

Introduction to Political Theory
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Lecture – 26

Citizenship – II: T H. Marshall and Liberal Conception of Citizenship as Legal and Equal member

Hello and welcome friends to the second lecture on citizenship. In the previous lecture, we have discussed on the idea of citizenship, and how it emphasis on a relationship between the ruling class and the ruled. Citizenship, denotes a kind of relationship that individual shares with the state or authority of the state. And this idea has evolved from the Greek and Roman times, to the modern 19th and 20th centuries as we have discussed. Also, we have discussed about the civic republicanism and the liberal conception of citizenship in our previous lecture. What was the difference between a single and the dual citizenship? In today's lecture, we will focus, particularly, on T.H. Marshall's conception of citizenship and its critique, particularly, by the Marxist and feminist critiques.

T. H. Marshall's, conception of citizenship is regarded as the most comprehensive account of citizenship. There is a kind of evolutionary understanding of modern citizenship in the theorization of citizenship made by T. H. Marshall. He explained or articulated his theory of citizenship by historicizing the political or social or economic transformations that were taking place particularly, in England at the arrival of the modern times. By historicizing it, he, included the new rights and those people who were excluded earlier from the domains of citizenship. He argued that citizenship was more about the progressive extension of equality to those who were excluded from the ambit of citizenship. About this, we will discuss in our today's lecture.

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Intro

- T. H. Marshall's conception of citizenship is regarded as the most comprehensive account of citizenship in modern times. His theorization of citizenship is based on his study of historical evolution of different classes with the growth of capitalism in England and their corresponding claims and rights. He was a liberal social democrat and in his influential account of the growth of citizenship in England, he argues that the concept of citizenship has developed in a conflict as well as in collusion with capitalism.
- He links citizenship to social classes and envision citizenship as a remedies to the inequalities produced by capitalist market economy. For Marshall the concept of citizenship is rooted in the ideal of universal equality among the members of a political community.

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The conception of T. H. Marshall on citizenship is as said the most comprehensive account of citizenship in the modern times. And his theorization of citizenship is based on his study of the historical evolution of the different classes in society. The relationship Marshall, argued was about how the different classes in society, related to the state or administration of the state. These classes, over period of time, did play a significant role in the political and economic transformations in society.

Citizenship, as an ideal, helps us to understand not just those transformations, but also, about how the changing nature of the relationship between the social classes and the state has unfolded over a period of time. This theorization of citizenship is based on his study of historical evolution of different classes with the growth of capitalism in England and their corresponding demands, claims and rights to the state.

The different classes, first, emerged during the time of the mercantile capitalists followed by the emergence of the middle class and then, the marginalised poor or workers. Their demands from the state led to the different nature or forms or structure of state in the modern England. Initially, there was a kind of adjudicatory role of state. So, state was there to play an arbitrary role and it had a very minimum involvement in the functioning of individuals or in the pursuit of wealth or happiness of the individuals.

State had thus, a very minimum role to play, limited to arbitrate only, if there, is some violation of contract. It was followed that the parliamentary democracy or with the rise

of representative forms of government, people themselves, began to articulate, discuss, and deliberate on the issues, concerning the common affairs of the society.

Finally, there was the demand for a welfare state, where some of the essential services are supposed to be provided by the state. This historical evolution of different classes led to different claims and kinds of demands from the states. Marshall tried to understand this relationship between the individuals and state during the historical evolution of different classes and their corresponding demands to the state.

Basically, T. H. Marshall was a liberal, social, democrat and in his influential account of the growth of citizenship in England, he argued that the concept of citizenship has developed in conflict as well as in collusion with capitalism. One of the key features of T. H. Marshall's conceptualization of citizenship is to see, how, the modern notion of citizenship has evolved in its conflict, but also, in its collusion with the modern capitalism. The outcome of citizenship and capitalism is very contradictory to each other. Thus, where capitalism produced inequality in society, citizenship was about creating a horizontal solidarity. That means, to extend the domain of equality, which treats everyone, equally.

The outcome of citizenship or the objective of citizenship is to create a society of free and equal members. The equality is an intended objective of unfolding or evolution of citizenship in modern times, whereas, capitalism, inherently, leads to social inequalities or economic inequalities, and how, both conflicts and collude together is something, which T. H. Marshall has defined.

He linked citizenship to the social classes and envisioned citizenship as remedy to do away inequalities produced by the capitalist market economics. Citizenship, for Marshall, was a kind of remedy, to the social inequalities or economic inequalities that is produced by the modern capitalist market economy.

For Marshall, the concept of citizenship was rooted in the ideal of universal equality among the members of a political community. So, within a political community, in modern times, the political community is understood as nation-state. The member of nation-states, therefore, shared a kind of uniform or equal status in either a state without any discrimination on the basis of caste, class, gender, religion, etc. His conception of

citizenship is thus, based or rooted in the ideal of universal equality, among those who are the members of a particular political community like the nation-state.

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➤ Marshall's concept of citizenship is also known as liberal theory of citizenship, where civil rights constitute the very foundation of citizenship. It believes in the evolution of rights associated with citizenship and can also be described as an evolutionary theory of citizenship.

➤ Marshall defines citizens as 'free and equal members of a political community'. This is widely accepted definition of citizenship in modern democracies. It basically argued that citizenship is about a process of progressively expanding the domain of equality among different social classes. In his *Citizenship and Social Class* (1950), Marshall distinguishes three strands or bundles of rights that constitute citizenship:

- Civil rights
- Political rights
- Social and economic rights

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This notion of citizenship is also known as the liberal theory of citizenship, where the civil right is necessary, for the growth or living a dignified life for the individuals who is the very foundation of citizenship. The ideal of citizenship is to ensure that the individuals carry certain rights, which must be protected by the state. Those rights are necessary, for the fuller or complete development or development of his or her talents or skills is absolutely, necessary and state must protect those civil rights.

In the liberal theory of citizenship, civil rights constitutes the very foundation. It believes in the evolution of rights associated with the citizenship and can also be described as the evolutionary theory of citizenship. That means, Marshall, like the liberals, argued that civil right is absolutely, necessary in any conception of citizenship. Because it is about individual rights which is necessary for his or her growth or development and the state must protect them.

But, Marshall also, argued about other kinds of rights, which are something, evolved over a period time with the changes in the political structure and the rise of different social classes in the society. In that sense, in Marshall, what we find it is not a rigid or a fixed understanding of citizenship, but a kind of evolutionary theory, where it argued that citizenship gradually, unfolds or internalised those who are excluded from its domain.

So, it starts with the civil rights. We will discuss, how it also, includes the political and socio-economic rights.

Marshall's theory of citizenship is a liberal theory of citizenship. It can also be regarded, therefore, as a kind of evolutionary theory of citizenship which includes newer rights or newer people in the domain of citizenship, understood as the extension of equality, among the members of a particular political community.

This definition of Marshall theory of citizenship, which we have discussed, in our previous class is about the free and equal member of a political community. He defined citizenship as signifying those members, who are the free and equal members of a political community. That is the understanding or the definition of citizenship in T. H. Marshall, where the member of a particular political community is free, that means, without any coercion and without any suppression by others or by the state or equals. So, without any kind of descriptive or hierarchal status, every single member of the state are treated, equally, that is the definition of citizenship in T. H. Marshall.

This definition of citizenship is a widely, accepted definition of citizenship in modern democracy. All the modern states or democratic states recognise the individuals as equal members. The equality before the law or equal protection of law or right to vote, and understanding of that right to vote as, 'one person, one vote, one vote, one value' is rooted in the idea of equality, where the citizens or all citizens of a country or a political community is treated equally, without any discrimination on the basis of caste, class, region, language, education, literacy.

Thus, the definition of T. H. Marshall is a widely, accepted definition of citizenship in the modern democracy. It basically, argued, that citizenship is about a process of progressively, expanding the domain of equality. It may start with the few people, but it is something, which includes those who are excluded. So it is a continuous evolutionary thing.

In modern times, there are talks about the political debates and discussions on citizenship. For instance, in India, we talk about citizenship as it is defined in the constitution. So, the legal and constitutional understanding of citizens, as that is one. But, then there is a kind of gradual development like the socio-economic and political, which

requires new kind of articulation or inclusion of newer groups excluded from the domains of citizenship.

The citizenship is similarly, as we have seen in Marshall's understanding of the historical evolution of citizenship in England was a kind of progressive expanding of the domain of equality among the different social classes. All the classes, historically, for instance, the political rights as the key feature of modern citizenship were not available to everyone to begin with. In the beginning, it was limited to the male members and even among the male, it was limited only, to the propertied or educated male members. And finally, it was extended to the women like to every men and the idea of universal suffrage was possible.

Thus, anyone with a particular age has the right to vote which ensures his or her participation in the political process. This is a long evolution which included everyone. The universal suffrage is a kind of evolution of a limited franchise to a universal one, where every adult member in the political community is having the right to vote which is something that signifies or represents the evolution or expansion of the idea of equality. In other domains, similarly, it is not just about the right to vote.

Citizenship is understood as the process, which progressively, expands the domain of equality among the different social classes. In his classic text, *The Citizenship and Social Class*, 1950, Marshall, distinguished three strands or bundles of rights that constitutes a citizenship. And that is also, to do with the historical evolution of different social classes and their corresponding demands. These three bundles of rights or the set of rights are known as the civil rights, political rights, social and economic rights. We will discuss about these three rights one by one.

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- **Civil** rights are regarded as necessary for individual growth and freedom. These rights are – freedom of speech and expression, movement, equality before law and right to own property. These are also regarded as 'negative' rights as it check or limit the authority of the state.
- **Political** rights provided individual with the opportunity to participate in political life such as right to vote or to contest election or to hold public offices.
- **Social** and **economic** rights are about ensuring the basic social and economic needs of each individuals. The fulfilment of these basic needs are regarded as necessary for the individuals to exercise their civil and political rights meaningfully. These are 'positive' rights in a sense that it requires the state to provided certain basic services to the individuals particularly from socio-economically disadvantaged groups.

To begin, with the civil rights, which is regarded as absolutely, necessary for the individual growth and freedom, it is absolutely, necessary and these civil rights are freedom of speech and expression, movement, equality before the law or equal protection of law or right to own property. These rights are the civil rights which is regarded as absolutely, necessary for the growth and progress of individuals. And with the growth and progress of individuals, it is understood that it automatically, leads to the progress of society or the economy or nation as such.

So, these rights are individual rights which the state must protect. Therefore, these rights are also, called as negative rights, as it limits or checks the authority of the state. State must not interface or takeaway those rights of the individuals, which is absolutely, necessary for his or her progress. That is the one very significant or crucial aspect of citizenship, which includes, the civil rights, that is those rights of individual, which must be protected by the state. In other words, it is understood as negative rights as it put limits or it is a kind of check to the authority or the power of the state.

Then, comes, the political rights, which is about providing the individual with the opportunity to participate in the political life. The state has a very minimal role in this and state is something, as sitting over the citizens. Citizenship is more of a kind of thin or a passive citizenship or it has a legal or constitutional status. So, an individual or as a citizen being the member of a political community has certain rights and the state has the

obligation or the responsibility to protect those rights. Those are very passive or thin notion of citizenship, where it is about certain rights is protected by the state.

Then, it is the political right which talks about the kind of civic republicanism. It means, where there is the opportunity of citizens, to not just have the rights guaranteed or protected by the state, but also, they participate in the political process or the political life of the community. And those rights are like the right to go to vote, right to contest election or to hold public offices. So, these rights to vote are gradually, opened not just to the few selected groups in the society, but all the members, who are the citizens of that political community or the nation-states.

Thus, all the members have these political rights to vote, to fight election, to hold public offices and that ensures the political participation or popular participation in the political process in a political community or in the state. This is the next stage of rights or next set of rights which must be under very limited or thin or passive notion of citizenship as seen in terms of merely, about the civil rights. Political rights, is an extension to that minimal or the thin notion of citizenship to include a kind of active participation in the political life of the nation.

Now, the third kind of rights is the socio-economic rights. These rights are about ensuring the basic social and economic needs of each individual. And these comes much later, so you can say, the first stage of right, second stage of rights, and then, the third stage of right which is the socio-economic rights. It talks about basically, to ensure that every individual should have a certain basic, minimum social and economic status which will ensure them to participate in the political life and also, to lead a dignified life or to lead a respectful life and to develop himself or herself in a free manner or with the equal opportunity.

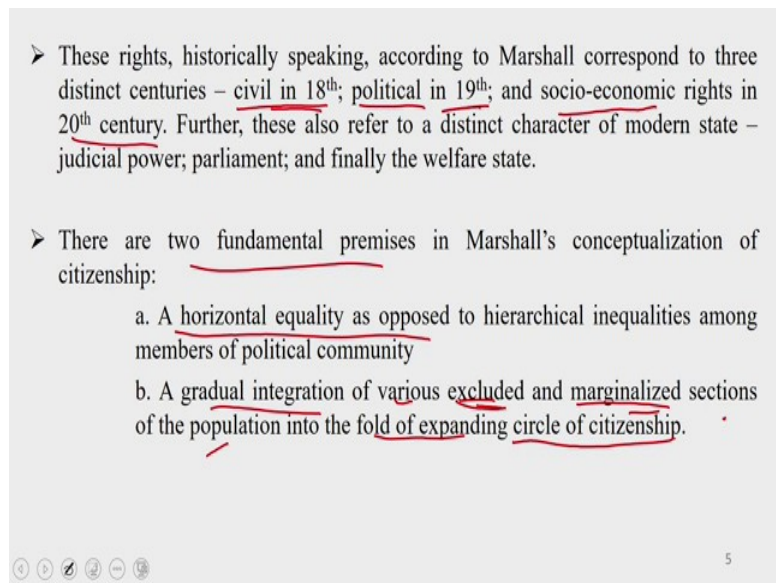
In the absence of the socio-economic rights, it was understood that the legal or the political rights would have very little meaning or no meaning at all, because then, they would be open to certain manipulations. So, the fulfilment of these social, economic rights such as, the right to food, right to shelter, right to education, right to health are regarded as necessary for the individuals to exercise their civil and political rights. For a very long time, the idea was that the state must recognize certain civil rights of people.

Then, there comes the political rights. People did not have certain rights, but they also have the right to participate in the decision-making or in the political process.

Finally, there was the argument that without this socio-economic rights that means, certain basic needs were available, to all citizens, the political and the civil rights would have very little meaning or no meaning at all. So, to exercise the civil and political rights meaningfully, it was absolutely, necessary to provide certain socio-economic rights to the individual. These rights, in comparison to civil rights or positive rights, as it requires or it is the responsibility of the state to provide certain basic services like education, health, food, to the individuals, particularly, from the socio-economically disadvantaged groups of people.

These socio-economic rights, enables the state to perform certain duty. In other words, the socio-economic rights is the positive rights that require the state to perform certain duty. In contrast, to the civil rights, which prevents the state from doing something that means, state cannot take away the individuals right to think or express freely or to come together, to form association etc. Because those are regarded as necessary, for the development of the individual and the state must refrain from interfering or taking away those rights of the individual such as the civil rights, as negative rights to limit the exercise of power by the state. But the socio-economic rights enables or requires the state to perform certain duties, to provide certain services, particularly, for example, education, health, food, shelter. It thus, enables the state to provide certain basic services to the individuals, particularly, from the socio-economic disadvantaged groups of people as mentioned.

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- These rights, historically speaking, according to Marshall correspond to three distinct centuries – civil in 18th; political in 19th; and socio-economic rights in 20th century. Further, these also refer to a distinct character of modern state – judicial power; parliament; and finally the welfare state.
- There are two fundamental premises in Marshall's conceptualization of citizenship:
 - a. A horizontal equality as opposed to hierarchical inequalities among members of political community
 - b. A gradual integration of various excluded and marginalized sections of the population into the fold of expanding circle of citizenship.

These rights are historically, speaking, according to Marshall, corresponded to three distinct centuries. He argued that civil rights was demanded and argued about in the 18th century. For instance, the emergence of political rights in the 19th century, and the socio-economic rights in the 20th century. This is not a kind of compartmentalisation (Refer Time: 22:10). Broadly, speaking these three kinds of rights corresponded to three centuries, where in the 18th century, the natural right theories or the social contract theories, they argued, about those civil rights of the individual like the right to life, property, freedom of conscience, freedom of speech, and expression, liberty of thought etc.

The political rights or representative forms of government or democracy were something, broadly, argued in the 19th century and the socio-economic rights were something, which emerged in the 20th century. This cannot be said that civil rights were not argued in 19th century or 20th century, in many countries. Even in the 21st century, there were struggles going on for the civil and political rights. But, theoretically, speaking, in the historical sense, the way, these rights were argued and put forth in the modern times, correspondent broadly, to these three centuries of 18th, 19th, 20th centuries, respectively, about the civil, political and socio-economic rights. Further, we will see a correlation between the nature and characteristic of the state structure that has emerged during these three centuries.

In the first century, the judicial power or the educating role of the state or the judiciary has the main defining characteristics of the state. So, state has the role to adjudicate, to arbitrate between two parties or more than two parties, if, there is some kind of violation or transgression of rule, to maintain law and order and to ensure that contract is followed. It was the limited role of the state. Thus, the minimal role of the state had a very adjudicating role to play and its responsibility was limited to only adjudication. The nature of the state was more of a kind of adjudicating or judiciary or the judicial power.

The next phase of a modern state is about the parliamentary form of democracy, where people themselves through their votes, elect their representatives and their representatives takes a decision collectively, on their behalf, for the benefit of common people or for the interests of the nation. The parliamentary form of democracy is the result of the corresponding development in the state structure with the political rights.

Finally, the social and economic rights lead to the creation or formation of a welfare state, where state provides certain services like the education, health care etc. These are some the corresponding developments in the nature or structure of the modern state which is corresponding to the three stages of rights like the civil, political and socio-economic rights.

So, what we find in Marshall's conceptualization of citizenship is about the two fundamental premises. These premises are a horizontal equality or horizontal solidarity among all the members of a political community. This is radically, different from the hierarchical or vertical status of individuals in the society that existed in the pre-modern feudal state or in the monarchy or in the kingdom or dynasty.

The modern notion of citizenship is a radical departure from the hierarchical status of individuals in the societies or groups in society. It talks about individuals who are put in the condition of a) horizontal equality, where everyone is treated equally, so that is one fundamental premise of Marshall's conceptualization of citizenship which talks about the horizontal equality or solidarity.

b) a gradual integration of various excluded and marginalised sections of population into the fold of expanding a circle of citizenship. The women, slaves, immigrants, racial or linguistic or religious minorities are a kind of continuous integration or inclusion in the folds of citizenship. For Marshall, the citizenship is therefore, a kind of progressive

expansion of this horizontal solidarity, which includes those who are excluded from the domains of citizenship.

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➤ According to Marshall, citizenship promotes equality of status of each individual and it ultimately combats the disruptive inequalities produced by the market economy. A common citizenship bond creates a new national identity and consciousness.

➤ His conception of citizenship is premised upon the idea of making any hierarchical or ascriptive inequalities be it based on caste, or culture, or gender, or ethnicity irrelevant in the eyes of state. In other words, in the eyes of state all its citizens appear as same and equal subjected to uniform set of rules and procedures without any discrimination on the basis of race, caste, gender, religion or language.

Achievements and Limits of Liberal citizenship

➤ The main achievements of liberal citizenship is that it holds out the promise of including all individuals irrespective of their caste, class, gender, race in the ambit of citizenship.

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According to Marshall, citizenship, promotes the equality of status of each individual and it ultimately, combats this disruptive inequalities produced by the market economy. So, as I begin, this lecture with the understanding in Marshall, we also found, how citizenship as an ideal which promotes equality and confront or collide with the modern capitalism which produces social inequalities. That is very crucial in understanding development or the growth of modern citizenship which is a kind of constant inclusion of those who are excluded, marginalized or oppressed by the system of economic growth and development.

For Marshall, this idea of citizenship promotes equality of status and that combats the destructive inequalities of a market economy which produces a new social or national identity that creates a bond among the members of a political community, which moves beyond the descriptive or hierarchical identity or a sense of being to a horizontal comradeship or solidarity, where everyone treats the other as same or equal to Marshall.

Citizenship, in modern world, creates national identity or consciousness, where every single member of a particular political community, treats other as equal to itself, for himself or herself. His conception of citizenship is therefore, premised upon the idea of making any hierarchical or descriptive inequalities be based on caste, culture, gender or

ethnicity, irrelevant in the eyes of state. Any kind of hierarchical or descriptive identity, be it in the form of caste, class, gender, languages, religion, race are thus, irrelevant in the eyes of state.

In other words, in the eyes of state, all its citizens appears same and equally, subjected to the uniform set of rules and procedures without any discrimination on grounds of the race, caste, gender, religion, and language. That means, in this formulation, we have state which treats all its members as equal or same to each other without any discrimination. So, they are subjected to the same set of uniform rules without any discrimination on the basis of their descriptive identities, be it caste, class, gender, linguists etc.

Marshall, argued, about a liberal and democratic conception of citizenship, which is about promoting equality or countering the social or economic inequalities, that is produced by the modern capitalism. This is the T. H. Marshall's conceptualization of citizenship which is the liberal conception of citizenship. There is a certain achievement and limits to the liberal conception of citizenship which we will discuss in the following slides. Finally, we will discuss about the Marxist and feminist critique of this liberal conceptualization of citizenship.

The main achievement of the liberal citizenship is that it holds the promise of including individuals, irrespective of their caste, class, gender, race, and the ambit of citizenship. The fundamental premise of the modern liberal notion of citizenship is that it treats individuals equally, without any discrimination or it holds the promise of extension of such equality to every member of society without any discrimination on the basis of their social, economic and cultural backgrounds.

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- However, one major criticism against the liberal conception of citizenship is that it disregards the real differential situations of individuals in the societies across the classes which actually determines their ability to exercise the rights or legal capacities conferred on them by virtue of their citizenship to a particular liberal nation state.
- Marshall himself had pointed out this contradiction and its potential for conflict in future. And therefore, he argued that citizen having 'equal social worth, not merely of equal rights' requires that equality of status in the form of a minimum supply of certain essential goods and services are guaranteed to each member of the political community.
- John Rawls too in his *A Theory of Justice* and *Political Liberalism* tried to address this contradiction in the liberal notion of citizenship. Rawls two principles of justice provide the framework within which a liberal democratic citizenship could unfold a fully adequate scheme of equal rights and liberties and equal opportunity combined with the 'justice as fairness'.

However, one major criticism against the liberal conceptualization of citizenship is that it disregards the real differential situations of individuals in the societies across the classes, which actually, determines their ability to exercise the right or legal capacity confirmed on them by the virtue of their citizenship to a particular nation-state.

Now, this is the major criticism against the liberal conceptualization of citizenship, which overlooks or disregards the real socio-economic or cultural status of the individual. And this point, we will discuss, when we will differentiate it or will discuss about the multicultural citizenship in our next lecture. Here, we need to take into account that the individual and his or her ability, to participate or to exercise his or her civil rights require a certain degree of social or economic or cultural status. So, if someone is in the minority or majority community, their opportunity to participate in the larger public domain is very different.

However, in the liberal conceptualization, such specific or actual situation of the individual is disregarded because everyone is treated in this neutral understanding of state and its authority as same and equal. It does not take into the consideration the different status of individuals in the society which actually, determines how they are able to exercise their political, civil, and socio-economic rights in the society. But the liberal notion of citizenship is completely, undermining or ignoring, these real differential status

of the society. That remains one of the major criticisms against the neutral or universal idea of citizenship in liberalism.

Marshall, himself, pointed out, the contradiction, where there is acknowledgement of equality in the eyes of law, politically. But, the actual existence of hierarchy or differential status of the individual in the society is a contradiction. The actual living reality of individual is that of hierarchical, but in the abstract, legal or political sense, all of them are treated equally. And that creates a contradiction in the modern life.

And Marshall, pointed out, this contradiction and its potential for the conflicts to take place in future. So, the major struggle in most of the modern democracy is about ensuring that equality is just not get limited merely, to the legal and the political rights of the individual, but it also, extends and includes, the socio-economic equality, which is the real equality.

In India, for example, B.R Ambedkar, the life of contradiction, where legally and politically, in the post independent India, every Indian is with 'one vote and one value', but in the socio-economic life, it determines their political rights or political participation, whether they will remain unequal or they will be treated in equal, till how long that contradiction will emerge.

Similarly, Marshall also, argued about the potential of this contradiction that may lead to the conflict in the future. Therefore, he argued that citizen having equal social worth is as important, and not merely, is about of equal rights that requires the equality of status in the form of minimum supply of certain essential goods and services which should be guaranteed to each member of the political community. Thus, the equal social status is as important as the equal rights, and that requires certain social or essential goods and services which are made to be available to every member of the political community.

John Rawls, extended this argument in his *Theory of Justice* or also, in the political liberalism, where he talks about how to reconcile the contradictions of equality or equality of opportunity with the differences required to ensure that the least advantaged or the disadvantaged section should have the opportunity to prosper or to develop themselves. So, in his theory of justice and political liberalism, he tried, to address this contradiction in the liberal notion of citizenship.

His two principles or two theories of justice provided the framework within which a liberal, democratic citizenship could unfold fully in an adequate system of equal rights. Liberties and equal opportunity are combined with justice as well. So, this conception of justice, we have discussed very briefly, about how the liberal democracy should combine this equality of opportunity on the one hand and to ensure, the participation of least advantaged or disadvantaged groups of people in the life of a nation on the other hand in his two principles of justice.

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- It would accept social and economic inequalities insofar as they exist for the 'greatest benefit of the least advantaged members of society'.
- Critics of liberal citizenship including those on the left, the feminists, communitarians and others have also pointed out to the existing contradictions and ambivalences that are rooted in the liberal conception of citizenship and its relationship with capitalism.

Marxist and Feminist critique

- Marx argues that the claims of liberal citizenship about equality and freedom are flawed as these are incompatible with capitalism. For him, modern state is a bourgeois state and is incapable of delivering the promise of equal citizenship. According to Marx, equal right in a capitalist society is mainly a bourgeois right. In his work *On the Jewish Question* he distinguishes the 'rights of man' from the 'rights of citizens'. He was critical of the rights of man or the so called natural rights.

Thus, this scheme would accept social and economic inequalities, if such inequalities, exists for the greatest benefit of the least advantaged members of the society. John Rawls provided a kind of legal framework through which the social and economic injustices or disadvantages could be addressed within the liberal democracy. Critics of liberal citizenship, including those on the left, the feminists and communitarians among others have pointed out, the existing contradictions and ambivalences which are rooted in the liberal conception of citizenship and its relationship with the capitalism.

Particularly, in this second part of the lecture, we will focus on the Marxist and the feminist critique of the liberal conception of citizenship, and how, they address the inherent contradictions in the liberal conceptualization of citizenship. Let us begin, with Marxist understanding. Marx, argued, the claims of liberal citizenship about equality and freedom are flawed claims as these are incompatible with the rise of capitalism.

Thus, on the one hand, liberal democracy promises equality and freedom. And on the other hand, economy, fairly promotes capitalism. This idea of true equality and freedom is something, which is incompatible with capitalism. For him, the modern state is a state which protects the interests of those who own the property of the bourgeoisie and therefore, he characterized the modern state as the bourgeois state. And that bourgeois state is in capable of delivering the promises of equal citizenship as it claimed.

According to Marx, equal rights in capitalist society is mainly, for the bourgeoisie who get to exercise civil and political rights, they are those who have the property, but the majority of people, who do not have the property remain, more or less, in the same condition of subordination or separation by the small minority, which he calls as the bourgeoisie who controls the property and thereby, the institution of the state.

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- Marx rejects the rights of man like freedom of religion, liberty, security and private property because he believed that these rights can not reconcile with ideals of the community lives. These rights are basically recognized for the egoistic bourgeois self of market economy. This according to Marx is contrary to human sociality or the very nature of human species. And therefore, Marx was supportive of citizens or political rights both in terms of restricting the power of the state and in providing the participatory rights that encouraged some kind of collective actions.
- Feminism, on the other hand argued how the liberal idea of citizenship based on the notion of uniformity and equality is inimical to women. They are critical of such notions of citizenship on the following two grounds;
 - a) Citizenship is gender-blind. By focusing on uniform and equal application, it fails to see the structure of patriarchy that exist in the modern societies which prevent the women to participate in the 'public' life of the state as 'free and equal member'.

In his work on the Jewish question, he distinguished between the rights of men from the rights of citizen. He, basically, criticized the rights of men which are based on the natural right theory, which he regarded as the extension of a modern egoistic bourgeois. So, Marx, rejected, the rights of men, like the freedom of religion, liberty, security and private property. Because he believed that these rights could not reconcile with the ideals of community lives. These rights are thus, basically, recognized for the egoistic bourgeoisie self for his self or atomistic progress or development.

This according to Marx is contrary, to the human sociality or the community life or the very nature of human species, which requires him or her to participate in the life of community and not to lead a life of isolated, atomistic, egoistic self as in the bourgeoisie market economy.

According to Marx, it is contrary, to the human sociality or the very nature of human species. Therefore, Marx was supportive of citizens or the political rights or rights of citizens rather than the rights of men, in terms of, as it allow some kinds of restriction to the power of the state. And also, it provides the individuals and citizens to participate or collectively, help in the formation of new collectivities or collective actions for the life of the community, or life in the polity or state.

For Marx, the rights of citizen is more important and valid than the right of men, which he regarded as merely, about the recognition of bourgeoisie, atomistic self which is contrary, to the human nature or nature of the human species, which is about sociality or participating in the life of community. Citizenship should be about a life in the community or the participation in the community life which leads to the restriction of the state and also, some kind of collective action which defines the human species. That is the Marxist criticism which regards the liberal conception as merely, bourgeoisie conception of citizenship.

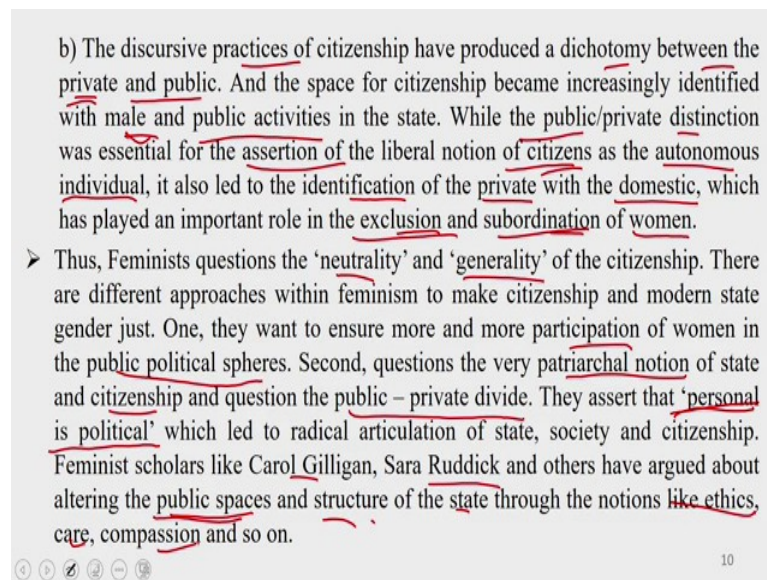
Feminism, on the other hand, argued about the liberal ideas of citizenship, which they argued is based on the uniformity or equality are actually, inimical to the rights of women. They are critical of such notion of citizenship on the following two grounds. First, citizenship is gender blind. That means, the liberal notion of citizenship is argued that it does not discriminate among individuals on the grounds of his or her sex, gender, caste, class, etc. So, the identity of the individual or descriptive identity of the individual does not really, matter in the eyes of state. Thus, the state treats everyone equally, without any consideration of his or her social economic, gender or class, caste background.

This gender blindness of the citizenship in liberal democracy, fails to understand the structure of oppressions and separations that exists in patriarchy. So, one of the grounds of feminist criticisms is to the liberal notion of citizenship because this notion of citizenship is gender blind and thereby, it does not recognize the structure of patriarchy

that exists in modern society, which prevents the women to participate in the public life of the state as free and equal members.

Thus, what prevents the women, even when state is neutral or gender blind is the system of patriarchy, precisely, because of the gender blindness of liberal notion of citizenship; they do not recognise the structure which prevents the women to take participation in the public life as a free and equal member. So, that is one ground of criticism to the liberal notion of citizenship.

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b) The discursive practices of citizenship have produced a dichotomy between the private and public. And the space for citizenship became increasingly identified with male and public activities in the state. While the public/private distinction was essential for the assertion of the liberal notion of citizens as the autonomous individual, it also led to the identification of the private with the domestic, which has played an important role in the exclusion and subordination of women.

➤ Thus, Feminists questions the 'neutrality' and 'generality' of the citizenship. There are different approaches within feminism to make citizenship and modern state gender just. One, they want to ensure more and more participation of women in the public political spheres. Second, questions the very patriarchal notion of state and citizenship and question the public – private divide. They assert that 'personal is political' which led to radical articulation of state, society and citizenship. Feminist scholars like Carol Gilligan, Sara Ruddick and others have argued about altering the public spaces and structure of the state through the notions like ethics, care, compassion and so on.

The second, the discursive practices of citizenship have produced a dichotomy between the private and public life. The modern liberal democracy is based on the well-established argument about the division of sphere of life into the private and public. And private is domestic life, hence, outside the purview of the state and public life is about the collective life of the state and since, society, come together to discuss about the collective affairs of the community, but the private sphere or in the private domain or the domain of domestic life, the state must not interfere.

This dichotomy of the private and public, where the space for citizenship becomes increasingly, identified with the male and public activities. The sphere of male is in the public and therefore, the citizenship has the attributes or characteristics that reflect the male characteristics in the public life. Whereas, the private or the domestic life is the life

of women and women should have a limited role in the private life of the citizens and their participation in the public life is neither desirable nor promoted.

So, while, the public-private distinction is essential for the assertion of the liberal notion of citizens as the autonomous individual or self-defining autonomous individual. It also, leads to the identification of private with the domestic which played an important role in the exclusion and subordination of women. The liberal notion of citizenship, again, fails to recognise this exclusion, even, when they claimed to be neutral, universal or free from any kind of social, economic and cultural biases.

Feminists of different strands, thus, criticized the liberal person of citizenship on these two grounds, where one is about the gender blindness and the second is about this dichotomy between the private and public, which prevents women to participate in the public life. It is exclusionary for women. The feminists, question the neutrality and generality of the citizenship. And within feminism, we have different approaches to citizenship. One strand of feminists, argued, about more participation and representation of women in the public or political spheres.

So, the demand for equal rights or equal pay for equal work, equal wages and equal legal rights are having the representation of women in the public life which is a reflection of this one strand of feminism, that argued about more visibility or representation of women in the public life. The second, strands of feminism, radically, altered this premise and bring about new articulation of citizenship all together.

It questions, the patriarchal notion of state and citizenship and also, it questions the public-private divide by asserting that personal is also, political. In this liberal dichotomy of the public and private, the domain of political is always the domain of public. Now, a group of feminists, which we call the radical feminists also, questions this liberal dichotomy of the private and public, by asserting what happens within the space of the domesticity or life of the family is also, the political.

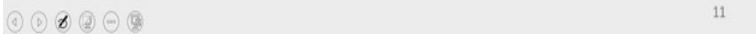
What happens to the women, the body of women is a political question. So, this assertion of personal is political leads to the radical articulation or re-articulation of state, society and citizenship. Many scholars like Carol Gilligan, Sara Ruddick and many others have argued about altering the public spaces and structure of the state through themselves like ethics, care, compassions etc.

They radically, tries to make the modern state, gender just and not just by permitting or allowing the women to participate in the public life on male terms, but actually, altering the male attributes of the public spaces, where the space for ethics, care compassion will change the whole discourse or discursive terrain of public life. So, that is the attempt of feminism to not just be equal participant in the public life, but also, it changes on the terms of discourse or attributes of the public or political life and ultimately, the life of state, society and citizenship. That is the feminist contribution or criticism to the liberal notion of citizenship and with that understanding, we end today's lecture.

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You can follow some of the literatures like Anupama Roy's, *Citizenship* and Rajeev Bhargava, Ashok Acharya's book, there is a very good chapter which you should look at and you can also, refer to some of the other literatures to understand some of the things, we have discussed in today's lecture. In the next lecture, we are going to discuss or differentiate on the concept of multicultural citizenship and cosmopolitan citizenship. That is all for today's lecture.

Thank you for listening. Thank you all.