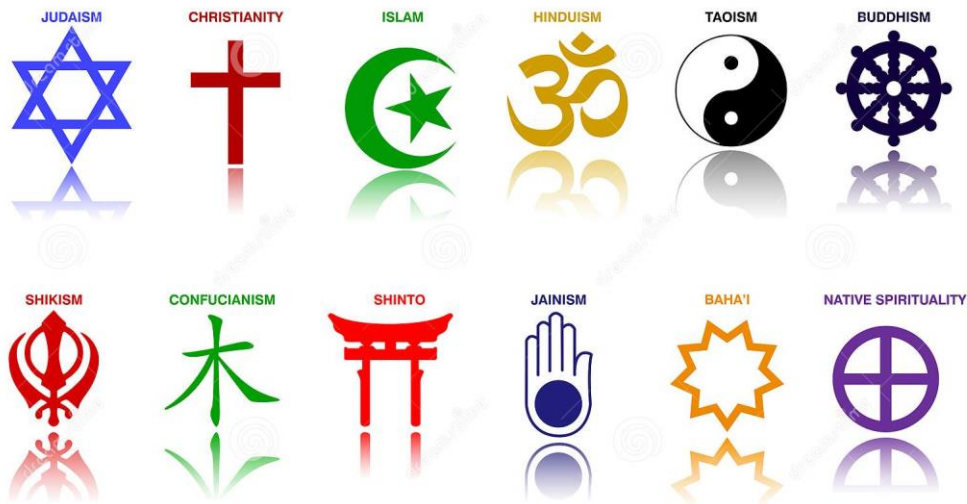
Outcomes of nationalism

As a whole the ideology of nationalism has existed since the 18th century. When we analyze the historical experience of nationalism it can be seen than both negative & positive citizens attracted to nationalism.

- 1) The nation state system which is functioning in the modern world is primarily based on the ideology of nationalism.
- 2) Nationalism has introduced the idea of achieving political emancipation through national independence which is an important eternal in the modern political consciousness.
- 3) However, throughout the last few centuries the extreme forms of nationalism have driven nations & communities into war, violence.

Secularism

The concept of secularism was initiated to define the connection which should exist between politics & religion. The idea of secularism basically provides that politics & religion should not be mixed. In general, either political leaders use religion to expand their voter base or politics is widely religious leaders to increase their social power. As the end result people end up suffering in both these instances. Secularism provides that in order to save the public from this conflict the religion should be completely excluded from politics.



The idea of secularism was initiated in Europe itself this was in fact an art of the European academic thinking. Secularism began to properly develop as political ideology by the 18th century. As a result of the close relation between the Catholic Church & European monarchs during the medieval era of Europe, the religion was inseparable from politics. This can be seen in political concepts such as the divine theory of the state.

Following the downfall of the feudalist era, liberal political ideas found the political spotlight. With the combination of national state, liberalism & capitalism, the idea of secularism also reserved some attention. With the political influence of the Catholic Church being ended quiet recently, political thinkers in this era strongly criticized the alliance between the religion and politics. Political thinkers such as Machiavelli believed that politics should be completely free from religion. Therefore, Machiavelli is considered as the first political thinker who divided religion and politics.

The main reason behind the beginning and development of secularism was the rise of inter-secularism in Europe. Following the time period of federalism, inter-secularism became prominent where people started prioritizing knowledge over religious faith. As an ideology secularism is compatible with liberalism as well as socialism.

It should be noted that the concept of atheism and the concept of secularism are different from each other. Atheism is not a political concept such as secularism.

Also, Atheism represents the idea of rejecting and refusing religion while secularism is nearly keeping religion separated from politics, rather than criticizing the religion.

There are many different types of Secularism while 3 of them can be considered as prominent:

- 1. Liberal secularism**
- 2. Socialist secularism**
- 3. Indian secularism**

Liberal Secularism

As a political ideology liberalism appreciates individual freedom. This means that, in order to assure individual freedom, the citizens should be free from economic, cultural & religious restrictions. Therefore, they point out that the religion & the state being secular is an important element to assure proper individual freedom. The basic principles behind secularism can be pointed out as follows;

- Separating the state & the church individually
- State & religion not being parallel
- The state not taking part in religious studies or religious propaganda
- The state should not endorse on religion
- Not considering the state as something that should be abolished

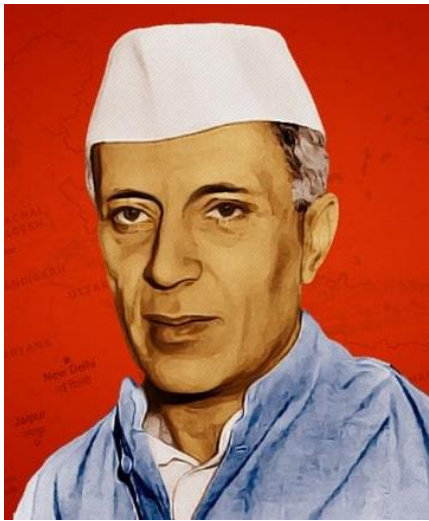
Socialist Secularism

As an ideology socialism was initiated as an alternative against liberalism & capitalism. The main motive behind socialist was to establish a society without a class division. The general ideology of socialism was reformed by Karl Marx & Frederick Engels as scientific socialism. The concept of secularism was included in this scientific socialism. The basic fundamental of socialist secularism are as follows:

- i) The socialist state is completely separated from religion.
- ii) The religion can only exist inside a socialist state with the approval of the state.
- iii) The religion & the religions institutions are entertained in socialist states as long as the religion poses no threat in the state. This means that religions exist in socialist states under heavy surveillance of the state.
- iv) Under the socialist system religion and political organizations are not given freedom
- v) Establishing political, civil or social organizations based on the religion identity is not allowed.

Indian Secularism

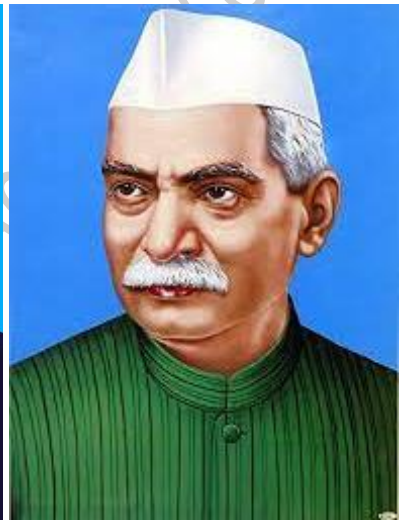
After gaining dominion status in 1947, India manages to shift to a constitution of their own in less than 2 years from dominion status. Important names such as Jawaharlal Nehru, Dr. Ambedkar, Rajendra Prasad & etc. can be recognized as the pioneers behind the constitution.



Jawaharlal Nehru



Dr. Ambedkar



Rajendra Prasad

Being a multiethnic country, these leaders recognized the importance of including secularism in their constitution. Therefore, India is credited for being one of the main countries to incorporate secularism in their constitution. It should be noted that, Indian secularism is not a unique sub ideology such as liberal secularism or socialist secularism.

Indian secularism is mostly similar to liberal secularism. It is listed as a sub category of secularism since it deserves recognition for incorporating secularism in their constitution. Basic features of Indian secularism are as follows;

- i. Equally treating every religion, therefore, the state should not be biased towards any particular religion. In the Hindi language this is known as “**Dharma Nirapekshatha**”
- ii. Treating every religion equal on the principle that all religions are equal. This is known as “**Sarva Dharma Sambhava**”

***Both above mentioned constitutional principles are the essence of Liberalism.**

The state should treat all citizens equally without any discrimination or favoring on the basis of religion.

When claiming rights, the religious identity of any citizen should not be an obstacle.

The importance of Secularism in politics

As an ideology secularism can be considered as one of the most important ideologies. The main purpose of secularism is to keep religion external from politics. In other words, secularism attempts to define the relationship between the state and citizens without religion being a consideration.

Although it should be noted that, in practical politics it is unlikely to see a complete secularism in fact religion is often misused by politicians to gain an advantage in the game of politics, also the religion works as a decisive factor in election. Even in countries secularism is recognized by the constitution, many political movements and political party are functioning on religious identities.

Ex: India which is comparably recognized as a constitutionally secular state often finds political conflicts with religious influence. This explains that the practical impossibility of making an absolute segregation between religion and politics. However, secularism should be credited for imposing a certain level of control over religious influence in politics. Therefore, secularism is considered as one of the key elements in modern day world politics.

Secularism & World politics

The topic of world politics became more prominent in political science, during the last few decades. In fact, world politics can be considered as completely different process from domestic politics, which involves different political factors. In world politics secularism is considered as relevant for two reasons;

- 1) The tendency of an emergence of theocratic state. This emergence would be based on the principles of religious fundamentalism or radical religious identities.

Theocracy basically refers to a government that follows the divine guidance or the government being handled by officials who are regarded as divinely guided. Such governments have members of the clergy as government leaders. Also, the legal system of the state is based on religious law. These theocratic governments were mostly in effect during the earlier stages of human civilization. With the emergence of the modern democratic governments, theocracy lost its influence. However, with religious extremism a new tendency of theocracy can be seen. This can even escalate to even more destructive levels such as terrorism.

Ex: The terrorist organization of ISIS has the ultimate goal to establish a state on extremist religious rule.

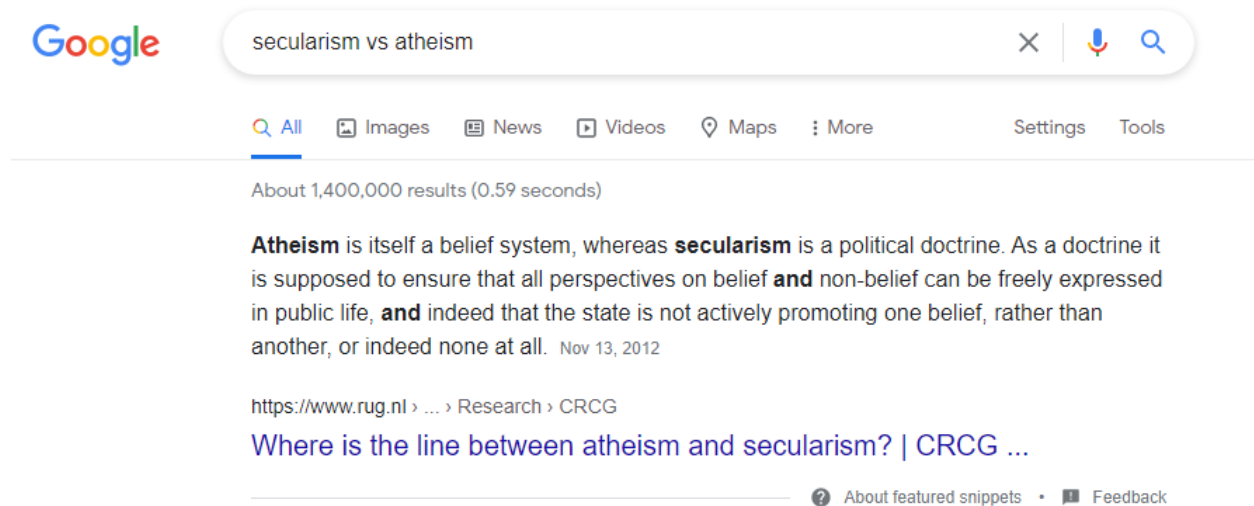
Therefore, secularism is considered as one of the most important ideologies to prevent the emergence of a theocratic state.

- 2) Secularism is necessary to protect the rights of citizens of minority groups.

In a plural society, different ethnicities live with different religious backgrounds. In such a community it is most likely that one of the religious groups being the majority of population.

This provides a dominant power in the political origin as they have the majority power in elections. Under such circumstances the majority group has the opportunity to favor their religion & discriminate minority religions.

The ideology of secularism could prevent this problem as it separates religion from politics. Hence, rights of small & persecuted religious communities can be protected.



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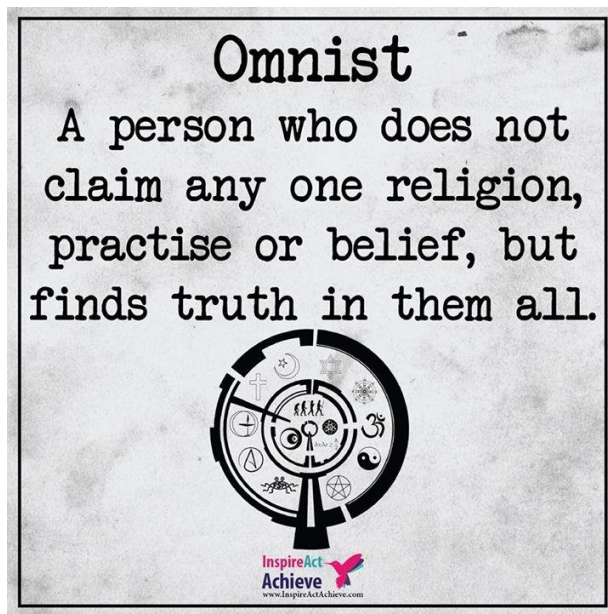
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Extra Reading –

Omnism is the recognition and respect of all religions or lack thereof; those who hold this belief are called omnists (or Omnists), sometimes written as omniest. In recent years, the term has been resurfacing due to the interest of modern-day self-described omnists who have rediscovered and begun to redefine the term. Omnism is similar to syncretism. However, it can also be seen as a way to accept the existence of various religions without believing in all that they profess to teach. Many omnists say that all religions contain truths, but that no one religion offers all that is truth.

- Wikipedia -



Feminism

The original term of feminism is not limited to the idea of women receiving equal rights as men. The origin of the term feminism could be traced to France & Netherland. According to the Cambridge dictionary feminism is “The belief that, women should be allowed the same rights, powers & opportunities as men & be treated the same way, or set of activities” intended to achieve this state.

Comparing to other political ideologies feminism does not have a long history. The concept of feminism did exist since the early 20th century. However, it was properly organized as a political ideology by 1970’s. Initially feminism was seen in European & North American countries & later reached non- European countries.

The ideology of feminism originated from early feminist social movements following the French Revolution was based on the slogan of liberty, brotherhood, inequality. Therefore, concepts such as democracy, individual freedom & etc. were gradually developed alongside the French revolution under these circumstances several social movements were established with the intention of securing equal rights and opportunities for women in political, economic and social spheres.

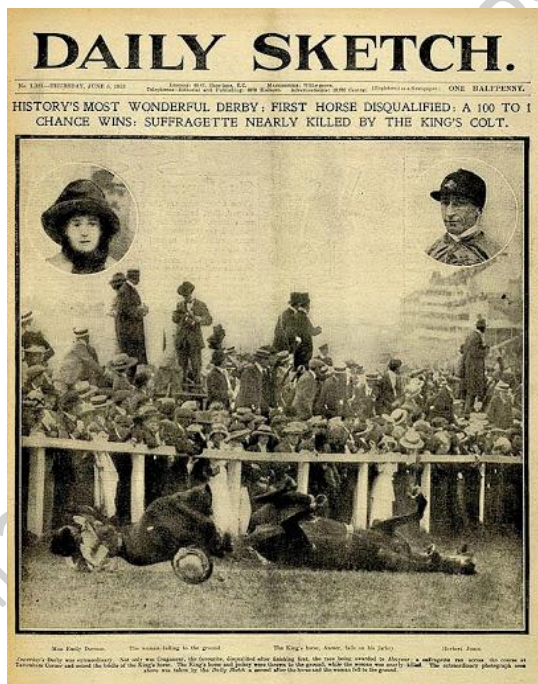
These movements gradually gained more support from the communities over the years and by the early 20th century. These feminist movements turned mostly towards political rights.

The social movement for women’s suffrage (voting rights) was a main stream social movement during the early 20th century. This movement intended to win political rights for women and right to vote in particular.

Noted figures such as Emily Wilding Davison, Emmeline Pankhurst, Christabel Pankhurst, Sylvia Pankhurst, Annie Kenney etc. ran an effective suffrage movement which eventually gained voting rights for women. These activist and movements are generally known as **liberal feminism**.



Emily Davison



Emily Davison's death reported in newspapers.



Emily Davison committing suicide in protest of voting rights of women being restrained.



Emmeline Pankhurst



Christabel Pankhurst



Sylvia Pankhurst



Annie Kenney

A conservative social interpretation defined, women to be weaker than men. Therefore, women were assigned tasks such as child – care and household activities. In contrast men were assigned public affairs such as political, economic and religious activities. In other words, the conservative interpretation features the concept of private women and public men. The main goal of feminist movement was to challenge this interpretation of men and women.

As a whole, the nature and the goals of the feminist movement have changed from time to time. However, despite these changes following common goals can be pointed out as general intentions of feminist of all times.

1. Raising the awareness of women male dominance and female suppression
2. Changing the traditional attitudes about women in the society and in men
3. Providing accurate interpretations on areas such as the difference between male and female, patriarchy, the power connection between men and women, sexuality and etc.
4. Standing up against male dominance in every area
5. Promoting education for woman. Feminist identity that one of the main reasons behind male dominance in every area is the fact that the opportunities of education mostly being with men in the society.

Feminism which was developed on above goals was later evolved into a political movement, a theoretical concept and an ideology. The feminist focuses their attention on following questions:

- 1) Why are women considered, excluded from modern politics?
- 2) Why does the society consider politics to be an area of ‘men’?
- 3) Why are women considered to be a secondary role throughout human history?
- 4) What are the political, social and cultural concepts which cause the suppression of women?
- 5) Can liberalist and socialist concepts that can currently sufficiently establish social liberalism and women liberalism?

In the process of feminism developing as a political ideology, several theoretical concepts were developed in the process. This included,

- i) *Liberation of women*
- ii) *Suppression of women*
- iii) *Male dominance*
- iv) *Male – female sociality*
- v) *Male centric society*
- vi) *Patriarchy*

Therefore, it can be seen that the feminist ideology has created so many conceptual changes in political science. The context of political science which had been developing since the Greek era became much broader in scope with the contractions of these feminist concepts.

Since, the Ancient Greece era it was commonly accepted that politics belonged to the public sphere of a person. However, the feminist pointed out that politics is relevant to the private sphere of a person as well. This meant that even basic concepts which are applicable in a basic family such as dominance, authority, order & etc. can also be recognized as political concepts.

Other than that, the basic concepts of philosophical politics also included the liberation of women in addition to their general concerns of social liberation and women liberation. This inclusion occurred as a result of constitutions of feminist.

Also, it should be noted that the topic of gender, male and female society were included among other main topics of political views, such as: the state, political power, democracy, socialism, liberty, equality, justice, equity, rights, exploitation, suppression, state policies, nation & state etc.

The above discussion explained the definition of feminism, the origin of feminism and goals of feminism, concerns of feminism, new theoretical concepts, developed by feminism and the changes occurred in political stream as the result of feminism. When studying feminism, it is important to focus on the main streams of feminism. The movement feminism as well as the ideology of feminism has several main streams:

- A. Liberal feminism
- B. Socialist feminism
- C. Radical feminism
- D. Post – modern feminism
- E. Post – colonial feminism

Liberal feminism

Liberalism is an ideology which emphasizes the importance of individual freedom. According to the fundamentals of feminism the women of the society are also engaged in similar struggles. In other words, feminism too was started off in a liberalistic nature. The feminist movement in the early 20th century mainly followed the stream of liberal feminism.

- **Right to vote**
- **Right to education**
- **Right to occupation**
- **Right to equal salaries**
- **Right to take part in politics**
- **Right to equal legal spaces**
- **Right to make the decision about their lives**
- **Right to equal rights**

The basic intention of liberal feminist was to emphasize that, the woman is the master of her world. Therefore, the liberal feminist was engaged in a social struggle to fight discriminations on gender to allow women to receive equal opportunities in political and economic areas.

It should be noted that, the stream of liberal feminists seems to represent logical and modern ideas. Their motives are more practical than philosophical.

Socialist feminism

Socialism is an ideology which aims at establishing an absolute equal society with a public property system. Initially socialism was simply an unorganized political concept which vaguely talks that the unfairness of the society. The ideology as socialism was established as scientific socialism by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. This was done by the book “**The communist manifesto**” in 1848. Another stream of feminism was developed under the socialist ideology this stream of feminism is quite different liberal feminism.

According to social feminists the struggle of women to aim their rights is attached with the struggle to abolish the class separation in the society. Therefore, they point out that in order to assure the rights of women it is necessary to establish a socialist society by attaching the capitalistic system.

Socialism did discuss the role of women even before the scientific socialism of Karl Marx. Robert Owen who is known as the initial socialist provided out that women should be released from the responsibility of raising children as well. Other than that Charles Furer and Sen Simon also discussed the role of women. These views became much stronger with the rise of scientific socialism.

According to the views of socialist feminism the disparity among men and women are not developed on biological elements. They point out that the disparity among men and women actually occurs as the result of the capitalistic executive system. According to them inside the capitalistic economy the women became a private property for men. Hence, men in the rich class who own property use women to reproduce in order to pro – create success for their property.

Therefore, many point out women in a capitalistic system are equally exploited as much as the laborers. According to socialist feminism in order to address the unfairness faced by women it is necessary to abolish capitalist concepts such as private property system by attaching the capitalistic economy. Therefore, they have combined the struggles of liberation of women with the socialist revelation which is a struggle to establish socialism by replacing capitalism.

Also, it should be noted that the socialist feminist does not agree with the interpretation by the liberal feminists. Most importantly Karl Marx identifies prioritizing women's rights over the socialist revolution as supporting the desires of the rich class.

Radical feminism

As discussed above the internal feminist movement in the late 19th & early 20th century appeared for measures such as right to vote, right to occupation etc. These are known as liberal feminist values above this stage of feminist movement is known as the first move of feminism. Following the success of the first move a new stream of feminism was born by 1950's with a more radical and aggressive approach. This is known as 2nd wave of feminism.

According to the basic idea of radical feminism, dispute women rights, equal opportunities and equality, women to face several sexual suppressions, political, economic, social, personal and

sexual areas. Therefore, radical feminist openly discussed the concept of sexual suppression which was considered to be a best type at that time.

According to radical feminists, patriarchy is the foundation of the problem of gender inequality. The basic meaning of patriarchy is the rule of the father therefore, radical feminist believed that mere political reforms to be insufficient as a solution for liberation of women, they point out that it is necessary to abolish patriarchy from political, social, colonial and personal areas in order to achieve liberation for women.

Radical feminists further point out that which have established patriarchy in modern day society quiet patriarchy amid sharply. In the book “*Personal attitude*” written by **Eva Fugues**, it is pointed out that the patriarchal dominance is introduced to the society by religious ethics and philosophy. Also, in the book “*Sexual Pollsters*” written by **Kate Millett**, it is pointed that the modern literature has introduced specific gender rules for boys and girls. In order to establish the idea that girls should follow the dominance of boys. Therefore, according to radical feminist the idea of patriarchy is intended and justified to people from a younger age. They believe that in order to achieve true liberation for women it is necessary to establish the concept of patriarchy as well as social system, which introduces the concept of patriarchy.

Post – modern feminist

The idea of post - modern feminism is extremely complex. It is vast and unorganized. In basic terms post – modernism questions the ideologies currently based with heavy criticism. In fact, post – modernization approach to feminism also interpreted feminism which eventually created a new stream of feminism.

Post - modern feminism mostly focus only on the element of diversity. They point out that women all over the globe have different identities and circumstances. Most importantly different problems and different types of supportive the post - modernist heavily criticized the feminist acting on the assumption that women and the oppression of women are similar all around the world.

Post – modernist feminist appears for different types of women movement to be conducted according to circumstances. Also, they believe that women’s movements around the world should reflect the diversity and differences in conditions of women.

Also, it should be noted that the post – modern feminist stream addresses one of the main criticisms against feminism which was the lack of a uniform frame work. Feminism is generally criticized for being theoretically unorganized and lacking a theoretical frame work. The post - modernist feminist however believe that feminism should not have a uniform frame work as the condition of oppression faced by different women around the world don’t have a uniform frame.

Post – colonial feminism

The term post – colonial refers to a state where currently being independent after being columned by an alien nation. Given that, most of the Asian, African & South American countries were colonized by European nations during the 18th & 19th centuries by the mid-20th century a plenty of post - colonial states were added to the world map. Following this a new political theory was developed. As post – colonial theory this theory was developed. As post – colonial theory this theory also has a specific approach towards feminism.

The basic idea of post – colonial feminism is to emphasize the fact that women in post - colonial societies, face specifically different experiences and specifically different versions of oppression.

That points out that the female oppression in post – colonial countries deserve a special attention.

A post - colonial country has a society and a state and a culture which is a combination of their native culture and the nature of the colonizers. This creates social patterns and cultural rules which can create unique types of challenges for woman. Therefore, post – modernist feminism discusses on establishing a different feminist movement specially for women in societies that have been neglected to colonial rule.

It can be seen that similar to post – modern feminism, post – colonial feminism also emphasizes on the diversity factor. What is unique with post – colonial feminists are that they emphasize for a unique feminist government specifically for women of post – colonial societies.

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Gimhan Sooriyabandara - The Academy of PS

Unit 06 - Conflicts and Conflict Resolution

- The definition of conflicts
- Conflicts, violence, and non-violence
- Tasks of Conflicts
- Categorization of conflicts
- Conflict life cycle
- How to handle conflicts
- Conflict resolution process
- Means of conflict resolution
- Peace Building
- Reconciliation

The Definition of Conflicts

Conflicts can be defined as a social connection which exists between multiple people or multiple groups. Therefore, conflicts can be identified as a result of social diversity since conflicts do take place due to the diversity of various elements such as:

- Desires
- Necessities
- Goals
- Values
- Beliefs of different people and groups.

The word “conflict” has originated from the Latin word “**confligere**”. The basic idea of this term is fighting and colliding. However, academically the term conflict can be given a much broader definition. Although it is not possible to give a common definition to define what conflicts are different political scientists have given different definitions for conflicts.

“A conflict is a social connection between two or more persons or groups who believe that they have different social goals that are not compatible”

Professor Christopher Mitchelle

“A situation where people and states are connected on serious disagreements or debates”

Oxford dictionary

“Conflicts occur when two or more people or groups with non-compatible goals declare their beliefs”

Louis Kriesberg



According to above interpretations, conflicts can generally be identified as “a competition between two or more parties which constantly attempt to suppress each other or to take advantages before the other due to the belief that they possess goals that are contrary to the other party.”

The human history of conflicts runs back to the beginning of human civilization. It can also be observed that conflicts are an essentially unavoidable and unpreventable feature of human life.

Since it is impossible for any human to live in isolation, every human has to develop connections and relationships with other humans.

When these connections are maintained, different opinions of individuals could create disagreements and these disagreements are the foundation for conflicts to occur. Also, an ideological conflict can later develop into violent stages which can cause destructive results to the society.

Conflicts can have different levels of expansion from personal level to a global level. A conflict could be a simple disagreement between two individuals or even a world war between countries in the world.

A conflict is ideally supposed to be physically destructive. However, there can be big conflicts without any physical destruction as well. The world war and the Sri Lanka civil war are examples for physically destructive conflicts while the cold war between USA and the Soviet Union can be considered as a non-physical ideological conflict.



Conflicts, Violence, and Non-violence

The term ‘conflict’ is generally associated with violence; due to this reason the term “conflicts” generates a negative idea. However, political scientists identify conflicts as a concept that could be positive as well. The pioneer of this theory is Niccolò Machiavelli.

In his book “The Prince” Machiavelli pointed out that the final goal in politics is to capture, to establish and to expand political power. Therefore, Machiavelli believed that, this goal requires both methods that are both right and wrong. As a result, Machiavelli pointed out a ruler should use war and force to achieve the ultimate goal of politics.

According to Machiavelli, a ruler using violence when necessary, should not be considered as a negative feature. Therefore, Machiavelli believes that unless the power is used without a limit, the application of violence and conflicts should be considered as positive features.

Even Thomas Hobbes emphasized the importance of violence to maintain the authority power of the state. According to him, violence is necessary to maintain the consistency of state rule in order to avoid anarchy.

Also, Marxists believe that violence and conflicts are necessary to fight against the dominating class in order to create a fair society. This is defined as the poor class fighting the violence of their suppressor by using violence itself.

Mahatma Gandhi in the Indian national movement and Martin Luther King in the American civil rights movement are considered as the pioneers of the non-violent method of conflicts. According to Gandhi, a conflict for a positive cause should have a non-violent method.

Based on his experiences in the South African national movement Gandhi suggested a non-violent national movement for India as well. Gandhi believed that the non-violent method is the right way go despite it being the longer process.



Mahatma Gandhi



Martin Luther King

Nature	Outcome	Example
Violent	Negative	a civil war
Violent	Positive	a revolution against a dictator
Non Violent	Negative	racism on social media
Non Violent	Positive	peaceful protests

Tasks of Conflicts

In general, a conflict is where two or more parties compete with each other to get advantages over the other party or to suppress or to cause damage to the counter party. In day to day lives conflicts are considered as a negative feature as most of the conflicts have destructive outcomes. However, when conflicts are academically studied it can be seen that conflicts can generate positive outcomes as well. According to Karl Marx, the foundation for the social development is laid by the conflict between the social classes. Also, some political scientists believe that conflicts fulfill a positive and a creative task in the social transformation process.

According to political scientists, tasks of conflicts have two approaches:

- Positive tasks of conflicts
- Negative tasks of conflicts

a) Positive tasks of conflicts

According to George Simmel conflicts do have several positive features. This was pointed out in his book “Sociology of Conflict” in 1904.

- The prevention of social stagnancy and social development
- Emphasizing on the necessity to solve social issues by focusing attention
- Contributing to the transformation process of people and the society
- Developing the strength of the unity of social groups and communities

Lewis A. Coser has also pointed out several positive features of conflicts in his book “The Function of Social Conflict” in 1956.

- Reducing the tension between rival groups of open societies and loosely structured societies.
- Establishing social stability
- Establishing social unity

When his approach is further studied more positive features and task can be seen in society unsatisfied features and layers can be seen through conflicts. It is possible to develop harmony between social groups by positively responding to these conflicts.

According Karl Deutsch there are two types of conflicts as destructive and creative. Therefore, creative conflict solves social issues to make the society a better place.

Also, it is important to discuss the work of Karl Marx in terms of positive tasks of conflicts. Marx comprehends conflicts in a social class point of view. According to Marx, social classes did not exist in the primitive communist era. The class struggle was initiated in the slave era which continued until the capitalistic era today.

Marx believes that the suppressed poor class should start a conflict as a revolution. According to Marx this is necessary to achieve the advanced communist society. Therefore, Marx points out that conflicts as a positive feature as it is necessary to achieve a far society.

In general, positive features of conflicts can be listed as follows:

- ❖ A conflict is a declaration of a single or multiple unspoken, unsolved problems of the society.
- ❖ A conflict draws the attention of the society to a problem or a set of problems that have not been given attention thus far. Therefore, conflicts can be considered as a social eye opener.
- ❖ Since avoiding problems is a human weakness the occurrence of conflicts force people to find solutions for problems.



Georg Simmel



Lewis Coser



Karl Deutsch

b) Negative tasks of conflicts

The main reason for conflicts to be considered as a negative feature is the destructive nature of conflicts. When conflicts are violent, it results in loss of human lives and the destruction of physical resources constructed by humans. Conflicts can also result in economic, political, social, and ethical damages on a long term.

Ex:

- 1st and 2nd World Wars
- Civil wars inside states
- Wars between nations
- Ethnic and racial conflicts
- The cold war and the threat of nuclear war
- Global terrorism and the war against terrorism

In general, the negative features of conflicts can be listed as follows:

- ✓ Conflicts create distrust, hatred, and rivalries
- ✓ Due to conflicts human relationships get damaged and the society loses the unity
- ✓ Violent conflicts cause the loss of human lives
- ✓ Conflicts result in loss of finances and property hence it damages the social, political, economic status of a country.
- ✓ When conflicts grow into an uncontrollable level it creates an obstacle to the economy, democracy, and human rights of a country.

The positive and negative features of conflicts can be explained as above. The magnitude of the damage and destruction caused by conflicts motivated humans to academically study about conflicts. It was expected from these studies to provide long lasting solutions for these conflicts and resolve them.



Categorization of Conflicts

Despite having many, in political science we focus on there are three main types of classifications.

1. Simple classification
2. Functional classification
3. Political classification

1) Simple classification

According to the simple classification there are four types of conflicts.

i. Inner personal conflicts

There are conflicts that individuals experience inside their own minds as conflicting thoughts. These inner personal conflicts occur as a result of conflicting desires and goals of humans. This can be defined as a natural occurrence every human goes through at one point in life.

ii. Inter personal conflicts

These conflicts occur between two or more individuals based on their differences, rivalries, and competition. This is a common social phenomenon as humans with differences often interact with each other in the society.

iii. Intra group conflicts

There are many groups of individuals living in the society. These groups are consisted of individuals with different goals and purposes as a result these conflicts occur among members of the group.

iv. **Inter group conflicts**

These conflicts occur among different groups when they pursue different desires and goals.



2) Functional classification

The basis of this classification is the tasks and consequences of conflicts. There are two types of conflicts under this classification.

1. Constructive conflict

These conflicts are creative conflicts where the conflict results in a positive outcome. At the end of such a conflict, parties begin to believe that they have gained positive benefits from the conflict. Due to this satisfaction, conflicts are concluded on a positive note. These conflicts occur based on a problem that would have been neglected under general circumstances.

Ex: The civil rights movement led by Martin Luther King Jr, in the USA. Ending colour segregation in 1960's.

2. Destructive conflict

In a destructive conflict the parties that took part are not satisfied at the end, and they are displaced with the conflict. As a result, the parties in a destructive conflict continue the conflict without concluding. Due to the negative outcomes, parties continue and renew the conflict seeking a unilateral advantage as Professor. Karl Deutsch such conflicts could acquire new dynamism apart from the original course.

Ex: The Sri Lankan ethnic conflict which was initiated as a problem of the ratio of representation (as a result of divide and conquer theory by the British) was later developed into a heavily destructive civil war.



3) Political classification

Since the beginning of human civilization most of the mass and destructive conflicts have taken place for political reasons rather than personal reasons. Since these conflicts are participated by a large number of people as well as social groups, these conflicts often become violent and continues for an extensive period of time. Solving these conflicts is a difficult task and at times almost impossible.

In his book “Understanding Conflict Resolution (2002)” **Professor Peter Wallensteen** has developed a classification of conflicts based on these features.



Peter Wallensteen and one of his books

I. Inter- state conflicts

These are the conflicts that take place among different states. This basically means sovereign nations getting into conflicts mostly in the form of war. These conflicts are in fact extremely destructive, which can cause huge losses in lives and property.

Ex:

- Border dispute conflicts such as India-Pakistan war, Israel-Palestine war
- Conflicts over resources such as wars among African nations over clean water, oil, gold etc.

II. Intra state conflicts

That conflicts that occur within a state over various political reasons are known as intra state conflicts. These conflicts often start as a disagreement between two or more groups and later developed into destructive civil wars. These conflicts can either occur between two groups or between a group and the government.

Ex:

- The current civil war in Syria
- The conflict between LTTE and the Sri Lankan government

According to political scientists the factors that lead into intra state conflicts can be listed as following:

❖ Structural factors

The state represents the political unity of a structural political system. That is consisted of a diverse plural society. This means a weak state that fails to politically unify their citizens creates a structural factor for an intra state conflict.

❖ Socio-economic factors

The social divisions such as cast, race, colour can result in social discrimination over certain communities. Other than this, economic factors such as the class division, unemployment, inflation, shortage of resources, shortage of land can result in economic tension, over certain groups. These can create intra state conflicts.

❖ Political factors

According to political scientists there are four main political factors that contribute to conflicts.

- a. Government institutions that discriminate against certain groups of citizens.
- b. Exclusionary political ideologies that divide people as communities
- c. The sharp competition among social groups
- d. Political elites who use problems for their advantage

❖ Cultural factors

This is the most common factor behind intra state conflicts in the modern world. In a diverse plural society, different communities follow different cultural identities. This diversity could result in conflicts when the cultural value of a community is not respected by another community or the government.

III. State formation conflict

These conflicts occur when a community inside a state claims a specific territory to form their own sovereign state. This was defined by Professor Peter Wallensteen.

Governments use the internal sovereignty power of the state to prevent communities from beginning or preceding with such conflicts. These conflicts either result in the state claiming group being wiped out or a new state being formed. Ex:

- The Sri Lankan civil war in order to form the state of EELAM was ended with LTTE being wiped off.
- The Sudanese civil war was ended with the formation of South Sudan.





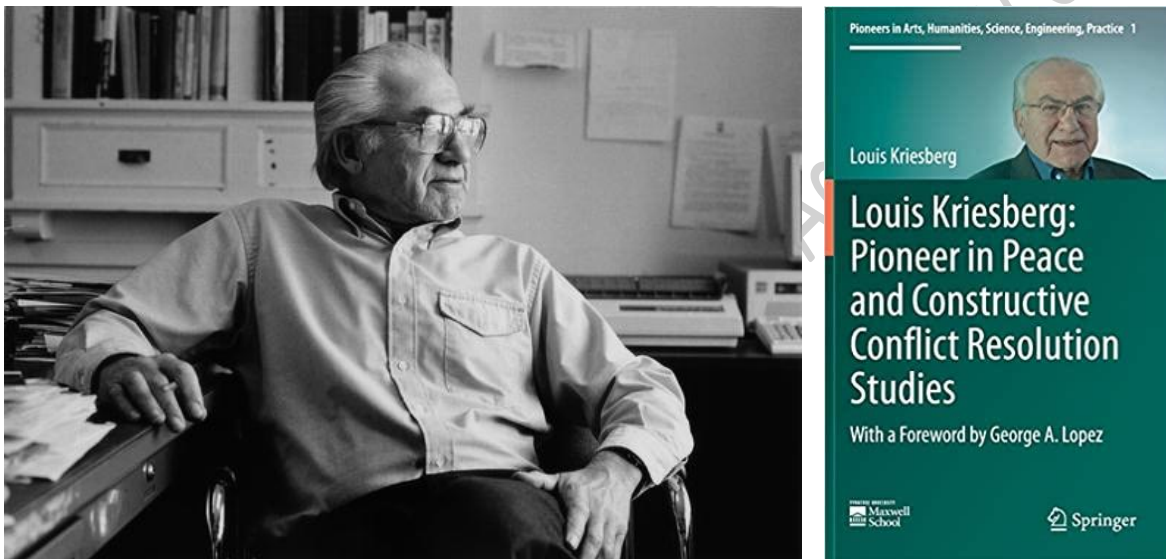
Formation of South Sudan was a result of a state formation conflict



The map of EELAM (The state, LTTE attempted to form through the civil war unsuccessfully.)

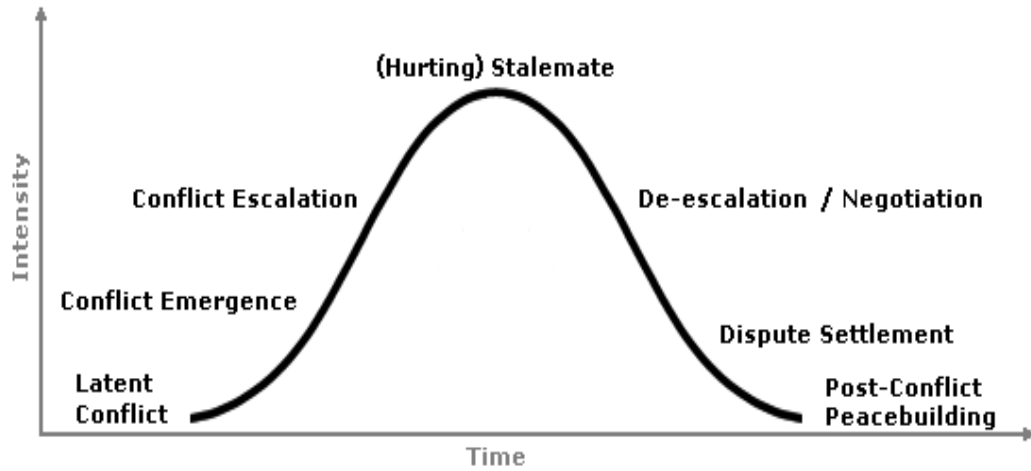
Conflict Life Cycle

The conflict life cycle was developed by Professor Louis Kriesberg who is a pioneer in the field of conflict resolution. The conflict life cycle suggests that a conflict is a process with a beginning, period of maturity and the potential to end.



Professor Louis Kriesberg and one of his books

According to the conflict life cycle a conflict change with time rather than being socially stagnant. Therefore, a conflict can be visible to people at one point and later be unnoticeable. Also, a conflict can be violent at times or be the beginning of another conflict. The concept of the conflict life cycle can be illustrated as a chart.



The stages in a conflict life cycle are:

- Pre-conditions
- Emergence
- Escalation
- De-escalation
- Termination

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1. Pre-conditions

This phase is the time period before the conflict. The main feature of the pre-conditioned period is that the fact, the stage does exist although they remain un recognized as there is no acknowledgment that those factors would cause a conflict. Therefore, acknowledgement of these pre-conditions could potentially prevent a conflict.

2. Emergence

In this stage incompatible expectations and goals are formed on the basis of grievance and negative response they receive. This is partially due to the fact that pre-conditions not being acknowledged.

3. Escalation

In this period the conflict is developed into a higher level. Due to the escalation the conflict can turn into a violent situation. This can result in militarization of the conflict, the graters losses in life and property at this stage becomes much more difficult to peacefully resolve the conflict.

4. De- escalation

The escalation of the conflict brings the parties of the conflicts to extreme measures in terms of war. As a result, the parties of the conflict suffer heavy losses. This leads the parties to consider solutions.

This point is the peak point of the conflict where the parties are stuck in a situation where no one can retreat, de-escalate unilaterally. According to William Zartman, this situation is known as a deadlock which can be explained as a “mutually hurting stalemate”.

According to Zartman from this point onwards the conflict starts to decline as both parties seek and are ready to explore joint solutions to the conflict. At this point parties are willing to negotiate for a common solution. To conclude neither party/parties as a loser. At times, this process is done by a third party.

The main reasons for this situation are as follows:

- 1) Parties running out of resources and strength to maintain the conflict
- 2) The pressure from the international community to reach a solution
- 3) Governments not receiving the support of the public to continue the conflict
- 4) Parties being exhausted after extensive after extensive fighting and realizing the inevitable truth that the conflict has no unilateral solution

5. Termination

There are two methods that can be followed to terminate a conflict:

- 1] Through a military action
- 2] Through a negotiated settlement

When a conflict is terminated through a military action the victorious party has the full authority over the decision to fulfill the requests of the losing party.

The other method of resolving the conflict is mediation which involves a negotiated settlement. This can be done through a peace treaty. In this process it is important to have the participation of a third party.

In this method a common solution is provided for both parties to settle without either one side winning or losing such solutions are called win-win solutions.

How to Handle Conflicts

Conflicts are a common and inevitable feature in the social life of humans. The academic studies that have been done on conflicts provide positive as well as negative theories. A destructive conflict can cause damages to the parties of the conflict as well as third parties that are not directly involved in the conflicts. Ex:

- The war between India and Pakistan could have negative impacts on other countries in the Indian sub-continent.
- North Korea declaring war on South Korea could result in a damage on Sri Lanka as a large number of Sri Lankan workers are employed in South Korea.
- The conflict between the USA and China could cause damage economically and politically to the entire world as the global political system and economic system are both centered on USA and China.

Inter-state conflicts as well as intra state conflicts both can be extremely destructive and cause heavy losses in lives and property. Also, these conflicts result in long term problems such as famines, poverty, and refugees.

Therefore, modern day humans face the challenge of handling conflicts. According to political science in order to resolve a conflict it is necessary to approach the conflict.

One of the most common features of a conflict is that the parties involved in the conflict attempting to gain one sided benefit from the conflict. Therefore, each party in a conflict expect to gain all the victories at the end of the conflict. Also, each party expects the counter party to end up without any victory. This can be identified as a common and natural behavioral pattern of

humans. However, a conflict should not be approached with this win-lose approach. The end result of this approach is the losing party re-emerging later in a different approach.

Ex:

- JVP attempting to gain the governmental power in Sri Lanka in 1971 and losing the armed revolution. However, JVP re-emerged in 1980's.

Therefore, it is important to follow the win-win approach instead of the win-lose approach to solve a conflict in a lasting manner.



The founder of JVP, Rohana Wijeweera



Captured rebels of the 1971 JVP insurrection

The book “Working with Conflict” written by Simon Fisher and his group in the year 2000 provides six different approaches for conflicts.

- 1) Community relations approach
- 2) Human needs approach
- 3) Identity needs approach
- 4) Cultural communication approach
- 5) Conflict transformation approach
- 6) Problem solving approach

1. Community relations approach

According to this approach conflicts occur as a result of the breakdown of community relations the main reason behind this breakdown is miscommunication of information which results to doubts and distrust among people. Under these circumstances even a minor reason could result in a heavy conflict. Therefore, the aim of conflict resolution should be,

- i. Promotion of communication and the mutual understanding between the parties of the conflict.
- ii. Improving the capacities of communities to accept the diversity in social and cultural areas.
- iii. Preventing misinformation and certain groups from purposely communicating false information.

2. Human needs approach

According to this approach, conflicts occur when human necessities in material, psychological, social, and cultural areas are not properly fulfilled. Social needs (such as reputation, respect etc.) material needs (such as food, shelter, clothes etc.) cultural needs (such as religion, beliefs, customs etc.) and psychological needs (such as freedom, liberty etc.) all are equally important for a human. When certain humans fall short of the above requirements, conflicts are most likely to occur among people. According to this approach the conflict resolution should,

- i. Encourage parties to identify their unfulfilled necessities and to explore alternative ways to achieve these goals.
- ii. Assisting parties of the conflicts to arrive at settlements that satisfy their basic human needs.

3. Identity needs approach

Individuals and groups that live within a society have diverse identities. When communities feel that their identity is threatened, conflicts may occur as a result. According to this approach resolving a conflict should,

- i. Assist parties to identify their mutual threats in order to build mutual empathy and reconciliation.
- ii. Work towards collective agreements among parties that will fulfill their basic identity needs.

4. Cultural communication approach

This approach provides that conflicts occur due to the incompatibility of different cultures to communicate with each other. Since each culture has different customs, beliefs, food patterns, values etc. certain cultures may accept features that are not accepted in another culture. This could result in a communication gap between two communities and which can develop into a destructive conflict.

Ex: In India, the Hindu community considering the cow a sacred animal and this cultural element not being compatible with the Muslim community which has food patterns with frequent beef consumption.

According to this approach conflict resolution should focus are:

- i. Increasing the understanding among the parties of each other cultures
- ii. Assisting parties to reject negative stereotypes of each other
- iii. Strengthening inter culture communication



Indian Hindus worshipping cows as gratitude for milk

5. Conflict transformation approach

The basic idea of this approach is that conflicts occur due to the inequalities and injustices of social, political, and economic areas due to the intense competition. Therefore, it suggests that conflict resolution should be done by transforming the conflict through rapid changes of the social system. This includes,

- i. Changing the policy framework that created the conflict as the root cause
- ii. Subjecting to constructive change the understanding of each other among parties of the conflict
- iii. Empowering the communities and implementing policies to ensure peace, justice, equality, and reconciliation

6. Problem solving approach

The basic idea of this approach is that conflicts occur due to incompatible goals among parties. Also, parties have an attitude towards the conflict as the end of the conflict should be a victory for them and the opposition should be destroyed. This is known as “zero-sum attitude.”

In order to resolve the conflict, it is necessary to,

- i. Facilitate parties to come into agreements that are shared and mutual. These solutions are not ‘unilateral’ or ‘zero-sum’
- ii. Parties should separate their personal factors from root causes and problems involved in the conflict. This allows the conflict with the aim of solving the relevant problem.

Conflict Resolution Process

Studies of conflict management are not limited to mere studies of conflicts as it is also expected to solve conflicts as well. In basic terms, solving conflicts or resolution of conflicts concluding the conflict or by invalidating the reasons behind the beginning of the conflict. According Peter Wallensteen “conflict resolution process is an attempt with the purpose of finding methods for the parties of the conflicts to express their desires.” Therefore, it can be seen that although it is difficult to completely resolve conflicts there are several mediums to positively approach a conflict.

- 1) Early warning of conflicts
- 2) Prevention of conflicts
- 3) Management of conflicts
- 4) Transformation of conflicts
- 5) Post conflict peace building process
- 6) Resolution of conflicts

- 1) Early warning conflicts

This concept was developed by American Professor **Kenneth Baldino** in 1980's. According to this concept, the foundation of conflict resolution is to identify potential future conflicts and taking necessary steps to prevent conflicts beforehand. In order to implement this the initial step is to collect social data and information. By studying these data and information it is possible to, identify social trends and possibilities of potential future conflicts. Therefore, early warnings of conflicts include two main tasks.

- a. Identifying the nature of conflicts with possibility of violence and the possible occasions.

- b. Analyzing the progress of conflicts by observing the data gathered in order to identify if conflicts are transformed into violence.

It is also possible to categorize social data into two groups as quantity data and quality data. Quantity data includes the social and economic data in the possible area of location. Quality data includes elements related to conflict turning violence such as the beginning of violent activities, attacking, collection of weapons etc.

2) Preventions of conflicts

This basically means taking necessary steps before the conflict occurs. However, this concept has two basic questions:

- i. Is it possible to prevent conflicts?
- ii. Should conflicts be prevented?

The first question can directly be answered as 'yes' as it is commonly agreed. However, the second question is answered differently as 'yes' or 'no'. Some point out that conflicts should not be prevented as they result in social development. However, some argue that conflicts should be prevented since they result in extreme violence and destruction.

Therefore, the general idea is that conflicts should be prevented as they are destructive and harmful. The prevention of a conflict is equal to a prevention of a harmful destruction. According to some political scientists, this is similar to the prevention of a conflict.

Ex: In an apartment complex the administration has included fire alarms, smoke detectors and other equipment to prevent a fire from the first place. This is similar to the conflict prevention process in a society.

There are three main steps/stages in the conflict prevention process.

1. The preventions done in a no conflict situation with the anticipation of possible future conflicts.
2. Preventions done in an existing conflict in order to prevent possible destruction and violence in the future.
3. Preventions done after resolving a conflict to prevent any possible reoccurrence.

Conflict prevention can be done in two methods:

1. Light prevention
2. Deep prevention

Light prevention includes mostly executive and administrative decisions that are taken to prevent conflicts from turning violent.

Ex: diplomatic involvements, appointment of commissions, workshops on conflict resolution, peace conventions etc. (such decisions were taken during the cold war period between USA and USSR)

Deep prevention includes finding long term solutions to address the root cause of such conflicts.

Ex: making the development process sufficient, empowering democratic standards, protecting human rights, ensuring independence of the judiciary, assuring rule of law, ensuring social fairness, tackling issues in the legal and political infrastructures.

3) Management of conflicts

This concept came to the spotlight in the 1980's. the basic meaning of conflict management is controlling and handling a conflict in order to:

- Minimize violence and destruction of a conflict
- Minimizing and limiting the intensity of a conflict
- Preventing the spread of conflict

Conflict management has two main interpretations

1. In a situation where, resolving a conflict completely seems unlikely and has taken a long time, conflict management can be applied to minimize the destructive intensity and the expansion. This can be important when granting a permanent solution for the conflict. According to this interpretation conflicts are a negative concept
2. According to this interpretation, conflicts are not necessarily a negative concept. Therefore, conflict management does not search for methods to permanently solve conflicts. Therefore, conflict management can prevent the conflicts from turning violent and keep them in the democratic stream. This allows conflicts to influence social development and progress, without causing destruction.

According to both these interpretations, conflict management necessarily does not provide final solutions for a conflict rather control and handle the conflict in order to prevent them from turning violent.

4) Transformation of conflicts

The idea of conflict transformation was suggested as an alternative option for the approach of conflict resolution. Although conflict resolution focuses on the final goal that can be achieved by the parties of a conflict, conflict transformation focuses on transforming the content of a conflict.

According to this, conflicts are identified as something that cannot be concluded through a peace accord or the victory of one person. Therefore, the conflict can only be concluded by transforming the nature, desires, and motives of the conflict by the conflict itself.

Conflict is a process that is aggressive and revolutionary, therefore the nature, desires of the parties, potential targets change from time to time. These changes are known as transformation.

In this approach what should be done is, closely studying the re transformations in order to identify the most suitable opportunity to make involvements and manage the conflict. This observation should be done throughout the conflict rather than focusing on one instance of a conflict.

According to Peter Wallensteen, conflict transformation is a result of the knowledge gathered throughout the historical process of a conflict. This means that the parties of a conflict learn lessons from the conflict itself which transforms their desires to the point to concluded the conflict. Therefore, transformation of conflicts can be applied as an effective way of conflict resolution.

There are various ways for conflict transformation to happen:

i. Transformation of parties

- When a conflict occurs within a society for a long time it is possible for the parties of the conflict to go through transformations over their attitudes and desires.

Ex: a terrorist group of a conflict may go through a change of leadership or a government can change through a shift of regimes etc. Under these circumstances the attitudes shown by the parties towards the conflict can transform along the parties.

ii. Transformation of agendas

- Every conflict is started with parties having their own agendas. Each party expects to fulfill their own agendas. Each party expects to fulfill their agendas through the conflict.

However, with time the parties may change their agendas.

iii. Transformation of rules

- Every conflict in the world occurs with a set of ground rules that are developed with time. These rules can be identified by observing the behavior of the parties of the conflict through time. These rules can be transformed from time to time.

iv. Transformation of structure

- At this level the entire structure of the conflict including the causes, goals, rules, and even parties may go through transformations.

5) Post conflict peace building process

Peace can be identified as a closely related concept with conflicts and wars. Peace can be defined in simple terms as a situation free of war and other violent activities. In general peace accords are agreements made by parties of a conflict with the promise of not entering into war or violence.

However, according to Professor Johan Galtung “peace is not merely being free of war” according to him “peace also includes being free of any causes which can result in war and violence in the future.” Professor Galtung points out the following elements has the causes behind war and violence.

- Lack of rights
- Poverty
- Discrimination
- Social cornering

It should be noted that it is possible for a society to have a no peace situation even without a war due to above mentioned reasons.

This concept emphasizes that a peace accord is simply a pre – condition to resolve conflicts rather than the entire process of conflict resolution. Therefore, in order to establish sustainable peace and to prevent a potential war in the future it is necessary to address above mentioned cause through economic, political and social reforms. This includes rehabilitation, reconstruction of physical property, relocation of displaced people, ensuring equity and justice, improving reconciliation among ethnicities etc.

6) Resolution of conflicts

Conflict resolution is the conclusion of a conflict by invalidating the causes which created the conflict. According to Peter Wallensteen conflict resolution is the attempt to find means to facilitate the desires of the actors of the conflict.

Therefore, conflict resolution is a process which addresses the causes of the conflict as well as the consequences of the conflict in order to meet the desires of the actors of the conflict and to prevent another conflict from happening.

There are two types of challenges met in this process-

1. Long-term and medium-term challenges

This aspect of peace building calls for addressing the root causes of the conflict followed by the necessary social, economic and political reforms.

2. Short term challenges

These are immediate challenges which come after a conclusion of a war or a peace treaty. It is necessary to address the humanitarian and social consequences of the conflict. This includes the resettlement and rehabilitation of the displaced citizens and the victims of the conflict, rehabilitation of combatants, rebuilding the communities and addressing issues of human rights violations etc.

Means of Conflict Resolution

Conflict resolution is a goal that should be addressed through a peace building process which addresses the causes of the conflict as well as consequences of the conflict. The basic means that are used for this process are known as means of conflict resolution.

- 1) Negotiation
- 2) Mediation
- 3) Peace agreement
- 4) Peace building

1. Negotiation

Negotiation between the parties of the conflict is one of the most commonly used means of conflict resolution. The book “Getting to Say Yes” (by **Roger Fisher** and, **William Ury**) defines negotiation as a basic mean of getting what you want from other through a back-and-forth communication designed to reach an agreement when you and the other side have a shared interest.



Negotiation is basically a process of talking or discussions. In these discussions parties try to arrive to a mutually acceptable, shared stand on the issues at dispute.

Negotiation is a concept; which humans are familiar with in their day to day lives within personal relationships as well as professional relationships. Therefore, following negotiation as a mean of conflict resolution is quite effective.

Following elements can be identified behind the consideration of negotiation following a conflict.

- Parties realizing that a one-sided process would not allow their desires.
- Parties of the conflict maturing.
- Parties of the conflict deciding to take the benefit of a landmark turning point of the conflict.
- Influencing, guiding or forcing by external parties.

There are three types of negotiations:

i. Problem solving negotiation

- In this method the basic motive is to resolve the problems that cause the conflict. Such solutions should be equally satisfying for both parties of the conflict. Under this, parties of the conflict can jointly work together to resolve the root cause of the conflict.

ii. Contending negotiation

- This is the opposite of the problem-solving negotiation as, in this one party constantly impose its position over the other party which means parties are not willing to be flexible while expecting the flexibility and the compromises from the other party.

iii. Yielding negotiations

- In this approach parties of the conflict are willing to be flexible and reduce the intensity of their desires. However, it should be noted that the flexibility should not be overdone as the other party may recognize that as a weakness. Being too flexible may result in a dissatisfying conclusion to the conflict.

Negotiations has certain basic rules:

- Assuring complete participants for all parties to provide the space for the parties to present the ideas and suggestions.
- Every party receiving an uninterrupted attention for the expression.
- The liberty to provide ideas and suggestions without facing aggression or humor.
- The assurance of confidential details remaining confidential, agendas and time frames being compatible with every party.
- Equal dedication from every party.
- Protection and impartiality of accommodators such as respecting each other and not taking unfair advantages during the negotiation.

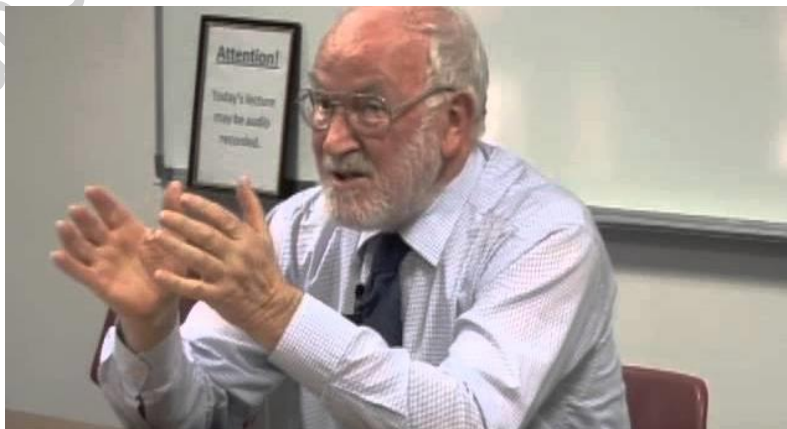
2. Mediation

The basic idea of mediation is the third-party involvement in the conflict resolution process. In other words, it is similar to negotiation but it is done by a third party. This means a neutral third party that has no connection to the conflict or parties make involvements to start negotiation between the parties.

According to Prof. **Christopher Mitchell** mediation is done by the third party to resolve a conflict or at least to minimize the destruction of one. Therefore, mediation can be identified as a third party attempting to solve a conflict with a satisfying conclusion for both parties.

Mediation is a series of activities rather than a solitary act. This process includes following activities.

- ✓ Acting as a messenger between the parties of the conflict.
- ✓ Assisting the parties of the conflict to have a constructive communication.
- ✓ Assisting the parties to consider alternative solutions for the conflict.
- ✓ Fulfilling the duty of bringing the parties to the negotiation table and chairing them.
- ✓ Assisting the parties to resolve issues that occur during the negotiation.
- ✓ Acting as the spokesperson for the parties.
- ✓ Assisting the drafting process of peace agreements. (Providing assistance if parties ask)



Professor Christopher Mitchell

3. Peace agreements

When an interstate conflict or an intra state conflict occur, a third-party mediator attempts to negotiate as discussed before. These negotiations are often expected to result in a peace agreement. These basically means that the parties of the conflict enter into an agreement to restrain from violence and war.

The terms and conditions of this agreement are ideally decided by the mediating third party. In case of a negotiation without a third party this can be drafted by the specialists of the two parties itself.

Also, it should be noted that when a conflict ends with one party winning and the other party loosing, one-sided agreements can be signed. (After the conclusion of first World War Germany was forced into signing the treaty of Versailles) These one-sided agreements are not considered as peace agreements.

Following features can be seen in a peace agreement:

- ✓ Both parties agreeing to suspend or conclude the conflict.
- ✓ Including certain promises that should be followed solely and mutually as conditions of the agreement.
- ✓ Parties mutually agreeing to conclude the war, disarmed rehabilitation of soldiers, relocating displaced civilians, taking care of refugees, serving justice for human rights violations etc.
- ✓ If the conflict involves a rebellious armed group as a party, transforming that into a democratic political organization. This includes any reasonable political reforms requested by such parties.
- ✓ Assuring to fulfill the terms and conditions of the agreement and agreeing to any independent observational mechanisms that area arranged.

4. Peace building

Peace agreement does not necessarily mean peace building. A peace agreement is merely the first step of a long-term peace building process. Therefore, peace building is a transformation process. This process is generally met with two main challenges:

- i. Assuring the terms of the agreement are properly and comprehensively implemented by all parties.
- ii. Handling the risk of war and violence returning incase the agreement is not properly followed.



Sri Lankan government and the LTTE signing a ceasefire agreement in 2002 with Norwegian mediators

Peace Building

Peace building process (definitions and approaches)

This process was briefly explained under the means of conflict resolution, (under the previous topic) and let us thoroughly studies the peace building process in detail under this topic.

Peace is one of the most important concepts developed in the subject of conflicts. The concept of peace has been prominent in religions as well. Therefore, it is important to study the definitions and the approaches of peace building in terms of conflicts.

In simpler terms peace means “being free from war & violence” However, some political scientists point out that, peace cannot be developed just by stopping war. Norwegian Professor “**Johan Galtung**” introduced the concept of negative and positive peace in 1964.

i. Negative peace

- This basically means the condition of peace in simply the absence of war and violence.

ii. Positive peace

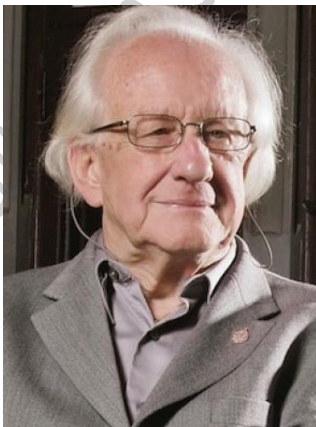
- This definition is much broader than the mere absence of war and violence. It includes a long-term process of building mutual understanding among communities, peace education, international corporation etc. According to Galtung positive peace is closing the door for structural violence.

Although negative peace can be achieved by a simple peace agreement, establishing sustainable peace through positive peace is a much complex task.

The concept of sustainable peace was also introduced Prof. Galtung in 1970's. The basic idea of sustainable peace is that “establishing peace in a way that sustain itself to survive without losing its potential over a long period of time” According to Galtung the proper peace building includes positive peace building and sustainable peace building.

In addition to Galtung's work the ideologies developed by **Boutros Boutros-Ghali** (former secretary – general of the UN) and Prof. John Paul Lederach are also considered to be important. In 1992 Ghali defined peace building as “An action to identify and support structures which will temp to strengthen and solidify peace in order to avoid relapsing into the conflict. This includes a range of measures target to reduce the risk of lapsing or relapsing into the conflict by strengthening national capacities for all levels of conflict management. Also, peace building strategies must be coherent and must be tailored to the specific needs of the country.” This definition was given in his document “An agenda for peace.”

According to Prof. J. P. Lederach building peace means building sustainable peace in societies where protract violent conflicts have occurred. This can only be achieved by grassroot level peace building with ordinary people. This includes the role of citizens, civil society and NGO's. (Non-Governmental Organizations)



Johan Galtung



Boutros Boutros-Ghali



John Paul Lederach

Reconciliation

The basic idea of reconciliation is “coming back together” or “becoming friends again” this can be identified as one of the major instances in the peace building agenda.

The parties of a conflict coming back together or becoming friends following a dispute or a conflict is a huge step. In order to achieve this feature, it is necessary to address the reason which broke down the friendly relations between the two parties, this is particularly necessary for societies that have had civil wars and violence for an extended period of time.

Such communities are severely divided due to past experiences. Reconciliation in such communities requires a process of participation of all citizens where people can abandon the past mistrust, enmity and suspicion in order to build new relations of friendship, trust and mutual understanding. This is known as a healing process.

Reconciliation occurs at three levels

- i. Psychological level
 - This basically means preparing the people to handle their painful past in a positive manner, since it involves psychology healing process

Ex: In terms of reconciling Sinhalese and Tamils in Sri Lanka, it is necessary to help Sri Lankan Tamils to handle the dark and painful memories of the “1983 - Black July” as well as to help the Sinhalese to handle dark and painful “memories of bomb attacks” during the war period in a positive manner.



1983 Black July, which resulted in many deaths of innocent Tamil civilians as well as property damage.



1996 bomb attack on Tooth Relic Temple (Dalada Maligawa) in Kandy, which resulted in many deaths of innocent Buddhist pilgrims as well as severe property damage.

Above images are simply a few examples of many dark and painful memories of the Sri Lankan civil war, which Sinhalese as well as Tamil citizens of Sri Lanka have been suffering from for decades. Therefore, the first step of the reconciliation process of Sri Lanka, should be the psychological recovery to help the both sides of the conflict, to handle these memories in a positive manner.

ii. Social level

- The reconciliation requires a social level preparation. This includes promoting the concept of forgiveness instead of division and the concept of friendship instead of hatred. Therefore, the society should be prepared to live with empathy for each other. This is known as the process of social healing.



iii. Political level

- Parallel to the psychological and social healing processes it is necessary to take necessary steps to initiate a political healing process. This includes a political reforming process which addresses economic, political and social causes behind the conflict.

The South African experience of reconciliation

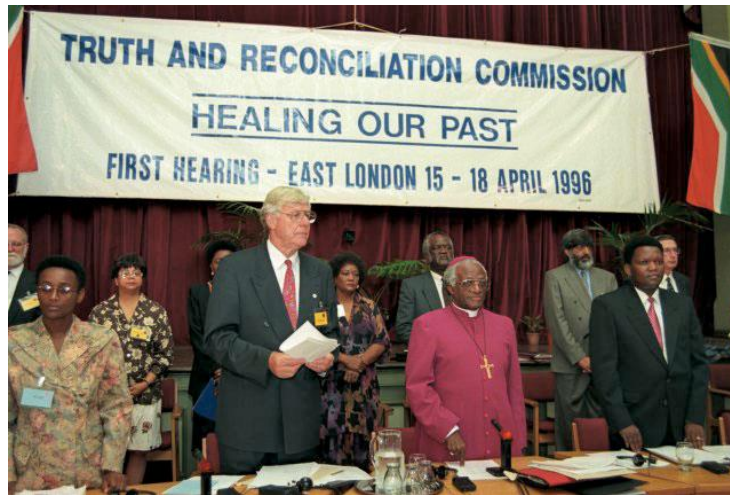
The ideal example for reconciliation from world history is the South African experience of reconciliation following independence to battle the conflict of racism. The South African experience emphasized that the reconciliation process has important features such as truth seeking; justice and independence are linked together.

The term truth seeking stands for a transparent process which reveals the actual facts behind the violence which occurred during the conflict. Therefore, accurate information should openly be shared with victims and their families. This is emphasized as an important step in the direction of healing. The justice refers to a process where justice is served to every victim of the conflict by discovering human rights violations done by each and every party of the conflict.

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa established in 1995 by the **Nelson Mandela** Administration is the most famous example for this process. This is considered as landmark in conflict management. Since it advanced a new approach to justice which was known as restorative justice, this approach to justice was based on the key principle of forgiveness.



Nelson Mandela



1995 South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission

This approach was different from the traditional idea of justice which was known as retributive justice, that approach is associated with seeking punishment for the perpetrators and basic vengeance. In South Africa this approach was denied as restorative justice was embraced which was forgiving the perpetrators. Victims and perpetrators both came before the commission where perpetrators publicly confessed while the victims or their family members offered them forgiveness therefore this process ensured reconciliation through mutual empathy.

Unit 09 - Democratic Governance

- **Introduction to democracy**
- **The conceptual foundation of democratic governance.**
- **Characteristics of Democratic Governance**
- **Democratic Governance and the Sri Lankan Experience**
- **Democratic and Undemocratic Features of the Sri Lankan System of Governance**

9.1 Introduction to democracy

Modern democratic governance has a reasonably short history as it initially emerged in Great Britain during the late 17th century as an alternative political theory against the monarchical autocratic rule. This concept was later spread throughout Europe as well as to America.

This British concept of liberal democracy was further developed with the theory of representative democracy which was based on the idea of popular government.

The basic idea of democracy was allowing citizens to govern themselves which was the political system in Ancient Greece. Representative democracy is the modern-day application of this idea which allows citizens to govern themselves through public representatives.

However modern democratic governance includes many aspects in addition to representative democracy such as constitutionalism, people sovereignty, separation of powers, checks and balances, rule of law, human rights, limited government, free and fair elections, accountability etc.

Based on these features the democratic status of a country can be measured. According to these certain countries in the world such as Switzerland, are identified as countries with the best democracy. It is important to study which of these features fit into the Sri Lankan political system and how to improve the democratic status of Sri Lanka.

9.2 The conceptual foundation of democratic governance.

Democracy is not a solitary concept rather a collection of concepts. It can be interpreted as a political philosophy, a political theory, a political ideology and a format of governance. Also, it can be defined as a specific face of the state. Democracy is a political and social use culture. Other than this democracy is a set of values which forms the social life and social relationships. When our behavior inside the family, school, office, factory, university, bus is formed by democratic values it can be considered as a strong piece of evidence that we have reached a higher level of human civilization.

When the conceptual foundation of democracy is studied two main themes

1. Liberal democracy
2. Representative democracy

9.2.1 Liberal democracy

Liberalism was developed as a concept and a form of governance in Europe following the fall of feudalism. Liberalism basically rejected autocratic features of feudalism. The main purpose of liberalism was to ensure rights and freedom of citizens by excluding the personal life and economic activities of citizens from the state. The initial concept of liberalism emphasized,

1. personal freedom
2. private property freedom
3. open market
4. political competition

as main features. Therefore, liberalism pointed out that societies consisted of people and in order to make the society a better place, it is necessary to ensure the personal freedom of each citizen.

Liberalism appreciated a society with political, economic and social freedom. This is related to the rise of the liberal, capitalistic state in Europe.

The European business class preferred the capitalistic liberal system over feudalism since it allowed the business class to engage in economic and social activities without state involvements. Therefore, the liberal theory is connected with the desires and motives of the rich class. The features of liberalism are formed in a way to facilitate the existence of the rich class. Also, they point out liberal democracy as capitalistic democracy.

democratic values were initiated following the social economic and political transformation in the 17th and 18th centuries in Europe. Democracy is a governance format or else election of fundamentals and proper governance. The democratic status of a country is determined on these democratic values.

Democracy also can be defined as a social and philosophical concept other than a government form. It represents an idea about how people should live in a society. Democracy was developed as a way of life as an alternative system against the social and personal pressure in the feudalist system. Hence democracy means a society where rights and liberty are protected. It can be studied that liberal democracy is the social related aspect of democracy. As pointed out by Andrew Haywood in 1994 in his book “Political Ideas and Concepts” democracy is not only a form of government but also a concept of life. It was developed as a form of government as a replacement for the autocratic monarchy. It was developed as a concept of life as a replacement for the feudalistic oppression over social and personal life.

Liberal democracy is basically a combination of liberalism and democracy for this combination. Democracy has contributed from the aspects of democracy as a concept of life. This combination took place during the 17th and 18th centuries in Europe.

The basic idea of the word liberal in political science is that being free from the control and the involvement of the government. The basic meaning of democracy is the government representing the people's will. Therefore, liberal democracy can be identified as a government based on the will of the public and the lives of the people being free from the control and the involvement of the government. Individual freedom is a core principle of liberal democracy.

When a liberal democratic government is studied following essential conditions can be found.

1. Constitutionalism
2. Individual freedom
3. Protected fundamental rights
4. Political and economic capabilities
5. Checks and balances
6. Free and independent media
7. Will of the public
8. Free and fair elections
9. Universal franchise
10. Responsible and accountable governance
11. Limited governance
12. Competitive political party system
13. Independence of judiciary
14. Protection of minorities
15. Rule of law
16. Differentiation of public and private fields
17. Acceptance of political pluralism

Above mentioned conditions are necessary for a liberal democratic government. These conditions control the unnecessary involvement of state as well as ensure individual freedom and rights.

According to some political thinker's liberal democracy is the only practical and meaningful interpretation of democracy also in the modern day most dominating theory of identifying democracy also liberal democracy. However, it is also important to remember that liberal democracy is only a specific stream of democracy, rather than being the only interpretation of democracy.

9.2.1.1 The historical trajectory of democracy

In many modern liberal democratic countries, liberal teachers were introduced even before fully transforming into democratic countries. For example, by the 19th century many Western countries had already reached constitutional governance guided by liberal principles, however, universal franchise guided by democratic principles were not incorporated until late years. Most of these countries followed the concept of constitutional governance, yet the democratic principles of every person being able to vote came much later.

Example;

1. Great Britain introduced Universal Franchise by 1928 as a result of movement lead by the labor class and feminism.
2. The USA completed universal by 1966 (women were allowed in 1918 and minority were allowed in 1969)
3. In Switzerland women had voting rights since 1961.

4. In Ceylon liberal features such as the legislative council. Executive council, Limited franchise was incorporated since 1833 from time to time. Democratic features such as universal franchise, political parties etc. came after 1931 (after Donoughmore reforms.)

In the modern world all liberal democratic governments had the twin principles of representative democracy and limited government. However different countries seemed to have different applications of the principles. For example, in the US liberalism is prioritized over democracy, whereas in Great Britain democracy is prioritized over liberalism.

At the time due to the problem of global terrorism, the main parties of the war against terrorism which are USA and European countries, have prioritized national security. As a result, both liberal and democratic features have suffered a reasonable set back since national security is given prominence over individual freedom. These countries follow new laws, tightening the security of the country while restricting fundamental rights, rights and liberties of citizens etc.

e.g.- In the US following the September 11th terrorist attacks on New York World trade center and the Pentagon in Washington DC, the US government passed the ‘Patriot Act’ to ensure the national security of the country which heavily restricted the bill of rights.

It is also important to closely study the relationship between capitalism and liberalism. In fact, liberalism has an extremely close relationship with the capitalistic economic system. Liberal democracy can be identified as the political phase of capitalism. However economic and social inequalities can be considered as an inevitable feature in capitalism societies. Since liberal democracy does not provide any remedy or solution to these economic and social inequalities, this has been a major criticism on liberal democracy.

In the mid-20th century liberalism changed its nature into the welfare state which was an attempt to address these social and economic problems. The main objective of social welfare policies was to redistribute with among economically poor social classes through government interventions in order to provide areas for poor people to basic life standards. This was basically done by taxing the rich social layers and earning profit through governmental involvements. Those collected funds were utilized to provide essential services such as food, health, education, housing, transportation etc. as welfare services for the poor layers of the society.

However, following the failure of welfare states, new liberalism provided the replacement of minimal state by 1980s. This was initiated in the United States and Great Britain which was adopted by many other countries. Therefore, the old liberal argument that the market forces can ensure effective distribution of wealth among all social classes with minimum government intervention is generally accepted again in most of the liberal democratic countries in the world.

9.2.2 Representative Democracy

Similar to liberal democracy, representative democracy also has a reasonably short history. This was initially established in the mid-17th century in Europe and most notably Great Britain.

In the simplest terms, democracy stands for the rule of the people. In the initial stages of democracy in Ancient Greece it functioned as “direct democracy” where citizens governed themselves. However due to the large population, large territory and complex public matters implementation of direct democracy is not practical.

Therefore by 17th and 18th centuries representative democracy was established as a system where citizens were allowed to choose representatives, to govern themselves. This was initiated in Great Britain as an alternative option against the monarchical rule of the Britain King. The basic idea of this concept meant that the sovereignty lies with the people and not with the king.

This idea was supported by the social contract theory by John Locke which suggested that the ruler and the people are parties of a contract which makes the ruler responsible to the public. Therefore, according to this idea people had the power to remove the rulers who violates the above contract. This explains the basic foundation of representative democracy which was developed in 17th and 18th centuries in Europe and America.

The democracy which existed before representative democracy was the direct democracy system that existed in Ancient Greece. The basic idea of this concept meant that the sovereignty lies with the people and not with the king.

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Therefore, according to this idea people had the power to remove the rulers who violates the above contract. This explains the basic foundation of representative democracy which was developed in 17th and 18th centuries in Europe and America.

The democratic system while existed before representative democracy was the direct democracy system that existed in Ancient Greece. The basic idea of direct democracy is allowing every citizen to take part in governance. This system was successfully implemented in Greek city states for two reasons.

1. Smaller population and limited citizenship
2. Geographically small city states

The citizenship in Greek city states was given to a limited number of chosen people. Therefore women, slaves, foreigners, merchants and children did not receive citizenship. Under direct democracy there was no difference between the ruler and ruled. Therefore, citizens gathered at a public place to pass laws, implement laws and serve justice.

Therefore, no difference existed between the government and the citizen. The governmental power was held by the people themselves. Since it is not possible to follow this system in modern states representative democracy is applied as an alternative system. Since it is not possible to allow people to handle governmental power themselves people are allowed to choose the holders of governmental power in this system.

When we study direct democracy and representative democracy it can be examined that these two concepts have drastic differences.

In direct democracy, governance is directly handled by people themselves while in representative democracy allows people to choose the government that handled the governmental power. There were several reasons behind this transformation.

1. Modern nations being geographically much larger.
2. Population and the number of citizens being much larger.
3. The complexity of social problems and human desires.

Due to these reasons people engage in governance indirectly. Therefore, passing an implementation of laws is done by the government, and the government is appointed by the people. The participation of the citizens is allowed by elections where citizens get to vote and choose their government.

However, since direct democracy is such a bold political feature modern political systems use several methods to apply direct democracy to a certain extent. These methods are known as direct democracy methods such

1. Referendum
2. Initiative
3. Recall
4. Plebiscite

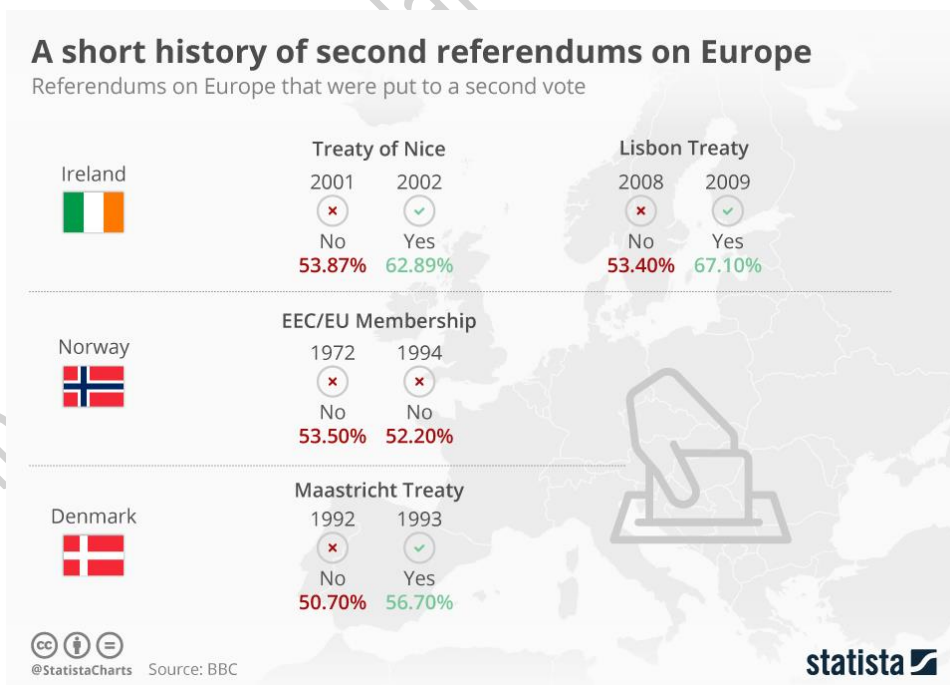
Above direct democracy methods allow citizens of the country to be directly involved in the law-making process similar to direct democracy. However, comparing to representative democracy, direct democracy methods are used rarely. In general, the law-making process is almost completely done by the government elected by the people.

Vote only once by putting a cross in the box next to your choice

Should the United Kingdom remain a member of the European Union or leave the European Union?

Remain a member of the European Union

Leave the European Union



Therefore, it can be seen that representative democracy is strongly attached with elections. In order to implement successful representative democracy, it is necessary to have a proper election process which allows people to participate in politics. There are several criteria to ensure popular participation and accountability of an election

1. Meaningfulness
2. Competitiveness
3. Freedom
4. Confidentiality
5. Fairness
6. Regular elections from time to time
7. Inclusivity
8. Equality

In representative democracy the decisions are made by representatives on behalf of the people. These representatives are chosen by the public as well. Therefore, representative's democracy is a minimalist form of popular sovereignty.

However, as a principle the mechanism of one person- one vote is the only form of people's participation in government.

Under representative democracy the only major form of accountability is elections. At elections citizens receive an opportunity as voters to declare their assessment of their representative and their performance.

9.3 Characteristics of Democratic Governance

The simple meaning of democracy is the rule of the public as interpreted Abraham Lincoln in 1863 in the Gettysburg Address “democracy is for the people, by the people, of the people.”

When we study democracy following key features can be identified as the main characteristics of democratic governance

- Constitutionalism
- Sovereignty of the people/ popular sovereignty
- Separation of powers
- Checks and balances
- Rule of law
- Human rights and fundamental Rights
- Limited Government
- Free and fair elections

9.3.1 Constitutionalism

Constitutionalism can be considered as the fundamental principle and the value of liberal democracy it aims at maintaining the rule of law in order to prevent the government from turning towards autocracy. Constitutionalism is one of the main protections over oppressive governments therefore constitutionalism values the supremacy of the laws in order to implement a successful democratic rule. It is necessary to control the rule of the government as well as protect the rights of the citizens in order to achieve this feat. It is necessary to maintain the rule of law. These goals can be achieved by following a proper constitution.

the constitution of a country provides the powers and tasks as well as limitations and restrictions of governmental institutions. Also, the constitution provides the connection between the government and the citizens. In simpler terms the constitution provides the rules for the political game of the country.

The constitution emphasizes the rule of law within the country therefore the constitution pushes the rulers of the country to follow the supreme law in governance. The basic idea of a constitution has been defined by different political scientists in various ways.

“A constitution is the chosen nature of political life chosen by the state”- Aristotle (Politics)

“Constitution is the collection of rules and traditions regarding the future journey of a state.”- Lord Bryce – (Modern democracy)

“It is the collection of rules, which rules governments of a country and directs the government of a country” K.C. Wheare (Modern Constitutions)

“The collection of fundamentals which decide the power of the government, rights of the rulers and the connection between the government and citizens. – C.F. Strong (Political Constitutions)

Having a constitution is necessary to establish democratic governance however the mere existence of a constitution does not ensure the existence of constitutionalism. Therefore, it can be seen that the term constitutionalism can be interpreted narrowly as well as broadly.

Narrow interpretation

According to this interpretation constitutionalism is a principle of the government the country in accordance with the constitution. In other words, the government should consider the as a supreme and fundamental law and the governance should be based on the constitution. However, the mere existence of the constitution or mere governance according to the constitution will not ensure constitutionalism. Therefore, it is necessary to enact restrictions and limitations on the power of the government by the constitution itself in order to prevent the government from being autocratic. This can be done by clearly pointing out powers, tasks and restrictions of each governmental institute.

The constitution of the United States established a federal system of governance in 1789. This constitution clearly divides the power between the central and state governments and have ensured the prevention of stubborn behavior by the central and state governments. Other than this the United States constitution also features the checks and balances system where the three institutions of the central government control the powers of each other. Therefore, the United States can be identified as a country with effective constitutionalism.

In contrast the second republican constitution of 1978 in Sri Lanka took steps to declare Sri Lanka as a unitary state and certain provisions of the constitution were made rigid by including a 2/3rd majority was also separated into three bodies as the legislature, executive and judiciary which was a bold move comparing to the previous 1972 constitution.

However, checks and balances did not have a successful implementation since executive (president) were given dominance over other institution of the government. The parliament, the cabinet and even the judiciary were under the direct influence of the president. As the

appointments and removals were heavily controlled by the President this dominance was controlled up to reasonable extent after the 19th amendment. The president handles reasonably broader power as the main actor of the political system. Therefore, it can be seen that the second republican constitution of 1978 have developed a constitutional autocracy which is contradictory with the idea of constitution.

Broader interpretation

In the broader interpretation of constitutionalism, it can be defined as a collection of political values and political desires which represents the delegation to protect individual freedom through internal and external checking method to prevent the centralization of governmental power. This means the power of the government having been controlled through constitutional methods such as -:

- ❖ Written and qualified constitution to a bill of rights/ the fundamental rights chapter in the constitution.
- ❖ A constitutional separation of powers of governmental institutions or a bi- cameral legislature.
- ❖ Liberalism or control of power.

9.2.2 Popular sovereignty

Population sovereignty can be identified as one of the fundamental necessities of democratic governance. The basic idea of popular sovereignty is having the people as the origin of the political power. Therefore, the people are the origin is not the source of state power.

Accordingly, governmental institutions (the legislature had to approve these laws, the executive decides and implements these laws, the judiciary which serves justice) derive their authority and legitimacy from the people. Therefore, the idea that people are the ultimate authority is the fundamental foundation of the concept of popular sovereignty.

Popular sovereignty is a key component of the classic democratic theory and the initial origin of this idea can be found in 17th and 18th centuries. In Europe the idea is associated with the social contract theory. The initial political thinkers social contract theory (Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau) believed that the state is a political institution established by the people rather than a creation of God. Out of these social contract theorists. The theory of the general will proposal by Rosseau provided that the collective political of all citizens in society should expressed as sovereignty.

According to the social contract theory of Rosseau, in the transformation from the natural society of civil society, people gave their power to the entire society or the entire population. In simpler terms this means that the power within separate individual in the natural society, have been given to everyone through the social contract in the civil society. Therefore, the entire society should be considered as the sovereignty authority.

Therefore, the state represents the common and general will of the public. this means that the state governance should be carried out according to the general will of the public.

The concept of popular sovereignty appears for the supreme authority of people, in a political society. According to political philosophy the state format founded on people sovereignty is the “Republic Format”, therefore, a republic is a country where the constitution has centralized the state sovereignty with the people.

e.g.-: Article 3 of the Sri Lankan constitution (The Second Republican constitution of Sri Lanka 1978). Provides that the sovereignty of the Sri Lanka republic lies within the people. According to this article, Sri Lanka is a republic and the sovereignty of Sri Lanka is with the people.

In the initial stages of Modern Democracy, the concept of parliament sovereignty has prioritized over popular sovereignty.

e.g.-: The British constitution is based on parliament sovereignty rather than popular sovereignty.

The British constitution is based on an extremely powerful parliament which can pass any law.

However, in the contemporary world constitutions show a tendency of moving towards popular sovereignty. Even Great Britain themselves have included popular sovereignty concepts.

e.g.-: With regards to the independence of Scotland and to make the decision to continue with the European Union. The British government had referendums over a legislature act. Also, they have gone further to apply devolution of power for Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland as well, have taken steps to pass a bill of rights to ensure rights of citizens.

9.2.3 Separation of powers

The basic idea of separation of powers is separating the institutions of the government based on their tasks in order to prevent the government from being a power centralized autocracy. Therefore, the tasks of approval of laws are given to the legislature, tasks of implementation of laws and decision making is given to the executive, the tasks of serving justice are given to the judiciary. By separating these powers, it is expected to prevent any undemocratic role from violating the rights and the liberty of the citizens.

This concept was initially provided as a clear theory by the French Philosopher Charles Montesquieu. His book “The Spirit of Law’ in 1748 provided the theory of “Separation of Powers” as an alternative system for monarchies in order to assure individual freedom.

Montesquieu came up with this concept in 1748 prior to the French revolution in 1789. During this time in power centralized monarchy was in existence in France and it was an “authorities national scale.” In contrast Great Britain had a system with these gradually developed governmental institutions. Therefore, the British citizens experienced a broader freedom than other European countries. This was closely studied by Montesquieu and he suggested that in order to assure individual freedom in France it is necessary to separate the institutions of the government and the powers.

Montesquieu suggested separation of powers based on the British government system. This system has two key statements.

- The powers of the government have to be divided into 3 branches as legislature, executive and judiciary
- These powers should not be concentrated in the hands of 1 individual or 1 institution.

Other than this Montesquieu further provides that the 3 houses should be equally powerful, the member of 1 house should not be a member of another and a house should not control another house.

The basic idea of this concept is not merely a concept rather a valid political argument. By applying the theory of “Separation of powers” several bold features can be developed in a political system.

- Prevention of autocracy
- Ensuring checks and balances
- Imposing the efficiency of each institution by specifying the tasks

Montesquieu believes that the governmental power should not be centralized as one institution as it could lead the government into an oppressive rule. this could be prevented by the separation of powers.

Although Montesquieu initially suggested his theory being based on the British political system, in modern politics the US political system is consisted as the ideal application of separation of powers.

In America the president and the congress are elected and exist separately while the supreme court is also a separate entity. this is considered as a better separation of powers then the British system, which was the original founder of the separation of power.

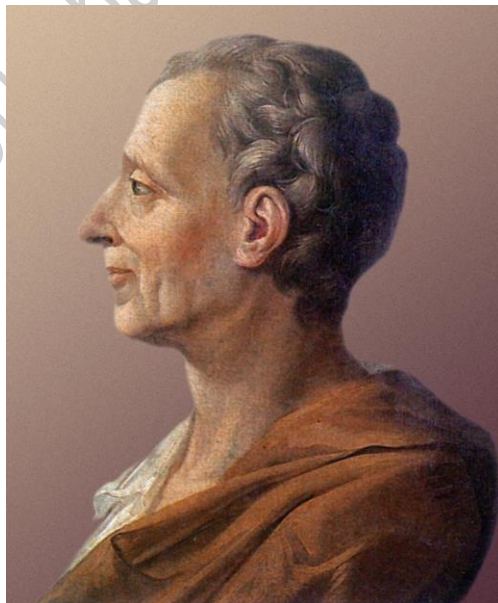
It should also mention that the checks and balances system applied by the US was also initially suggested by Charles Montesquieu.

Despite being a bold democratic feature the concept of separation of powers have faced several criticisms recently.

1. Montesquieu provides that the tasks of the government can be clearly divided into 3 institutions. This can be questionable as certain tasks cannot be specified for one institution and they require the contributions of more than one institution. Therefore, Montesquieu's idea of complete separation of tasks is impractical.
e.g.-: The appointment of the judges to the American judiciary requires step to be taken by both president and the Congress.
2. Montesquieu suggested this concept based on the British constitution although Britain does not have a reasonable institutional separation in the government as the executive is chosen within and exist inside the legislature. Even the highest judicial authority, the privy council, existed in the upper house of the legislature until 2006.
3. Separation of power alone cannot ensure prevention of autocracy or protection of individual freedom it is one of the features among many necessary features for a democratic rule.
4. Montesquieu believes in a complete separation of authorities as he provided; as members of an institution should not be members of another institution. However as political scientists point out the set of complete separation could result in institutional isolation. Therefore, in practicality a coordination between the institutions and a number of common members are necessary.

5. Montesquieu provides that there are three institutions that should be equal in terms of power. However, in practicality it is necessary to allow one of these institutions to lead the government. (Mostly the executive) Not having a leading institution could result in an anarchy and a completely equal power separation could result in internal conflicts between houses in practical governance.

However, despite these criticisms the practical value of this concept has not reduced. Within fifty years from Montesquieu's suggestion the founding fathers of America incorporated this concept into the US constitution. They expected to ensure the rights and freedom of American citizens through this constitution. In the application the US constitution expanded separation of powers further to establish an elaborated constitutional scheme to effectively implement Montesquieu's idea of checks and balances. In the modern world many countries have adopted separation of powers to ensure democratic values following this lead.



Montesquieu

9.2.4 Checks and Balances

Checks and balances can be considered as one of the main concepts in a democratic government which prevents autocracy of the ruler. The basic meaning of checks and balances is the three institutes of the government checking the powers of each other and balancing any power centralizations. In other words, this is a method that controls and limits the power of the government within the government itself. This checks and balances system is ideally attached with the concept separation of powers.

According to Charles Montesquieu the institutions of the government should be divided into 3 in order to prevent autocracies. These separated institutes limit the power of each other to implement a checks and balances system.

According to Andrew Haywood it was the liberal thinkers who conceived the idea of checks and balances on the powers of the government as they believed that political power had a natural tendency to be abused in a tyrannical manner. Haywood suggested this idea in his book “Political ideas and concepts” in 1994. Therefore, according to liberal thinkers checks and balances is the ideal way to prevent any governmental tyranny. This theory suggests that, by controlling the power of a governmental branch is the most effective and practical way of ensuring liberal democracy. Therefore, the executive, legislature and judiciary all three remain in democratic status because of each other.

The concept of checks and balances has a strong connection with separation of powers. Since the American constitution which was drafted in 1789 was based on the concept of separation of powers. It also included an effective system of checks and balances.

The American constitution has established three completely separated institutions in the government.

1. The legislature is known as the Congress, which is a bi- cameral house. (lower house- house of representatives, Upper house- Senate.)

Both houses are elected by people. The lower House has 458 members and the upper house has 100 members.

2. The executive is the president who is elected through an electoral college elected by people. The president can serve a maximum of two terms for four years.
3. The judiciary is led by the supreme court which is also known as the federal court.

In order to understand the practical application of separation of powers, analyzing the American checks and balances system as an example is the ideal way.

The American Checks and balances system

The American government also generally functions similar to a standard government as the executive making decisions, the legislature passing laws and the judiciary serving justice. However, according to the principles of checks and balances the power of each house is checked and balanced by each other.

Checks and Balances on the legislature

The American Congress has the power to make federal laws as the legislature of the American Central government. Once a bill is passed in both houses it requires the approval of the President to become a law.

The president even has the power to veto a bill passed by the legislature. This shows that power of the president limits the power of the Congress. Other than this if a bill passed by the legislature violates the constitution the supreme court has the power to reverse that law using the judicial review power. This shows that the judicial review power also limits the power of the Congress. However, a bill should be passed in both houses of the legislature which means the two houses of the legislature also limit the power of each other. Therefore, the legislature is also limiting its own power. (It is also important to mention that the Congress can overrule a veto of the president with a two third majority in both houses.)

Checks and balances on the executive

The American President acts as the sole executive of the American political system. As the executive President has the power to make key appointments to main position of the government as well as to enter into foreign treaties. However, the President can only implement these powers with the support of the legislature as these decisions should be approved by the Senate (Senate even has the power to reject the nominations and agreements made by the President.) As the highest commanding officers of armed forces, the President has the power to declare war and peace although it requires the approval of the Congress.

The Congress is capable of removing the President by passing an impeachment motion with a 2/3rd majority in each house. An impeachment motion requires an impeachment inquiry which is headed by the chief justice (it is also important to note that the President cannot dissolve either of the houses in the legislature.)

The U.S. President has a unique power as an executive order. This means the President passing an important law through an order without the approval of the legislature. These executive orders can be avoided by the supreme court on the basis of violating the constitution.

e.g.-: The executive order by President Trump imposing a travel ban on 7 countries was reversed by the supreme court for violating the constitution with racial discrimination.

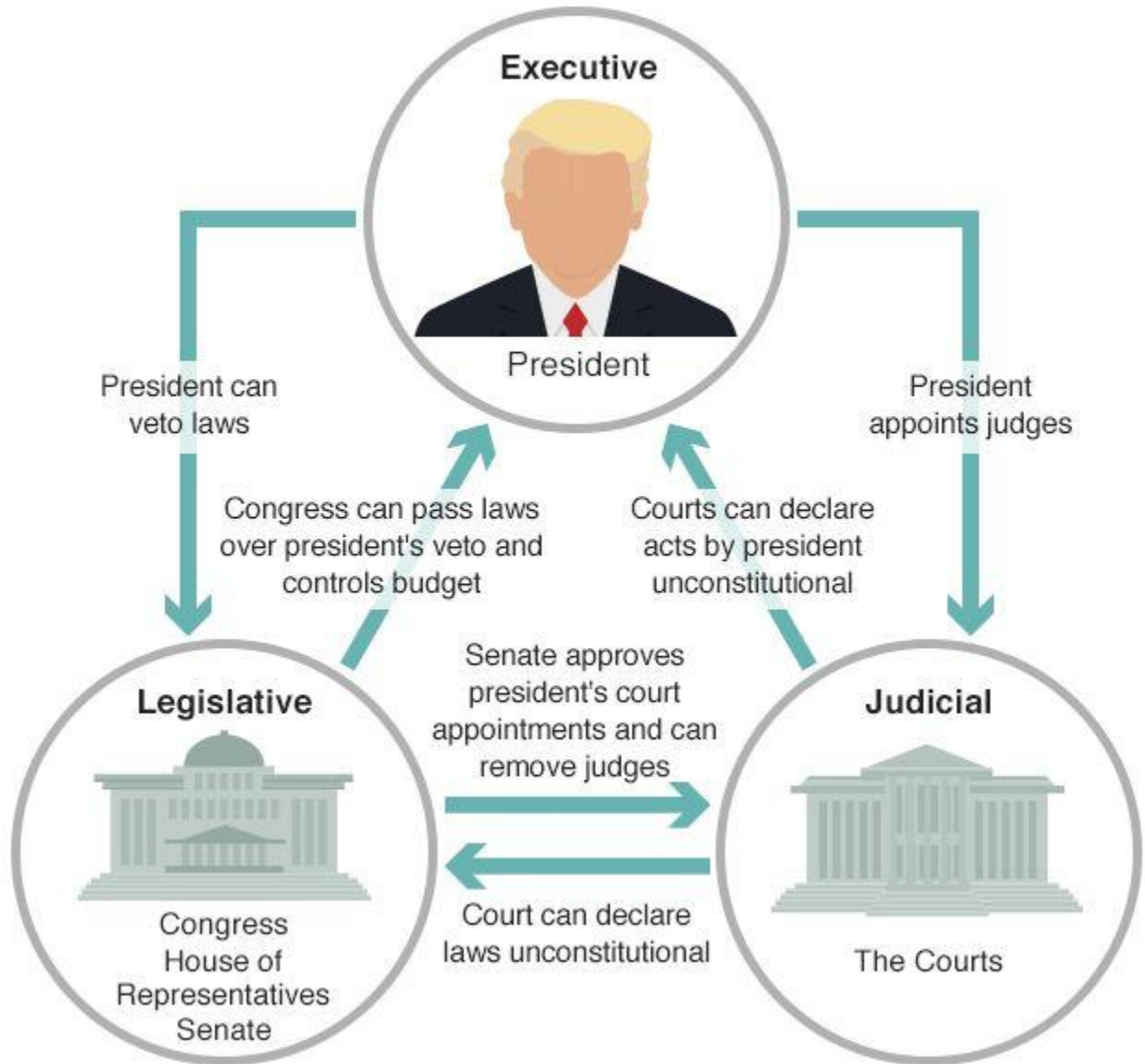
Checks and balances on the judiciary

In terms of the judiciary, the judges are appointed by the President with the approval of the Senate. This shows that the appointment of the judiciary is done by the executive and the legislature together.

The Congress also has powers to change the jurisdiction of court houses as well as to make decisions of the Supreme Court ineffective by bringing new legislation. The removal process of judges is also done by the Congress through impeachments.

By studying the American Checks and Balances system we can observe that the U.S. Constitution has carefully separated the powers and tasks among the 3 wings of the government to assure that none of the houses are overly powerful. Therefore, the power of the government properly managed according to liberal democratic principles through applying the concept of checks and balances. However, it should also be noted that in recent developed the President has grown as a political personality hence the executive has been practically more powerful than the other two houses. Although despite that the U.S. constitution still has a one of the best and most effective checks and balances system in the world.

Checks and balances on the US government



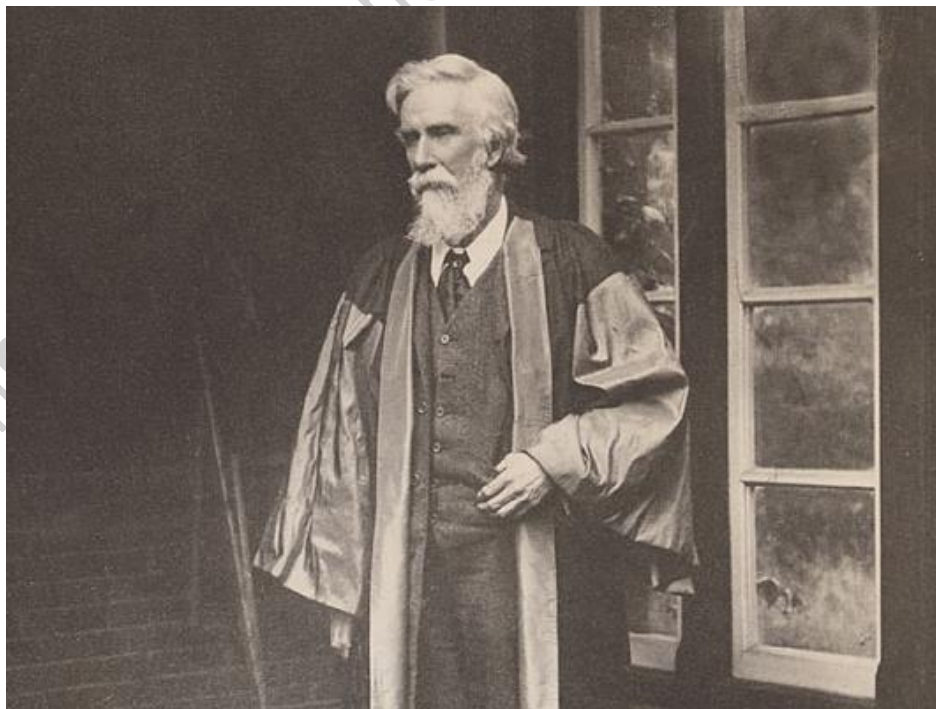
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9.2.5 Rule of Law

Rule of law is a core principle of liberal democratic governance which is strongly attached with constitutionalism and limited governance. The basic idea of rule of law is that the law being applied to all including the ruler and the ruled.

Therefore, the law has to be placed above everything. According to Aristotle rule of law is important than the dominance of an individual. Therefore, the law of a society should be equally applied to all members including the ruler and the ruled. That basically means that, no person should be given special privileges before the law.

The idea of rule has its roots growing all the way to ancient Greece as Aristotle emphasized the importance of rule of law criticizing the concept of philosopher king by Plato. In the modern times the concept of law was discussed by British legal scholar A.V. Dicey in his book “Law of the Constitution” in 1865 provided a properly organized and structured concept of rule of law.



A.V. Dicey

However, the concept of rule of law is derived in the European continent based on the German legal principle of lawful state. (State of law) This is known as Rechtshaid in German.

In the US, the concept of rule of law emerges from the constitution itself. U.S. is a country which follows constitutionalism; hence the constitution is considered as the supreme law of the country. Therefore, in the American political system the concept of rule of law is strongly attached with the supreme law which is the constitution. Rule of law is also a part of the American common law traditions. It is based on the American political tradition as “rule by law, not by man.”

The principles of rule of law can be pointed out as follows;

1. All officials of the government (including the highest authority) should be subjected to the law rather than being placed above the law.
2. The power of the government to make an enforced law should be subjected to legal and constitutional limit that are designed to protect individual liberty.
3. The state should refrain from violating the fundamental rights of citizens (through committing acts such as arbitrary arrest, arbitrary torture.)
4. The limit of state authority should be clearly stated by the constitution and the judicial decisions.
5. The judiciary should be independent from any interference by the executive or legislature.

Due to its importance, in the country where rule of law is not protected liberal democracy would not be protected here. Therefore, it is necessary to have regular vigilance over the government to ensure the rule of law is not violating in order to protect the democratic status.

According to the above explanation it can be seen that the values of democracy are strongly attached with the concept of rule of law. Rule of law is based on principles such as Liberty, Equality, Human dignity and tolerance etc. when laws are made it is expected to promote all these aspects in an equal foundation. These are known as normal goals of democracy. Therefore, it can be concluded that the principle of rule of law as normative goals also.



9.2.6 Human Rights and Fundamental Rights

Human Rights can be identified as one of the essential features of democracy. Rights and democracy share an inseparable connection. Democracy was developed throughout centuries from the platform created by human struggles to win rights. The political system that does not ensure rights is not recognized as a democratic political system.

The basic idea of human rights is the collection of rights every human is entitled to. Therefore, these are moral entitlements that human beings should enjoy in order to enable all human beings to lead a life complete life with full development of personality and enjoyment of social justice. Basically, a human is entitled to these rights such a right to life, food, shelter, conscience and personal dignity etc. Simply due to the fact that they were born as humans, which means humans are born with these moral rights that they inherit rights at birth (in modern times that human rights should be applied even before birth at the fetus state.)

According to liberal thinkers' human rights are essential for human beings as oxygen is essential for their biological existence. Human rights are considered as universal rights since they apply to any human, anywhere in the universe simply for being born as a human despite race, religion, wealth, education, social status, skin color, gender etc. Therefore, human rights are inseparable from human beings etc. Violation of human rights is a great injustice on humanity.

It should be denoted that human rights are something that are actually discovered rather than invented which means human rights already existed and suppressed concept in earlier years. They were not invented nor developed in Europe or anywhere else. They were simply discovered and identified and later legally accepted.

The history of Human Rights

The legal and the theoretical existence of human rights has a reasonable short history as it does not go beyond the 17th century. The initial discovery and emphasis of human rights was done by British political philosopher John Locke. Although, this was the first theoretical acceptance of human rights some argue that human rights existed even way before this point.

The history of humans runs back to nearly 3 million years. Some believe that the existence of human rights as old as the human civilization. Although, in the initial stages of human civilization, human rights existed as undiscovered element due to the social system featuring slavery, cast suppression and arbitrary authority of the monarchy. Human Rights were hidden during time as they were suppressed by the social and political system.

However, with the emergence of free labor, secular education and the development of literary media and the uprising of the printing technology, the idea that human beings are entitled for rights experienced a wide spread. This change initially occurred in England where the society went through a transformation from feudalism to capitalism as a result intellectual conversation regularly took place in the society on question such as “should the king have power over lives and property of people?” Should the power of the king? etc. In this background people began to develop the idea that humans are entitled to common rights. John Locke identified these as natural rights according to Locke these rights are intrinsic (naturally entitled) to humans however the interpretation of John Locke was limited to rights of life, liberty and property.

The founding stone laid by John Locke on human rights were further developed with the contribution of liberal and socialist political thoughts.

Most importantly liberalism which emphasizes individual freedom, individual autonomy and sovereignty of the people provided extremely useful contributions to solidify human rights. Even certain principles of socialism such as equality and fairness also supported the development of human rights. The contemporary conception of human rights consists of civil, political and social rights.

It is also important to note that when human rights are included in a constitution it receives a legal protection. Such rights are identified as fundamental right. This means that a certain set of rights have received the recognition from the fundamental law of the country which allows citizens to seek protection of the law when rights are violated. e.g.-: the second republican constitution of Sri Lanka in 1978 has included a fundamental rights chapter in the third chapter of the constitution. The constitution also has provided jurisdiction to the supreme court of Sri Lanka to examine fundamental rights petitions.

Therefore, it can be seen that the inclusion of rights in the constitution as fundamental rights makes the effect of rights much more meaningful with a legal protection.

The Difference Between Human Rights and Fundamental Rights.

As discussed above human rights are a set of universal rights entitled by every human. When they are included in a constitution it receives a legal recognition from the fundamental law of the country which makes them fundamental rights. These two concepts which are recognized by legal scholars as H.R. and F.R. are in fact two different concepts which are often mistaken as the same concept by many.

As discussed above human rights as a hidden feature in the society. Due to suppression for a really long time until discovered by John Locke and later developed by liberalism and other political theories. The most important landmark of human rights was the United Nations Charter of Human Rights (UNCHR) in 1945 which was a global declaration of human rights. This was the first time in history for a specific set of human rights in an organized format to be declared. The main reason behind this introduction was the aftermath of two world wars and the mass Jews execution by Hitler which resulted in a discussion on human dignity and human rights. Since then, the United Nations is acting as a global watchman to protect human rights.

Fundamental rights as the other hand do not have such a long history as it is associated with constitutions. This concept was introduced after the rise of constitutionalism. However, fundamental rights can be seen much earlier than the UNCHR as the American constitution introduced fundamental rights in their constitution in 1789. Following this many countries adopted fundamental rights to their constitution.

- Human rights are universal and global which means any person in the world or in the universe will receive the same set human rights simply for being born humans.
- Fundamental rights on the other hand are given through the constitution of each country which makes them valid only for citizens who live under that constitution which makes fundamental rights received by citizens of different countries different from one another.

e.g.-:

1. American citizens enjoy the fundamental right also carry guns for their protection.
2. Sri Lankan citizens do enjoy the rights to follow any religion which is not enjoyed by the citizens of Saudi Arabia.

Human Rights are not recognized by the legal system or this judiciary or the judiciary of any country. Therefore, these rights are not legally protected human rights violations are not monitored by court houses on a written law but rather monitored by human rights commission (local and UN) on moral principles steps taken against human rights violation normally include international pressure, diplomatic actions and economic sanctions etc.

Example – The international monetary fund (IMF) takes the human rights status of a country into consideration before granting a loan also the UN to put economic sanctions and cut off economic ties with countries that do not respect human rights.

Fundamental rights however are recognized by the fundamental law of the country which is the constitution. A certain court house in the legal system is in charge of ensuring fundamental rights of protection by the constitution itself. Therefore, fundamental rights have a legal recognition and steps against violations are also taken by courthouse itself.

Example- The supreme court of Sri Lanka has the power to examine fundamental rights as provided by article 126 of the constitution. Therefore, any step taken to grant relief for a victim of fundamental rights violations comes as a court decision.

9.2.7 Limited Government

Limited government is a fundamental feature in democratic governance. This basically means that the ruler of the government does not have unlimited power. Rather they receive a limited power which ensures individual freedom to citizens.

Limited governments can be legally interpreted as “since the state inevitably has the capacity to misuse power to violate the freedom and rights of citizens, it is necessary to prevent that possibility”. This can be only be done by limiting the government.

According to the limited government concept the political power of the government and the members of the government who implement that power are subjected to checks and balances constitutionally. This idea was presented against the theory of absolute power in Europe. This theory was known as absolutism, mainly promoted by Nicholai Machiavelli and Thomas Hobbes. Specially, Thomas Hobbes presented the idea of the absolutely powerful ruler through his theory of social contract.

This absolutism was criticized by John Locke and Montesquieu who emphasized the value of the value of liberal democratic principles. Specially, Montesquieu suggested that the power of the government should be controlled by the government itself through this theory of separation of powers. Therefore, Montesquieu and John Locke supported the idea of “a government of laws, not of man.” The initial idea of limited governance was presented by John Locke who suggested that the ruler receives a limited power through his version of social contract theory.

Locke basically had the intention of suggesting an alternative political system to replace the autocratic monarchial system. This was a new interpretation of the social contract theory since it included a legislature (a parliament) which represented sovereignty of the people.

In contrast to the social contract theory by Thomas Hobbes, which gives power to the government to control every aspect of human life? The social contract theory by John Locke gives limited power to the government in order to ensure the life, property and freedom of citizens. Therefore, John Locke suggests a government which has a limited power through his social contract theory. The fundamental condition of this social contract is that the government has limited power and the government can exceed that given power. If a government exceeds the limits citizens are capable of replacing that government through an election as people are in charge of sovereignty power. This basic idea of John Locke's was later developed with the contribution of many other political thinkers. Therefore, features in later years.

1. Delegated Authority

The power of the generation is not owned by the government which means that the authority of the government is derived from the people. Hence the government only has a delegated power which is given by the people through elections.

2. Trusteeship and Conditionality

This means that the powers of the rulers are conditional. The powers are conditional to the trust the people have expressed when they elect the government. The basic idea of this principle is that the trust people have laid to give the political power to rulers should be conditionally respected by the rulers.

3. Limited Term

This principle is strongly connected to limited governance. According to the democratic framework a government is generally appointed for a limited time period (ideally 4-6 years).

This limitation should be imposed by the constitution itself. Once the government completes the official term it is necessary for them to renew their authority in a new elevation. No government has legal or moral rights to exceed the term limit without renewing the mandate from the people. It is also possible to emphasize the difference between the state and the government by reminding the rulers that they are not the state as their authority requires renewal.

4. Rule of Law

Limited governance is strongly connected to the law as it defines the legal limits within which the government exercises its authority under the application of rule of law. The ruler and the ruled are considered equal before the law.

5. Separation of powers

The application of this doctrine divides and separates the power of the government among executives, legislature and judiciary. In order to ensure limited governance, it is necessary to prevent the concentration of power in a single governmental authority.

6. Checks and balances

This is a system which controls the arbitrary power of the government within the government itself. When checks and balances are in effect, the executive, legislature and judiciary control each other's power which is an essential feature to establish limited government. This prevents suppressive autocracy governments.

9.2.8 Free and Fair Elections

Free and fair elections are a key mechanism that emphasizes the democratic natures of a liberal democratic country. The people are considered as the origin of political power in a democratic political system. As emphasized in representative democracy, the people get to choose their government and hand over the governmental power. This is done through the election process.

The mere existence of elections is not sufficient enough for a successful democratic system. In political science the emphasis on the free and fair dimension of elections is a recent development which makes the democratic necessity of elections much more meaningful.

In the modern day, undeveloped countries and decolonized countries in African, Asian, South and Central American region often fail to ensure the free and fair dimension of their elections. The reasons which violate the quality standards of an election are as follows.

- 1) Violence related to the election
- 2) Intimidation of voters and candidates
- 3) Corruption
- 4) Abuse and misuse of public resources
- 5) Malpractices at voting
- 6) Malpractice at vote counting
- 7) Malpractices at releasing results

The above negative features damage the quality of elections which eventually disfigures the genuine public will. This results in a distortion of democratic process and undermining the legitimacy of elections. People eventually lose faith and confidence in such a political system.

This disappointment further decreases the public participation in politics which heavily damages the democratic status of the country.

Therefore, contemporary political science focuses on the entire election process rather than merely having elections. Therefore, citizens do not only have a right to vote; rather they have a right to a complete, free and fair election. Free and fair elections in a democratic system are based on several concepts of political science.

1) Popular Sovereignty

The concept of popular sovereignty basically means that the public of the country are in charge of sovereignty power. Therefore, elections are the most important mechanism for the sovereign public to express their political will. Therefore, it is necessary to protect the rights of citizens to exercise their sovereignty.

2) The right to choose

The essence of representative democracy is the right people are entitled to, choose their government. This includes having a choice among political parties and candidates without fear and any other external constraint. This can only be assured through having free and fair elections.

3) Popular accountability

This election is basically the most decisive moment where people exercise their right to hold their rulers to be accountable. Therefore, it can be considered as the crucial process of democratic accountability which should not be disrupted.

4) Consent and Legitimacy

Democratic governance is based on the principle of popular consent which means the willingness of the people to be governed by the rulers they have voluntarily elected. This also created legal and moral rights, in other words a legitimacy to governmental rule. Therefore, people consider elections to be a 'sacred' political feature. Free and fair elections are the best mechanism to ensure this legitimacy. Losing this legitimacy results in a government losing its legal as well as moral right to rule.

5) Accountability to people

This principle means that the rulers being accountable to the people whom they received power from. The election is the ideal opportunity to allow people to make decisions on the accountability of the relevant government. In other words, rulers are pressed to be accountable to the public as a result of elections. Therefore, it can be seen that in order to assure accountability to people it is necessary to have free and fair elections.

The election process grants an opportunity to the public to evaluate their rulers on their accountability and even to replace the rulers who have not respected the accountability. This further emphasizes the fact that people are the source of authority.

Therefore, the persons who hold public offices and authorities in a political system are answerable to the people. This is identified as accountability which is an unavoidable democratic duty.

In political science government accountability is explained in two dimensions.

1. The government is answerable to people
2. People expect the accountable behavior from the government.

Contemporary democratic countries follow several mechanisms to assure government accountability to people.

1. At elections, citizens are given the opportunity to evaluate and judge the performance of the government.
2. Having surveys to examine public opinion.
3. Establishment of disciplinary and ethical rules, codifications, regulations in order to assure the accountable behavior of public officials.

The main purpose of the above mechanism is to prevent democratically inappropriate or anti people behavior (intentional or unintentional) of people who handle authorities in the government. Modern day democratic countries have gone further to assure the legal, proper and ethical behavior of the government and officials by taking even more effective and specific measures such as;

1. Adopting laws to ensure the right to information of people.
2. Establishments of authorities of auditing and policy analysis (these auditing institutions are not limited to financial audits and they even include environmental auditing, gender balanced auditing etc.)

Other Important Features of Characteristics of Democracy

So far, we have discussed several key features of democracy.

1. Constitutionalism
2. Popular Sovereignty
3. Separation of powers
4. Checks and balances
5. Rule of Law
6. Human Rights
7. Free and fair elections
8. Accountability to people
9. Limited government.

Other than these key features modern day democracy includes several more important aspects as well.

Freedom of media is an important feature as the media of a country fulfils an important role as a messenger. Therefore, in order to make the right to information meaningful, it is necessary for a democratic country to have freedom of media.

A democratic country also should have uninfluenced pressure groups. The authority of pressure groups is based on certain public matters which requires the solution by the government. Hence pressure groups ensure the democratic status of a country.

Other than this the presence of an active civil society, transparency of government's actions, wide participation of people in politics etc. are also considered as importance of democracy.

9.4 Democratic Governance and the Sri Lankan Experience

The Sri Lankan experience related to democratic governance can be identified as a record of mixed results. In terms of democracy, Sri Lanka has gone through achievements, setbacks and revival.

The transition from traditional social political system to the democratic format occurred during the British colonial period. During the 19th century, initial steps were taken to introduce the basic principles of representation through Colebrook reforms. Most importantly Colebrook reforms inaugurated the economic and social liberalization. Under these reforms the principle of representation was included in a limited extent. The representatives in the legislature council;

1. Were nominated by the British governor himself.
2. Were dominated by an overwhelming majority of British official members.
3. Did not represent the general public of the country.

The most important landmark of the democratic experience of Sri Lanka was the Donoughmore reforms in 1931. These reforms were based on establishing democracy in Sri Lanka. Therefore, Donoughmore reforms introduced 2 important features as

- ❖ Universal Franchise
- ❖ Representative Governance (an elected legislature)

Meanwhile, the Sri Lankan public also experienced a political awakening with an active civil society. The national movement and the trade movement were the key components of the active civil society. This can be considered as an important aspect of the democratization process.

Therefore, it can be said that democratization is not limited to mere constitutional reforms and

the establishment of new political institutions. The active participation and the enthusiasm of citizens in politics also play an important role in this process.

The Soulbury constitution of 1947 granted dominion status to Sri Lanka by establishing a liberal democratic government. This system continued the representative governance in a much broader manner. The Soulbury constitution further introduced many democratic features such as

- ❖ A bi-cameral legislature
- ❖ Rule of Law
- ❖ An executive which is representative to the legislature
- ❖ An independent judiciary
- ❖ Steps to ensure minority protection

However, it should be noted that the Soulbury constitution lacked a fundamental rights chapter which is an important democratic feature.

The democratic system of Sri Lanka had a reasonably smooth run until about 1970's. From 1950s onwards ethnic tensions arose, between Sinhalese and Tamils yet, this did not have a reasonable negative impact on the democratic governance of the country. During these decades elections were held regularly under peaceful circumstances, government changes occurred through peaceful and electoral measures, the political participation of the general public has notably increased in elections and a political party system was established with two major parties and many minor parties. Other than this, the social welfare policies which were introduced during the 1930's were also continued ensuring social peace through the redistribution of social wealth.

After 1970's this situation was changed and the democratic governance of Sri Lanka took a turn. The social and political tension which remained hidden for the past few decades began to express itself openly during the 1970's.

On one hand 1971 revolution broke out as a result of youth insurgency. On the other hand, the Tamil National Movement which was initiated in 1950's as a movement for regional autonomy turned into a separatist movement by mid 1970's. By 1980's, this turned into civil war. The civil war led the country into a continuing state of emergency, suspension of the "Rule of Law", and the militarization of state and society. Therefore, 1970's can be identified as a turning point of the democratic governance of the country and 1980's can be identified as a major setback of the democratic record of Sri Lanka.

The 1977 general election resulted in an overwhelming win in the United National Party and J.R. Jayewardene. Following the elections, the new government secured an overwhelming majority in the legislature (5/6th). Following this, the 1978 second republican constitution was introduced, and as a result of the overwhelming power of the government format which was unhealthy in terms of democracy. The 1978 constitution featured a mixed executive created an imbalance, as the power of the president dominated every other part of the government including the rest of the cabinet as well as the legislature. The position of the president was the most powerful and dominant authority as the power was not subjected to checks and balances.

Therefore the 1978 constitution is considered as another setback on the democratic status of Sri Lanka, mainly due to the creation of the position of unlimitedly powerful president. However, it should be noted that 1978 constitution also included a bold democratic feature as it introduced a fundamental rights chapter and allowed citizens to seek judicial position over fundamental rights violations.

The British political scientist Mick Moore has pointed out that this period is one of the retreats from democracy his book “Retreat from Democracy in Sri Lanka” (Journal of commonwealth and comparative politics) in 1992.

Also, Neil De Vota a Sri Lankan Political Scientist identifies the time period after 1980s as a process of political decay, and democratic regression, in his book, “From Civil War to Soft Authoritarianism” in 2014. The governmental format which was established under the 1978 constitution is commonly recognized as a constitutional authoritarianism by political scholars.

However, the period which is generally identified as a democratic set back in Sri Lanka according to political literature also reflected an important feature as the resilience of democracy. This is due to the fact that through constitutional authoritarianism, a civil war, political violence, militarization, the democracy of Sri Lanka did not die. Although democratic were weakened they continuously existed and the people continued to have faith in Democracy. Elections were held regularly and irrespective of mal-practices, governments regularly changed during a civil war in a reasonably peaceful manner. Even the public participation had elections and the voter turnout was reasonably high, despite political violence. This reflected the faith people had in democracy.

Eventually a strong argument for democratic reforms emerged in the society which later turned in a political movement. This movement included many political motives most politely, transforming the current governmental format into a cabinet format. Due to their influence, since 1994, abolishing the executive presidency became a trending topic, a campaign slogan as well as a main feature in policy papers of main candidates.

9.5 Democratic and Undemocratic Features of the Sri Lankan System of Governance

Many democratic as well as undemocratic features can be identified in the Sri Lankan political system which evolved as a democratic since 1947 following the British Colonial rule.

Democratic features

Despite having periodic setbacks, retreats and variations, the Sri Lankan system of democratic government exhibit following positive democratic features.

1. Universal Franchise and Representative Democracy.
2. A legislative elected by the public.
3. A cabinet government which is accountable to the parliament.
4. Regular elections from time to time.
5. Higher voter turnouts in elections.
6. Relatively independent judiciary.
7. A multi-party system with two major parties and many smaller parties.
8. Considering rule of law as a basic constitutional principle.
9. Fundamental rights with constitutional legal protection.
10. Devolution of power.
11. The active civil society with active social movements.
12. The continuous existence of parliament democracy, despite a civil war, political violence and setbacks.
13. The uninterrupted faith of people in democracy of the most preferred form of government.

Undemocratic features

1. The executive presidential system and the executive centralization of political power in the position of the president.
2. The legislature and the judiciary being dominated and influenced by the executive.
3. The civil war and political violence.
4. Violation of the principle of free and fair elections.
5. Militarization of state and the civil society.
6. The suspension of the general law and fundamental rights under the emergency law.
7. Violation and denial of human rights.
8. Corruption and the abuse of power in governance.
9. Communal Representation.

Sri Lanka and the Relevancy of Democracy.

Democracy is not only form of government that currently exists in the world. Governmental formats such as authoritarian governments, one party governments, military governments, monarchies and governments lead by religious leaders, are a few examples for non-democratic forms of governments.

On the other hand, democratic governance. also has various formats, same democratic governments are recognized as liberal democratic while some are identified as social democratic countries. Some countries have even incorporated illiberal and authoritarian features with the concept of democracy (some identify these as positive dictatorships). Other than this, there are also weak democratic models and strong democratic models.

Meanwhile, we can identify several reasons as to recognize democracy as the best suited government for Sri Lanka.

1. A strong democratic tradition was started in Sri Lanka in the early 20th century. This included universal franchise, representative democracy, parliamentary democracy and government changes by public vote as main features. These features have also been strong and continuous in the political culture of Sri Lanka since independence.
2. Sri Lanka is a multi-ethnic and multi religious country, such a country with a plural society requires a governmental format that views such diversity as a source of strength. In that sense, democracy is the best form of government which provide political pluralism which is necessary for a plural society with ethnic diversity.

3. The Sri Lankan public have always demonstrated their continued faith in democratic governance even through heavy political violence, political crisis, and a civil war. The high percentage of voter turnout and public participation at elections is the best measure of people's faith in democratic governance.
4. In the past few decades of Sri Lankan history, a few non-democratic political alternatives as well as extremists' political agendas were initiated. (The 1972 and 88/89 youth revolution, the Eelam separatist movement by Tamil groups such as PLOTE, TELO, EPRLF, EROS etc.) However, none of these political agendas received a majority or popular support from Sri Lankan citizens.
5. In contrast with the ethnic countries in the region, Sri Lanka has a high literacy rate as well as a high level of political awareness. Therefore, Sri Lankan citizens are politically vigilant and alert. This can be considered as another reason for democracy to be the best political model for Sri Lanka. Democracy is also the best format to ensure a greater political participation of such citizens.

The Fundamentals of democracy are also important in terms of family life and social life, this includes;

1. Tolerance of views of other people and as well as different views
2. Respect for other faiths and religions.
3. Actively listening and respecting the views and beliefs of other people.
4. Accepting the views of the majority while not suppressing the views of the minority.
5. Collective decision making and maintaining the ability to be critical.

A citizen can incorporate many values in to their family life and the social life by following democratic principle. Since the family and the society are considered of many people, the views of different individuals inevitably differ from one another. Therefore, it is necessary for each person to have the tolerance of the views of each other even when they differ. Also, in a plural society people follow different religions and faiths, it is necessary for people to respect the faiths of each other and actively listen to the believes and views of each other. Democratic principles provide the required political and social discipline on this matter.

Also, according to democratic principles citizens learn to accept the majority view yet to at the same time not to suppress the minority view.

It also trains people to make collective decisions as well as to be critical when necessary. These skills also support a successful family and a social life.

As students, who study political science under principles of democracy, it is important to learn how to adopt democratic ways to life within the family, in school and in the workplace and in society. It is also important to convey that knowledge to make the application of democratic principles broader and more effective.

Unit 11 - Public Policy Making

- Background to Making Public Policy
- Studying Public Policy
- Concepts Relating to Public Policy
- Public Policy Process
- Public Policy and Political Authority
 - i. Role of the Executive
 - ii. Role of the Legislature
 - iii. Role of the Judiciary
 - iv. Role of the Permanent Executive
 - v. Role of the Political Parties
 - vi. Role of the Civil Society
- Public Policy and the Bureaucracy

The concept of public policy has no generally accepted common definition in fact it is a broad concept that is interpreted variously by different political scientists. Following definitions can be considered as important interpretations of public policy.

"Public policy is about what governments do, why governments do it and what differences does it make." – Thomas R. Dye

"Public policy can be interpreted as projected program goals, values & practices of a government." - Harold Lasswell

"International processes followed by authorities to solve a matter of the public are state policy." - James Anderson

In regard of the above definitions, public policies can be identified with the following features

- I. Public policy is a political process that is concerned with common issues that are relevant to all.
- II. Public policies are made, implemented and evaluated by political authorities.
- III. The public policy is often mentioned in a document known as the 'policy paper or declaration'. However public policy is a longer process which is not limited in a document or solitary event.
- IV. Public policy generally addresses common issues faced by people, these issues can be real or hypothetical.
- V. According to the policy making authority, the brainwork of the policy and the implementation process can be adjusted, this is generally done according to the information received by these authorities.

Background to study Public Policy

Although as a concept, public policy existed throughout the world for centuries. The academic study of public policy was initiated by American political scientists. The traditional understanding was that making public policy was a job to be done by the politicians and the implementation was the task of the administrator. This created the idea that politicians and citizens should not get involved or influenced in policy implementation.

The main reason behind the development of academic studies of public policy was the failure of governmental programs in the United States in 1930's. (Mostly the failure of President Hoover's policies failing to address the **Great Depression**.) American social scientists analyzed this failure to come into the conclusion that policy making and implementation should be academically studied in order to troubleshoot and develop.



US President Herbert Hoover





Studying Public Policy

There are 2 methods to study public policy

- i) Study of policy: This is a study of the elements such as the conditions that make the public policy successful or not, methods to include public policy in political agendas, etc.
- ii) Study in policy: This is basically a study of methods to implement a policy successfully.

However, it must be mentioned that in the study of public policy these 2 aspects are closely related.

It is necessary to understand 'why studying public policy is important in political science.' The main reasons are as follows.

- I. By studying public policy from a scientific point of view, it is possible for experts to identify the factors that impact on policy and their consequences in order to provide recommendations for better effective governance
- II. By studying public policy in a political point of view it's possible to identify which levels of government (national, regional, local) has been more effective in resolving public problems.
- III. By studying public policy in a practical point of view it allows citizens to be informed & aware of the public policies in terms of negative & positive outcomes, this empowers the right and duty citizens have to get involved in resolving public issues in a political system.

Concepts Related to Public Policy

There are 3 main concepts related to public policy

- Policy Analysis

This concept refers to the description and analysis of the factors that lead to the activities of the government and their outcomes. The task of policy analysis is undertaking new studies by periodizing and testing hypothesis about policy making and implementation

- Policy Advice

This is a political activity. It involves recommendations of new government action to change a prevailing situation and directing government authorities for such action by means of bringing pressure on the government through networking. Politicians, administrators, media, political parties, pressure groups and civil society are usually included in this process.

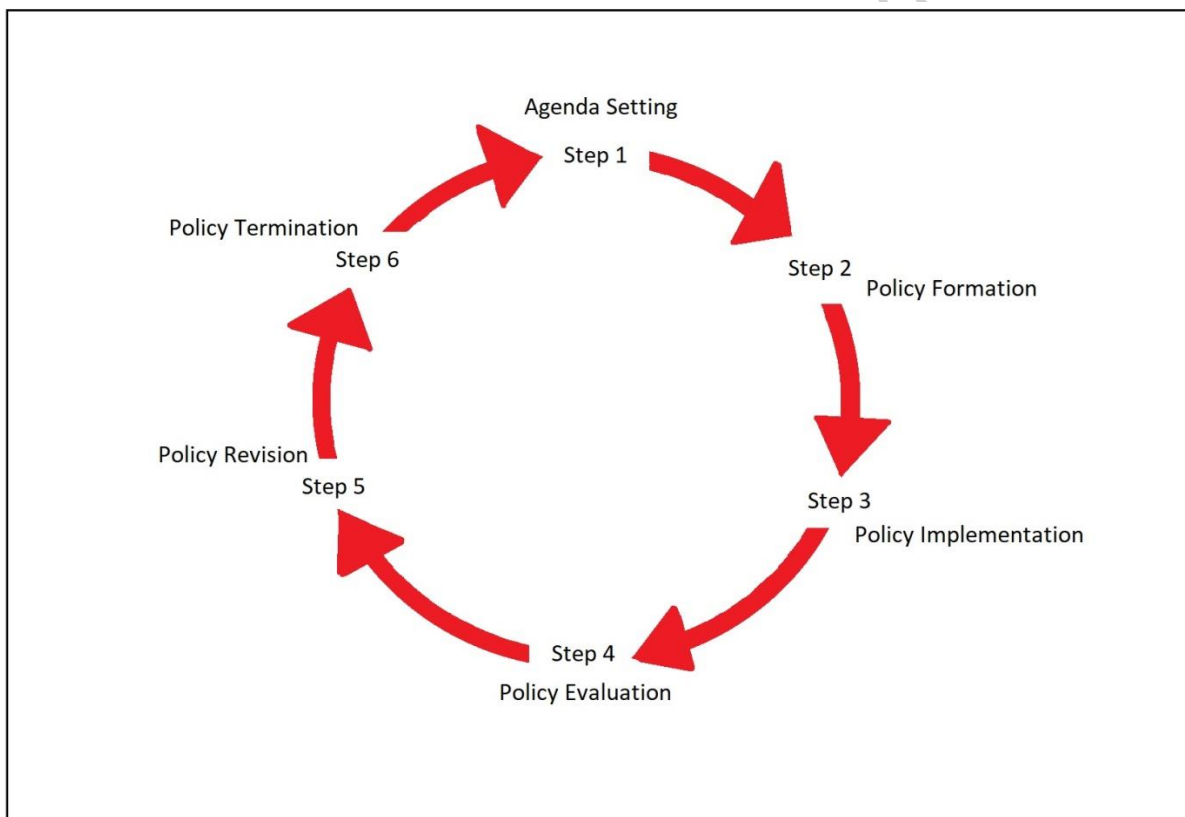
- Policy Leadership

This emerges when an individual or group of individuals draws the attention of the government towards a certain public issue, this can be defined as a public issue entering the government policy agenda through policy leadership.



Policy Process and the Policy Cycle

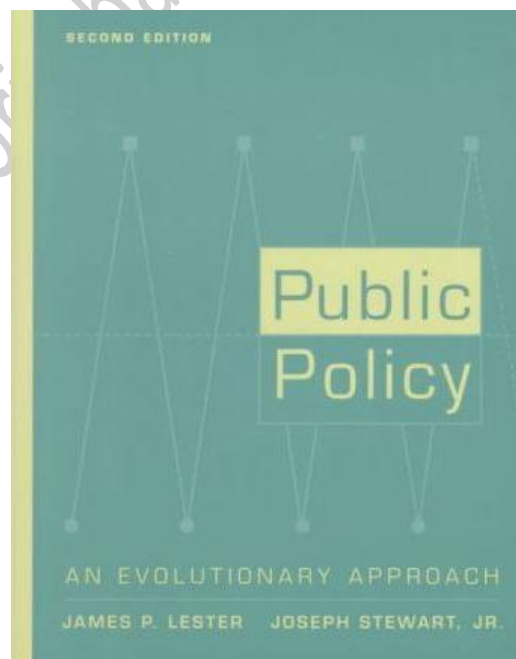
Policy process is a cycle that emerges by searching for solutions for current common issues based on historical activities of the government. Also resolving common issues in the present is also a futuristic exercise that creates better conditions for the future. Therefore, policy process is a political cycle with several phases. This cycle is consisted of certain steps such as agenda setting, policy formation, policy implementation, policy evaluation, policy revision and termination. This cycle was suggested by 'James Lester' and 'Joseph Stewart'.



This cycle basically simplifies the extremely complex policy process. This was suggested by James Laster and Joseph Stuart in their book 'Public policy: an Evolutionary Approach' in 2000. This cycle is basically a guide line for political authorities to handle the policy process.

- Policy agenda is the 1st step of this cycle which is basically a list of subjects or issues that public officials are working on.
- Policy formation is the 2nd step which is making laws in order to resolve an existing problem or to prevent on upcoming problems.
- Policy implantation is the 3rd step which is basically putting the passed-law into action.
- Policy evaluation is the 4th step which is basically closely analyzing the outcome of the relevant policy. In this step it is studied that if the expected results have been met or not.
- Policy revision is the 5th step which is amending policies based on the conclusion of the policy evaluation.
- Policy Termination is the final step which is abandoning policies and policy that are beyond revision.

After the final step it returns to a common issue regarding the relevant policy and the cycle of policies continues.



Public Policy and Political Authority

The political authority is defined as a set of institutes that has political power of a deciding, forming, implementing political policies to reduce common issues in a democratic state.

Mainly there are three such public authorities.

1. Legislature

2. Executive

3. Judiciary

- * Permanent executive. (The permanent executive also known as the public sector has an important duty in public policy although is connected as the part of the political executive.)

Role of Legislature

The legislature of a country is consisted of public representatives. This empowers the concept of people's sovereignty in the state. Therefore, the legislature is the bridge that combines people's sovereignty and state sovereignty in order to enact laws.

Therefore, the legislature has an extremely important role in the public policy process since the members of the legislature could use the legislature as a platform to discuss public issues, the policy formation can be initiated through legislative discussions.

Also since the legislature is the financial management hub of the country, allocating necessary funds for the policy process is also done by the legislature.

Therefore, it can be seen that the legislature has an important role in terms of policy formation, however currently the power and authority over the public policy has been heavily restricted for several reasons such as,

1. The development of the political party system

Due to the political party system, the legislature in every country is dominated by a certain political party. That particular party has been voted by people for a specifically decided policy declaration. Therefore, the legislation is inevitably supporting the dominating political party and their policy.

2. The complexity of social problems

In the modern world the complexity of the problems people faces, in their day-to-day issues are increasing constantly, therefore resolving these problems requires the support of policy

specialists who are professional experts in handling such matters. Therefore, these experts have been more dominant in policy formation than the politicians sitting in the legislature.

3. Members of the legislature can only indicate direction of the policy

Since the legislature has no task in late stage of policy process their influence is limited to the initial stage. In practicality the actual policy is born in late stages after the implementation. Therefore, it can be seen that the bureaucracy which implements the policy practically has a greater influence in determining the nature of policy.



The Parliament is the legislature of Sri Lanka

Role of the Executive

According to the political theory the executive is the ultimate authority of implementing public policy. However, the political executive which is the cabinet of ministers has a special duty in the policy process. Since the political executive is elected by the people, they are responsible to the general public. The election is a process where different political parties propose their policy papers to the general public. Winning an election means that the policy paper of the winning political party has been approved by the people, therefore the executive is responsible to the people regarding the policies they have presented.

In a cabinet format, the political executive is directly responsible to the legislature which consists of public representatives. This is considered as one of the most basic features of parliamentary democracy. Even in a presidential system the political executive which is the president has a duty to give leadership to the policy implementation process. Therefore, these political executives have to depend on the civil service for the task of implementation.

However, in many countries the policy process initiates with the political executive as they decide the policy. Since it is a democratic political practice for the political executive to decide the legislative agenda, the executive has become more powerful in the policy process.



Role of the Judiciary

In general, the role of the judiciary is not broadly acknowledged, although they do have an important role in the policy process.

The judiciary normally enters the policy process when the legality and constitutionality of a policy is in question. In such a case, the judiciary has the power to interpret the legality and constitutionality of a policy. Other than this, the judiciary could also resolve disputes among different social groups on policy issues.

Since the judiciary has the power to invalidate certain aspects of policy on the ground of the legality and constitutionality it can be seen that the judiciary has a responsible power and influence over public policy.

If the judiciary determines that a certain law is not in accordance with the constitution, then the policy related to that law becomes invalid as well. However, the judiciary receives this power only if that system features 'judicial review power' (ex: USA).

In countries such as Sri Lanka, courts do not have judicial review power as the constitutionality of a law has to be challenged at the Bill stage before being passed at the legislature. Therefore, in these countries the judiciary has an advisory role to play in the policy process. However, although, it's not possible to invalidate there are certain remedies available against passed law, for example, court can issue WRIT orders to correct adverse consequences of policy.

Role of the Permanent Executive

The permanent executive also known as the public service can be identified as the practical instrument of the government to carry out and implement policies. This is basically a permanent body of personal known as officials or public servants. In political science, this is also known as the Bureaucracy.

The permanent executive was created in recent history as an institution of the state to implement policies. The main reason behind this creation was the rise of the welfare state in the past world war period.



The permanent executive is viewed as a political entity of specialists it is consisted of professionals of policy implementation in different areas. Although it is a political entity the permanent executive is a neutral political figure in comparative political party system. When governments change as a result of elections, only the compositions of the political executive change yet the permanent executive does not change.

The main function of the permanent executive of government policy is the implementation. Although the permanent executive under leadership of the political executive, it functions independently from the political executive.

According to the traditional theory of public administration, the permanent executive is simply a policy implementing body and it does not have a role in policy making. However, in current context, the traditional idea of the permanent executive being completely excluded from policy making is considered to be outdated. Due to several reasons the permanent executive plays an important role in policy making as well.

1. Increasing complexity of current social problems
2. The legislature and political executive failing to identify grass root level problems
3. Knowledge and experience of public servants being practically useful in policy making

Due to these reasons some political scientists identify administrative officers as the real policy makers in the modern world. This is known as 'Bureaucratization of politics'

In the contemporary world, evolution of power is identified as an effective approach to reduce public issues through public policy; this can mostly be seen in federal systems.

Under federalism each province has a provincial legislature, provincial executive and provincial judiciary. Therefore, these provincial institutes have a better capacity than the central government to address public needs through policy making and implementation since the identity of the needs of the grass root level people better.

In this way, local government authorities can also effectively address public needs through policy implementation as members of these houses are familiar with local needs

Public Policy and Political Parties

Political parties can be considered as an important entity of the policy process basically in every shape. They play an important role in setting political agendas as well as policy agendas. Setting the political agenda is basically creating discussions and discusses in the public sphere on public issues that requires the attention of the government also it includes developing necessary political support for the implementation of the agenda.

Setting the policy agenda is a process of drawing government attention towards resolve g public issues in the public domain. Therefore, it can be seen that the political agendas include creating discussions and developing political support while the policy agenda involves bringing the attention of the government.

Political parties play an important role in democratic society formulating public policy on public issues that requires attention of the government.

In political science we identify that political parties attempt to capture political power by mobilizing public opinion as a main feature of a political party. This mobilization of public opinion is done on public issues by building solidarity and support around them. Once the political party comes to power, the policies are formulated through legislation.

Political parties act as a source for educated people on positive and negative aspects of existing policies and upcoming policies. This process enriches the political agenda.

Therefore, in modern context, political parties have become the main mode that facilitates in the policy process.

Public Policy and Civil Society

As citizens of a country our lives function in 3 spheres as public sphere, private sphere and civil sphere

Public sphere

This is where the state and government provide common goods and services. Basically, this sphere is common for all citizens; hence it is open to and considered to be belonged by everyone

Private sphere

This sphere is where citizens function as individuals and maintains individual relations. This sphere is limited and private hence not open to the public. As a dominance, this sphere is limited to the family and friends of each citizen. (The market is basically the place in order to satisfy personal consumer needs.)

Civil sphere

According to social and political theorists, this is located in between public and private spheres. In this sphere, characteristics of both public and private spheres can be seen. This is basically the space which is excluded from the state and market where individuals commit them to common and public goals. Civic organizations constitute the sphere in which citizens meet each other, discuss common problems and find solutions. Citizen organizations that are active in this sphere are known as civic organizations. They are also known as civil society organizations. These civic organizations play an important role in the public policy process as they participate and reasonably contribute in every stage of the policy cycle. The role of the civic organization in the public policy process is as follows.

- I. Directing the attention of political and policy agenda towards problems in the society.
- II. Facilitating meetings between stakeholder's relevant individuals and institutions and institutions in order to resolve their problems
- III. Developing the understanding and agreements and alternative approaches for action
- IV. Maintaining effectiveness and dynamism in policy implementation

Therefore, it can be seen that the role of civic organizations is not limited to policy advocacy, facilitation and review. However, during the past few decades, civil society organizations have gone beyond these limited roles and have become agencies for policy implementation. Currently some governments in the world even authorize nongovernmental organizations (N.G.O) to implement their policies. This outsourcing of governmental tasks can mostly be seen in neo liberal countries. The co-operative partnership between the government and civic organizations is reasonably useful in crisis areas such as poverty.

Civic organizations do an important job by opening up recognition to society and politically excluded groups such as women, poor communities, marginalized caste groups, indigenous groups etc.

Civil society organizations can also take up global policy issues that governments of individual countries cannot address. Since the effect of civic organizations are not limited by borders mobilizing people globally across countries can be done by civic organizations (U.N, W.T.O) rather than governments.

Public Policy and Bureaucracy

The word 'Bureaucracy' is originated as a result of a combination of two words. The word 'Bureau' stands for 'official' while the word 'cracy' means 'rule'. Therefore, the literal meaning of the word Bureaucracy is 'ruled by the officials'. This means an administrative system directed by authorized officials.

In a broader sense, the bureaucracy is the class of officials in charge of implementation of policy.

The classic social scientific theory of bureaucracy was presented by German sociologist 'Max Weber' (1864-1920). In addition to presenting the classic social scientific theory, Weber was also a founder of modern scientific theory. Other than this Weber developed a theory of ideal type about bureaucracy.



Max Weber

Since Weber was a power politics thinker his work is closely associated with authority. Similarly, his theory of authority of bureaucracy is linked to his theory of authority. Weber mainly investigated the reasons behind people's acceptance of power. Weber believed people accept power since power has authority. Therefore, view accepting and submission to power as something that is right and legitimate. Weber further divides authority into three types;

- I. Traditional authority
- II. Charismatic authority
- III. Rational - legal authority

In traditional authority, people access power and submit them to power since it is a part of the tradition. Since people have accepted and submitted to power for generations existing humans also traditional accept that authority.

Charismatic authority is the power some individuals have due to the special persona, qualities they possess. Certain religious and political leaders possess this power as people accept their authority due to their charismatic personalities.

Rational legal authority is specific to modern capitalistic and industrial societies. In these societies, power exists as something impersonal. It comes from laws, regulations and impersonal organizations of power. Under this people accept power since it is legal and rational to submit to authority.

According to Weber, the modern bureaucracy is the most important manifestation of this authority. Officials, bureaucrats derive their power from the authorities of the law regulations and the institutional structure of the modern state. The laws of, regulations and institutional cultures also determine their behavior and values.

Weber's ideal type of bureaucracy is a theoretical model of the nature of the modern bureaucracy and how it works. According to Weber an ideal bureaucracy has two main characters.

1. Hierarchy

In a hierarchy, authority flows from higher to lower levels. Bureaucracy has such an authority. Thus, people at the power levels of hierarchy are subjected to the orders and supervision or higher levels of authority. Therefore, every person in the hierarchy is subjected to the orders and supervision and the control from a hierarchy.

2. Division of labour

Functions in a bureaucracy, organizations are divided into different departments; this functional divisions of labour are based on specialization of task division of labour creates specific spheres of responsibilities within the bureaucracy itself. A person who holds a specific office over a position within the organization is responsible for the responsibilities allocated within the sphere. This also provides authority for person to perform functions allocated within that relevant position (in large organizations the class of managers fulfill the function of co-ordination between different officials).

The staff of the bureaucratic organization receives a wage for their service. The laws and regulations of the organization determine their tasks of the office. The recruitments to these positions are done based on academic and professional qualifications

The organization is not personally owned by any individual member hence it is known as an impersonal organization. Members of the organization do not have personal relationships as they maintain official relationships. It is also important to mention that bureaucratic officials maintain written reports of the members and affairs of the profession.

The officer in a bureaucracy should work according to the leadership of the political authority with this way but basically attempted to provide a bureaucratic model in order to capture the basic features of modern bureaucratic systems in the world. Therefore, the modern bureaucratic system which has a key role in public policy making and implementation in the modern world has the following characteristics.

1. It is a system of office holders or bureaucracy with power and authority to perform certain functions.
2. Distribution of functions among officials is done based on division of labor.
3. Organization of a hierarchy in which authority distribute from higher to lower-level officials.
4. Each level of officials has the power and authority given by law to perform the relevant functions and responsibilities.
5. The relationships among officials should be impersonal and therefore formal and official.
6. The bureaucratic system is loyal to the political authority and at the time, politically neutral.

About the Author,



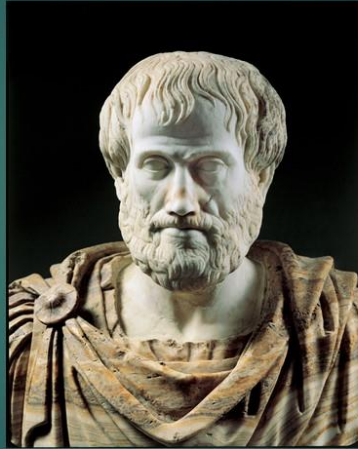
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(The electoral method was officially submitted to the Commission of Public Representation on Constitutional Reforms in 2016)

- Served as the Political Science (English medium) teacher in charge for Royal College from 2017 to 2019.
- Was in charge of making and marking term test papers for Political Science for St. Bridget’s Convent (2016 to 2018) and St. Peter’s College (2018 to 2020).
- Currently acting as the coach for the English debating team of St. Peter’s College.
- Has been a private tutor in political science for more than 6 years. (since 2015)

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