

Introduction to Political Theory
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Lecture – 20

State and Sovereignty – II: Modern Nation-State; Liberal, Marxist and Feminist Conceptions of State

Hello and welcome friends. This is the second lecture on the state and sovereignty. In this lecture, we will start discussing very briefly, about what is a modern nation-state and particularly, we will focus on three kinds or three major conceptualizations of modern state such as liberal, Marxist and feminist perspectives. We will discuss about the liberal, Marxist and feminist conceptions of state in later part of this lecture.

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Modern Nation-State

- All states in modern times is also a nation-state. This first emerged in Europe and through colonialism and anti-colonial struggles spread in different parts of the world. State is a rational and abstract entity or political institution, where as nation is more about individuals subjective association with a particular state or its territory. So, as we have discussed in the previous lecture there is a degree of impersonality and abstraction with state. But nation is something which is rooted in the psychological and culture roots of a people.
- Nation and nationalism is also a modern phenomena. Historically, it emerged in the Europe and extended from there in different parts of the world. And there have been different waves of nationalism. It remains one of the most powerful ideas and legitimizing entity in the modern world. And there are numerous communities still fighting for the creation of their 'own' nation and thereby identity.
- The power and legitimacy of modern states becomes formidable after its associations with nation and nationalism. And, all states in the modern times is also regarded as nation states.

To begin with the modern state, as we have discussed in our previous lecture is a modern development in terms of organizing a political institution which is impersonal, that means, different from both the ruler and ruled. This kind of political institution, in terms of impersonal rule emerged only in the modern times.

So, even, state as a political institution may have existed before the modern times, but the nature of that state was very personal. For example, the pre-modern state in India can be referred to as Mughal's state or Gupta's state or Ashoka's state. We see it as the political authority or the state with a particular dynasty and a particular ruler.

It is only, in modern times, the state exists as an institution distinct from both the ruler and ruled. That is one thing which we have discussed and this emerged in Europe after the 30 years of religious war, especially, after the Westphalia Treaty in 1648. Sovereignty is one such defining characteristics of state, where within its own territory, state is regarded as the supreme institution.

About the discussion of state, we have had in our previous lecture. In today's lecture, we will see, how the state in its association with the idea of nation and nationalism, acquires a formidable status or power and authority in a given society, and how they both connects? All the modern states then is also, regarded as nation-states.

In modern times, every state is considered as a nation-state. So, Indian state is also called as Indian nation-state. Similarly, Pakistani state is a Pakistani nation-state or Bangladesh as a nation-state as well. Thus, all the states in modern times, are nation-states and this was first emerged in Europe through colonialism and anti-colonial struggles which spread in different parts of the world.

The expansion of modern nation-states happened through colonialism and the struggle against it. In most parts of Asia, Africa and Latin America, the state emerged and nationalism was evolved as the result of the anti-colonial struggle.

Now, the relationship between the state and nation, we can see, as I have said that state is an impersonal body. It is a kind of institution, distinct form ruler and ruled. But the nation is a very subjective idea. That means, people are emotional in their psychological state, believes or imagine themselves as part of something or a nation or territory.

The rational, abstract, or impersonal nature of state and a very subjective, psychological and emotional stage of nation or nationalism is something, which comes together to give the state a powerful and formidable authority which enjoys authority in society and in a particular territory.

So, state is a rational and abstract entity. Again, as I said that state as an institution is something, rational, impersonal and also, abstract. That means, both the ruler and ruled is subject to this abstract entity, which we call the state. We have made a distinction between the state and government.

A government may come and go, we may vote certain party to power and form a government. We can also, vote them out. But the state as an institution is a kind of abstract entity which continues to remain and function, even when government comes and go, periodically.

Thus, state is a rational and abstract entity or political institution, whereas, nation is more about individual, subjective association with a particular state. It is a very kind of personal, psychological and emotional association, or subjective association with a particular territory or institution.

As we have discussed in the previous lecture, there is a degree of impersonality and abstraction with the state. But the nation, on the other hand, is something, rooted in the psychological and cultural roots of the people. So, the national, becomes a kind of legitimizing, or enabling power or an enabling entity for the state. And thus, the power of the state, in modern times is associated with the idea of nation and nationalism which makes the existence of state, very personal and subjective.

The power of the idea of nation is over powering people who are more willing, even to the extent of get killed for this very idea of nation or protecting their nation from any external aggression or any kind of encroachment. People are thus, willing to die for their country or nation, even to get killed. Their dying for the land or territory or nation is something, which is often, celebrated.

Now, the authority or power comes from this idea of nation, where people are willing to get killed for the sake of protecting the nation or defending it, then killing the other person. The roots of the power and authority of this idea comes from the psychological and cultural roots or subjective association of people with a particular nation-hood.

There are a lot of definitions and arguments about nation and nationalism, which we are not going to discuss for our purpose. The objective is to understand, how a state is impersonal, an abstract entity which gets intertwined with the idea of nation and nationalism. In modern times, therefore, all the nations and states are regarded as a nation-state, where the characteristic of a nation and state, logical speaking, differs from each other, where one is abstract, rational, impersonal, and the other is more subjective, psychological and emotional.

Nation and nationalism, although, very briefly, is a modern phenomenon and historically, it emerged in Europe, especially, in the context of industrialism, industrialization or print capitalism and extended from there in different parts of the world. And there have been different waves of nationalism, too.

First in Europe, you have civic or ethnic nationalism in the context of France and Germany, we often, make this distinction. Then, there was the rise of Eastern Europe and their assertion for self-determination and in Latin America, as well. Later, the anti-colonial struggle in Asia and Africa is the reflection of different waves of nationalism in modern times, which historically, emerged in Europe.

Nationalism is a kind of inclusive and exclusive phenomenon. That means, within a territory, everyone who resides is part of that nation, but it is also something, which excludes those who are not part of that territory. The territory as for the state, so, is for the nation, becomes a crucial determining factor for the constitution of the nation or imagination of the nation. And it has created a lot of tensions, conflicts, wars and completions.(Refer Time: 09:50).

So, the modern, historical or contemporary developments in different parts, we have seen tensions or escalations on the borders between two countries in the name of protecting the territory or border of a sovereign nation-state. The First World War, Second World War or the Cold War in different parts of the world are the result of such disputes, which often, comes from the border or protecting the border of a nation-state.

This idea of nation and nationalism is a modern idea emerged, simultaneously, with industrialization or print capitalism, which gives a subjective existence of the state. State which is impersonal, detached, abstract entity and its combination with the nation or nationalism, people psychologically, and emotionally, associate themselves with the political organization in a particular territory.

It remains one of the most powerful and legitimizing entities in the modern world. There are numerous communities which are still fighting for the creation of their own nations. So, in many parts of a sovereign nation state, we may find many communities and groups, still fighting for creating their own nations.

This idea and the willing sacrifice for realizing of this idea still motivate or inspire a number of communities in different parts of the world. Therefore, by having one's own nation is equal to having one's own identity as an independent or a sovereign without having any subjugation from the external authority.

When, we were fighting the British, the inspiring idea of or motivation for fighting the British was to have one's own nation and opportunity, to express one's opinion, independent of any external control or regulation. This assertion or the idea of having independent voice, without any subjugation of external authority is something, which continues to motivate many communities and groups in different parts of the world. It is equal to assertion of one's own independent identity.

The power and legitimacy of modern state becomes formidable after its association with nation and nationalism. Although, the characteristic definition of nation and state differs from each other, yet the coming together of both gives the state enormous power and authority in a particular territory. All states in modern times, is therefore, regarded as a nation-state which gives it a kind of formidable status.

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Liberal conception of State

- The liberal state focuses on individual rights and freedom. It also argues for a neutral and minimal state. It replaces the divine right theory of the state and argue that a legitimate rule must be based on the consent of the people. rule #
- State work for the common good of the society and its major activity is understood as maintaining law and order and ensuring everyone is treated with equality without any discrimination. In other words a liberal state regards individual as moral and rational agent. State's role is seen as providing them the conducive conditions for growth and prosperity. #
- Its origin and growth can be traced back to the political struggles that took place in England and France with the rise and growth of capitalism which led to a free-market economy. These struggles focused on individual dignity, self interests, private property, and power and status particularly of the emerging middle class in the society.

Now, to look briefly, the three major conceptualizations of state, we will begin with this liberal idea of state and liberal conceptualization of state. We will discuss a broader understanding of a liberal state and within liberalism, we have different strands of liberalism, starting from liberal conservatism, to liberal egalitarianism, to a kind of

welfare oriented liberalism and also, a strong libertarianism or multi-culturalism, too. But we are, particularly, focusing on the broader conceptualization or collective theorization among the liberals about the modern state.

In liberal conceptualization of state, we find that the focus in the whole philosophy of liberalism is based on the idea of individual, who is a rational agent and capable of making decisions, which governs his or her life. Now, the whole liberal philosophy is based on the idea of individual being who is rational and capable of taking decisions that governs his or her life. And state, society or any other institutions have no business in interfering in the matters, concerning the individuals.

Then, why, there is the need of a state? The need of state is to ensure that the individuals exercise maximum freedom and there should be no threat to his or her, life and property. In liberal philosophy, broadly speaking, the idea is to ensure that individual rights are not violated. So, state is there to protect certain rights of the individuals and second, individual gets the opportunity, to exercise his or her freedom without any coercion or interference, either from the state or from any other entities in the society.

So, state in the liberal philosophy is given a very minimal role of maintaining law and order and ensuring that individuals should get the condition, to exercise his or her freedom, more freely, without any coercion and interference. That is the kind of overall kind of basic arguments in the liberal conceptualization of state.

First, it focuses on individual rights and freedom, that is absolute, it must not, interfere with it, or it must not be coerced or constraint. It argues neutral, that is, a very crucial thing and a minimal state. A minimal state, in terms of, its role, what should be the role of state? Should it be a nanny state as in the welfare state, as we have talked about, that it should take care of the vulnerable or weaker sections in the society or those who are dependent. State should have a role to do that or state should provide certain services like, health, medicine, and education, etc.

In the liberal philosophy, the idea of state and its role is very minimal and it should have a very minimum role of maintaining law and order. The *raison d'être* or the very reason thus, for the existence of modern state is to maintain law and order. That is their primary but minimum responsibility of the state.

Often, we see many states are involving in different activities, even in industrialization of society or providing education or medical care and other kinds of welfare programmes. But in the liberal understanding, the state has a very minimal role to play.

The other feature of state is neutral. This comes from the impersonal nature of the rule. State must not take sides and it should not or formulate policy on behalf of particular groups in the society. State as an institution is a neutral entity, in the society. It is not something, which takes side, or when society and its groups are competing with each other. State must maintain a neutral status from the competitive groups in the society.

This conceptualization of state replaces the divine right theory of the state which justifies, the existence of the state in the name of divine right. The king and his rule are legitimate, because the king is the representative of god on earth. The very legitimacy, why, you should obey the king is based on the idea that he is the representative of god on earth and therefore, you must obey the king.

This understanding of the divine right of state is replaced by the idea that only, form of state is legitimate which is based on the consent of people. In liberal understanding, the legitimacy of the state is not because it maintains something, or it does something, it has some other basis of its existence as well. The legitimacy of state in liberal philosophy is based on the idea, based on the consent of people or those who are ruled.

The legitimacy of the modern liberal state comes from seeking consent. That is why, in most of the democratic liberal society, we have free and fair elections, periodically. Those free and fair elections, periodically, give the mandate or consent to a particular party, to form government or to rule over the people.

This idea of rule based on the consent of people and it becomes the legitimizing idea for the government and not the divine right theory, and on other functions, which a government or state performs. State, then works for the common good of society and not for the good of any particular groups.

State, works for the common good of society and its major activities are understood as maintaining law and order. So, law and order is the condition. Suppose, if there is no law and order, there is anarchy, then prevails chaos. And if, there is anarchy and chaos, every one's life and property is at stake. If, the property and life is at stake, then there cannot be

any progress or development and nobody will trust and abide by the contract, if it is against his or her own interests.

Thus, maintaining law and order is the minimum or most crucial role of the modern state. And ensuring, everyone is treated with equality without any discrimination. This feature of modern state is about a modern liberal state which is crucial that treats, everyone in the society, equally.

In most of the modern liberal, democratic state, we get this idea about 'one man, one vote, one vote, one value'. That means, it does not discriminate its citizens on the basis of either property or education or his or her status in the society and its hierarchy, in case of a caste ridden hierarchical society in India.

Legally speaking, it is illegal, yet in the social structure of our society, people may have different status, but politically, and legally, a Dalit or the upper caste or a prime minister or a rickshaw puller, they all have 'one vote and value of one, vote is one'.

So, that is the kind of equality. The whole legal enterprise or legal structure of modern state is based on this idea, that it treats all of its citizens, equally, without any discrimination which comes from the impersonal or neutral status of state.

In other words, a liberal state regards individual as moral and rational agent. State's role is seen as providing them, conducive conditions for the growth and prosperity. The role of a state is not really, to involve in industry or to work for development. In liberal idea, the ideal state is a state which provides law and order, and it ensures the condition, where individual can exercise his freedom which will lead to the growth and prosperity in the society.

The origin and the growth of liberal state can be traced back to the political struggles that took place in England and France with the rise and growth of capitalism which led to the free market economy. In modern times, in Europe, there was a growth of mercantile capitalism under the absolutist monarchy. These mercantile capitalist wanted the monarch to provide them certain security and with that security, they conducted trade and business in far away, places.

Gradually, there is the rise of middle class in society and that middle class, demanded more rights, accountability and transparency from the government. And, that lead to a new kind of discourse about political authority in the society which leads through a constitutional and representative form of government.

This idea of liberal state emerged in England and France. These struggles focused on, first, individual dignity, self-interests, private property, power and status particularly, of the emerging middle class in the society. All these things, what matters in life are about the dignity. It must be recognized and respected by the state and others. Their property, what moves the individual is the interest, self-interest or acquiring wealth and state must give them protection, to live life with dignity, to conduct trade or business without any coercion or threat.

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rights

- With the coming of liberal state there were some significant changes occurring in the political organization of society like representative and constitutional form of government, rule of law, and government based on the consent of the ruled. ||
- rights
- It stressed on a new discourse on rights to uphold the natural and basic rights of human like right to life, property, freedom, justice and so on. Adam Smith, a liberal thinker emphasized on the individual urge to maximise economic interests or to achieve material gains and thereby to improve their living standards or fortunes. - #
- Smith argued that if a state provides the condition of freedom to individuals to take material and moral decision concerning his/her life, the resulting society would be a free and prosperous society. He talks about a free-market economy and less interference by the state. He said role of the state should be like an 'invisible hand'. For liberals in general, commerce and trade would create a good and welfare oriented government.

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The coming of a liberal state brought significant changes occurring in the political organization of the society, like you have the representative government or representative form of government or the constitutional form of government. So, the government, unlike a monarchy is not free to do, anything that it wishes, to do. The government must function within a parameter and that parameter is set by constitution and rule of law.

In a democracy, when a ruler is elected that ruler is not free, like the monarch, to do anything, he or she wishes to do. Ruler must function within the rule of law or what is the constitution of that country. This idea of a representative form of government, that

government is only legitimate, if it represents the will of the people or if it has the consent of people. Once they are elected, they must function within its set parameters by the constitution or rule of law.

Thus, the ruler and ruled are both governed by a particular set of parameters, that is the constitution and rule of law. So, the government is based on the consent of the ruled, these are some of the new ways of organizing the political institutions or authority in the society, which leads to the creation of a modern, liberal, and democratic state.

It is traced on a new discourse on rights, to uphold the natural rights and basic rights of humans like, the right to life, property, freedom, and justice. These are the rights which state is supposed to protect for the individuals. Adam Smith, a liberal thinker emphasized on the individual urge to maximize economic interests or to achieve material gains and thereby, to improve their living standards or fortunes.

The motivation for the individuals is to work or take decisions which is economic or material governing, his or her life. Smith, argued, if a state provides the conditions of freedom to individuals, to take material and moral decisions concerning about his or her life, the resulting society would be a free and prosperous society. Why we need a free society? Because free society, ensures or provides conditions to individuals to take decisions which are material or moral that governs his or her life.

Thus, the society which is free and it provides the conditions for taking decisions about the material and moral matters to the individual and it will then be a prosperous society. So, the whole justification of free market economy or free society is based on the idea, that if, society and economy gives freedom to its individual, the resulting society will be a more prosperous and free society.

He talks about a free market economy and less interference by the state in the functioning of the free market economy. So, Adam Smith's, *the Wealth of Nation*, argues about a society or creating a society, and state which would have no interference or less interference in matters that affect the moral and material lives of the individuals. In other words, the individual should be left free to take moral and material decisions concerning his or her life. And if, that is the condition, then the resulting society would be more prosperous and a wealthy society.

For liberals, therefore, as most of the liberal thinkers or philosophers, argue, for the protection of a free market economy, commerce and trade and their assessment would create a good and welfare oriented government in the society, which will work for the benefit of all, without taking side and without being prejudiced or biased against a particular community or groups of individuals. Thus, commerce and trade is conducive for a good and welfare oriented government, according to, the liberals.

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Term

- For liberals, the role of the state is to carry out a legal framework under which market can function well. And, it should also maximise the opportunities and prosperity of everyone. State should, thus focus more on adjudicative and legal roles.
- Liberal argues that citizens have the right to overthrow a government, if it does not fulfill the desired roles and functions such as creating conditions for human happiness and well-being.
- Liberals wanted to ensure maximum freedom to individuals and therefore regard the state as necessary evil. As for them, without a legal authority in the form of state individual lives and property will be under constant threat. And that would be detrimental to peace, progress, and prosperity of the society. Thus, state in liberal framework should perform the minimum role of maintaining law and order and enforcing contract. It will lead to overall progress of individuals and society as well.

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For liberals, the role of state is to carry out a legal framework under which market can function well. The market, here, means the idea of a free market. There should not be any regulation or interference in the functioning of market, because it is understood in liberal philosophy that market has its own laws, which we call law of demand and supply. So, demand and supply is guided by the demand, if demand is high and supply is low, price will be high and vice versa, if demand is less and supply is more, the price will be less. Thus, market, in this assessment has its own logic or its own self-regulating mechanisms, which we call as invisible hand of market.

The state, in this kind of economy, must refrain from interfering or regulating the functioning of market. The idea is to ensure that the contract is followed by the party involved in that contract. The state has a very minimal role to create a legal framework under which market can function well without interfering and regulating the market.

The market should be left free, but its operation should be under a legal framework, where the contract or the party is involved in the contract and it must abide by the terms of the contract and if they do not, there is the state to arbitrate. That is the role of state in regulating and supervising the functioning of market, without any interference and direct control. It should also, maximize the opportunities and prosperity for everyone. And state should focus for adjudicative or the legal roles.

Liberal argues that citizen have the right to overthrow government. In liberal idea, overthrowing the government is the right of citizens, if the government fails to fulfill the desired roles and functions, such as creating conditions for human happiness and well-being. Suppose, if a government fails to maintain law and order. Thus, citizens have every right to throw the government out in the next election.

So, in all the liberal democratic states, elections are held periodically, in 4 years, 5 years or 6 years and the citizens have the right to throw the government, if that government does not perform to their satisfaction for their benefits or happiness or wellbeing. In conclusion, we will find that liberals wanted to ensure maximum freedom to individuals and therefore, regarded the state as necessary, evil.

It is a limit or restrain over the individual and his freedom, but this restrain and limit to individual freedom is regarded as necessary evil, because state, ultimately, provides the conditions or ensure law and order which helps, or provides the conducive conditions for the individual to grow, develop, innovate or to exercise his freedom.

The idea is to have or to ensure maximum freedom to individuals and yet the state is seen as a kind of necessary, evil. As for them, without a legal authority in the form of state, individuals lives and property will be under constant threat. If the lives and property of the individual is under constant threat, that would be detrimental to peace, progress and prosperity of the society. Therefore, we need a state, even if, it is evil and it limits or restrains our activities.

Thus, the state in liberal framework should perform the minimum role of maintaining law and order, and enforcing contract. It will lead to the overall progress of individuals and society as well. That is the conception of a liberal state.

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Marxist conception of State

- Marxist focuses on the class nature of the modern state. In their conceptualization state is seen as an instrument of exploitation in the hands of one class against the other. Marx idea on state was put forward as a counter idea to Hegel's notion of state. He was not supportive of Hegel's idea of the state which is guided by universal will and works for the benefit of all.
- Marx thought of state as an institution that serves the dominant capitalist class which he highlighted in the *Communist Manifesto*. Hegel argued about the three different spaces or levels of social existence or individual growth - family, civil society and state which was needed for the ethical development of the individuals and enhancement of their freedom. But Marx never saw such scope for individual ethical development under a state. Rather, he stressed that individual freedom is curtailed under a capitalist state.
- Marx focused on the coercive and authoritarian nature of capitalist state. For him, state brought division of society into different classes on the basis of wealth and power. Therefore, in the *Communist Manifesto*, he writes that 'the executive of the modern state is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie'.

Now, moving on, to the Marxist conception of a state which is in contrast to the liberal idea of a state, where a state is not seen as impersonal or neutral. Infact, Marxist argument is that state is a kind of a tool of exploitation in the hands of one class against the other.

So, they focused on the class nature of the modern state. Modern state, in contrast, to the liberal conception of a state, according to Marxist is not a neutral state, and it is not a impersonal state. Infact, the state functions on behalf of a particular class to protect their interests against the interests of the majority. Marxist, focused on the class nature of modern state and in their conceptualization, state is seen as an instrument of exploitation in the hands of one class against the other.

The Marx idea on state was put forward as a counter idea to Hegel's notion of state. We will also, discuss about the Hegelian notion of state. For Hegel, as we have discussed in our previous lecture, that state is seen as a kind of 'March of god on the earth'. So, the ethical life, or the realization of an ethical life, according to Hegel, is possible, only in state.

Marx was not supportive of the Hegelian idea of state which is guided by the universal will. We will discuss about the idea, what is the universal will? Let us say, there is a particular will, then there is the selfish... So, there are three status that we will discuss, the universal will, when individual functions and operates on the will or on the idea that

their action is for the benefit of all and not for their own self or the interest of their own groups or community.

When individual action is governed by the universal will, that means, the benefit of the whole humanity or people, which ensures the realization of an ethical or moral life in the state. Marx, questions, this idea of universal will and the state is functioning for the benefits of all.

Marx thought of state as an institution that serves the dominant capitalist class which he explains in *Communist Manifesto*. Now, coming back, to these three ideas or three stages, Hegel, argued that these three different spaces or stages or levels of social existence or individual growth, starts from family, civil society and the state. Now, in family, we are all willing to sacrifice for the members of our family.

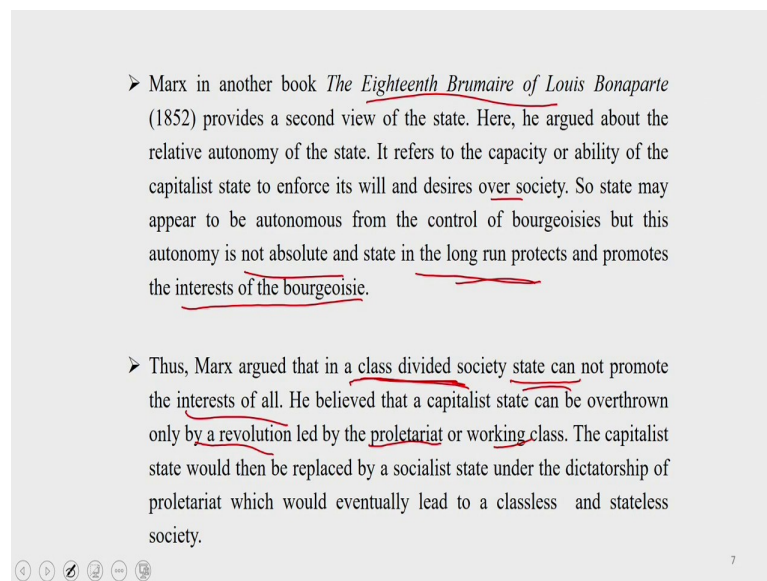
We are guided by a kind of altruistic will, where we want to sacrifice ourselves for the sake of other members of our family. That is the kind of a very limited, yet altruistic sphere of individual life. Then, there is a life in civil society, where we are guided by the particular or the selfish interests. We act in the civil society to maximize our own selfish interests. Finally, the state is the representative of universal will, where we are guided by the idea of benefitting all and not merely, our own self or our own groups or communities.

In the Hegelian idea of progression, these three stages is necessary, to realize a moral and ethical life and to enhance or realize one's freedom. Marx, never saw scope for individuals ethical development under the state. Rather, he says that individual freedom is curtailed under a capitalist state, because it functions on behalf of on behest of a particular class and their interests.

Marx, focused on the coercive and authoritarian nature of the capitalist state. And for him, state brought division of society into two different classes, on the basis of their ownership of wealth and power. So, usually, in Marxist analysis, society is divided between those who own the means of production. Therefore, the bourgeoisie and those whose very survival is dependent on working, or who do not own the means of production, they are the majority or proletariat.

This division of society in a capitalist economy led Marx to argue in *Communist Manifesto*, that the modern or the exact line is that the executive of the modern state is, but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie. The state is seen as an instrument in the hands of those who owns the means of production. And state always, protects and promotes the interests of that class against the interests of the proletariat.

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- Marx in another book *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (1852) provides a second view of the state. Here, he argued about the relative autonomy of the state. It refers to the capacity or ability of the capitalist state to enforce its will and desires over society. So state may appear to be autonomous from the control of bourgeoisies but this autonomy is not absolute and state in the long run protects and promotes the interests of the bourgeoisie.
- Thus, Marx argued that in a class divided society state can not promote the interests of all. He believed that a capitalist state can be overthrown only by a revolution led by the proletariat or working class. The capitalist state would then be replaced by a socialist state under the dictatorship of proletariat which would eventually lead to a classless and stateless society.

That is, one view, on state, in Marx which is also, matured and which comes later in *Communist Manifesto*. In Marx, there is also, one or second view of state which is in the *Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, where he talked about a kind of relative autonomy of the state. In the social classes, state manages to impose its will on all the classes in the society.

State, in that kind of society, may appear a bit autonomous from the classes. In the *Communist Manifesto*, we have seen that state is controlled by the classes, which own the means of production, that is, the bourgeoisies. Here, in the *Eighteenth Brumaire*, we see the explanation of state as relatively, autonomous state, which is free or autonomous from the control of any class in the society. It has the capacity or capability, to impose its will, but this capacity or ability to impose its will is not absolute and in the long run, state continues to protect and promote the interests of the bourgeoisie.

Thus, Marx, argued that in a class divided society, the state cannot promote the interests of all. He believed that a capitalist state can be overthrown, therefore, by a revolution by the proletariat or working class. The capitalist state, would then, be replaced by what you call a socialist state under the dictatorship of proletariat which would eventually, lead to a classless and stateless society.

That is the overall vision and objective of creating a society, which will not be divided into the propertied or those who do not own the property or have or have not or bourgeoisie or the proletariat. That would be a kind of classless society which will no longer need a state to govern, itself.

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Feminist conception of State

- Feminism questions the 'neutrality' of the state, which is blind to the gender based discriminations, women's conditions in public and private spheres, political rights, equal distribution of resources, rights to equality with men and so on.
- Feminists are interested in analyzing the state's role or its interventions in dealing with women issues and concerns like gender discriminations in society. Radical feminists have argued that the male dominance exist in state and called it as the 'patriarchal state'. They are against class exploitations and inequalities existing in liberal state.
- They believed discrimination and inequality or disparity between men and women lies in family and particularly, in the organization or structure of labour within family which extend in the outer world of society and state as well.

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Now, the third and the final conceptualization of state, for today's, lecture is the feminist concept of state which focuses on the claim of state to be a neutral institution. So, feminism, questions, the neutrality of the state which is blind to the gender based discriminations, women's conditions in the public and private spheres, the political rights, equal distribution of resources, and right to equality with men, etc.

State in its claim to neutrality, according to, the feminists are blind to the gender discriminations or the unequal distribution of resources or unequal access to the services in the public and private spheres of social life. So, feminists, questions the state neutrality, which perpetuates and do not resolve the discrimination on the basis of gender in the society or public sphere. Thus, feminists are interested in analyzing the state's role

or its interventions in dealing with the women's issues and concerns like gender discrimination in society.

We have discussed in one of our lectures on power or the feminist conception of power within feminism and there are different opinions to it. So, starting from a liberal to a Marxist, and to a radical feminism, we see a range of debates and discussions about creating a just society, which would be gender just as well.

There is a kind of multiple voices within feminism or radical feminism, most crucially, argued about not just questioning about the neutrality of state and demanding equal respect or equal legal and political rights. But it characterizes, the state as a patriarchal state, where the dominance of male is extended from family to the society, state and all the decisions or policies are framed or positions are held only by the males (Refer Time: 42:46) and there is the question of preferential or the reservation of women. They are against the class exploitations and inequalities existing in a liberal state.

They believed discrimination and inequality or disparity between men and women lies in family. That is the source of a patriarchal state which radical feminists, argued about and particularly, in the organization or structure of labor within family which extends in the outer world of society and state as well.

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family

- Feminism characterize state as biased in terms of its administrative structures or organs or institutions of governance which reflects the hierarchy that exist in society and gender relationships in public arena. They view men as taking over offices or recruitment in government jobs, prevailing men's dominance, and their decisions and interests determining how power is exercised through different organs or institutions of state.
- Most feminists believe that gender subordination is true for all classes, societies, households or more precisely it is prevalent across economic classes in the world.
- Feminists are also against the liberal state's dichotomy of public and private spheres. And, therefore they assert 'personal is political'. This radically alter the understanding of politics and roles of the state. State policies, according to feminism fail to resolve issues like domestic violence, less income for working women, unequal responsibilities of women at home that limit their activities outside. Therefore, feminists are demanding reproductive rights, abortion rights, subsidies for birth control and so on. In other words, Feminism bring gender at the center of discourse on politics and state and strive towards creating a gender just family, society and state.

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The extension of gender discrimination that exists in the family is extended in the sphere of society or the state as well. Feminism, characterizes state as biased in terms of administrative structures or organs or institutions of governance, which reflects, the hierarchy that exists in society and between gender relationships in the public arena.

So, the state is regarded or characterized as biased in terms of its administrative structure, organs and system of governance which reflects the hierarchy that exists in society and between gender relationships in public arena. They view men or male as taking over offices or recruitment in government jobs, where men's dominance is prevailing, their decisions and interests are determining how power is to be exercised through different organs or institutions of the state.

Most feminists, believes that gender subordination is true for all classes, societies, households and more precisely, it is prevalent across economic classes in the world. Now, feminists are very critical against the liberal state and its dichotomy of public and private sphere.

The basis of a liberal state is the distinction between the private and public. Now, private space is regarded as the space, where it must not form law and individuals should have maximum freedom. Only, the matters concerning the public, state can legally regulate and limits certain activities of individuals that are related to the public life. State as an institution is about maintaining, regulating or ensuring law and order in the public life.

So, the organization of polity rests on the dichotomy between the public and the private life, where individuals enjoy maximum freedom in his private life, but his public life can be regulated or restrained on reasonable grounds by the state.

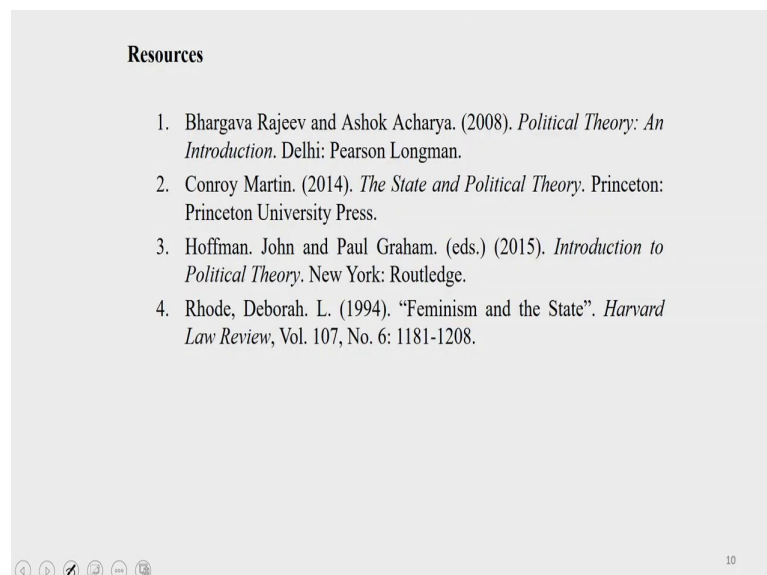
Feminists, questions, the dichotomy between the public and private, and assert the personal is political. In this liberal dichotomy, family is seen as something, as the matter of private. Therefore, the state should not interfere into that. Feminists question the dichotomy and argue that family is an institution, where the discrimination between man and women is practiced, perpetuated and reproduced. And that perpetuation, practice and reproduction of gender discrimination in the family, is extended in the realm of society and state. Therefore, we cannot keep the family outside the realm of political.

So, even, the emotions, feelings, love and a lot of other feelings, which are regarded as personal or private matter is questioned by the feminists and they asserted that 'personal is political'. This understanding of political, where the personal or the private is also, seen as part of politically, radical and alter, the understanding of politics and the role of state. And state policies, according to feminism, believes in this dichotomy of the public and private which fails to resolve issues, like domestic violence, less income for working women, unequal responsibilities of women at home, which limits their activities outside.

Therefore, feminists are demanding certain rights, such as the reproductive rights, abortion rights, subsidies for birth control etc. In other words, feminism, brings gender at the center of discourse on politics and state, and strives towards creating a society, which is just or family, society and state which is gender just society.

The idea or the realization of liberty, equality and justice is not possible, unless, the gender justice is ensured and that is the contribution of feminism towards understanding of the politics and state. And its role in creating a society, which is not just legally, and politically, just for half of the population, that is only for male, but also, it includes and ensures the participation and empowerment of female or women.

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With this, we conclude the lecture, where we have discussed the idea of modern nation-state and how these two seemingly, opposite kinds of institutions or entities, comes

together, to acquire a formidable status in a particular society or territory. And then, we discussed on the liberal, Marxist and feminist conceptions of state.

On these lectures or themes, you can focus on some of these readings like Rajeev Bhargav, Martin Conroy, John Hoffman and Paul Graham, and Rhode Deborah on the feminism and state. These are the readings as mentioned in the above slide, for today's lecture.

Thanks for listening. Thank you all.