University of the Philippines Open University

SOC SCI II
Social, Economic and Political Thought

A Study Guide to Social, Economic and Political Thought

Pia del Campo Bennagen

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A Study Guide to Social, Economic and Political Thought
By Pia del Campo Bennagen

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Introduction: Why Study Political Philosophy

A good day to you! As we begin this journey into what, for some of you, may be the unknown, let me first give a brief introduction to the study guide.

The study guide is designed for the course Social Science II, or Soc Sci II as we in UP fondly refer to it, which is officially described as a survey of social, economic and political thought from ancient times to the present. In this course, we will examine the ideas of well-known philosophers such as Plato, Aristotle, Machiavelli, Adam Smith and Karl Marx, to name just a few. In total, you will get to know 14 philosophers and their respective works throughout the course of a semester.

You will learn about their thoughts on the—

1. Nature and origin of the state
2. End of the state
3. Nature of man and woman
4. Relations between the state and individuals
5. Relations between the state and the economy
6. Relations between the politics and religion
7. The ideal society or state
8. Concepts such as justice, peace, power, sovereignty, political obligation, and equality
9. Organization of government
10. Relations between the rulers and the ruled

These ideas together comprise what scholars call political philosophy. This is:

> ... reflection on political phenomena, the attempt to understand them, and the discussion of their significance ... [It puts a] greater stress and reliance on the reflective and less on the *descriptive and analytical element* of study ... [U]ltimately, political philosophy is reflection on the right or the best kind of political order, which is only one part of the larger and more fundamental question, the right or best kind of life man should lead. (Curtis, 1981:13-14)

Political philosophy is different from related concepts such as political science and political theory. The systematic and scientific study of politics is called political science. This is a field in the social sciences that involves "a firmly empirical or factual study of the structure and workings of political institutions and of the political behavior of individuals and groups" (Quinton, 1994:275). What about political theory? One way of defining this concept is to say that it is "a proposition or set of propositions designed to explain something with reference to data or interrelations not directly observed or not otherwise manifest" (Brecht, 1968:307). On the whole, we can say that the field of political science includes the study of both political theory and political philosophy. If we are still not clear about the difference between political philosophy and political theory, perhaps the following explanation will help clarify matters:

> Political philosophy [is] the most comprehensive, self-conscious mode of reflection developed and articulated by man in his attempt to understand his existence in community with his fellows. Political theory aspires to the same level of understanding and critical awareness of political philosophy, but it typically confines itself to the explicit elaboration of only one segment or dimension of man's political existence, and so only implicitly includes the comprehensive reflection of political philosophy proper. (Germino, 1972:2)

Are you even more confused now? Do not panic. Remember, we have only just begun our journey. Let's try to put it more simply: "A [political] theory tries to explain 'something' while a [political] philosophy [attempts to explain] 'everything'" (Brecht, 1968:308). Thus, while there may be some overlaps between the two concepts, which is probably the reason why some use these terms interchangeably, the substantive scope of political philosophy is wider than that of political theory.

At this point, you might be asking yourself: "What have I to gain by studying the ideas of people who have long gone to the 'great beyond'?" What has antiquity got to do with the 21st century? What is the relevance of going back to olden times to learn about justice, peace, the state, man and the ideal society? Well, the question itself contains the answer, or part of it. First, these ideas are by no means new. The human race has been grappling with these concepts since the dawn of civilization. You'd think that given how long ago that was, the human race would have these concepts down pat by now, right? Well, one look around you and you'd say no, we haven't really mastered these concepts. There's enough evidence of injustice, poverty, social anarchy, and war to prove that we have much to learn about these concepts.

Second, modern notions of the state and human society derive much from the thoughts of the "ancients." These political philosophers were so influential as to have shaped the world as we know it today. Now, I'm not saying things haven't changed, or that human beings through the centuries have been unthinkingly applying the tenets of "dead white men." Maybe they have, maybe they haven't. This course should help us ascertain that, shouldn't it?

Here's the chronological list of philosophers and their works that we will study:

1. Plato — *Republic*
2. Aristotle — *Politics*
3. St. Augustine — *The City of God*
4. St. Thomas Aquinas — *Summa Theologica* and *On Kingship*
5. Niccolo Machiavelli — *The Prince* and *The Discourses*
6. Thomas Hobbes — *Leviathan*
7. John Locke — *The Second Treatise of Civil Government*
8. Jean Jacques Rousseau — *The Social Contract*
9. Adam Smith — *The Wealth of Nations*
10. David Ricardo — *The Principles of Political Economy and Taxation*
11. John Stuart Mill — *Principles of Political Economy* and *Utilitarianism, Liberty and Representative Government*
12. Karl Marx — *The Communist Manifesto*
13. Max Weber — *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*
14. Emile Durkheim — *The Division of Labor in Society*

Wow! What a list! Do you know any of these people? Are you familiar with their works? These people are some of the individuals whose ideas have shaped and continue to shape, the political, economic and social systems of the world. While some of them were quite radical in their propositions, others tended more towards conservatism. Several philosophers were theoretical in their approach to issues; others were empirical. Some focused on the experiences of particular countries while others proposed global reforms. What they all have in common is that they were able to influence different leaders, countries, peoples and societies throughout the world, although at different historical periods.

At this point, let me ease your worry by telling you that you will not be expected to read the entire works of these people. That would be next to impossible. St. Augustine's *The City of God* is all of 22 books and St. Thomas Aquinas' *Summa Theologica* consists of 20 volumes!

To make your task more manageable, here is how we are going to do it. Each module begins with a short biography of the philosopher. What was his life like? What did he study? What were his interests? Who were the persons who influenced him? The purpose of this introduction is to get you acquainted with the philosopher. It should help you understand better the reasons why these philosophers thought the way they did and why they were concerned with the issues they wrote about.

Then you will read excerpts from each philosopher's works. To help you along, I have included an outline that will serve as your guide in identifying the important points emphasized by the philosophers in their respective works. Think of the outline as your map to help you in your journey. The excerpts are of varying lengths. Some are quite short, others a little longer. Some works are pretty simple in language while others are a little more difficult to understand. Keep in mind that these works were written several centuries ago and so the language used is different from the English we use these days. Because of these factors, there might be times when you feel like you are swimming in all their ideas. Keep calm. Here is where the outline will be useful. When reading the excerpt, always keep your outline nearby so that whenever you feel lost, this map will help you get your bearings.

If the outline still does not help you, do not worry because the modules include commentaries about each philosopher. Hopefully, the commentaries will clarify matters for you and help you to better appreciate the philosophers' ideas. Through the commentaries, you will also get to see how the ideas of one philosopher are connected to those of another. For example, the ideas of Plato and Aristotle are reflected in the works of the Christian philosophers like St. Augustine and St. Thomas Aquinas. We will also try to apply some of these ideas to contemporary issues. This

way we can see whether the ideas of old still make sense for those of us living in today's world.

Here's the outline. You can use this outline to help you identify the important sections in the excerpts that you will be reading. As you read, jot down notes on the important sections of the excerpts.

I. Plato — *Republic*
   A. On the State
      1. The Nature, Origin, and End of the State
      2. The Virtues of the State
   B. The Philosopher-Ruler
   C. Abolition of the Family
   D. Equality of Women

II. Aristotle — *Politics*
   A. The Nature and Origin of the State
   B. Citizenship
   C. On Constitutions
      1. Types of Constitutions
      2. The Most Practicable Constitution

III. St. Augustine — *The City of God*
   A. The Origin of the State
   B. The Two Cities
   C. Justice

IV. St. Thomas Aquinas — *Summa Theologica* and *On Kingship*
   A. The Nature and Origin of the State
   B. The Four Types of Laws
   C. Why Kingship is the Best
   D. The Right to Resist a Tyrant
   E. The Church and the State

V. Niccolo Machiavelli — *The Prince* and *The Discourses*
   A. Politics versus Ethics
   B. Realpolitik: The End Justifies the Means
   C. Qualities of the Prince
   D. Unity and Liberation of Italy

VI. Thomas Hobbes — *Leviathan*
   A. Nature of the Human Being
   B. The State of Nature
   C. The Social Contract
   D. The Best Form of Government
   E. The Obligations of Citizens

VII. John Locke — *The Second Treatise of Civil Government*
- A. Nature of the Human Being
- B. The State of Nature
- C. The Social Contract
- D. Government as a Fiduciary Trust
- E. The Right to Resist

VIII. Jean Jacques Rousseau — *The Social Contract*
- A. The Nature of the Primitive Man
- B. The Origin of the Civil Society
- C. Sovereignty and the General Will
- D. Government: The Agent of the General Will
- E. Moral Liberty as the End of the Civil Society
- F. The Rights and Obligations of Citizens

IX. Adam Smith — *The Wealth of Nations*
- A. Nature of Human Beings
- B. Division of Labor
- C. Laissez Faire
- D. The Role of the State

X. David Ricardo — *The Principles of Political Economy and Taxation*
- A. Theory of Rent
- B. Theory of Value
- C. Law of Comparative Advantage

XI. John Stuart Mill — *Principles of Political Economy* and *Utilitarianism, Liberty and Representative Government*
- A. Scope of Human Liberty
- B. The Value of Education
- C. The Role of Government

XII. Karl Marx — *The Communist Manifesto*
- A. Materialist Interpretation of History
- B. Theory of Class Struggle
- C. Critique of Classical Political Economy
- D. Theory of Revolution
- E. Communism as the End of History

XIII. Max Weber — *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*
- A. Theory of Bureaucracy
- B. Legitimate Types of Authority

XIV. Emile Durkheim — *The Division of Labor in Society*
- A. Division of Labor in Society
  1. Types of Solidarity
  2. Types of Societies
- B. Suicide

Now, you have your work cut out for you. Are you ready to handle the challenge?

UNIT I
From Plato to Machiavelli

Module 1
Plato

We begin our journey into the minds of the great thinkers by studying the important contributions of the Greeks. Our first stop is Athens where Plato was born. Here, we will examine his major work entitled *Republic*. Let us try to understand what he thinks is the best political system and how we can go about achieving that ideal system. But before we proceed, here is a brief introduction to ancient Greece.

Greece of the 5th and 6th centuries B.C. was composed of some 150 city-states. Of these city-states, Athens, Plato's birthplace, was the largest, with an estimated population of about 250,000. Geographically, the city-states were usually situated on or near the sea and the mountains around them contributed to their isolation from one another (Quinton, 1994:279). Each city-state was composed of three classes: (1) the slaves which were found at the bottom of the political and social hierarchy; (2) the resident foreigners or metics who, although they were freemen, did not participate in the political life of the city-state much like the slaves; and (3) the citizens or those considered to be members of the city-state and who were entitled to take part in its political life (Sabine and Thorson, 1973:19-21).

This is just a glimpse of what life was like in ancient Greece. If you are interested to know more about ancient Greek society, do check out the many reading materials about it. For now, we shall proceed to examine the ideas which Plato shares with us in *Republic*. Are you ready? Here we go.

Objectives

After studying this module, you should be able to:

1. Identify the core political ideas of Plato, particularly his concept of the ideal state and the philosopher-ruler;
2. Discuss the contributions of Plato to the study of politics; and
3. Explain the relevance of Plato's ideas by applying these to current issues.

Here's Plato!

Source: Microsoft Encarta 2000

That we are beginning our journey with Plato does not mean that Greek philosophy began with him. That would be totally unfair to thinkers like Socrates who came before him and Aristotle. However, our study begins with him partly because very few of the works of earlier philosophers have survived. (Some of them never wrote down their thoughts!) In any case, by studying the works of Plato and Aristotle, we can get a glimpse of the ideas of these early thinkers.

Plato was born to an aristocratic family in Athens around 427 B.C. He was a student of Socrates, one of the earlier thinkers who never wrote his ideas but whose ideas are nevertheless reflected in Plato's works. Referred to by some as "perhaps the greatest thinker of all time," Plato made the first systematic analysis of politics. He established the first college, the Academy, in 388 B.C. It was here that another great Greek philosopher, Aristotle, studied and later taught. The Academy offered a wide range of courses, including philosophy, politics, biology, mathematics and astronomy. Since Plato was interested in combining the study of philosophy and the practice of politics, he traveled to Sicily around 367 B.C. to act as a tutor to Dionysius II, then the ruler of Syracuse. Plato spent the last years of his life writing and teaching at the Academy. He died at the age of 80 in Athens.

Can you guess how many works Plato wrote during his lifetime? Actually, nobody really knows the total number because the authenticity of some of the works earlier attributed to him has been questioned. Of those that are accepted and recognized as his, among the more well-known are *Gorgias*, *Apology, Phaedo* and, of course, *Republic*. The style that Plato uses in several of his works has come to be known as the Socratic method. Do you know what this means? Earlier we said that Socrates never wrote down any of his ideas. What we know of Socrates we gather from, among others, Plato's ideas. You see, Socrates plays a central role in several of Plato's works. In *Republic,* for instance, Socrates is the one asking questions and the other characters take turns answering. Thus, the Socratic method has to do with the process of continuously asking questions and questioning answers until one arrives at a satisfactory answer to the question. *Republic,* for example, begins with Socrates posing the question, "What is justice?" Then, the other characters in the dialogue try to come up with their answers which are, unfortunately for them, not satisfactory to Socrates. In the end, Socrates provides the answer to his own questions.

So, do you have a better idea of Plato now? That's good. At this point in our journey, it is time for you to grab your book of readings and go through the excerpt from *Republic*. I hope you will like your very first exposure to the works of the great thinkers. Remember, do not be intimidated by them and their ideas. They are only human after all. Good luck and enjoy!

The Major Ideas of Plato in *Republic*

How are you after going through the excerpt of *Republic*? Did you like it? Did you find it easy to read? Did Plato's work excite you or confuse you? Don't worry if after reading the excerpt you have lots of questions in your mind. In fact, formulating and asking questions is highly encouraged. In this section, we will attempt to answer some of your queries. Hang on to those questions that you feel were not answered and then feel free to ask them during the study sessions.

Now, after the serious reading you just did, let us first take a fun break. Try your hand at completing the puzzle below. The answers to this puzzle are taken from the introduction and the excerpt you just read.

SAQ 2-1

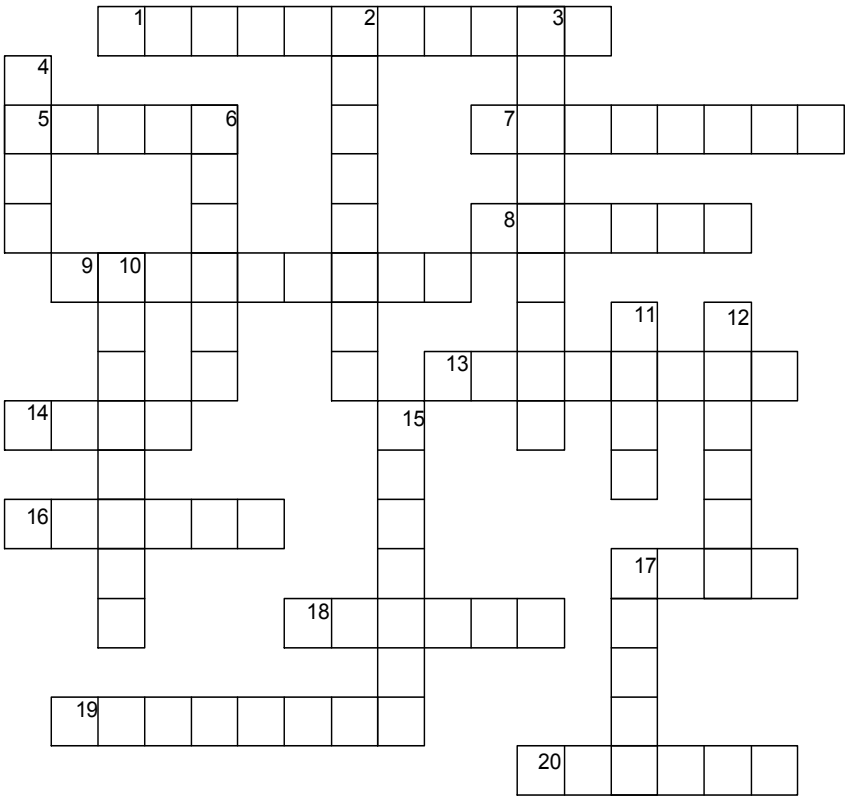
Here is a 21-word crossword puzzle. Using the clues, fill in the crossword and complete it.

ACROSS
1. The best ruler is a _____ king
5. Exists when there is justice in the state
7. Another name for 1-Across
8. Plato advocates the abolition of the _____
9. Plato's most famous student
13. The rulers should not possess private _____
14. The same elements exists in the state and the _____
16. Metal found in the auxiliaries
17. Most important characteristic shared by the state and the ruler
18. Third element of the soul in addition to 6-Down and 19-Across
19. Element that forms the greater part of each man's soul by nature
20. Rulers are passionate about gaining this

SAQ 1-1 cont'd.

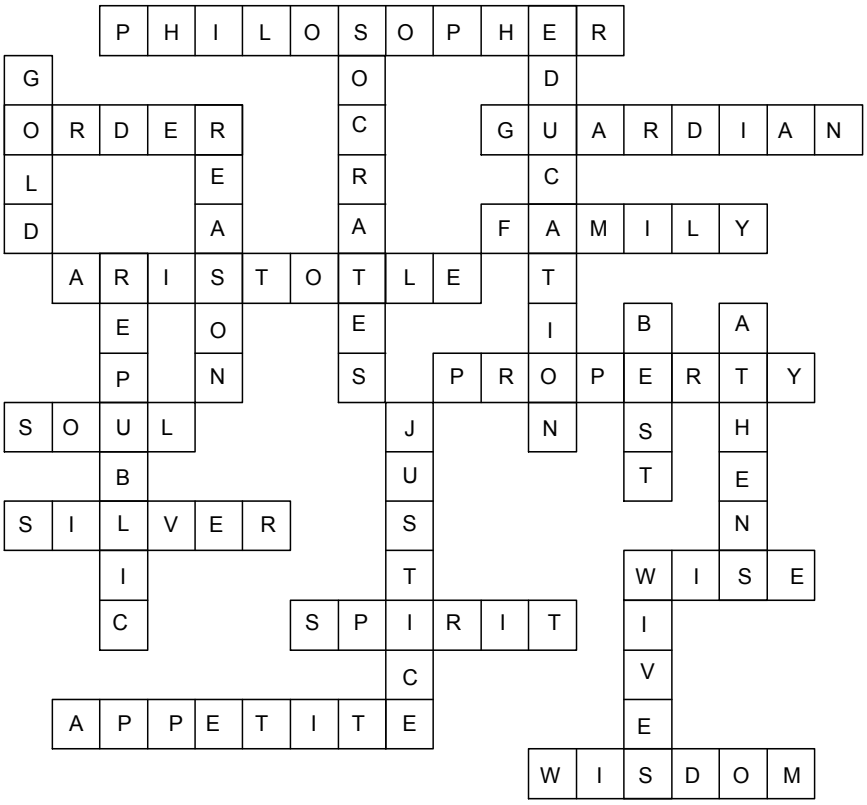
DOWN

2. Plato's teacher
3. The right _____ will prevent the rulers from abusing the citizens
4. Metal found in 1-Across
6. This is the dominant element in the rulers
10. The ideal state
11. Only the _____ can be rulers
12. Plato's birthplace
15. The important concept discussed first in Plato's greatest work
17. _____ and children must be held in common



ASAQ 1-1

How long did it take you to finish the puzzle? Was it easy? Time to find out how you fared and see what your score means. Your complete crossword should look like this.



If you obtained a score of:

18-21 You get a gold medal. Excellent work!
14-17 A silver medal is on its way to you. Good job!
10-13 Your prize is a bronze medal.
0-9 Here's a happy face to cheer you up. ☺! Don't give up. As Plato said, proper education is the way to becoming the best, so just study harder.

Plato on the state

Plato was passionate about his concept of the ideal state. Of course, the state that the Greek philosophers were talking about was the Greek city-state since that was the one they were familiar with. However, Plato went beyond the state as it existed then by putting forward his idea of the republic. What exactly is the republic? Is it like our country, the Republic of the Philippines? Or is it something else? In the following section, we will try to see what Plato meant by the republic.

The nature, origin and end of the state

Have you ever wondered how the first state was formed? How and why do people come together to form a society? Well, that is one of the issues that Plato was concerned with in *Republic.* Through a dialogue involving Socrates, Thrasymachus and Glaucon, among others, Plato explains how societies and states come about. According to Plato, speaking through Socrates, "a state comes into existence because no individual is self-sufficing." Since no man is capable of meeting all his needs, he has to seek the assistance of other men. Once several men have come together, there now exists the state. Wow, that was easy and quick! But life is not that simple.

What needs was Plato talking about? The primary need of man is food which will keep him alive. This is followed by his need for shelter and clothing. All these needs make it necessary to have a farmer, a builder and a weaver in the first state or community. As other needs surface, other men will become part of the community. This community Plato calls the commonwealth. In this commonwealth, given that men have different competencies, each man should do the task for which he is most suited. For instance, if you are better at planting rather than sewing, then you should be a farmer rather than a weaver. In this way, you will be able to perform your task to the best of your ability and so will the other men in the commonwealth.

But wait! Where and how will the farmers, builders and weavers get the materials they need to accomplish their work? This points to the need for more members of the society—in particular, those who will supply the seeds, the wood and cement, and the needles and threads that the farmers, builders and weavers will be using. There will also be a need for merchants who will bring goods from other countries and who will sell the commonwealth's goods to foreign shores. As the commonwealth begins to import and export goods, there will be a need to get more craftsmen

and farmers to produce the goods. Shipowners will also be required to operate the ships that will make trading possible. Is that all? Nope! Since people will now be exchanging goods, there will be need for a market place and a currency or money they can use to buy and sell goods. Shopkeepers and laborers will also be required to run the market place. So, the first state that was originally composed of the farmer, builder and weaver is now a little bit bigger.

What are the implications of the expansion of the first state? The most immediate impact is the need for more territory so that all the new members of the commonwealth can be accommodated. Where exactly will they get the new territory? Why, from the territories of other countries! Of course, if other countries need new territory, they could just as well grab a piece of the commonwealth's territory. This now leads to war. This means that the commonwealth also needs an army to defend the territory and its people. The people who will be engaged in war are called the auxiliaries. Like the farmers, builders and weavers, they should also be most fitted for the role and should receive the proper education and training for the proper performance of their duties. Who will guide the auxiliaries? This is when the rulers or the guardians come into the picture. They are the ones responsible for making sure that the auxiliaries (and other members of the commonwealth) receive the proper education and training and that they perform their rightful tasks. Watching over the education and training of the auxiliaries and future guardians is an important task because this is the means by which the right values can be instilled among these groups of people. In addition, they are the ones who choose the auxiliaries and the future guardians. Tough job, huh! That is why only the best can become rulers. We will discuss the specific characteristics of the rulers in a later section.

Let's pause here for a while and look back at the state that began with only about four members. Now, we have farmers, builders, weavers, shopkeepers, hired laborers, merchants, shipowners, traders and the army. Oh, we should not forget the rulers, of course! At this point, you can see that the original state that resulted from man's need for help to meet his needs has become a larger and more complex society. And while the state that Plato discussed initially is "the product of unconscious growth, the ideal city or the republic is the product of rational direction" (Ebenstein & Ebenstein, 1991:21-22). That is, while the original state is natural, the ideal state evolves from the use of reason and through conscious planning on the part of men. Moreover, the end for which the state exists is "to secure the greatest possible happiness for the community as a whole" and not just the happiness of any one particular class or group of people.

This is Plato's version of how the state is born. On the whole, the state exists because it is necessary for the highest development of man and for the attainment of self-sufficiency. Moreover, it is through the state that men are able to experience the good life (Frost, 1962:182).

Is this the ideal state that Plato is talking about? Is this the republic?

The answer: YES and NO. "Yes" because we have already discussed some of the significant characteristics of Plato's ideal state but also "no" since we have not mentioned other important traits of the republic. The picture is not yet complete. To recall, we mentioned that in the ideal state, each man should perform the task for which he is most suited. In this way, there will be order in the commonwealth. Also, as Plato tells us, the "ideal state is an ordered state in which all fulfilled their functions and worked for the good of the whole" (Curtis, 1981:28). But Plato does not stop there. In the next section, we will discuss the virtues of the state or the traits that characterize the ideal state.

The virtues of the state

Plato's ideal state, or the republic, is one that is wise, brave, temperate and just since it is founded and built along the right lines. The different parts of the state also possess these virtues.

Plato tells us that the parts that make up the state are the elements that compose the state. Can you name these elements? Okay, these elements are reason, spirit and appetite. As we said earlier, these parts correspond to the virtues of the state. How so? Reason makes the state and the individual wise; spirit has to do with the state and the individual being brave; and appetite is linked to the state and the individual's temperance. Plato does not stop here. He tells us further that, to a certain extent, these elements and virtues correspond to the three classes that exist in the state. Which class possesses which virtue? In which class can we find reason? You're right! It is the guardians or the rulers. This class is usually the smallest class in the state. How about spirit? Right again! Since spirit has to do with courage, it is that element found in the warrior class or the auxiliaries. And the third, appetite or temperance, is found in the "whole gamut of the state." Temperance enables the state and the individual to master their appetites and desires. This three-fold ordering of society is an extension of the division of labor that existed in the first city, which was geared to meet man's needs.

This brings us to the next question: What element brings all of these together? How come there is order among reason, spirit and appetite? The answer begins with the letter "J." Do you know what element Plato was talking about? If you said "justice," you are absolutely correct! Bravo! For Plato, justice is the fourth virtue of the state which directs every one to perform the role most suited to his nature. Hence, when the various classes are in their proper places, there is justice and the society can truly be called just.

If we look at it from a different angle, we can say that when the different classes are usurping the functions of others, the result is injustice. In a situation where there is injustice, there is no order among the elements. There is constant tension and strife. Plato likened injustice to a disease in the soul. Only when the elements go back to performing their proper roles will justice be restored. How will this happen? For the answer, we shall turn to the duty of the ruler. One duty of the ruler is to make sure the citizens are doing their work—that is, the work which nature assigned to them. When the ruler is able to do that, the state becomes one well-oiled machine with each part in its proper place and doing its proper function.

Plato's ideal state is one where there is justice, and consequently, order among the different elements. For justice and order to exist, the ideal state must be led by that class ruled by reason or wisdom, the guardian class.

The philosopher-ruler

Let us begin this section with a few words from Plato's *Republic*:

> Unless either philosophers become kings in their countries or those who are now called kings and rulers come to be sufficiently inspired with a genuine desire for wisdom; unless, that is to say, political power and philosophy meet together...there can be no rest from troubles for states, nor yet...for all mankind; nor can this commonwealth which we have imagined ever till then see the light of day and grow to its full stature.

Why is it important for philosophers to be rulers? What characteristics does the philosopher-ruler possess that makes him most fit to rule? Why does Plato prefer the philosopher king to rule? To answer these questions, let us turn to Plato's discussion as to who should rule.

SAQ 1-2

Describe Plato's idea of the philosopher-ruler by identifying at least five characteristics that the ruler should possess. Write down your answers on the space provided below.

1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

Activity 1-1

Our Constitution tells us that there are five qualifications that a potential president must have. These are age (at least 40 years of age), residency (at least 10-year residency in the Philippines), being a registered voter, citizenship (natural-born Filipino), and functional literacy (ability to read and write). Do you possess these qualifications? Once a potential candidate meets these requirements, then he or she is pretty much legally free to launch a presidential campaign. How do these qualifications compare with those put forward by Plato?

Would you like to live under the leadership of a philosopher-ruler as described by Plato? Why or why not?

ASAQ 1-2

Here's the list of traits philosopher-rulers should possess. Check your answers against this and see how many you got. On the whole, Plato tells us that philosopher-rulers:

1. Must be the best there is.
2. Must possess the right sort of intelligence and ability.
3. Must be naturally fitted to watch over a commonwealth.
4. Must be passionate about gaining wisdom or knowledge. Of the different elements, it is wisdom or reason that is dominant in the rulers. Moreover, philosopher-rulers are passionate about seeking the truth.
5. Must be temperate and free from the love of money, meanness, pretentiousness and cowardice. He is also fair-minded, gentle and sociable.
6. Must be quick to learn and remember, magnanimous and gracious. Philosopher-rulers should support truth, justice, courage and temperance.
7. Must zealously do everything possible for the good of the commonwealth.
8. Must not possess any private property. If they should come to own land or other resources, they have to give up their rulership. Their homes must be open to the citizens.
9. Must not desire gold or silver because the divine counterparts of these metals already exist in their souls.

If you were able to list five virtues of the philosopher-ruler, well done! You deserve a big round of applause! If you got four, good work! A score of 1-3 is not that bad, but surely you can do better next time. For those who were able to identify more than those listed here, you did excellent work! Perhaps you can share your insights with us during the study sessions, okay?

Now can you think of anybody, living or dead, who meets these characteristics? Is it possible for one person to possess all these virtues?

So, were you able to come up with the name of a person who fits Plato's description of the philosopher-ruler? Pretty difficult, huh? Do not despair for even during Plato's time, they found it hard to find a man or a group of men who met these criteria. (Note that Plato was not so concerned with how many people actually ruled. His idea of the philosopher-ruler may have meant one or a few rulers. However, he was certainly not in favor of the majority ruling the commonwealth because according to him, the majority of people are controlled or dominated by their pleasures and desires. Even Plato admitted that the task is "difficult ... but not impossible." Some scholars believe that the republic is unattainable—not now, not ever. What do you think? Do you think the ideal society led by a philosopher-ruler can ever become a reality? Why?

Aside from the difficulty of finding a philosopher-ruler, there are other obstacles along the road towards the ideal state. The first obstacle concerns the dangers faced by a born philosopher. Plato says that once a born philosopher is singled out, even in his childhood, he should already be given the proper education and training worthy of a future guardian. Without the proper education and training, or the right upbringing, the talents and virtues of the born philosopher may go to waste. There is the danger that without the right guidance, those who possess the traits of a philosopher-ruler will be led astray. Who will lose in this case? It will be the people for they will be deprived of a philosopher-ruler and the ideal state will never come to be.

A second obstacle has to do with the view that the philosopher-ruler is useless to the public. Plato responds to this criticism by saying that while this may be true, the blame should be the people's and not the philosopher's. You see, the uselessness arises not from the virtues of the philosopher or the reluctance of the philosopher to rule; it results from the refusal of the people to recognize philosophers as rulers of the highest caliber. So in the end, it is the people who are to blame for the perceived uselessness of philosopher-rulers.

What conclusion can we draw from all these? Again, let us turn to Plato for the final words on this subject matter:

> There never will be a perfect state or constitution, nor yet a perfect man, until some happy circumstance compels these few philosophers who have escaped corruption but are now called useless, to take charge, whether they like it or not, of a state which will submit to their authority; or else until kings and rulers or their sons are divinely inspired with a genuine passion for true philosophy.

Well, that says it all, don't you think? The bottom line is that only with the leadership of the philosopher-ruler can Plato's ideal state become a reality. Only then can the good of the whole community be attained.

Other Thoughts in *Republic*

In Plato's discussion of the ideal state, he talks of two very important issues that have to do with the characteristics of the republic. These two are the role of women in the commonwealth and the need to abolish the family.

Equality of women

For the feminists among you, Plato's views on women and their place in the commonwealth can be cause for celebration. For somebody who lived at a time when only men were considered citizens, Plato was quite a progressive thinker. Or was he? On the plus side, Plato was open to the idea of men and women training and studying together—as long as both possess the qualifications necessary for a certain occupation. Since women are "expected to take their full share" in the commonwealth, then they should also be taught the same things and receive the same treatment as men.

According to Plato, "it follows that some women will be fit by nature to be a guardian, while others will not, depending on whether they possess the qualities for which men guardians are selected." Men and women who are destined for guardianship should possess the same qualities. Their natures should be the same, *except that women are weaker,* Plato adds. That's the negative side to Plato's views on women. In this case, the oft-quoted adage that some are simply more equal than others apparently holds true.

Abolition of the family

Remember what we discussed earlier about philosopher-rulers and private property? What did Plato say regarding this issue? If you recall, Plato said that philosopher-rulers should not own private property. What possible reason can Plato have for saying this? Plato says that philosopher-rulers should have no conceptions of "mine" and "yours" because they

should be concerned with the promotion and protection of the common good. The happiness of the entire community is their objective, not their own personal happiness. Owning private property will create a distinction between what is personal and what is communal. To avoid this and to keep the philosopher-rulers from getting distracted from their original objective, they can either give up their private property (except for the barest necessities) or they can give up their guardianship and attend to their private property.

Following this line of thinking, families are to be abolished and wives and children are to be held in common so that the labels "mine" and "yours" will no longer hold true. As a result of the abolition of the family, no parent will know his or her child, and no child will know his or her parent. The abolition of the family is important, according to Plato, because, if this is not done, there will be disunion and disorder in the state. The ideal state is one where the guardian treats everyone as family and the guardian is treated by everyone as his father. This will make the commonwealth like a single body or one big happy family.

What is the role of the guardian in this matter? Well, not only does the philosopher-ruler need to make sure that wives and children are held in common, they are also responsible for pairing the best women with the best men (e.g., the guardian and the auxiliaries) in order to produce the best children. The guardians will then identify the best among the offspring and ensure that these children get the proper education and training. In all of these activities, only the guardians must know how selection is done. Pretty big responsibilities, right? That is why it is important to remember that only the best can become guardians for only they can measure up to the tasks that Plato assigned to them.

Summary

What you learned about Plato and his ideas in this module is a small but substantial fraction of this great philosopher's works. Of course, since we are interested in Plato's political philosophy, we focused our attention on his most important political work, *Republic.* In this volume, he speaks to us about his ideal society—a society that is ordered, just, wise, courageous and temperate; a society that is geared towards the good of the entire community and not just one class; a society that is ruled by the philosopher-ruler. Is this an attainable society? Unfortunately, that is a question that is difficult to answer. Plato admits that although it is difficult to attain the ideal society, it is not impossible. However, some scholars say that Plato's republic is a utopia, something that remains in the realm of ideas. Others disagree with this and argue that while the republic is ideal, it is realizable. What do you think?

Module 2
Aristotle

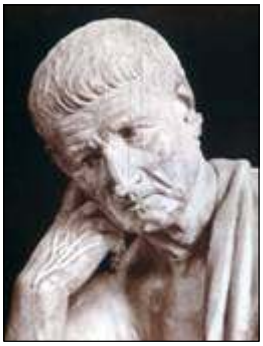
The second stop in our journey is Stagira in Macedonia. This is Aristotle's birthplace. Here we will examine Aristotle's *Politics*. In this work, Aristotle shares with us his version of how the state evolves. He also talks about the different types of constitutions and which among the six types he identifies is the best. Like Plato, Aristotle's approach to the study of politics is very rational. But unlike Plato who was concerned with the ideal and was theoretical with his analysis, Aristotle used practical experience and observations as his guide. Thus, his approach to politics (and other subject matter) can be characterized as empirical. Having said that, let us now continue our visit to the world of Ancient Greece. Let's go!

Objectives

After studying this module, you should be able to:

1. Examine Aristotle's contributions to the field of political philosophy;
2. Explain Aristotle's typology of constitutions and his idea of the best constitution or government; and
3. Apply Aristotle's relevant ideas to contemporary issues.

Aristotle's Life



Source: Microsoft Encarta 2000

Aristotle is known to many as Plato's most famous student. However, unlike Plato, Aristotle was not born in Athens. He was born in Stagira, Macedonia, in 384 B.C. Since his father was a Royal Court physician, it was inevitable for Aristotle to find himself associating with the nobility (of Macedonia, in particular) in one way or another. Later on in his life, he served as the tutor of a teenager who came to be known as Alexander the Great.

As we said earlier, Aristotle studied under Plato. All in all, he spent as much as 20 years at the Academy, first as a student and later on as a teacher. Around 335 B.C., Aristotle left the Academy and established his own school—the Lyceum—in Athens. Aristotle taught at the Lyceum until just before his death in 322 B.C. Prior to this year, Aristotle was forced to flee Athens due to charges of impiety from the anti-Macedonian leadership. Aristotle died in their family estate in Euboea.

Aristotle was a man of many interests which included politics (of course!), biology, physics, psychology, philosophy, logic and ethics. He may have inherited his love for the natural sciences from his father. He produced quite a number of works during his lifetime, including *Metaphysics, Nicomachean Ethics, Rhetoric, Poetics* and *Politics.* Very simple titles, right? But what about the content or substance of these works? Well, we will not keep you in suspense any further. Let us see whether Aristotle's ideas are as simple as the titles of his works are. It is time to grab your book of readings. This time you will be reading an excerpt from Aristotle's *Politics*, one of his great works. Unfortunately, it is incomplete as portions of it have been lost. Have fun reading!

The Major Ideas of Aristotle

So, did you like Aristotle's work or was it a difficult read? How does it compare with the excerpt from Plato in the previous section? Did you notice the continuity in their ideas—and their differences? In his political works, Aristotle was concerned with the origin of the state, the best system of government and the concept of a good citizen. But unlike Plato who concentrated on the ideal as embodied in the republic or the ideal state, Aristotle was more empirical in his approach. His observations of the world around him were the sources of his propositions. But, like Plato, Aristotle was very rational in his analysis. Before we examine Aristotle's ideas as embodied in the *Politics,* let's do something fun!

SAQ 2-1

Let's catch stars! What we have below are two groups of words or ideas that we encountered in Aristotle's work. The first group is composed of the definitions of the words while the second group consists of the ideas themselves. Your task is to fish for stars! How exactly do you do that? Very simple. Draw a line between a definition found in the first group (that will be your hook) and the word that is being defined which you will find in the second group (that will be the star). The first item has been done for you as a guide. What are you waiting for? Go for the stars!

Aristotle's most important and famous political work	★ The lyceum
The most perfect political association	★ The lyceum
The end of the state	★ Polity
Those who participate in the administration of state affairs	★ Politics
The most ideal constitution	★ Self-sufficiency
The constitution under which the poor rule for the poor's interests	★ Polis
Those who are most ready to listen to reason	★ Kingship
The most practicable constitution	★ Plato
Aristotle's teacher	★ Household/family
School set up by aristotle	★ Middle class
Primary natural association	★ Democracy

ASAQ 2-1

How many stars were you able to catch? Check your answers.

1. The most perfect political association: polis
2. The end of the state: self-sufficiency
3. Those who participate in the administration of state affairs: citizens
4. The most ideal constitution: kingship
5. The constitution under which the poor rule for the poor's interests: democracy
6. Those who are most ready to listen to reason: middle class
7. The most practicable constitution: polity
8. Aristotle's teacher: plato
9. School set up by aristotle: the lyceum
10. Primary natural association: household/family

Got all 10? That's excellent! Keep up the good work. Missed 1 or 2 items? Still good work. Congratulations! Got more than 3 items wrong? No cause for worry. We will discuss these items again so there's an opportunity for you to go back to the items that you missed, okay?

The nature and origin of the state

Like Plato, Aristotle was concerned with the state. And again like Plato, Aristotle saw the state as a natural association. In what sense is the state natural? Let us try to recall Aristotle's explanation. The state or *polis* is composed of villages which, in turn, are composed of households. Villages and households are associations that are based on relations between elements that are naturally ruling and naturally ruled. What are these relations? These can be relationships between master and slave, husband and wife, and parent and child. Do you know how Aristotle concluded that these relations are natural? How else but by observing things in nature. You see, Aristotle was very much into biology. In his study of organisms, insects and animals, he noticed that there are elements that simply cannot exist without one another. Consequently, they get together so that each will be able to meet their respective needs.

It is the same case with the *polis*, the final and perfect association or community. The *polis* is, natural because it is based on relations that exist by nature. These relations are natural because they are formed by elements which need each other to survive. They cannot exist without each other, that is, the master cannot exist without the slave, the husband without the wife, the parent without the child, and the ruler without the ruled. The reverse also holds true, of course. Shades of Plato's thinking, right?

If we look at it starting with the household, we see that the household is natural because it is based on natural relations between husband and wife, parent and child and master and slave. (During Aristotle's time, the master-slave relationship was considered natural. Times have since changed.) Several households make up the villages which, again, are natural as they are founded on households which exist by nature. Now, since the household and the village are natural associations and they make up the state, the state is also a natural association. Does that make sense to you? Aristotle's approach has come to be known as the organic view of the state—a view which sees the state as something like an organism that grows and develops to its fullest capacity.

What brings all these elements together? According to Aristotle, households join together to create villages, and villages come together to create the *polis,* in order to attain self-sufficiency. And given that man cannot meet all his needs on his own, he is driven by nature to join other men in the *polis*. This means that man is destined to live in the most perfect of all associations. This is related to Aristotle's view that by nature, man is a political and social being. In fact, Aristotle tells us that the one who does not live in the *polis* is either a beast or a god. This is because a beast cannot share the benefits provided by the political association. On the other hand, a god does not need the *polis* because he is already self-sufficient. Neither a beast nor a god, man needs the *polis* to meet his needs and benefit from the self-sufficiency of the state. Aristotle tells us that only when self-sufficiency is attained can the good life be experienced by man. Therefore, the end of the *polis* is the attainment of a "perfect and self-sufficing existence."

Now that we know what the state is all about, let us turn our attention to those individuals who make up the state—the citizens.

Citizenship

Are you a Filipino citizen? What characteristics or traits do you possess that make you a citizen of the Philippines? Under the 1987 Constitution, citizenship is based on blood relations. In general, a person born to Filipino parents is considered a Filipino. One can also be a Filipino citizen through the process of naturalization, but that is another story. In other countries, like the United States, citizenship is based on being born in their territory or by being naturalized as citizen. Is this how Aristotle defined the concept of citizenship? If you answered "no," that is right! Who then is a citizen for Aristotle?

Who is a citizen?

Citizenship in the world of Ancient Greece was based on participation in the administration of the affairs of the *polis*. In the words of Aristotle, "he who enjoys the right of sharing in deliberative or judicial office attains thereby the status of a citizen of his state." In this case, therefore, citizenship is not based on residence or blood relations. If these people were considered citizens, who were the non-citizens? The non-citizens would be all those who did not participate in state affairs, including women, slaves, youth, the elderly and foreigners or aliens. In short, Greek citizens were all men! But not all men were citizens, okay? There were also male slaves in Ancient Greece. Now, before you react violently to Aristotle's definition of citizenship, do consider that he lived in an era when women's suffrage was unheard of, when slavery was seen as a natural association and when democracy was seen as a perverted type of constitution. Having defined citizenship, let us now examine Aristotle's concept of the good citizen and the good man.

The good man and the good citizen

Earlier we said that to the Greeks, only those who participated in the administration of justice or who held office were considered citizens. Aristotle explains that different constitutions pertain to different types of citizens. Consequently, the excellence of the citizen is relative to the excellence of the constitution. If there are changes in the constitution, there are also relative changes in the citizens. What this means is that there is no

absolute excellence applicable to all citizens. And since there are different types of states, being a good citizen in an aristocratic state will be different from being a good citizen in a polity, right? Also, because the state is composed of different and unlike elements, the excellence to be found among the citizens also varies. For example, a different kind of excellence can be found in the choir conductor and in the singer or in the teacher and his students. However, when it comes to the excellence of a good man, Aristotle points out that there is a single absolute excellence to be found in him.

The excellence of good citizens consists of two things: (1) knowing how to rule and (2) knowing how to be ruled or to obey. We know that the ruler and the ruled possess different sorts of knowledge. Aristotle tells us that the good citizen should have both knowledge and must share in both ruling and obeying. As for the excellence of the good man, this lies in the order of ruling. The implication here is that the excellence of the good citizen and that of the good man cannot be identical except in one single instance. Can you guess what this is? That is correct! This can happen only in the case of the ruler—he who is both an excellent citizen and an excellent man!

On constitutions

What is a constitution? Many of us define constitution as the supreme or highest law of the land. But that definition does not really bring us far in terms of understanding the concept, right? In political science, a constitution is defined as "a set of rules, written and unwritten, that seek to establish the duties, powers, and functions of the various institutions of government, regulate the relationships between them, and define the relationship between the state and the individual" (Heywood, 1997:274). How does this definition compare with that of Aristotle? In some respects, Aristotle's definition does not differ much from the one given here. Recall that a constitution, for Aristotle, is the means by which the *polis* is to be organized. The constitution, therefore, tells us about the organization of the civic body and the offices in the *polis*.

Before we go on, let's have a short mind game.

SAQ 2-2

Below is a table representing Aristotle's typology of constitutions. Fill in the blanks by naming the different constitutions being described. Use the clues as your guide.

Types of Constitutions According to Aristotle

No. of Rulers	*Right Constitution*	*Perverted Constitution*
Rule of One	R-1 _____	P-1 _____
Rule of the Few	R-2 _____	P-2 _____
Rule of the Many	R-3 _____	P-3 _____

Clues:

- R-1 is a constitution based on the rule of one who possesses the virtue of reason or intellect.
- R-2 is a constitution based on the rule of the few who possess the virtue of reason or intellect.
- R-3 is a constitution based on the rule of the many who possess the virtue of reason or intellect.
- P-1 is a constitution based on the rule exercised for the benefit of the ruler.
- P-2 is a constitution based on the rule exercised by the few for the benefit of the wealthy.
- P-3 is a constitution based on the rule exercised by the many for the benefit of the poor.

Aristotle's classification of constitutions

ASAQ 2-2

The table you just filled should contain the items below.

Types of Constitutions According to Aristotle

No. of Rulers	*Right Constitution*	*Perverted Constitution*
Rule of One	Kingship	Tyranny
Rule of the Few	Aristocracy	Oligarchy
Rule of the Many	Polity	Democracy

Did you get all six? If you did, good for you. That means you were able to understand Aristotle's classification. If you forgot some of the answers, that's okay. Just go back to the item you did not get and try to see why you were not able to get the right answer.

In Aristotle's study of the different types of constitutions, we can see why he is referred to by some as the father of comparative politics. His classification is based on his study of 158 constitutions of various Greek city-states. Aristotle notes that during his time, most of the constitutions that existed were either democracies or oligarchies, both of which he considered as perverted types of constitutions. What makes a constitution right and what makes it a perversion? Constitutions are right in the sense that they are geared to promote the common good and the welfare of the entire community. Conversely, constitutions are perverted when they protect only the interests of the rulers. One can also think of right constitutions as being beneficial to the members of the community while perverted constitutions are those that abuse power. But Aristotle goes beyond discussing and describing the different types of constitutions. He goes on to tell us what, for him, is the best one.

The most practicable constitution

And the winner is: POLITY! Before we explain Aristotle's choice, let us first try to clarify what Aristotle meant by practicable. By using this term, is he referring to the best constitution? We can answer that with both a "yes" and a "no." Have I confused you? I hope not. One can answer "yes" if by "best" we mean it is the best possible constitution given the existing circumstances in a particular society. On the other hand, one can answer "no" if by "best" we mean it is the most ideal constitution in the abstract sense. Therefore, we can talk of an ideal best and a practical best in this context. Of course, the ideal is always preferable to other alternatives. However, because the ideal is usually difficult to achieve or even unattainable, we should also consider what is possible given what we have.

Once we apply this distinction to Aristotle's study of constitutions, we can now see that Aristotle points to the constitution based on the rule exercised by the virtuous—those who possess superior intellect or reason—as the best one. Kingship, for Aristotle, is the best type of constitution because of the superior virtue and political capacity of the king or monarchy. The important distinguishing element here is the superior trait that the ruler possesses. An aristocracy is almost the same as a monarchy in the sense that the rulers possess superior virtue and political capacity. It is different in that the rulers are more than one individual. Thus, the difference between monarchy and aristocracy lies in the number of rulers and not in the traits of the rulers.

Sadly, it is very difficult to find one man or a few men who possess qualities that are above average. Therefore, Aristotle believes that the most practicable constitution, given the realities of the world, is the polity. What is a polity? This is also known as constitutional government or the state administered by the citizens at large for the common interest and which is based on limited suffrage. It is a system that seeks to achieve a balance between the freedom of the poor (which we see in democracy, in particular) and the wealth of the rich (Ebenstein & Ebenstein, 1991:86-87). Polity is preferred by Aristotle not only because it balances wealth and numbers but also because it is based on the principles of stability and practicability. We should emphasize, however, that the polity is the most *practicable* constitution, not the most *ideal.* Aristotle insists that kingship, or even aristocracy, is better than a polity in an ideal world. Do you agree with him?

The polity which Aristotle prefers is an example of a mixed constitution—mixed in the sense that it combines the elements of wealth and numbers, and stability and practicability. The mixed constitution is one where the many, who possess virtue, rule. The many that Aristotle is

talking about here is not the poor who comprise the majority in a democracy; rather, he is referring to the middle class. What? Now how did the middle class get into the picture? Do you recall Aristotle saying that there are three classes or parts that compose the state? Yes? Well, these three are the very rich, the very poor and the middle class. Aristotle has problems with the very rich—they have the tendency to be violent and to get involved in serious crimes. Moreover, because the rich are used to wealth and power, they do not know how to obey. Aristotle also finds weaknesses in the very poor—they are involved in petty offenses and resort to roguery. They are also characterized as being mean and poor-spirited. In contrast to the very rich who do not know how to obey, the very poor know only how to obey. They are ignorant about the business of ruling. What then does Aristotle conclude from all these?

The middle ground rules! If there are problems with the two extremes—the very rich and the very poor—then the best system must be one where we can find the middle class ruling. In the words of Aristotle, "the best form of political society is one where power is vested in the middle class." Why is this so? Aristotle's preference for the mean or the middle condition can be traced to his belief that in the mean one finds the best and most attainable way of life. As for the middle class which is the symbol of the middle condition in society, Aristotle says that this is the class composed of men who are most inclined to make use of and are most open to reason. Aside from this, they are also the most secure with themselves because they do not want anything and they neither possess property nor other resources that people may want or covet. The middle class is also the class which is free from dissension. In the final analysis, a society led by the very poor or the very rich will tend to be a poorly governed society because of the problems that are inherent in these classes. However, that which is led by the middle class, a large middle class at that, is the best kind of society. Do you agree or disagree with Aristotle? Why?

At this point, you might be wondering why Aristotle considers democracy to be a perverted constitution? You might also ask yourself why these days, almost every government that exists calls itself democratic when in the olden days, democracy was seen in a negative light? It all boils down to how "democracy" was defined by Aristotle and how we define it today. For Aristotle, democracy is perverted because it is the rule of the poor for the poor. Contrast this to his definition of polity, which is the rule by the masses for the common interest. Nowadays, democracy is usually associated with things such as conduct of elections, protection of human rights, promotion of people's participation in governance, practice of press freedom, respect for individual liberties, and so on. So, do not confuse Aristotle's concept of democracy with today's definition of democracy, okay?

Summary

Aristotle, like Plato, viewed the state as a natural entity. It exists to achieve self-sufficiency. The most perfect political association —that which is already self-sufficient—is known as the *polis*. Being naturally sociable and political, men are destined to become part of the *polis*. It is here where they are able to meet their needs.

However, not all types of political associations are good. Aristotle says that there are right and perverted forms of political associations or constitutions. They are right if they promote the common good, and perverted or wrong if they protect the interests of the rulers alone. Of the right forms, Aristotle sees the polity as the most practicable while kingship or aristocracy is the most ideal. The polity is the most attainable system and it is where we find a large middle class ruling for the benefit of the entire community.

This brings to a close our visit to Ancient Greece. So, did you learn anything new from the Greek philosophers? Do you think their ideas still make sense at this point in time? Which ideas do you think are still relevant today?

Well, if at this point in our journey, you feel you need to take a break to digest what you have learned so far, please feel free to do so. You have done good work. But our work has just begun. There are many more visits to be made. Once you think you are ready to continue, then proceed to the next module. There we will be visiting the world of the Christian thinkers —a world that is quite different though just as exciting as Ancient Greece.

Module 3
St. Augustine

We are now on our third stop in this journey through the minds of the great European thinkers. How are you doing so far? I hope you are just warming up. This time, we shall shift from the rationality of the Greeks to the otherworldliness of the Christian thinkers. We are travelling from the time of Ancient Greek philosophers to the milieu of the Medieval thinkers. What exactly is the medieval period? Historians say that this era, also known as the Middle Ages, lasted from around 350 to 1450 A.D. During the early part of the Middle Ages, the Roman empire saw the collapse of part of its dominion into smaller kingdoms. On the other hand, modern European states took shape towards the end of the Medieval Age. In the same way that many modern states trace their beginnings to the Middle Ages, modern institutions like universities and representative government bodies also took form during that period.

The collapse of the Roman empire was followed by the rise of Christianity. It is estimated that some 80 years after the acceptance of Christianity in Rome around 300 A.D., Christianity was declared the official religion of the Roman empire. The values espoused by this religion contradicted the Roman way of life which was founded on emperor-worship and worldliness. Faith in God, salvation, love for God, and belief in life beyond this world characterized Christianity (Ebenstein & Ebenstein, 2000: 4-5). These were the values on which St. Augustine and St. Thomas Aquinas, whom we will meet a little

Objectives

After studying this module, you should be able to:

1. Identify the major ideas of St. Augustine, particularly those on the differences between the city of God and the city of man;
2. Explain the relationship of St. Augustine's work to the field of politics; and
3. Illustrate the relevance of St. Augustine's ideas to contemporary issues.

later, based their works and ideas. Although their basic premises are very different from those of the Greek thinkers, you will notice that Plato and Aristotle exerted influence on the ideas and works of both St. Augustine and St. Thomas Aquinas. Let us begin our visit with St. Augustine.

Who is St. Augustine?

The date: 13 November 354 A.D.
The place: Thagaste (now Souk-Ahras, Algeria)
The event: Augustine's birth to Patricius and Monica

Source: Microsoft Encarta 2000

Augustine's father was a pagan who did not convert to Christianity until his later years, while his mother was a devout Catholic who was responsible for Augustine's early Christian education (she became St. Monica). One story goes that Augustine's conversion to Christianity was something that his mother prayed hard for. St. Augustine's formal training began with his studies of Latin grammar and arithmetic in Thagaste and continued with his studies of Roman prose, poetry and philosophy, among others. After his studies, St. Augustine taught rhetoric in Milan.

Augustine did not always lead a saintly life. In fact, part of his adolescent years were spent living a life that went against Christian values and morals. It was not until he was 32 years of age that he was converted to Christianity. However, once he was converted and baptized, his climb up the Church's ladder was pretty smooth. In 395 A.D., he became Bishop of Hippo, in Algeria. It was during the period 413-427 A.D. that St. Augustine wrote *The City of God*, a work consisting of 22 books. This volume is only one of around 230 works that he wrote during his lifetime. St. Augustine died in Algeria in 430 A.D.

Now read the excerpt from *The City of God* in your reader.

The Major Ideas of St. Augustine

St. Augustine wrote *The City of God* to defend Christianity from its critics. You see, the pagans were blaming Christianity for the fall of the Roman empire. This is because the collapse of the empire and the triumph of Christianity happened, coincidentally, within a span of a few decades of each other. And from the point of view of the pagans, the practice of monotheism and the otherworldly principles of Christianity weakened and caused the eventual decline of the Roman empire. With the collapse of the empire, there was a reversal of roles: the Christians, who were ostracized and punished under the rule of Roman emperors, were now increasing in numbers and becoming more dominant; the pagans had now become the underdogs. St. Augustine thought it his duty to defend Christianity from the attacks of the pagans. Through *The City of God*, St. Augustine hoped to accomplish this goal.

We can see that St. Augustine's objective in writing his work was not political. Unlike Plato and Aristotle who were concerned with the best form of government and the best rulers, St. Augustine gave emphasis to love of God, righteousness, justice, faith and salvation. Thus, any political argument taken from his works may be said to be the result of scholarly interpretation rather than any straightforward political intent on the part of St. Augustine. But before we explore St. Augustine's ideas, here's something for you to do.

SAQ 3-1

Here's a 10-item multiple choice quiz. Encircle the letter that corresponds to the best/correct answer.

1. St. Augustine wrote *The City of God* because:
   a. He had nothing else better to do.
   b. He wanted to defend Christianity from pagan criticisms.
   c. He was commissioned by the Church.

2. In *The City of God,* St. Augustine talks of two cities, namely:
   a. City of Stars and City of Smiles
   b. City of Cain and City of Abel
   c. City of Man and City of God

3. The state, according to St. Augustine, exists in order to maintain:
   a. Power
   b. Peace
   c. Prosperity

SAQ 3-1 cont'd.

4. The heavenly city can only be realized:
   a. After the end of time or the Last Judgment
   b. In our dreams
   c. In Jerusalem

5. The earthly city is based on love for:
   a. Mother Earth
   b. The Self
   c. Material Goods

6. The right relation between man and God is embodied in the concept of:
   a. Justice
   b. Love
   c. Peace

7. When man lives according to man and not according to God, he acts like:
   a. The devil
   b. A beast
   c. An animal

8. St. Augustine tells us that the first two parents of the human race were:
   a. Malakas and Maganda
   b. Adam and Eve
   c. Cain and Abel

9. If the earthly city is predestined to eternal punishment, the heavenly city is predestined to:
   a. Reign eternally with God
   b. Never be realized
   c. Endless joy with the angels

10. St. Augustine argues that the Church should dominate the state. This statement is:
    a. True
    b. False
    c. I don't know

It probably took you just a few minutes to go through this exercise. To find out how well you performed, turn to the next page and check your answers against the answer key.

ASAQ 3-1

Check your answers using the answer key below.

1. B. St. Augustine wrote *The City of God* because he wanted to defend Christianity from pagan criticisms.

2. C. In *The City of God*, St. Augustine talks of two cities, namely, City of God and City of Man.

3. B. The state, according to St. Augustine, exists to maintain peace.

4. A. The heavenly city can only be realized after the end of time or the Last Judgment.

5. B. The earthly city is based on love for the self.

6. A. The right relations between God and man is embodied in the concept of justice.

7. A. When man lives according to man and not according to God, he acts like the devil.

8. C. St. Augustine tells us that the first two parents of the human race were Cain and Abel.

9. A. If the earthly city is predestined to eternal punishment, the heavenly city is predestined to reign eternally with God.

10. B. False.

How well did you do?

If you got a score of 10 points, then you get ☆☆☆☆☆!
A score of 7-9 will get you ☆☆☆!
Anything lower than 7 will only merit one ☆. But there are many more stars to be given away so do better next time, okay?

The origin of the state

In the works of Plato and Aristotle, we saw that the state exists to meet the needs of man. Attaining self-sufficiency or the good life is the end of the state. From the point of view of the Christian thinkers, this analysis is not enough. Why? The simple answer is because the good life as defined by the Greek philosophers does not coincide with the otherworldly approach of the Christian thinkers. The former emphazes meeting the material needs of man while the latter focused on the higher end of taking care of man's spiritual and religious needs.

For St. Augustine, peace and justice are the ends of the state. Why does the state exist? The answer is two-fold: (1) to secure and maintain peace and (2) to expand God's kingdom on earth by converting people to Christianity. The peace that the state strives for is not the ultimate end. It is just a means to eternal peace with God, which is the ultimate end of the state. In the same way, enlarging God's kingdom on earth is a way to get more and more people to believe in Jesus Christ and adopt the Christian way of life.

Another reason for the state's existence is man's social nature or the natural social condition of humanity—a view that St. Augustine shares with both Plato and Aristotle. According to St. Augustine, because man is a social being:

> ... we find that kings must exist and they ought to serve God as kings ... The doctrine of Christ is the salvation of every commonwealth rather than being incompatible with the well-being of the state. Some form of state is needed, and even the worst tyranny has some justification (Coleman, 1995:52)

Here, we find the explanation that the state exists to provide some order in society. This order is reflected in the right relations between God and man and among men—relations which are embodied in the concept of justice. We will discuss justice more extensively in a little while. For now, we need to discuss the implications of St. Augustine's view.

One of the criticisms against early Christian thinking is that it tends to promote pacifism or quietism. In what way? Go back to the quotation above—"even the worst tyranny has some justification." This remark implies that it does not matter whether the government is good or bad, just or unjust; citizens are still expected to obey the government. Tyranny is not enough reason to revolt against a government. In fact, for St. Augustine, there is no reason whatsoever for the people to resist their leaders

and governments. This is because government is given to the people by God. A good government is God's reward for the people. On the other hand, an evil government is interpreted as some form of divine punishment for the people. Moreover, since the state seeks temporal peace, it does perform some good in this world—and that justifies its existence.

The two cities

The central idea in St. Augustine's *The City of God* is the distinction between the heavenly city or the city of God and the earthly city or the city of man. He tells us that in this world, the main conflict is not between the church and the state but between these two cities. How did St. Augustine characterize each city? What are the general traits of the heavenly and earthly cities? St. Augustine tells us that the city of God is founded on godliness, righteousness, justice and other values. On the other hand, the city of man is based on worldly values and characterized by vice, vanity and sin. If the city of God is formed by the saintly who are elected by virtue of predestination, then the city of man is composed of all those who have sinned and are evil. The table below summarizes the key characteristics of the heavenly city and the earthly city.

The Two Cities of St. Augustine

The City of God	The City of Man
• Based on love of God, even to the contempt of self	• Based on love of self, even to the contempt of God
• The greatest glory is found in and with God	• Seeks glory from men
• God is the source of its strength	• Delights in its own strength as represented in the persons of its rulers
• Consists of those who live according to God	• Consists of those who live according to man
• Predestined to reign eternally with God	• Predestined to suffer eternal punishment with the devil
• Its princes and subjects serve one another in love	• Its princes and nations are ruled by the love of ruling
• Its end is eternal life in peace or peace in eternal life	• Its end is earthly peace

Activity 3-1

In the space below, discuss as concisely as possible your views regarding the two cities. What do you think do the city of man and the city of God represent? How do you understand St. Augustine's discussion of the two cities? Feel free to write your ideas. There are no right or wrong answers here.

1. For me, the city of man represents:

2. For me, the city of God stands for:

Comments on Activity 3-1

As I said, do not let this particular exercise cause you too much worry. There are no right or wrongs answers here. Our purpose is to see whether you and St. Augustine agree on the meaning of the two cities. What follows is a short commentary on St. Augustine's view. Try to compare what you wrote above with St. Augustine's own ideas. See how similar or different your interpretations are.

For St. Augustine, the city of man is comprised of those who are sinful, impious and worldly. Meanwhile, the city of God includes the saintly elect, the angel and the godly, among others. The saintly elect is composed of those who are predestined to join the heavenly city. St. Augustine also tells us that the two cities are "entangled together in this world and intermixed until the last judgment effect their separation." This implies that there is a part of the heavenly city that sojourns on earth and a part that will be realized only when the end of time comes. Abel of the Book of Genesis represents the heavenly city that sojourns on earth. Cain represents the earthly city. Are you familiar with the story of Cain and Abel?

St. Augustine cautions us not to think of the earthly city as purely evil. Although it is composed of the sinful, it does have a redeeming value: "it desires earthly peace for the sake of enjoying earthly goods, and it makes war in order to attain ... this peace." The earthly city might not live by faith in God, but it seeks to attain harmony between civic obedience and rule.

What about that part of the heavenly city which is a pilgrim on earth? The objective of this city, explains St. Augustine, is to gather the citizens of the world into one society of pilgrims. During its pilgrimage, the heavenly city on earth is said to possess peace by faith, the very faith which allows it to live righteously. It should be noted that the heavenly city on earth takes part in the earthly peace only because it has to if it is to achieve its goal of calling people into God's kingdom. Only when the heavenly city on earth surpasses its mortal state, which will happen only at the end of time, can the city of God be realized.

For St. Augustine then, the city of God is the ideal state or the only true state. But it is a state that will come to being only after the Last Judgment. For this reason, it has been said that the city of God represents the Invisible Church even as it also represents the Visible Church. The city of man is said to stand for the State.

Why are there varying interpretations of St. Augustine's work? A good explanation is that:

> ... St. Augustine nowhere clearly defines the Church; in one place he calls it the Invisible Church of God's elect, and in another, the Visible Church, made up of true believers and of those whose Christianity is little more than formal membership in the Church... [St. Augustine] failed to distinguish sharply the Visible from the Invisible Church... Just as the heavenly city symbolically represents, but is not identical with, the Church, so the earthly city is symbolically reflected in the state (Ebenstein & Ebenstein, 1991:207-208).

Since St. Augustine did not give exact and clear definitions of the city of God and the city of man, scholars offer varying interpretations of the meaning of the two cities. However, since St. Augustine did not explicitly talk about church-state relations, we would be extending St. Augustine's arguments too far if we conclude that he is arguing for the supremacy of one over the other.

Justice and peace

You might have noticed certain similarities between the thoughts of Plato and St. Augustine. This is especially true with St. Augustine's concept of justice where we clearly see Plato's influence. In Module 2, we said that for Plato, justice exists in the state when there is order among its different elements. The same thing goes for the soul: there is justice in the soul when all its parts are in their proper places. Conversely, whenever things are in disarray and when an element is not in its proper position, there is injustice in both the state and the soul. St. Augustine tells us that justice has to do with the right relationship between man and God and from this, the right relationships among men arise. Thus, while Plato relates justice to the proper relations among the elements of the state and the soul, St. Augustine conceives of justice in terms of the proper relations between God and man on the one hand, and among men on the other.

How is justice related to the concept of peace? When there is justice in society, peace also exists. And since maintaining earthly peace—which is possible only when there is justice—is the reason why the city of man exists, then the essence of the state is justice. In other words, justice is the foundation of the state. St. Augustine adds a qualifier, however: True justice can exist only in the state that is founded by God. Consequently, true or eternal peace can be experienced only in the city of God. What about the earthly peace we were discussing earlier? We said that the city of man is not purely evil because it seeks to attain earthly peace. The attainment of earthly peace is seen as a means toward the attainment of eternal peace. Earthly peace, in this context, serves as the way toward enjoying true peace or never-ending peace.

Summary

Unlike *Republic* and *Politics*, *The City of God* is not a political treatise. It is a work that is devoted to defending Christianity from pagan criticisms. Nevertheless, it is part of our journey through Western political, economic, and social thought because there are some ideas in St. Augustine's work that can be related to certain political issues. These ideas include St. Augustine's view of the state—both the true state founded on God and the earthly state—and the concept of justice, among others. To a certain extent, we can say that St. Augustine Christianized political ideas that were first articulated by the Greeks, in particular Plato.

Module 4
St. Thomas Aquinas

In this module, we continue our journey through the Medieval Ages by examining the works of another Christian thinker. As we read St. Thomas Aquinas, we will see some similarities between his ideas and those of St. Augustine. Also, we will try to examine how St. Aquinas infused Christian values into the ideas of Aristotle. Earlier, we saw the influence of Plato's thoughts on the works of St. Augustine. In this module, we will see how Aristotle's works influenced the works of St. Aquinas. Enjoy the journey!

Objectives

After studying this module, you should be able to:

1. Identify the key ideas discussed in the works of St. Thomas Aquinas, particularly his view on the best type of government;
2. Explain the key differences and similarities between the ideas of St. Augustine and St. Thomas Aquinas; and
3. Illustrate the relevance of the ideas expressed in *Summa Theologica* and *On Kingship* to contemporary times.

Getting To Know St. Thomas Aquinas

Source: www.knuten.liu.se

St. Thomas Aquinas's birth year is not certain. The accounts vary from 1224 to 1227. What is certain, however, is that he was born in Naples, Italy to an influential and landed family. His childhood was spent under the care of the Benedictines, but in 1243 he decided to join the newly established Dominican Order against the wishes of his parents. For the next 15 years, he studied and eventually taught

theology and philosophy in Paris, France and Cologne, Germany. He also served as adviser to the papal court. The years before his death in 1274 were spent completing his work entitled *Summa Theologica.*

Like St. Augustine, St. Thomas Aquinas was a prolific writer. During his lifetime, he produced some 70 works of varying lengths. Due to the nature of his works, he has been described as "the most systematic political philosopher of medieval Catholicism" (Curtis, 1981:177). St. Thomas is credited for bringing Aristotle's works back to the public's attention and for combining the Greek philosopher's ideas with Christian doctrines. St. Thomas also contributed to the emergence of scholasticism, a trend which dominated the scene from the 9th to the 13th centuries. Scholasticism was all about fusing faith and reason. What was noteworthy about this development? You see, during St. Augustine's time, faith was used to explain everything. People believed in predestination and preordination, which is the idea that things happen because they are meant to happen—and they happen according to God's will. Human will (or the capacity to exercise reason) was largely ignored. Then St. Thomas came along saying that faith can be combined with reason. Thus started the scholastic trend.

Can you guess the reason behind the view that faith and reason can exist in harmony? Basically, it comes from the idea that both faith and reason come from one source—God. Since both are divine in origin, and that origin represents Truth, then these two cannot be in conflict. However, you should keep in mind that, even if faith and reason supplement and complement each other, they are not equals. Faith is still the dominant element because it is based on revealed truth; reason, on the other hand, is founded on human insight. Revealed truth is nothing less than perfect while human insight can never be perfect. Thus, St. Thomas Aquinas affirms that though faith and reason can be combined, faith must rule over reason. This is the principle that underlies most of his ideas.

Now that you know something about St. Thomas, it is time to turn your attention to the excerpts from St. Thomas Aquinas' works. After you have read the excerpts, please proceed to the next section. Happy reading!

The Major Ideas of St. Thomas Aquinas

How did you find the excerpts? Were they easy to read or did you have difficulty understanding St. Thomas' works? If the latter, don't worry. Many people, especially those who have little exposure to his writing style, find him difficult to understand. In this section, we will try to clarify his ideas. But before we do that, try your hand at the short quiz next page. Let's see how much you remember from what you just read.

SAQ 4-1

Complete the following sentences by filling in the blanks with the correct answer. Each blank corresponds to a word. For example, two blanks in a sentence mean that the answer is composed of two words. Try to complete the sentences without going back to the excerpts. Each correct answer is worth 1 point.

1. The best type of government for St. Thomas Aquinas is called a _____.
2. The essence of laws is to attain the _____ _____.
3. Like Aristotle, St. Thomas Aquinas believes that man is a _____ being.
4. The higher end of man is the _____ life which can be attained only with God.
5. The _____ law is the expression of God's will and is expressed through the Old and New Testaments, among others.
6. The school of thought that argues that faith and reason can exist in harmony is called _____.
7. Kings are responsible for addressing temporal matters while _____ are responsible for spiritual and religious concerns.
8. _____ is essential to the law because it is the means by which the law is made public.
9. Laws and governments that do not promote and protect the interests of the community are characterized as _____.
10. If human power is not sufficient to remove a tyrant from office, then recourse has to be made to _____ power as embodied in God.

ASAQ 4-1

Here are the answers that make the sentences correct. See how well you performed.

1. Kingship
2. Common good
3. Social
4. Virtuous
5. Divine
6. Scholasticism
7. Priests
8. Promulgation
9. Unjust
10. Divine

If you got all the answers, you are simply divine!

Those who scored 7-9 points, good work.

For those who obtained scores 6 and below, there is always another chance to score better. Try to go back to the excerpts and check the items you failed to get correctly. Also, the succeeding section will try to clarify some of the items in this quiz.

Did St. Thomas's writing interest you? What you read is just a sample of this theologian's work. As we mentioned earlier, St. Thomas Aquinas wrote 70 works in his lifetime. Perhaps the most famous among all these is the *Summa Theologica* which he completed during the last years of his life. Like St. Augustine, St. Thomas is a theologian and not a political theorist. The works of these two Christian thinkers were primarily religious in nature. However, scholars who have read, studied and interpreted their works see some political propositions in their works and thus, both theologians are considered to have contributed to the Christianization of the concepts earlier articulated by the Greek philosophers. Did you notice how much influence Aristotle had on St. Thomas's ideas?

To emphasize an earlier point, what sets St. Thomas apart from St. Augustine is his view that faith and reason are not necessarily in conflict. For him, both originate from the same divine source and because of this, they cannot be in conflict with one another. Faith and reason are supplementary modes of understanding God and the world (Ebenstein and Ebenstein, 2000:222).

The important ideas that were explained by St. Thomas in the excerpts that you read can be grouped into five major headings. We will proceed to discuss each of these five topics.

The nature and origin of the state

If you remember the modules on Plato and Aristotle, these Greek philosophers saw the state as a natural association that exists to meet the needs of man. In this view, the end of the state is the good life. Aristotle, in particular, said that the state exists because of the need for self-sufficiency. And self-sufficiency can only be met when men come together in the political association known in Ancient Greece as the *polis*. Like Aristotle, St. Thomas starts off with the view that man is a social and political being. Associations are formed because of this social impulse in men. In addition, there must be some order by which man's social and political life is organized. It is the state which performs this function.

Aquinas's concept of the good life goes beyond Aristotle's. This is because Aquinas believes that the good life consists in a virtuous life, a life founded and based on a relationship with God and on the enjoyment of God. Here, we see how Aquinas infused a Christian element into the ideas of the Greek philosophers. While Aristotle thinks the good life involves meeting man's physical and material needs, for Aquinas the good life can only be met once man is in possession of God. From this argument, we can see that Aquinas's interpretation of the state's primary aspiration is a level higher than that of Aristotle in the sense that he goes beyond the physical, material and worldly concept of the good life.

Now that we know why the state exists for Aquinas, let us turn our attention to how things are organized in the state and beyond. Let's discuss the different types of laws that govern the Divine Universe and the state.

The four types of laws

Laws are created with one objective in mind: to attain the common good. The common good is the welfare of the entire community. How do laws promote the common good? They accomplish this objective by binding men to act in a particular way. For example, the law against jaywalking tells us that we must cross the street only where there are pedestrian lanes. And the law that prohibits littering requires us to throw our garbage only in proper places. When we violate the laws, we must prepare to face the prospect of sanctions or punishments in the form of fines, community service or jail time. In order to avoid these punishments, we have to act or behave in a certain way. It is laws that tell us how to do so.

St. Thomas identified four types of laws: eternal law, divine law, natural law, and human law (Ebenstein & Ebenstein, 2000: 227-228). Can you recall how Aquinas defined each type of law? What does each law cover? According to Aquinas, the laws differ in terms of their scope and origin.

1. **Eternal** law governs the Divine Universe and all animate and inanimate things in it. It covers all things that are governed by Divine Providence. As such, eternal law is sometimes seen as being beyond the comprehension of human beings because it is based on Divine Reason—the reason of God. If man cannot understand eternal law, what then is man capable of comprehending? This brings us to the second type of law.

2. **Natural** law, according to Aquinas, results from the participation of eternal law in the rational creature that is man. Take note that this applies only to so-called "rational creatures" or those who are capable of exercising reason. And among all God's creatures, it is man that can exercise reason. Natural law governs those things to which a man is naturally inclined.

3. **Divine** law is the expression of God's divine will. It is the law that directs man to live the virtuous life. This type of law is given by God to man to tell him what to do and what not to do. Since human judgment is characterized by uncertainty, laws that are based on human reason often conflict with each other. It is divine law that reconciles conflicting laws. Divine law may be seen as that part of eternal law that has been revealed to man through the Bible for instance.

4. **Human** law governs the practical matters that arise in man's every day life. It deals with the more particular determination of certain matters and is devised by human reason. We can summarize the characteristics of human law as follows:

    a. human law is derived from the law of nature
    b. human law is geared towards the common good
    c. human law is framed by the one who governs the community
    d. human law seeks to direct human action

Human law that does not have these characteristics is perverted law, not just law.

An important element of law is promulgation. What does this mean? Promulgation refers to the act of making something public—in this case, we are referring to the process of making a certain law public. Why is it important for people to know the provisions of a law? The reason is pretty logical, don't you think? If you don't know a law, you cannot follow it. Therefore, the initial step towards the proper implementation of a law is to let the people—those who are, in the first place, supposed to be covered by the law—know the law. And promulgation or making the law public is the means to do that.

To recap, St. Thomas enumerates four types of laws: eternal, divine, natural and human laws. In his discussion of the laws, he tells us that eternal law is the highest form of law and human law is the lowest. Why is this so? The reason is that eternal law is founded on divine reason while human law is based on human insight. Here is another example of Aquinas's view that between faith and reason, faith is the more dominant element since it is divine in origin.

Why kingship is best

SAQ 4-2

Below is a table on the types of governments described by St. Thomas Aquinas. Fill in the blank cells by identifying the government being described. Use the clues as your guide.

Types of Governments According to St. Thomas Aquinas

No. of Rulers	*Just Government*	*Unjust Government*
Rule of One	J-1 _____	U-1 _____
Rule of the Few	J-2 _____	U-2 _____
Rule of the Many	J-3 _____	U-3 _____

Clues:

- J-1 is a government that is ruled by a chief who acts as a "shepherd seeking the common good".
- J-2 is a government by a few men of virtue or by noble men.
- J-3 is a government run by the many which seeks to promote the common will.
- U-1 is a government administered by a single individual which seeks to benefit only the ruler and no one else.
- U-2 is a government ruled by the few who oppress the people using their wealth.
- U-3 is a government managed by the many who oppress the rich using their numbers.

ASAQ 4-2

That was easy, wasn't it? Let's check your answers now. Your table should look like this.

Types of Governments According to St. Thomas Aquinas

No. of Rulers	*Just Government*	*Unjust Government*
1. Rule of One	Kingship	Tyranny
2. Rule of the Few	Aristocracy	Oligarchy
3. Rule of the Many	Polity	Democracy

Did you get all six items correctly? If you did, you deserve a big round of applause. Clap, clap, clap! If you forgot some of the other types of governments identified by St. Thomas, do not worry. Just go back to the section in *On Kingship* where he defines the concept of "kingship" so that you can clarify the concepts which are unclear to you.

Notice anything about the table you just completed and the one you filled up in Module 3? Yes, that's right! The labels are similar. The types of constitutions identified by Aristotle correspond to the types of governments classified by Aquinas.

Aristotle's influence on St. Thomas can also be observed when we discuss the types of government. Both philosophers agree that the just or good types of government are those that are established to promote and protect the common good. On the other hand, the unjust or bad types of government (or the perverted ones as Aristotle called them) are those geared to promote the interest of only one or a few.

If we turn our attention to the more important issue of what is the best type of government, again we see some similarities between Aristotle and Aquinas. Let's try to recall what we studied two modules ago. What according to Aristotle is the best type of government? If you said "aristocracy" or "kingship", then you're right! Why is aristocracy or kingship the best type of government? If your answer is aristocracy and kingship are systems ruled by individuals who possess intellect and reason, then you are correct again! Now what about St. Thomas? What was the best system for him and why? Pause for a minute and recall his position on this issue.

Do you know the answer now? Like Aristotle, St. Thomas argues that it is best for society to be ruled by a single person. Clearly, he prefers kingship to the other just forms of government. In this sense, while both Aristotle and St. Thomas prefer kingship, St. Thomas was more certain about his preference. Aristotle was ambivalent; he was fine with either kingship or aristocracy.

How do we explain Aquinas's choice? In governing, says St. Thomas, the aim of the ruler should be to attain unity of peace among those who are ruled. The government that is more effective in maintaining unity is a more useful government. From St. Thomas's perspective, one single individual is more capable of ruling effectively and maintaining unity than several rulers. But perhaps the more important explanation provided by St. Thomas is that in the Divine Universe, there is only one ruler who is the source of divine power and reason and that is God. And because there is only one ruler in the divine world, the state in the temporal world should also be ruled by one. Once more, we see here how St. Thomas has Christianized an argument that was earlier put forward by the Greeks.

What happens if a government that is just becomes unjust as a result of abuse of power? What if a king becomes a tyrant? What can the people do?

The right to resist a tyrant

Do you still remember the excerpt from *The City of God* that you read in the last module? If you do, then you will recall that in that work St. Augustine expresses his belief that people should support whatever kind of government they have—be it good or bad—because that is the government given to them by God. In other words, St. Augustine did not support any form of uprising against evil or unjust governments.

What does St. Thomas Aquinas have to say about this issue? Does he share St. Augustine's view or is he opposed to it? According to Aquinas, people who are subject to tyrannical rule have the right to resist a tyrant. However, this statement does not hold true for all cases. There are several issues which have to be resolved before this right can be exercised.

First, what kind of tyranny exists in society? St. Thomas says that if it is a mild form of tyranny, then the people are better off with their present government. If they revolt against the tyrant, things might become even more difficult for them because the new ruler (who may be the one who led the revolt in the first place) may be more tyrannical than the former ruler. On the other hand, if the tyrant is unbearable, then the tyrant should be removed. This brings us to the second issue.

Who should remove the tyrant? Do you recall St. Thomas's explanation? In general, he tells us that whoever placed the tyrant in power should have the right to remove him. Thus, if it is the people as a whole who put him in his position, then it is the people who have the right to replace him. On the other hand, if the tyrant was appointed by a single individual such as a king, then that king should be the one to remove the tyrant from office.

Third, what if the people or the king cannot replace the tyrant? Then, they will have to turn to the Divine Ruler—God. If recourse to human action is not sufficient to get rid of the tyrant, then only God can do so. There is one requirement though and that is, the people must do away with sin because only in the absence of sin can they call upon God for assistance.

Do you agree with Aquinas's view regarding tyranny? Do you think he is right in saying that only those who put a leader in power have the right to remove that leader and replace him with a better one? Or do you support St. Augustine's view that no matter what kind of leader you have you should support that leader because he was the one chosen by God to lead?

The church and the state

At this point, you might be asking yourself whether St. Thomas discusses Church and state relations. If so, in what part of his work did he dwell on this issue? Given that St. Thomas is a theologian, in what context does he talk about the church and the state? Well, St. Thomas does not expressly discuss church and state relations because he is not concerned with political institutions and how they relate to the church. Moreover, as we pointed out earlier, St. Thomas is not a political theorist. Therefore, he does not dwell on political matters *per se*. Why then is there a section in this module on the church and the state?

Particular reference to church and state relations can be seen in the section in *On Kingship* which argues that "kings are subject to priests." Why does Aquinas say this? One reason has to do with the end of the state. Going back to our earlier discussion, we said that according to St. Thomas, the end of the state is the virtuous life and not merely the good life as defined by Aristotle. The task of directing the people towards the attainment of this goal falls on the shoulders of the priests, the clergy and the Church fathers. On a higher level, however, Aquinas says that human power is not enough to attain the goal of possession of God because this is something that can be done only through divine power. Clearly, we see here an argument that only with God can man attain his higher end.

Where does this leave the kings here on earth? What are their responsibilities? Remember that another end of man is the attainment of the common good or the welfare of the community. This is a goal that is realized under the direction of the king. According to Aquinas, because the good life is an end that can be attained by the power of human nature, it is a role that can be performed by the king. However, since the good life is not man's ultimate goal, the story does not end there. To reiterate, man's higher end is the attainment of the virtuous life and this responsibility can be accomplished only by the priests in general and by the priests of all priests—God himself. This is the rationale behind the statement "kings should be subject to priests". We can see here the difference between the function of priests and kings: the priests take care of spiritual or religious matters while the kings concern themselves with earthly or temporal matters. And since the spiritual matters are more important than the temporal ones, the priests have the bigger responsibilities and are of a higher order.

Now, should we take this to mean that Aquinas is arguing for the domination of the state by the Church? Is Aquinas favoring a system where the state should submit to the wishes of the Church? Can we use Aquinas's arguments to support the view that there should be separation of Church and state when it comes to temporal issues? These are just some things to ponder. But before we draw too many conclusions from Aquinas' arguments, let us remember that even if he discusses church and state relations, he is not doing so from a political standpoint. His main objective is to show that the church dominates the state when it comes to spiritual or religious matters because the ultimate end of the state is a divine one.

Summary

As a theologian and practitioner of the Christian doctrine, it is inevitable for St. Thomas Aquinas's works to be very much influenced by the teachings of Christianity. But what differentiates him from St. Augustine is his attempt to blend faith with reason and it is in this sense that he is an exponent of scholasticism. While the early Christian thinkers saw faith as the primary explanatory variable for all phenomena, St. Thomas Aquinas counters that faith and reason can co-exist harmoniously. These two are not in conflict since both are divine in origin. Nevertheless, faith is dominant over reason because it is based on the revealed truth according to God's teachings while reason is founded on human insight.

Aquinas's views on faith and reason are reflected in both *The City of God* and *On Kingship.* Aquinas shows preference for rule by one, or kingship. Second, Aquinas's typology of laws reveals a hierarchy in which eternal law founded on divine reason is the highest form and human law based on man's practical reason as the lowest form. Third, Aquinas points out that kings should be subject to priests. Fourth, the right to resist a tyrant, in the final analysis, rests with the ultimate authority—God.

Module 5
Niccolo Machiavelli

In this our fifth stop, we enter the era of "modern" political thought. Why modern? The modern phase in the history of Western political thought is said to be characterized by the following: (1) an awareness on the part of the thinkers of this age that they were living in a "new" era—new in the sense that it was a world very much different from that of the Greek and Medieval periods; (2) a sense of restlessness among the thinkers who were searching for "new political symbols, styles, and orientations," which eventually led to widespread intellectual activity in all fields; and (3) an activist, dynamic, and secularized society that stood in opposition to the otherworldliness of the Medieval period in particular (Germino, 1972:8-10).

The characterization of political thought from Machiavelli onwards as modern is more a matter of convenience than anything else. Historians do not even agree on the "cut-off" date. Nevertheless, we can see that the thinkers of this period did share certain commonalities in terms of the basic tenets of their works, assumptions, main concepts, ideas and arguments.

Objectives

After studying this module, you should be able to:

1. Identify Machiavelli's contributions to modern political thought, particularly his views on the state and political leadership;
2. Explain the main differences and similarities between Machiavelli's "modern" views and those of the Greek and Medieval thinkers; and
3. Discuss the relevance of Machiavelli's works to current issues.

Who is Niccolo Machiavelli?

Source: Grolier Multimedia Encyclopedia, 1995

Are you familiar with the painting called "Mona Lisa"? Do you know who painted that? It was Leonardo da Vinci. He was a famous painter who lived and painted during the Renaissance period. Along with da Vinci, Machiavelli is perhaps one of the more important personalities of this period. What was the Renaissance all about? Well, this period, dating from the 14th to the 16th centuries, saw extensive changes (beginning in Italy and spreading to the rest of Europe) in the fields of arts and culture, natural and physical sciences and the social social sciences. At the center of all these changes was the so-called "discovery of man." From the focus on communalism during the Greek period and the God-centeredness of the Medieval times, the focus of attention during the Renaissance was man the individual. Man was seen as the center of all things.

Machiavelli was born in Florence, Italy on 3 May 1469. What differentiates Machiavelli from the four previous philosophers we have discussed so far is that Machiavelli was directly involved in government. Beginning in 1498, Machiavelli served the Florentine government as a clerk. Later, he served as the secretary of the government's foreign relations committee, the Ten of War. Due to the nature of his job, Machiavelli had the chance to meet and interact with important people like Louis XII, Cesare Borgia, Pope Julius II and the Emperor Maximilian. He was sent on diplomatic missions both within and outside Italy. Machiavelli spent 14 years of his life in the service of the Florentine government. When the Medici family regained power in 1512, Machiavelli suddenly found himself jobless. He was even imprisoned for a short time on charges of conspiracy against the Medici government. He was released eventually and thereafter, he retired to his farm in Florence. It was during this period in his life that he wrote his most important works. One of these is *The Prince*. It is said that he wrote this in order to get back his old government post. Unfortunately, he never got reinstated. Machiavelli died in Florence on 21 June 1527. On his tombstone is written in Latin the following words: "With such a name, there is no need for eulogy." Wow! What a way to be immortalized.

In his study of politics and political leadership, Machiavelli makes liberal use of the experiences of the Great Roman Empire and its leaders. Readers can find a lot of historical references in *The Prince* and *The Discourses.*

Machiavelli also draws lessons from the experiences not only of Rome but also of particular individuals. *The Prince,* for instance, is based on the kind of rule that was exercised by Cesare Borgia. An Italian soldier and politician, Cesare Borgia (1476-1507) was known for his ruthless, unscrupulous and cruel treatment of his political rivals.

Now that you have been introduced to Machiavelli, you will get an opportunity to sample his work. After reading the excerpt included in your reader, you will be in a better position to assess for yourself whether his critics are right in their attacks against Machiavelli.

The Major Ideas of Niccolo Machiavelli

How did you find Machiavelli's work? How does it compare with the works of Plato, Aristotle and the Christian thinkers? Before we discuss the various elements of Machiavelli's political thought, here is a little something for you to do.

SAQ 5-1

What follows is a set of incomplete statements regarding Machiavelli's life and works. After these statements, you will find a set of jumbled letters. Look for the answers that will complete the statements in the jumbled letters. The answers may be written horizontally, vertically or diagonally. Words are written either upwards or downwards and even backwards. Once you find the hidden words, encircle them and then write the answers on the blank spaces so you can complete the statements. Happy word hunting!

1. Machiavelli lived during the period in history known as the _____.
2. In the work entitled _____ _____, Machiavelli discussed different aspects of political leadership.
3. Machiavelli takes his example not from Greek history but from the experiences of _____.

SAQ 5-1 cont'd.

4. _____ _____ is said to be Machiavelli's inspiration or example in writing his work on political leadership.
5. Machiavelli blames the _____ for the disunity in Italy.
6. To be the best, a prince must know well how to imitate the _____ and the fox.
7. Machiavelli's other great work which explores politics is entitled _____ _____.
8. If it is not possible to be both, it is better for the prince to be _____ than to be loved.
9. Machiavelli dedicated his work on political leadership to _____ de Medici.
10. Machiavelli was born in _____, Italy.
11. _____ must be done all at once while benefits should be given a little at a time.
12. The two methods of fighting are by law and by _____.
13. Machiavelli's famous line is "the end justifies the _____".
14. Machiavelli served as secretary of the _____ _____ _____.
15. Under the Medici government, Machiavelli was arrested for _____.

ASAQ 5-1

Were you able to find all 15 words (or phrases) and complete all the statements? Here is the answer key so you can check your answers.

1. Renaissance
2. The prince
3. Rome
4. Cesare borgia
5. Church
6. Lion
7. The discourses
8. Feared
9. Lorenzo
10. Florence
11. Cruelties
12. Force
13. Means
14. Ten of war
15. Conspiracy

As for the jumbled letters, let us take out the extra letters to reveal the missing words and phrases. Got all of them? That's good!

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   R A W F O N E T     S
   C R U E L T I E S   E
L        C             S
O I   R   H       E C R O F Y
R   O         U       U   L C
E     N         R     O   O A
N     A           C   C   R R
Z     I       M     H S   E I
O C E S A R E B O R G I A N P
      S       A       D   C S
      A       N       E   E N
      N       S       H     O
      C D E R A E F   T     C
      E M O R
        E C N I R P E H T
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After that exercise, it's time for some discussion. Let's go!

Had you heard of Machiavelli prior to reading this module? If yes, in what context? For many of us, our first exposure to Machiavelli is usually in a negative context. We usually come to know him through his famous—or infamous (as the case may be)—remark, "The end justifies the means." Due to the notoriety that has hounded Machiavelli, the word "Machiavellian" is often used to describe a leadership style that is cunning, deceiving, even ruthless. It is a leadership based on power politics. In fact, the dictionary defines "Machiavellian" as "characterized by cunning, duplicity or bad faith" and "Machiavellianism" as the "view that politics is amoral and that any means however unscrupulous can justifiably be used in achieving political power" (*Webster's Collegiate Dictionary,* 1991:713). Why is Machiavelli seen in such a negative light?

In the succeeding discussion, we shall try to examine the reasons why some scholars view Machiavelli negatively. We will also see whether it is indeed right to call Machiavelli as the personification of "the devil" and a promoter of evil and sin as the Church referred to him then, especially after the publication of *The Prince.*

Politics versus ethics

For you, is Machiavelli immoral or amoral? I ask this because some of those who have read Machiavelli for the first time are quite shocked by the ideas and propositions expressed by this Italian thinker. Critics, particularly from the Church, have attacked his ideas and called them immoral, unethical, even evil. However, if you understand where Machiavelli is coming from, you might view Machiavelli in a different light.

According to Machiavelli, politics is an art that should be viewed apart from religion, morality and ethics. This is because it is based on its own value system and to judge political actions on the basis of religious or ethical standards would be unfair to the politician or statesman. What does this mean? Certain actions that may be considered immoral using the standards of religion may be allowed if one uses the standards of the political system. But what determines the standards of a system? If religious standards are based on the Bible and moral standards are determined by a particular moral code, what establishes the standards of politics or the value system of the state?

Machiavelli responds to these questions by pointing to the end of the state, which is the acquisition, retention and expansion of political power (Ebenstein & Ebenstein, 2000:285). You see, in contrast to the political thinkers who came before him, Machiavelli believed that political power is not just a means to an end but an end in itself. This means that if a political action contributes to the acquisition, retention and expansion of power, then it is justifiable. If it does not, then the ruler has no business pursuing that action. For example, if by killing his enemy the ruler is able to strengthen his hold on power and to bring about unity in the state, then his action is justifiable. But if a ruler kills for the sake of personal glory, such action is not justified under the value system of the state because it does not contribute to the furtherance of the state's goals. The bottom line here is that Machiavelli believes that the value system of politics and the state is independent from that of religion, ethics and morality. Therefore, the standards of the latter should not be applied to the former.

This brings us back to the question I posed to you earlier in this section: Is Machiavelli immoral or amoral? Are you now in a better position to answer the question? If we accept his arguments that: (1) religion, ethics, morality and politics have different value systems; (2) these value systems are independent of each other; and (3) the standards applicable in one system are not applicable in the other systems, then we can say that supporting cruelty, violence and deception, provided these are used to attain the end of the state, is not immoral but amoral. Remember, these actions are amoral in the sense that they are not based on a certain moral, religious or ethical code of conduct. They are justifiable on the grounds that they contribute to the acquisition, retention and expansion of political power. But let us not generalize this amorality of Machiavelli by saying that it applies to all situations. In fact, it has been noted that Machiavelli's "amorality implies ... not the denial of moral values in all situations, but the affirmation that, in the specific situation of the statesman, the rules of power have priority over those of ethics and morality" (Ebenstein & Ebenstein, 2000:285).

Is the explanation clear to you? If you are still a little bit confused, then I hope the next section will help clarify matters. What we will do next is to examine the oft-quoted remark by Machiavelli: "The end justifies the means."

Realpolitik: The end justifies the means

In Chapter 18 of *The Prince,* Machiavelli states that: "If a ruler, then, contrives to conquer, and to preserve the state, the means will always be judged to be honorable and be praised by everyone." In another important work, *The Discourses on the First Ten Books of Titus Livius* (or *The Discourses* for short), Machiavelli argues along the same lines:

> For where the very safety of the country depends upon the resolution to be taken, no consideration of justice or injustice, humanity or cruelty, nor of glory or of shame, should be allowed to prevail. But putting all other considerations aside, the only question should be: What course will save the life and liberty of the country?

These statements point to another idea developed by Machiavelli: the concept of the "reason of state" or *raison d'etat.*

Now, don't let the fancy French word blow you away. The concept of "reason of state" is related to our earlier discussion concerning the end of the state—the acquisition, retention and expansion of political power. If you still recall, we said that the end of the state makes justifiable certain actions that may be immoral or unethical from the vantage point of religion, ethics and morality. As long as a ruler's action contributes to the realization of the end of the state, then such action is allowed, even encouraged. This is also the same premise behind Machiavelli's idea of reason of state. Simply put, as long as the state's interest—political power—is promoted and protected, any action is justifiable and permissible. Power, then, is the most important value for Machiavelli.

Qualities of the prince

Earlier, we mentioned that in *The Prince,* Machiavelli was concerned about political leadership. Like Plato, Machiavelli set out to enumerate the qualities that a ruler must possess if he is to be a good ruler. Whereas Plato calls his ideal ruler the philosopher-king, Machiavelli refers to his as the prince.

Why does Machiavelli discuss the qualities of the prince? The primary reason is that *The Prince* was written by Machiavelli to serve as some sort of advice-book or handbook for leaders, so that they may know how to rule properly. More specifically, through this work Machiavelli wanted to give Lorenzo de Medici (and other rulers as well) advice on how to rule Florence (and other states as well) so that glory would be brought back to Florence and to Italy in general.

So what advice does Machiavelli give? How should the prince behave? What traits should he possess? Machiavelli gives us quite a list? But before going through his list of princely qualities, here is something for you to do. See whether you can remember Machiavelli and the four previous philosophers' ideas on leaders and leadership.

SAQ 5-2

Let's play matchmaker! It's pretty simple. Below is a list of different qualities that a leader or ruler must possess. What you have to do is identify the philosopher who mentioned these qualities. Write down the letter that corresponds to your choice on the blank beside the item numbers. Some of the qualities may have been mentioned by more than one thinker so write down all possible answers, okay? Good luck!

Answer choices:

A. Plato	B. Aristotle	C. St. Augustine
D. St. Aquinas	E. Machiavelli	

Qualities of the ruler:

_____ 1. Must be virtuous and God-fearing.
_____ 2. Must be virtuous and wise.
_____ 3. Must not possess private property.
_____ 4. Must know when not to be good.
_____ 5. Must be the best there is.
_____ 6. Must learn to act like a man and a beast.
_____ 7. Must be ruled by reason.
_____ 8. Need not possess all good qualities but must appear to possess them.
_____ 9. Must go through years of training and schooling.
_____ 10. Must have gold in his soul.

ASAQ 5-2

How did you find the exercise? Did the choices confuse you? Well, to get you out of your confusion, here are the answers. In some cases, there can be two or three possible answers. See how you fared.

1. C and D
2. A
3. A
4. E
5. A and B
6. E
7. A and B
8. E
9. A
10. A

A perfect score deserves five happy faces. Here you go— ☺☺☺☺☺!
A score of 5-9 gets "two-thumbs-up". Go get them! 👍👍
A score of 4 and below gets a book—  —so that you will remember to go back to your readings and recheck the items that you missed. Do not lose hope. Like Machiavelli who believed that it is possible to unite and liberate Italy despite the problems it was facing then, it is also possible for you to improve your scores. You can always do better next time.

The prince and the study of warfare

Let us now examine the qualities of the prince put forward by Machiavelli. We begin by looking at the main concern of the prince. Chapter 14 of *The Prince* declares that the prince should concentrate on the study of war, its conduct, principles, organization and discipline, because this is the "only art necessary to one who commands." It is the means by which the prince will be able to attain his objective of acquisition, retention and expansion of political power. Does this mean that Machiavelli envisions the prince to be a war-freak? No! The prince does not have to go to war all the time but when it is necessary, he must not only be willing but also be able to wage war. And the way to do this is to prepare himself and his army. Thus, the study of war is important not only during times of war; in fact, Machiavelli says that the study of war is even more important during peacetime.

Here we can already see one difference between Plato's philosopher-king and Machiavelli's prince. Whereas the latter should be concerned with warfare for that is the only necessary art, the former is one who should be passionate about gaining knowledge or wisdom. On another level, you might say that both rulers are passionate about knowledge, although Machiavelli is interested in knowledge of war above everything else. Machiavelli believes that being knowledgeable about the art of war will enable the prince to hold on to political power, which is the end of the state, while Plato argues that only those who are ruled by wisdom are capable of attaining the end of the state —the common good of the people.

Fighting as a man and a beast: the lion and the fox

In connection with the art of war, another characteristic the prince must possess is that he should know how and when to fight as a man and as a beast. Fighting as a man is based on the rule of law while fighting as a beast is based on physical force. Why is it necessary to know how to behave both ways? It is simply because fighting as a man is often inefficient and insufficient. Therefore, it is important that the prince know how to fight like a beast. Regarding this latter point, the prince should know how to imitate the behavior of two kinds of beasts. Do you know what animals Machiavelli is referring to? If you said "yes" and your answers are the lion and the fox, then pat yourself on the back because you are correct. But why these two animals? The lion, because of its physical abilities, can scare wolves; while the fox, due to its wily and cunning nature, can avoid traps. In other words, like the lion, the prince must possess the physical prowess needed for him to defeat his enemies. And like the fox, the prince must be cunning enough to avoid the traps set for him by those who want him out of power.

Possession and "apparent" possession of good qualities

Is it necessary for the prince to possess all good qualities? Must the ruler be merciful, generous, religious, humane and faithful? Must he have integrity? Well, Machiavelli says, it would be admirable if the prince possessed all these qualities. However, it is not necessary that he do so. He goes as far as saying that to actually possess all these qualities might do more harm than good to the prince. What is necessary is that the prince should appear to possess them. The prince need not be merciful but he must be able to make the people believe that he is. This is one of the reasons why the adjective "Machiavellian" is often associated with words

such as deceit and guile. Machiavelli goes on to say that even as the prince appears to possess these good qualities, he should be willing and capable of acting in the opposite way if required to do so by circumstances. This brings us to another characteristic of the prince.

Being good and being bad

Since it is not necessary for the prince to possess all good qualities, it is also not necessary for him to be good all the time. As we mentioned earlier, the prince should be willing and able to behave "badly" if needed. Therefore, the prince must know how and when not to be good. For example, if circumstances require the prince to be cruel, then he should be willing and able to act in that manner. If the only way to get rid of an enemy of the state is killing the enemy, then the prince must be willing to do so. If he behaves in a merciful manner and treats his enemy leniently, the result might be more injurious to the state (e.g., the enemy might cause more trouble for the prince and his principality) than if the prince behaved in a cruel manner by slaying the enemy.

What determines when a prince will behave in a good or bad way? Two factors can be cited here. The first one is necessity—that is, certain conditions and events may make it necessary for the prince to behave in a certain manner. The second is the reason of state that we discussed earlier. For instance, if the prince has to act in a cruel manner to save the state from its enemies and keep it united, then that cruelty is justified by reason of state. Circumstances differ; therefore, different ways of behaving are required. The prince must be able to adapt to such changes if he is to rule properly and effectively.

"Positive" and "negative" qualities of the prince

Still in connection with the issue of possessing particular characteristics, Machiavelli tells rulers that they should not be afraid if people should at times ascribe to them certain "negative" qualities. This is because there are qualities that at first glance may be negative but in the long run, turn out to have positive consequences. An example would be the quality of being stingy or niggardly. If you are called stingy (or *kuripot* as we say in Filipino), this means you are thrifty to the extreme. People hold it against you when you refuse to spend money even for things deemed necessary by some. On the other hand, those who are generous are praised because they are willing to spend for necessities as well as luxuries. The generous

prince is admired by people for spending on his people and his army while the one who is stingy is criticized for his unwillingness to part with his wealth. Machiavelli explains that in the long run, when there is a need for money to keep a state safe and united, it is the stingy one who will be able to lead his people and army to victory because he has the money to spend for the war. Meanwhile, the generous prince who spent his money liberally will be left with little or no funds for his army. Guess who will win the war? This is just one of Machiavelli's examples to show why the prince should not be afraid when people ascribe certain negative traits to him.

What about religiosity and faithfulness? Earlier, we said that Machiavelli thought it praiseworthy for the prince to be faithful and religious. However, in real life, there may be certain times when it is not good for the prince to keep faith. One instance would be when the people themselves are bad and do not keep faith with the prince. In this case, it is acceptable for the prince not to keep faith with them. Another instance would be if the act of keeping faith runs counter to the interests of the ruler. Relating this to a point we made earlier, we can say that the prince should know when to keep faith and when not to. The prince should be prudent enough to know when to behave in a certain way.

Being feared versus being loved

Aside from the remark that "the end justifies the means," there is another statement that is often quoted from Machiavelli's work. Can you guess what it is? I have taken the liberty of quoting the entire paragraph from Chapter 17 of *The Prince*. In this way, we can better appreciate Machiavelli's words.

> A controversy has arisen about this: whether it is better to be loved than feared, or vice versa. My view is that it is desirable to be both loved and feared; but it is difficult to achieve both and, if one of them has to be lacking, it is much better to be feared than loved.

Again, we can see Machiavelli's realistic view of the world of politics. In the first part of his remark, he tells us that it is ideal for the prince to be both loved and feared. However, this is not always possible so the prince has to choose between the two, and the wise choice is to be feared. What is Machiavelli's reason for saying this?

According to Machiavelli, love is a very weak bond which can easily be broken; therefore, if the relationship between the prince and his subjects is one that is founded on love, it is very easy for the subjects to break the bond. Love, Machiavelli explains, is based on gratitude on the part of the subjects. Whenever men, who are inherently self-centered beings, see an opportunity to better themselves, they find no difficulty in breaking the bond of gratitude. On the other hand, a relationship based on fear is one that is founded on dread of punishment. This, Machiavelli says, is a stronger basis for the relationship between the prince and his subjects. But Machiavelli issues a warning to princes who will heed his advice: while it is better for the prince to be feared than loved, he should take care that he is not hated or despised by his people. And how does he ensure this? The prince should not lay his hands on his subjects' property (including their womenfolk). Machiavelli believes that men find it easier to forget the loss of loved ones than the loss of property.

Moreover, the prince should be able to pace his actions properly. If he has to do cruel things, the prince should do them all at once. If he is to punish the subjects or harm them in any way (as long as such action is necessary to the maintenance of political power), he should do so swiftly. However, when it comes to rewards and benefits, the prince should give these a little at a time. This is so that the people will always be reminded of the good things they receive from the prince. The bottom line is that the prince should know the right action at the right time.

Virtú and *fortuna*

All these qualities of the prince may be subsumed in Machiavelli's concept of *virtú* or virtue. This concept may be defined in various ways: good qualities, ability, skill, courage, prowess or, more particularly, military valor (Skinner & Price, 1988:103). What Machiavelli tells us is that *virtú* is essential to the proper exercise of rule by the prince. It enables the prince to achieve the acquisition, retention and expansion of political power. Moreover, it is the prince with exceptional *virtú* who is able to take advantage of *fortuna*. Now, what is *fortuna*?

The concept of *fortuna* can be translated in several ways: a non-human "force", luck, help or assistance, condition or conditions, circumstances, or success and failure (Skinner & Price, 1988:104). Machiavelli likens *fortuna* to a woman—both change their "minds" quickly—"because fortune is a woman, and if you want to control her, it is necessary to treat her roughly." The prince who possesses *virtú* is the one best able to take advantage of, or grab, the opportunities presented by *fortuna*.

That Machiavelli emphasized the qualities of the ruler in *The Prince* is not surprising at all. Scholars note that Machiavelli may have had three key reasons for writing *The Prince.* The first one, which was more personal, was to get back into the good graces of the Medici family so that he would be reappointed to government. The second one was to share with his readers his views and ideas on politics, particularly political leadership. Third, Machiavelli wanted to expose the failures and weaknesses of the leaders of his time and to exhort them to behave in a certain way so that they will be able to bring back glory to their principalities and republics (Germino, 1972:26).

To what extent did Machiavelli attain his objectives? Well, he was unable to achieve his first objective since he never got back into government service. But he was successful with regard to the fulfillment of his second and third objectives. Throughout the 26 chapters of *The Prince,* Machiavelli talks to us about the different traits that a prince must possess so that he will be able to rule effectively and efficiently. In particular, he wanted to give advice to the Medici family, specifically Lorenzo de Medici to whom Machiavelli dedicated *The Prince,* on how to rule Florence in the proper manner so that the excesses of the past leaders could be corrected. He also drew on historical examples, especially from Roman history, to show his readers how rulers should and should not behave under different circumstances (during war and peace, for instance). In line with this objective, Machiavelli also tells Lorenzo de Medici how he should go about uniting and liberating Italy from the conflict and strife that it was going through at the time.

Liberation and unification of Italy

Before discussing the solution to Italy's unification problem, let us examine what the problem was in the first place. During the time of Machiavelli, the different city-states in Italy were in a constant state of conflict and tension. This made them highly vulnerable to foreign conquerors like France, Germany and Spain. The problem, according to Machiavelli, may be traced to several causes, including military weakness, hostility of the people towards their leaders and the inability of rulers to secure their position against the nobility. Another important source of weakness in Italy was the Church of Rome. In his other important work, *The Discourses,* Machiavelli reveals his critical view of the way the Church of Rome has practiced the Christian religion. Among other things, says Machiavelli, the Church of Rome has: (1) destroyed all piety and religion in his country; (2) made people irreligious, bad, feeble, weak and passive; and (3) kept Italy divided. Does this make Machiavelli anti-religion? That will be too hasty a conclusion.

In another section of *The Discourses,* Machiavelli actually talks of the political utility of religion. He even says that authors and founders of religions should be praised. Religion enables the creation of good laws and the formulation and implementation of good laws leads to good fortune. Turning to divine authority also allows the rulers to organize and mobilize their subjects more easily and effectively. Here again Machiavelli draws from historical experience. What does history teach us about this matter? "Princes and heads of republics [must] uphold the foundations of the religion of their countries, for then it is easy to keep their people religious, and consequently well conducted and united." Thus, Machiavelli is not anti-religion. He recognizes that religion can be a political tool. What he was very critical of was the way the Christian religion was practiced in Italy by the Church of Rome.

The next question is: Does Machiavelli believe it is possible to unite and liberate Italy? Was he hopeful? What do you think? On this matter, we can see that Machiavelli is an optimist. He argues that Italy can be united and liberated from its troubles. How can this happen when Italy was facing a lot of problems? The solution rests in finding a good ruler who can bring Italy out of its sad condition. And who is that ruler? Who is the messiah that will save Italy? Machiavelli tells us in the following remarks taken from *The Prince:*

> There is no one in whom Italy can now place any hope except your illustrious family which (because it is successful and talented, and favored by God and by the Church, of which it is now head) can take the lead in saving her.

The family that Machiavelli is referring to was the Medici family. Now that the savior has been identified, its first assignment is to build an army composed of loyal and reliable local men. With the army being led by the best ruler, Italy and its people are now on their way to being rescued from their problematic condition.

Summary

Machiavelli is one of those political thinkers who, according to observers, is misunderstood and whose works have been misinterpreted. He is also one of the more controversial political thinkers in history. In his works such as *The Prince* and *The Discourses*, Machiavelli shares with readers his various views about politics, government, political leadership and the condition of Italy. For Machiavelli, political power is the ultimate objective of the state. Here he differs from the previous thinkers we have discussed who saw power only as a means towards a higher end, not as an end in itself. Moreover, for Machiavelli, the state exists for its own reasons. It has its own value system by which its actions should be measured and assessed. The standards of religion, ethics and morality should not be applied to the state and politics because they are not applicable in the first place. Each one has a separate and distinct value standard and code of conduct.

Much of Machiavelli's discussion is devoted to examining the qualities of the prince—the one who can free Italy from its sad state. Machiavelli envisions a ruler who is cunning, wily, practical, adaptable, as well as ruthless or cruel when necessary. The prince should possess *virtú* so that he will be able to manipulate *fortuna* for his, the state's and the people's benefit. If a prince who possesses all these traits can be found, then Italy can look forward to a glorious future. Machiavelli points to the Medici family, specifically Lorenzo, as the savior of Italy.

If the Medici family took note of Machiavelli's advice, perhaps they would have been able to take advantage of the opportunities that circumstances presented to them and Italy could have been united and liberated.

UNIT II
From Hobbes to Rousseau

Module 6
Thomas Hobbes

You have successfully completed the first quarter of your journey. Congratulations on your good work so far! Are you ready for more stops?

In this part of our excursion, we will be visiting the so-called Social Contract theorists—Thomas Hobbes, John Locke and Jean Jacques Rousseau. Why the label? What exactly is the concept of a social contract about? To put it simply, a social contract is a voluntary agreement by the people to set up a society, government or some form of organized institution. Their emphasis on the social contract is what these three philosophers have in common. We shall begin our journey into the world of the social contract theorists by visiting Thomas Hobbes.

Hello, Hobbes!

It is said that Hobbes once remarked that he and fear were born twins. His mother gave birth prematurely in 1588 due to reports that the Spanish Armada was about to attack. As a child, Hobbes spent his time learning to read and write, and studying Greek and Latin. He entered the University of Oxford at the age of 15 and stayed there for five years. Once he got his degree, he was recommended to serve as the tutor of William Cavendish, who was to become the Earl of Devonshire. Hobbes became closely associated with the aristocratic Cavendish family and it was this association and his travels with William (and also with William's son in later years) that en-

Source: Microsoft Encarta 2000

Objectives

After studying this module, you should be able to:

1. Explain Hobbes' concept of the social contract and its various components;
2. Discuss the implications of Hobbes' work on the link between government and the people; and
3. Apply Hobbes' ideas to relevant issues of today.

abled him to meet some of the famous men of his time—Francis Bacon, Rene Descartes, and Galileo, among others. When trouble began to brew as a result of the conflict between the royalists and the parliamentarians, Hobbes sought refuge in France. He feared the danger parliamentarians posed for him because of his political works which defended the royal prerogative. In Paris, Hobbes also served as a tutor to Charles II who later became King of England. He stayed in France for 11 years. Hobbes returned to England in 1651 for the same reason he went to France¾he feared for his life¾but this time the threat came not from the royalists but from the French clergy who did not like his attack on the papacy. (Hobbes has been called an atheist due to his critical views on the Church.) He stayed in England until his death in 1679.

It was during his exile in Paris that Hobbes wrote his greatest work—*Leviathan*. The book is composed of four parts: (1) "Of Man;" (2) "Of Commonwealth;" (3) "Of a Christian Commonwealth;" and (4) "Of the Kingdom of Darkness." Published shortly before Hobbes returned to England, this work has been interpreted by some as an apology for the Stuart monarchy and a call for the institution of a despotic government. The book was even investigated by the Parliament for its "atheistic tendencies." We shall now see for ourselves whether or not these were fair judgments on Hobbes and his most famous work. Get your book of readings and pore over the excerpt from *Leviathan*.

Hobbes' Approach to the Study of Politics

As a philosopher, Hobbes based his work on macro-anthropological principles that state that before we can understand the nature of society, we must first adequately comprehend the nature of the human being. It is in this sense that Hobbes is considered a representative of anthropocentric humanism. Now, what is that? It is a principle which says that man is the measure of all things and that the primary emphases of political inquiry are the needs and aspirations of man in this world. Based on this, we can see that the political theory of Hobbes rests on a theory of human nature. In this sense, Hobbes continues Plato's approach to political thought. Now let's examine the ideas discussed in *Leviathan*. Test how much you were able to learn from the excerpt and the introduction. Ready? Do your best now, okay?

SAQ 6-1

Here are 15 statements. Examine each one and determine whether statement is true or false. On the space provided, write *T* if the statement is true and *F* if the statement is false. Some statements may be a little tricky so read them carefully before answering.

_____ 1. The *Leviathan* has been interpreted by some scholars as a defense of despotic and absolutist regime or government.
_____ 2. The desire for a good life leads men to enter into a social contract.
_____ 3. The nature of men is such that they are equal in faculties of the mind and body.
_____ 4. Hobbes' state of nature is a state of relative peace.
_____ 5. The grouping that is created by the social contract is called the commonwealth.
_____ 6. As an anthropocentric humanist, Hobbes bases his political theory on a theory of the nature of society.
_____ 7. During his lifetime, Hobbes was able to interact with famous people like Galileo, Descartes and Rousseau.
_____ 8. Force and fraud are the two cardinal virtues in a state of war.
_____ 9. All men are free by nature.
_____ 10. By virtue of the social contract, the sovereign becomes the author of the acts of the people.
_____ 11. The parties to the social contract are the people or subjects and the sovereign.
_____ 12. The subjects obey the sovereign in exchange for protection from violence in the state of nature.
_____ 13. The sovereign can be one man or an assembly of men.
_____ 14. The civil law is distinct and different from the law of nature.
_____ 15. Hobbes said that he was born with happiness as his twin.

ASAQ 6-1

How did you find the exercise? Check your answers using the answer key below. Explanations are also provided for the false or wrong statements so you may know why they are wrong.

1. True.
2. False. The concept of the good life was introduced to us by Plato and Aristotle in particular. Hobbes did not make us of that concept. For him, the desire for self-preservation leads to the creation of the commonwealth.
3. True.
4. False. The Hobbesian state of nature is a condition of war of every man against every man. We will meet the man who says that the state of nature is a state of perfect freedom and relative peace in the next module.
5. True.
6. False. Anthropocentric humanism is based on the belief that man is the measure of all things. Therefore, since Hobbes is an anthropocentric humanist, he gives emphasis to a theory of human nature and he uses this as a basis for his political theory.
7. False. Hobbes met Galileo and Descartes. However, Hobbes never met Rousseau because Rousseau lived in a different century. Hobbes was born in 1588 and died in 1679 while Rousseau lived from 1712 to 1778. But both are considered social contract theorists.
8. True.
9. True. See also the third statement. They are almost similar, right?
10. False. It is actually the reverse. As a result of the social contract, the subjects become the authors of the actions of the sovereign.
11. False. Hobbes points out that the social contract is one that involves only the subjects. Thus, the sovereign is not a party to the contract.
12. True.
13. True.
14. False. Hobbes tells us that civil law and natural law are two different parts of one and the same law. Civil law is the written part of the law while natural law is the unwritten part.

ASAQ 6-1 cont'd.

15. False. It was fear of the attack of the Spanish Armada that led to Hobbes' premature birth. This led Hobbes to say that he and fear were born twins.

So, how well did you do?

A score of 14-15 is excellent. You have done well. Be proud of yourself. Bravo!

A score of 12-13 is very good. Not perfect but good work nonetheless. Hooray!

A score of 10-11 is good. As they say, you win some, you lose some. But your score shows that you have won more points than you lost. Congratulations!

A score of 9 and below means that you have some extra work to do. Check the excerpt and the introduction to see why you got some items wrong. Be sure you understand why you committed the mistakes.

Again, if certain things remain unclear to you despite repeatedly reading the excerpt, do not be frustrated. We will have a chance to discuss such items when we meet during the study sessions. Just hang on to those questions.

Nature of the Human Being

Before we proceed to Hobbes' view of man, let us take a short trip down memory lane and recall what the previous philosophers whom we have met had to say about the nature of man. If you recall, Plato and Aristotle said that man is a social being. St. Thomas Aquinas agreed with them on this account. Aside from man's social nature, Plato emphasized man's rationality and Aristotle stressed man's political nature. St. Augustine, for his part, tells us that man has both a good and an evil nature. Since man is burdened by original sin, he is evil but this doesn't mean he stays evil forever; he has the chance to better himself. For Machiavelli, man is a creature ruled by self-interest.

Equality among men

For Hobbes, there are several characteristics that distinguish man from other creatures. He starts off by saying that men are equal and this equality is manifested in three ways: (1) equality in the faculties of mind and body; (2) equality of hope in achieving goals; and (3) equality in the exercise of man's natural right to self-preservation. Is Hobbes telling us that there are no differences among men? Not exactly. Men are not exactly equal, particularly in terms of strength and intelligence. So what equality is Hobbes talking about? Well, there are differences but for Hobbes the differences are not important enough to matter.

By arguing that men are naturally equal, Hobbes contradicts an argument made by Aristotle. Do you still remember what Aristotle had to say about this? Aristotle said that in society, there are naturally ruling and naturally ruled elements. If we look at the so-called natural associations which Aristotle mentioned—parent-child, husband-wife and master-slave—we find a superior and an inferior element in all. Thus, for Aristotle, men are inherently unequal. There are those born to rule and those born to be ruled. What is Hobbes' counterargument? Hobbes says: Instead of inequality, one finds a natural equality among men. Whatever inequalities we find among them—in terms of wealth, power, social status—results from man's resourcefulness. These inequalities are not natural and, therefore, are unimportant.

Man the social animal

Hobbes disagrees with Aristotle on still another point. Aristotle sees man as a social animal. As such, he is destined by nature to be part of some group or association. More particularly, Aristotle sees man as destined to live in the *polis*, the perfect political association. Here again, we see Hobbes contradicting Aristotle's view. Man is not naturally sociable for if he were, societies or communities will sprout naturally. Societies are created by men consciously deciding that they want to be part of a society. They are thus products of agreements, covenants or contracts. Aha, now the magic word! But that is enough for now. We will have more on the social contract later.

Man as power-seeker

So far, we know that Hobbesian men are equal and unsociable. What else does Hobbes say about the nature of man? As opposed to man as conceived by the Christian philosophers, the Hobbesian man is not a God-seeker but a power-seeker. Man is engaged in an endless pursuit of power which ends only in death. So, by nature, men seek to possess and enjoy power. What is the importance of this? Why do men seek power? The primary reason is to ensure the preservation of their lives. Power is the tool used by men to protect their selfish interests, the most important of which is to avoid violent death. In this way, men are able to preserve their lives.

The rationality of man

The last but equally important element for Hobbes is the rationality of man. According to Hobbes, reason is peculiar to man. Here, Hobbes follows the point made earlier by Plato and Aristotle. However, Plato and Aristotle had a limited view in the sense that for them, reason is possessed by only a few members of society. In Plato's case, only the philosopher-rulers are dominated by reason. The other classes in the republic are ruled by other elements like courage and appetite. For Aristotle, the possession of reason is limited to the naturally ruling elements such as the ruler or master. This is not quite how Hobbes saw it. For him, reason is possessed by men in general even while they are in the state of nature or outside of society. It is not monopolized by rulers or the few, Hobbes explains.

How do all these qualities of man come together? How are they all related? First, we said that men are equal—in capacities, in desires and goals, and in the exercise of their natural right to self-preservation. Now because each man has more or less the same capacity in mind and body as every other guy, when they desire the same things, their equality can lead to conflict. They will treat each other as competitors for the same things and thus they see one another as enemies. Second, Hobbes points out that men are power-seekers. This desire for power ends only when men die. A consequence of this desire for power is men's urge to dominate other men. However, because men have roughly equal capacities, and because they are rational beings, they know that it would be virtually impossible to attain this end. Thus, the equality among men and their ceaseless desire for power lead to a condition of war where every man is pitted against every man. How do men get out of this condition?

This brings us to the third element of man's nature. Through man's rationality, he comes to realize that he will never be able to preserve his life—his primary goal in the first place—in a condition of war. By using his faculty of reason, man sees the need to get out of this condition so that he, and others as well, can live the kind of life that he desires. Thus, reason leads men to enter into a social contract. Such a contract is necessary because for Hobbes man is not sociable by nature. Society does not evolve naturally; men enter society through a contract. It is a product of convention or of an agreement among men so that they can get out of the state of nature.

But why do men need to get out of the state of nature? What condition do men find themselves in in the state of nature? Is it really that bad to make men want to leave it? The answers to all these questions are coming up next.

The State of Nature

The phrase "state of nature" refers to the condition of men prior to the creation of societies. It is the condition of "men without government, and without settled social living" (McClelland, 1998:193). Hobbes identifies five key characteristics of the state of nature. In what is perhaps the most famous line from the *Leviathan,* Hobbes says: "The life of man in a time of war is solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short."

Hobbes tells us that the state of nature is a condition of war of all against all. The two cardinal values of war are fraud and force. In this condition, men are not governed by rules; there is no central authority; men treat each other as a threat to their respective interests; and the only recourse is self-help. Given that each man has a natural right to do anything to preserve his life, you can just imagine how chaotic such a situation would be. There is always the fear and danger of getting violently killed by others. This is the condition of war that Hobbes speaks of. But let us clarify this first.

When Hobbes speaks of the state of nature being a condition of war, he does not mean that men are always fighting and constantly engaging each other in some battle. What Hobbes is referring to is man's predisposition to war. This means that since men treat each other as enemies, there is always the tendency to engage each other in war. However, since every one has more or less the same capacities, they find themselves in a prospective stalemate condition. The situation is unstable and insecure, and dominated by fear and danger. Moreover, Hobbes says that in the

state of nature, men are driven apart and not drawn together. (Contrast this to what Aristotle said to us earlier.) That is why the life of man in the state of nature is solitary.

Okay, say you find yourself in this condition of war. Would you prefer to stay in this condition or get out of it? If you were like the man in the Hobbesian world who has the faculty of reason and made use of it, you would surely opt to get out of the state of nature, right? But how do you get out? The answer: You do this through the social contract. That is what we will be discussing in the next section.

The Social Contract

There is only one way for men to get out of the state of nature characterized as a condition of war. Through the creation of a political association, the danger and insecurity that exist in the state of nature will somehow be lessened. How is this political association established? Why, how else but through the social contract. The contract that Hobbes refers to is basically an agreement or covenant among men that they will transfer their natural right to preserve themselves to some sovereign entity. Now, the sovereign power can be one individual, an assembly or several individuals.

What are the characteristics of the social contract? First, it has to be voluntary. The transfer of rights of individuals must be done voluntarily. Hobbes assumes that since men are rational, they will realize that it is necessary to agree with one another voluntarily so they can achieve their aim of self-preservation. Second, the contract must involve a mutual transferring of rights. That means that if I decide to give up my rights to self-governance, you must also do the same. Do you think it will make sense for those who give up their rights to enter into a contract with others who choose not to do the same? Those who do not agree to transfer their rights will not be part of the social contract. Third, the contract is an agreement among the subjects themselves and does not involve the sovereign power; therefore, the sovereign is not a party to the contract. Because of this, the sovereign does not have any obligation to the subjects he governs. It is the subjects who have obligations or duties, foremost of which is to obey the sovereign. And fourth, it is said that the institution of the political association or the commonwealth does not have to be unanimously agreed upon because "the majority has the right to determine the form of government" (Germino, 1972:108). The social contract does not have to be based on unanimity. Majority rules, in other words. So, all together now, the social contract is voluntary, mutually agreed upon, involves only the subjects, and does not require unanimity.

The outcome of the social contract

What is the product of the social contract? Once you and I, and other people as well, agree to transfer our rights to a sovereign power, what is the outcome? Well, now we have the so-called commonwealth which, to quote Hobbes in the *Leviathan,* is:

> … instituted when a multitude of men do agree, and covenant, every one with every one, that to whatsoever man or assembly of men shall be given by the major part the right to present the person of them all or to be their representative … Everyone, those that voted for it and those that voted against it, shall authorize all the actions and judgments, of that man, or assembly of men, in the same manner, as if they were his own, to the end, to live peaceably among themselves, and be protected against other men.

The sovereign power

Hobbes explains that it is not enough that men agree to enter into a covenant or contract for these are only words and can easily be ignored. What is needed is the sovereign—a man or an assembly of men who makes sure that the subjects follow the contract. In this context, it is the sovereign who acts as the common power that subdues the people with awe.

Technically speaking, there are two ways by which a sovereign can possess power. The first one is through acquisition, which happens when a man or a few men use force to acquire power. An example would be conquests or invasions. Hobbes calls this sovereignty by acquisition. The second way is referred to as sovereignty by institution. The social contract falls under this category because acquiring power by institution entails men agreeing to voluntarily transfer their rights to the sovereign. Now, isn't this how Hobbes described the social contract? So we can say that Hobbes was more concerned with sovereignty by institution rather than by acquisition.

The task of the sovereign power

The people have now entered into an agreement and transferred their rights to a sovereign power. What should that sovereign power do? Is he expected to do anything for the subjects? Most definitely! But what is this

task? To answer this question, we must go back to the primary reason why men get out of the state of nature and enter the political commonwealth through a social contract. What is that reason again? If your answer is self-preservation, you are 100% correct! Now, if that is the reason the commonwealth was established in the first place, then the sovereign must see to it that an environment conducive to the preservation of the subjects' lives is established and maintained. The least that can be expected from the sovereign is to protect the subjects and not harm them.

What happens if the sovereign harms the subjects to the point that he now becomes a threat to the very lives which he was supposed to preserve in the first place? I will tell you the answer in a little while. For now, let us examine the rights enjoyed by the sovereign power.

The sovereign power and its rights

The sovereign power in the commonwealth enjoys certain rights and can do certain things. Do you know what these are? Briefly, we can enumerate them as follows:

1. The subjects cannot make a new contract or covenant without the permission of the sovereign. This means that the power given to the sovereign is non-transferable, unless the sovereign allows it to be given to another entity.

2. Since the sovereign is not a party to the agreement, he cannot break the agreement. In any contract, only those who sign the contract can break the contract.

3. Given that the covenant is agreed upon by the majority, those who in the first instance disagreed must now consent with the rest.

4. The subjects are the authors of the actions of the sovereign. As a consequence, the sovereign can do no injury or injustice to the subjects for doing so, means that the subjects are the ones hurting themselves. Let's put it this way: Suppose we are the subjects and we tell our leader to do a particular task. In the process of doing that task, some harm comes upon us, the subjects. Following the argument that the subjects are the authors of the sovereign's actions, then in our example we are the ones who hurt ourselves because we authorized the leader to do that task in the first place. Thus, it is not the sovereign who did harm to us. We are the ones who hurt ourselves. Do you follow the explanation?

5. Another consequence of the subjects being authors of the sovereign's actions is that the subjects cannot punish the sovereign, or worse, kill him. If the subjects punish the sovereign power, they are actually punishing themselves. Moreover, any punishment meted the sovereign is unjust because the fault is not the sovereign's but the people's. Why punish another individual for the harm caused by the subjects?

6. The sovereign has the right to regulate doctrine. He is "judge of what opinions and doctrines are averse, and what conducing to peace." This, according to Hobbes, is very important for the maintenance of peace in the political commonwealth.

7. The sovereign enjoys the power to prescribe the rules governing property—the goods the subjects can enjoy and how they may enjoy them. In this way, the sovereign regulates the competition between subjects. When they were still in the state of nature, men had equal rights to all things. With the institution of the sovereign, the right of men to property is recognized and the exercise of that right is managed by the sovereign.

8. The sovereign has the right to decide on cases of conflicts of law. Remember, in the state of nature, men used their own reason to judge their own cases. With the sovereign acting as the common power, he now acts as the entity that hears and decides on cases involving the subjects. In this way, the instability and insecurity that existed in the state of nature with the absence of a common judge may be resolved.

Wow! These are pretty important rights and powers that the sovereign enjoys. What will happen if the sovereign abuses his powers and he behaves in such a way that he now becomes a threat to the lives of his subjects? These are questions that need to be answered. Unfortunately, they are a little tricky to respond to and discuss. So before we go any further, I am going to let you try your hand at answering these questions based on your understanding of Hobbes' *Leviathan.* Let's see what your views are regarding the right to resist an abusive ruler and how these compare to Hobbes' ideas.

Activity 6-1

In the space provided below, write down your thoughts regarding the people's right to resist a bad government. Here are the questions to guide you. Do not worry as there are no right or wrong answers here. What we want to see is your own interpretation of Hobbes' work. Later in the discussion, we will compare your interpretation with the interpretation of various scholars.

1. Does Hobbes recognize the subjects' right to resist? Why or why not? You can quote directly from his work if you want to in order to support your position.

2. How about you? Do you think people should have a right to resist bad governments (i.e., a government that does not protect its citizens)? Why or why not?

Comments on Activity 6-1

Were you able to find any quotable quotes from the *Leviathan* on this issue? There are several in fact and we will discuss them in a little while. Now, whether you answered the first question in the affirmative or not is not as important as the reason you gave for your answer. As long as you were able to defend your answer with logical arguments and provide evidence to support your position, then you have done well. Cheers for a job well done!

In the succeeding section, we will discuss the various arguments concerning the right of resistance (or the absence of it) in Hobbes' *Leviathan*. Try to compare your arguments with those of various scholars. See how your interpretation varies from theirs. In correcting your work, try to watch out for these issues that we will discuss here.

The "Right" to Resist a Bad Government

Let us now proceed to dissect Hobbes' position on the right to resist. Actually, there is no agreement on whether or not Hobbes actually recognized the right of subjects to resist a bad government. Some scholars believe that the nature of the contract does not give subjects the right to resist. Why is this? Going back to our earlier discussion, we said that any action, good or bad, which people do against the sovereign is an action they do unto themselves. This is because the sovereign is the representative of the people who are the authors of the sovereign's acts. So, to resist the sovereign and his actions is to resist themselves. Do you think any rational individual would do that? Add to this the fact that in Hobbes' social contract, only the subjects have duties or obligations; the sovereign has rights or powers. Therefore, the subjects owe their absolute obedience to the sovereign who, to stress the point one more time, is their representative. If they obey the sovereign, they obey themselves.

Now, let's complicate the discussion by looking at the other side of the coin. Those who believe that Hobbes recognizes the right to resist point out that Hobbes does not explicitly or overtly discuss this right; it is only implied in his work. He does not even talk of it as a right, hence the quotation marks in our subtitle—"right" as opposed to right. While Hobbes did not explicitly speak or write about such a right, traces of it can be found in the *Leviathan.* Here are some examples of these traces:

> … when our refusal to obey frustrates the end for which

> the sovereign was ordained, then there is no liberty to refuse, but otherwise there is …
>
> … the obligation of subjects to the sovereign is understood to last as long, and no longer, than the power lasts by which he is able to protect them …

Because of statements like these, some scholars say Hobbes recognizes the "right" to resist. While men are required to keep their covenant which they voluntarily agreed upon among themselves, there may come a point when it becomes "intolerably dangerous to do so." What is man to do then? Get out of the covenant? Here we see that the subjects may come to a point when they no longer feel obliged to keep the covenant and decide to get out of it. Germino (1972:113) provides us a very good summation of what for him is Hobbes' view as of the subjects' right to resist:

> … Hobbes appears to be saying that although there is no legitimate right of resistance to arbitrary government, it is inevitable that a sovereign will in fact be resisted and overthrown if he flagrantly and consistently violates the principles of reason or the laws of nature, which constitute the foundations of civil government.

Supposing we accept the view that arbitrary government will be resisted, the next question is whether this is done by individuals or as a collectivity. We can find the answer to this question by examining the nature of decision-making among men. In the state of nature, we find that men are in a condition of war of all against all. Clearly, there is no collective will to speak of but only an individual desire for self-preservation. Thus, the behavior of men in the state of nature is based on decisions made by the individual and by him alone.

As for the social contract, the decision to opt out of the condition of war and to enter into a social contract is made on an individual basis also. Those who feel the need to give up their right to preserve themselves get together, enter into a contract, form the commonwealth and choose their sovereign. This implies that the people or the subjects agree to have a collective identity or will through the sovereign. Without the sovereign, they continue to be the individualistic beings they were prior to the contract. Since the people gain collective will only through the act of choosing a sovereign and the sovereign is the symbol or representation of the collective identity of the people, then if people resisted the sovereign they would be resisting themselves as a collectivity. This now points to the view that the decision to resist must then be, like decisions in the state of nature and the decision to enter into the social contract, done on an indi-

vidual basis. When an individual feels that the sovereign is a threat to his life, then the individual can opt out of the arrangement since the purpose for which he transferred his rights to the sovereign is no longer being fulfilled.

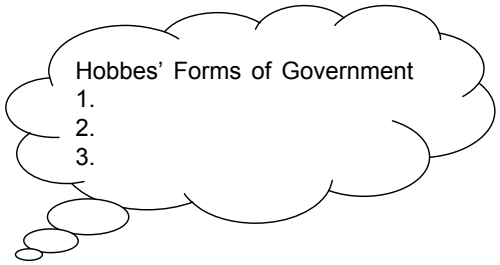
Now, what will prevent the individual from exercising his right to resist a sovereign who threatens his life? The answer is also the reason why men enter into a social contract in the first place. The dangerous and unstable condition in the state of nature leads men to forge contracts with one another. The fear of returning back to this state is what convinces them to stick with the contract. Why would a rational individual choose to stay under an arbitrary sovereign rather than go back to the state of nature? Well, according to Hobbes, if he were really rational, an individual will realize that any kind of government is preferable to the state of nature which is a condition of war. Following this argument, if man were under a tyrant or a despotic ruler, he is still better off than if he were in the state of nature where he has only himself to turn to.

If you were in the shoes of the Hobbesian man, what would you choose—stick it out with an arbitrary government or go back to a condition of war? Why?

This now brings us to Hobbes' position on the issue of the best form of government. What do you think he prefers? If you do not know the answer, check it out in the next section. If you think you know Hobbes' choice, then go through the following discussion to see whether you are correct.

The Best Form of Government

If you recall, both Aristotle and St. Thomas Aquinas came up with six types of government. For Aristotle there are three good ones and three perverted ones while for St. Thomas there are three just governments and three unjust ones. How many forms did Hobbes identify? What is your answer? If you answered "three," you are absolutely right! What are these three forms of government? Think about your answer for a minute or two. Ready? Okay, write down your answers on the thought bubble on the next page.



Draw your face or paste your picture here.
This is you thinking!

Have you written down your answers? If not, you still have time to reflect on Hobbes' work. If yes, let's see whether you got them right. Hobbes says:

> … when the representative is one man, then the commonwealth is a *monarchy*; when the assembly of all that will come together, then it is a *democracy,* or popular commonwealth; and when an assembly of a part only, then it is called an *aristocracy* (italics supplied).

Do these terms sound familiar? That is because these were the very same terms or labels used by Aristotle and St. Thomas Aquinas in their respective works. But this time around, these terms are used neutrally. What do we mean by this? If you noticed, Hobbes did not distinguish between right and perverted constitutions or just and unjust governments; rather, he focused on the number of rulers in a given form. This is what we mean by a "neutral" classification. Hobbes' classification is based on a quantitative rather than a qualitative categorization of governments.

Why does Hobbes reject Aristotle's (and St. Aquinas', for that matter) value-laden typology? The answer can be traced to Hobbes' view that there are no universal standards for good and evil. Anything that a person likes is said to be good and anything he dislikes is evil. Thus, what is good and evil varies from person to person. For example, for a person with a sweet tooth, candies and chocolates are good. But to someone else, candies are bad because they cause tooth decay and make one fat. We cannot say that on the whole, candies are good or bad. If we apply this explanation to governments, we cannot say outright that democracy is good and monarchy is bad or vice-versa. As Hobbes tells us, labels such as tyranny and oligarchy do not refer to bad forms of governments; rather, these should be seen as subjective labels people attach to a particular government that they dislike. Hobbes believes that forms of government should be viewed only in terms of their numerical composition and nothing more. Of course, Hobbes does not stop there. He proceeds to tell us what he

prefers among the three forms. Which form does Hobbes like? Did I hear you say "monarchy"? You are right! A round of applause for you! The next question we ask is why? How does Hobbes explain his choice? Scholars have different but related explanations. One explanation is that for Hobbes, monarchy is the form "most likely to produce the peace and security of the people" (Germino, 1972:111-112). A second view is that Hobbes' choice is based on his perception that the monarchical form of government "suffers less from competition for office and power than do aristocracies and democracies" and moreover, "it is easier for one than for many to act resolutely and consistently" (Ebenstein & Ebenstein, 2000:358). Third explanation comes from Hobbes himself. He says that sovereign power is incommunicable and inseparable because dividing or distributing power among several bodies leads to the weakening of the state. What better way to avoid this situation than by delegating power to one man—the king—or an assembly of a few men. From this argument, we see Hobbes' dislike of any division of powers.

To conclude this discussion, we should point out that on the whole, Hobbes' preference for monarchy is based on his perception that monarchy is "likely to be more effective than its rivals, and will result in more peace and security for the people" (Ebenstein & Ebenstein, 2000: 360). He chooses monarchy over aristocracy and democracy for practical reasons rather than for any perceived moral or theoretical superiority of this form of government.

Summary

At the beginning of this module, you were given a brief explanation of the concept of social contract. In general, "social contract was invented to support the case for disobedience to authority [but] in the *Leviathan* Hobbes makes out a social contract case for the absolute government which social contract had been invented to undermine" (McClelland, 1998:193). Hobbes' preference for monarchy, and absolute monarchy at that, means that his social contract was done in such a way as to give the duties or obligations to the people or the subjects and the rights to the sovereign power. He thus emphasizes the need for absolute obedience of the subjects to the sovereign power as long as the sovereign is able to protect their lives. This is the minimum that the subjects can expect from their sovereign. Hobbes points out that beyond this, the subjects have no right to demand anything from the sovereign.

While we cannot say that Hobbes explicitly recognizes the subjects' right to resist a government that abuses them and threatens the lives it should protect, we may speak of a people's natural right to defend themselves from any threats to their lives. This is something that they do not lose even under the sovereign. But again, Hobbes tells the subjects to think twice before they decide to bring down a sovereign. This is because resistance can only lead to one of two consequences. One, the subjects will revert back to the state of nature which is a condition of war and which is the worst situation one can find himself in. Two, the subjects may find themselves under a new sovereign who may be more abusive than the previous sovereign. Given the choice, what would you prefer? Tough choice, huh?

In Hobbes' *Leviathan,* the social contract is a contract between subjects only. It is voluntary and mutually agreed upon. Hobbes did not make the sovereign a party to the contract so that it will not have obligations towards the subjects. Instead, the subjects agree to submit their rights to the sovereign so that they can get out of the state of nature and preserve their lives. The subjects pledge to obey the sovereign absolutely.

These are the basic elements of Hobbes' social contract in a nutshell. What follows next is another version of the social contract by another English philosopher. Let's see how different or similar their versions are. Well, what are you waiting for? Let's go!

Module 7
John Locke

We are now on our seventh stop in our Social Science II journey. How have you done so far? I hope you have enjoyed our visits and are eager for more. As we continue our exploration of the social contract thinkers' ideas, you will notice certain differences in Thomas Hobbes and John Locke's theories. Locke uses the concept of the social contract in order to support the people's right to resist a tyrannical government. Locke was quite emphatic about this matter. Are you now curious how one concept was interpreted by two philosophers in different ways? We will try to put an end to your curiosity. Prepare yourself to visit the world of Locke's social contract. Have fun while you learn!

A Glimpse Into John Locke's World

Source: Microsoft Encarta 2000

Locke and Hobbes were both Englishmen and Oxford-educated. Born on 29 August 1632 in Somerset, Locke appeared to be destined for a career in the academe. He entered Christ Church College at the University of Oxford in 1625. His initial interest was philosophy but he later on branched out to law, experimental science and medicine. Locke received his bachelor's degree in 1656 and successfully obtained his master's in 1658. He stayed on at Oxford as a tutor but he was "illegally ejected for his allegedly subversive opinions in 1684" (McClelland, 1998:230).

Objectives

After studying this module, you should be able to:

1. Explain the basic elements of Locke's social contract;
2. Discuss the similarities and differences between the social contracts of Hobbes and Locke; and
3. Examine the relevance of Locke's ideas on the social contract to our times.

Even before he left Oxford, Locke already had the chance to meet certain personalities who were to play important roles in his life. There was Thomas Sydenham, whom he met in 1667. Sydenham was a well-known medical personality in England and Locke had the opportunity to work with him in both clinical and research works. And then there was Anthony Ashley Cooper, the First Earl of Shaftesbury, with whom Locke had a 15-year association that began in 1666. Locke served as a friend, adviser, companion and physician to Lord Ashley. Through his association with the Earl of Shaftesbury, who was the leader of the Whig Party, Locke got several minor government appointments. In line with one of his jobs, Locke wrote the *Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina* (1669), a colony in North America with Lord Ashley as one of the founders and chief owners. Locke stayed in government until 1675 during which time Lord Ashley fell from favor of the powers that be.

Locke spent the next four years in France. He returned to England in 1679 to find Lord Ashley leading the opposition to the Royal Court. Lord Ashley then fled to Holland where he died in 1683. As for Locke, he resisted the Roman Catholic religion that was favored by the English monarchy. Like Lord Ashley, Locke feared for his life and decided to go into exile in Holland where he lived from 1683 to 1689. In Holland (or The Netherlands as we call it now), Locke experienced first-hand the very liberal and highly tolerant way of life of Dutch society. Scholars say that the years he spent in Holland may have shaped his views particularly with regard to liberalism in politics and religion.

In early 1689, Locke found himself on a boat that brought him back to his native England. During this time, the Glorious Revolution of England had just ended; Protestantism had been restored to favor; and the Parliament had just given William and Mary of Orange the crown. Sovereignty of Parliament was also recognized (the most important issue resolved during the Glorious Revolution of 1688 was the question of which was sovereign the monarchy or Parliament). Upon his return to England, the new government appointed Locke as Commissioner of Appeals. In 1696, he

was appointed Commissioner of Trade and Plantations. He held this position until 1700 when he resigned from government due to his poor health. Locke suffered from asthma and the polluted environment of London worsened his condition. He died in Oates on 28 October 1704.

Like the previous philosophers whom we have visited, Locke wrote several important works, including *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1690), *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* (1693), and *The Reasonableness of Christianity* (1695). The work which you will be reading in a short while is entitled the *Second Treatise of Government* (1690). As the title implies, it is the second part of his work entitled *Two Treatises of Government.* The *Second Treatise* was written by Locke in an atmosphere of liberalism and tolerance in Holland before the Glorious Revolution of 1688. Locke began working on this material in 1679 and finished it in 1681 but he revised it upon his return to England to include the revolution that had taken place.

What was Locke's reason for writing the *Second Treatise*? Some say it was to justify the Glorious Revolution or to provide it with ideological armory. Others claim it was to attack the ideas of Hobbes. Still others who say that through the *Second Treatise,* Locke wanted to set forth a plan for reforms that will be applicable not only to his native country, England, but to other countries as well. As one scholar notes: "The chief purpose of Locke's *Second Treatise* ... is to bring the governments of the world before the bar of reason (Germino, 1972:127)." On that note, we will end this introduction to Locke and you will now proceed to read the excerpt from *Second Treatise of Government.* As you read, take note of any similarities or differences between his and Hobbes' version of the social contract. Enjoy reading!

Locke's Ideas

How did you find Locke's theory? Did you like it? Was his work difficult to understand or did you have a relatively easy time comprehending it? How does his work compare to Hobbes' *Leviathan* in terms of content and writing style? Most importantly, did you learn anything from it? Well, before we scrutinize Locke's work in detail, let us first try our hand at an exercise. See how many correct answers you can get this time around.

SAQ 7-1

Below is a list of categories. Under each, identify as many items as you are required. For example, if the category is any three provinces of the Philippines, and you wrote down Pangasinan, Laguna, and Cebu, then you will get the full three points. Write down your answers on the space provided. Ready? Okay, inhale, exhale. Are you relaxed now? Good luck!

1. Any two fields of study of interest to Locke:

2. Any two important works written by Locke:

3. Any three characteristics of the state of nature according to Locke:

4. Two (2) types of liberty as identified by Locke:

5. Form of government which is not a form of civil government:

6. The supreme power of the commonwealth:

7. Four limits to the power of the government in the commonwealth:

You get a star for every correct answer. Excited to find out how many you got? Well, just refer to the next box to see the correct answers. Hope you did well!

ASAQ 7-1

Here are the answers to the exercise. In some cases, there are more possible answers than you were required to provide. I have included all the possible answers. Each correct answer is worth a star. See how many stars you earned. Here we go!

1. Fields of study Locke was interested in:
   - Philosophy
   - Law
   - Experimental Science
   - Medicine
   - Education

2. Important works by Locke:
   - *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*
   - *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*
   - *The Reasonableness of Christianity*
   - *Two Treatises of Government*
   - *Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina*

3. Characteristics of the state of nature according to Locke:
   - A state of perfect freedom
   - A state of equality
   - A state governed by a law of nature which is reason
   - A state of liberty but not of license

4. Two types of liberty discussed by Locke:
   - Natural liberty
   - Civil liberty

5. Form of government which is not a form of civil government:
   - Absolute monarchy

6. Supreme power of the commonwealth:
   - Legislative power

ASAQ 7-1 cont'd.

7. Limits to the power of the government in the commonwealth:
   - Power is to be exercised by promulgated established laws which apply to all equally.
   - Laws should be designed for the good of the people.
   - The power to tax must be exercised with the consent of the people.
   - Power cannot be transferred without the consent of the people.

How many stars did you get?

14-15 ★s → You are the Star of the New Millennium! Take a bow!
12-13 ★s → You are the Star of the 21st Century! Shine!
10-11 ★s → You are the Star of the Decade! Applause!
0-9 ★s → You are a little star on the rise so do not worry. Your time has not yet come. You might be a late bloomer for all you know.

It is now time to turn our attention to the various issues that Locke discusses in the *Second Treatise*. Let's see how Locke's version of the social contract compares with that of Hobbes'. Both Hobbes and Locke start with their views on the nature of the human being and the state of nature. Thus, we can say that both thinkers represent the anthropocentric humanist tradition —that is, they view man as the measure of all things. Like Hobbes' theory, the political theory of Locke is also based on a theory of human nature.

Locke's theory of knowledge

One of Locke's contributions to the field of theory was his critical theory of knowledge. Ever heard of this? What this refers to is Locke's view that experience is a key source of man's knowledge. His theory is based on the idea that the mind can be likened to a blank or white paper where experience is written. This concept is also known by the Latin phrase *tabula rasa* or white paper. There are those (such as Helvetius and Holbach) who argue that Locke's theory appears to point to experience as the only source of knowledge. On the contrary, according to Germino, this is not what Locke meant. Instead, Locke tells us that there are twin sources of knowledge—sense experience and reflection. From this perspective, we

can see that man's mind is not a passive entity that simply absorbs whatever man experiences in his daily life from birth to death; rather, it is an active participant in the processing of experience. This is where reflection comes in (Germino, 1972:117). Locke tells us that the mind is not like a sponge. While it does absorb knowledge gained through its environment, the mind does not stop there. It processes this knowledge—through reflection—and the mind retains some and discards other elements of this sensory-based knowledge.

For this reason, Locke has been referred to as the founder of the school of empiricism. Locke's empiricism is based on the view that sense experience, as opposed to intuition and deduction, is the important source of knowledge. It was not Locke who first conceived of this idea but another English philosopher by the name of Francis Bacon. However, it was Locke who expressed it in a systematic manner, particularly in his essay entitled *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1690). This empiricist doctrine is the thread that holds together Locke's views on politics, theology, philosophy and education. In all these, Locke emphasized reason and tolerance, and the view that knowledge is based on sense experience and thus, is not inherent or innate to man.

The nature of the human being

For Locke, what characteristics differentiate man from other creatures? First of all, men possess the faculty of reason. Locke tells us that men are inherently rational. One does not have to be educated to make rational decisions because reason is a faculty that is intrinsic to human beings. In relation to this characteristic, we find Locke telling us: "The state of nature has a law of nature to govern it, which obliges every one; and reason, which is that law, teaches all mankind who will but consult it, that, being all equal and independent, no one ought to harm another in his life, health, liberty or possessions." This statement from *Second Treatise* shows that reason is something which man possesses even prior to his joining society.

Second, man is free. By free, Locke means that men are by nature independent from another person's control. Here, he refers to the concept of natural liberty which pertains to man's freedom from any other earthly power. This means that man is the judge and executioner of all his cases. Should there be any violation of the law of nature, each man is the decision-maker. Do you have any idea what such a condition can lead to? Later on when we discuss the state of nature in the Lockean social contract, we will see the consequences of a situation where each man is judge and executioner of his own case.

Third, like Hobbes, Locke recognizes that men are equal. But is Locke's notion of equality the same as that of Hobbes? Men, according to Locke, are equal since they belong to the same species and rank, and they possess the same power, make use of the same faculties and enjoy the same right to possess and enjoy property. By the way, when Locke uses the word "property," he does not only refer to the tangible things we own like land, a house or a car. Locke's concept has a broader application—it pertains to life, liberty and estates. The natural rights which men possess include life, liberty and estates, and these rights are to be mutually respected by all (Curtis, 1981:360). This is what equality among men means, says Locke.

To recap, we find that men in the Lockean world are by nature rational, free or independent, and equal. Keep these characteristics in mind because these are the same qualities that Locke associates with the state of nature which we will discuss next.

The state of nature

Both Hobbes and Locke see society as unnatural to men. To get out from the state of nature, men come together, agree to associate with one another and create some form of organization. How did Locke describe the state of nature? In general, we can say that Locke's view of the state of nature is very different from that of Hobbes. The state of nature, Locke tells us, is:

1. a state of perfect freedom where men can "order their actions and dispose of their possessions and persons as they think fit, within the bounds of the law of nature, without asking leave or depending upon the will of any other man;"

2. a state of equality "wherein all the power and jurisdiction is reciprocal, no one having more than another" and this equality is said to be the basis of the obligation of mutual love among human beings and also of their obligations towards each other;

3. a state that is governed by the law of nature which is rational and which seeks the preservation of men's lives, liberties, and estates; and

4. a state of liberty but not a state of license "because although man in that state has an uncontrollable liberty to dispose of his person or possessions, yet he has no liberty to destroy himself, or so much as any creature in his possession, but where some nobler use than its bare preservation calls for it."

Now, you might ask: "If the state of nature is a state of perfect freedom, equality, rationality and liberty, why would anybody want to leave that condition?" Good question. In *Leviathan*, Hobbes explains to us that the state of nature is a condition of war in which every man is against everybody else. Behind this is the predisposition to fighting that arises from men's equality in capacities, hopes and desires. In the state of nature, the life of man is solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short. Everyone fears violent death. In contrast there appears to be relative peace in Locke's state of nature. To go back to the question we raised earlier: "Why would any individual want to leave Locke's state of nature?" Would you like to venture an answer? Come on, give it a try. Jot down any answer you may have in your mind on the space provided below.

A probable reason for leaving the state of nature is:

According to Locke, the answer lies in the shortcomings or deficiencies that we find in the state of nature. What are these shortcomings? Locke identifies three: (1) the state of nature is unstable because even if men were guided by reason, they tend to be biased in favor of their personal interests; (2) the state of nature lacks a third-party judge who will decide impartially on cases of violations of the law; and (3) in the state of nature, the aggrieved party is not always strong enough to serve as executioner of the just punishment which corresponds to violations (Ebenstein & Ebenstein, 2000:384). These deficiencies—or inconveniences—in the state of nature lead to the possibility of the state of nature deteriorating into a state of war.

Here lies the difference between Hobbes and Locke's theories. The former says that the state of nature is a condition of war while the latter points out that the state of nature is distinct from a state of war. Locke describes the state of war thus:

> ... men living together according to reason, without a common superior on earth with authority to judge between them is properly the state of nature, but force, or a declared design of force, upon the person of another, where there is no common superior on earth to appeal to for relief is the state of war.

Locke goes on to describe the state of war as a state of "enmity, malice, violence and mutual destruction" while the state of nature is a state of "peace, goodwill, mutual assistance and preservation of property." The reason the state of nature deteriorates into a state of war is that men are insecure in the state of nature. Why are they insecure and what are they insecure about? The absence of a common judge that decides on violations of the laws makes men insecure about the exercise and enjoyment of their natural rights to property. In other words, there is a certain degree of instability in the state of nature. Instability results from the fact that in the state of nature each man is judge, jury and executioner of his own case, and even if he were guided by reason, there is the tendency for man to be partial to his own interest. Here, then, we find why and how the state of perfect freedom, equality, rationality and liberty is transformed to a state of war. The question we now face is: How do men get out of this predicament? The answer is through the social contract.

The social contract

Based on our discussion so far, can you tell me the reason why men enter into a social contract? If the Hobbesian men entered society to avoid a condition of war, what about the Lockean men? Pause for a few minute to think about your answer. Then write your answer in the space below.

Locke tells us that men leave the state of nature because of the inconveniences—insecurity and instability, for instance—that arise from the absence of a common judge with authority to decide on cases. Since men are rational, they come to realize that only under a common authority can they exercise and possess their natural rights to life, liberty and estate. Was this your answer? Yes? Well done!

Now, what can we say about Locke's version of the social contract? Like Hobbes, Locke says that the social contract is forged among the people (and does not involve the government); it is voluntarily entered into and mutually agreed upon; and it is the means people utilize to get out of the state of nature and secure a better life for themselves. But there are also important differences between Hobbes' version of the social contract and that of Locke. Hobbes says the social contract may be based on the decision of the majority. Locke, on the other hand, says that the original decision to form a society has to be unanimous. All succeeding decisions, such as the form of government, may be based on the voice of the majority. Also, compared to Hobbes' version, Locke's social contract is two-fold or involves a double process. In Hobbes' *Leviathan,* we find that when men enter into the social contract, they agree to submit their rights to the sovereign power. In Locke's *Second Treatise,* the men agree first to create society and then to form government. What does this difference imply? In the Hobbesian social contract, men come together and surrender their rights to the sovereign. If and when the sovereign's behavior threatens the very lives it is supposed to protect and preserve, the people may resist the sovereign power. Should this happen, the people will go back to the state of nature which, as we said earlier, is not exactly the nicest place to be in. In the Lockean social contract, on the other hand, since society comes before the creation of government, the collapse of government will not lead to a the return to the state of nature. Should the people become restless and decide to exercise their right to resist an abusive government, they will not automatically go back to the state of nature. Rather, they will remain in civil society where they can again discuss, deliberate and choose to form another government. The implied idea in Locke's work that the people contract to form society in the first instance and then contract again to establish government at some later time shows the double process involved in Locke's social contract (McClelland, 1998:367). This is one important difference between the social contract in *Leviathan* and in *Second Treatise.*

At the start of this journey, we mentioned that works of philosophers have varying interpretations. Some interpretations may, in fact, contradict one another. For example, not everyone agrees that Locke distinguished between social contract and governmental contract. Earlier, we mentioned McClelland's interpretation of Locke's social contract as consisting of a double process—the first one creates society and the second one forms the government. For his part, Germino states that he does not see any evidence to support a distinction between the social contract and governmental contract. This does not mean that Locke did not intend to make such a distinction. It may just be that "Locke left the matter deliberately ambiguous" (Germino, 1972:129). From this argument, we can see how one single work can be interpreted differently by two scholars.

Another important distinction between Hobbes and Locke's theories has to do with their views on the relationship between government and the people. Hobbes does not make the sovereign a party to the contract; thus, the sovereign will not have any obligations towards the people. What the sovereign enjoys are rights and the people owe the sovereign their absolute obedience because the people are deemed to be the authors of the sovereign's decisions and actions. Locke offers a different view. The social contract is still among the people, only this time, Locke gives the rights to the people and the obligations to the government. Here, we see Locke emphasizing the duty of government to preserve the people's property and the right of the people to resist a tyrannical government.

Still a third distinction has to do with the philosophers' solution to the problems found in the state of nature. Earlier, we found Hobbes advising us that any solution—that is, any form of government—is better than the state of nature. Thus, he does not speak outrightly of a right to resist on the part of the people because any form of resistance will lead the people to the worst situation they can find themselves in—the condition of war of all against all in the state of nature. Locke disagrees with Hobbes. The solution to the inconveniences and insecurity we find in the state of nature is not civil government per se. Locke tells us that the people should not be content with just any form of government. In cases where government is unable to perform its duty of protecting the people's property, the people have the legitimate right to take back the rights they entrusted to government and to transfer such rights to another government of their choice. An important element in Locke's social contract is the concept of consent. Locke explains that the social contract should be based on the consent of each individual—that is, I will become a member of society only if I consent to be one. This implies that the government formed by the people should also be based on consent. Consequently, when the people withdraw this consent, the government collapses and may be replaced by a new one.

Related to the idea of consent of the governed is Locke's concept of civil liberty or the liberty that men enjoy in society. This liberty is enjoyed by men only when they are under a government to which they have given their consent. When the people move from the state of nature to civil society and government, their natural liberty is transformed into civil liberty. They continue to be free but in a different context.

To summarize the key ideas of Locke's social contract, we identify two important things to remember. First, the social contract is an agreement based on unanimity among the people to leave the inconveniences of the state of nature and form civil society. Second, there is the corollary principle that after the formation of society, all members consent to the decision of the majority with regard to the form of government. Locke's social

contract, like that of Hobbes', is voluntary and mutually agreed upon. It is between the subjects or the people only. Locke emphasizes the idea that the social contract must be based on the consent of the governed. Why does Locke put so much emphasis on consent? Proceed to the next section for the answer. We will next discuss Locke's views on civil government, forms of government and the concept of fiduciary trust.

Government as a fiduciary trust

Before we discuss what Locke meant by fiduciary trust, let us first examine his ideas concerning civil government. Locke talks of civil government as "the proper remedy for the inconveniences of the state of nature, which must certainly be great where men may be judges in their own case." When is civil government formed? First, the people unanimously consent to be part of civil society to avoid the insecurity and instability in the state of nature. Second, once in society, the people agree on a form of government which then acts as the representative of the people. Locke explains that a civil society and government is set up "wherever any number of men, in the state of nature, enter into society to make one people, one body politic under one supreme government, or else when anyone joins himself to and incorporates with any government already made and hereby he authorizes the society ... to make laws for him as the public good of the society shall require ... and this puts men out of a state of nature into that of a commonwealth." In this situation, people find themselves under a common law that defines right and wrong and punishes violators of the law. A common judge who is impartial when it comes to deciding on violations of the law and a system by which laws are enforced and sanctions authoritatively imposed on violators are provided.

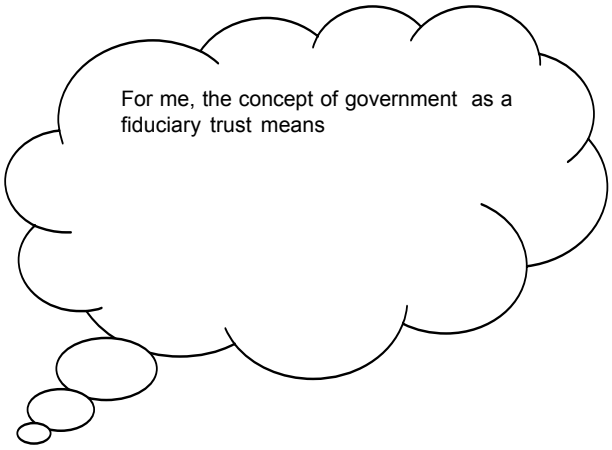
Men come together in a political commonwealth and place themselves under a government primarily to ensure the preservation of their property. This is the primary function of the government.

Did Locke speak of forms of government? If you responded in the affirmative, very good. A few paragraphs back we said that it is the people—or the majority of them—who will decide what form government will take. The people may choose from the following: (1) a perfect or direct democracy where the legislature is composed of everybody; (2) an oligarchy where power is vested in a few select men; (3) a monarchy where power is possessed by one man; and (4) a mixed form of government (Germino, 1972:139-140). Locke also mentions his dislike of certain forms and his preference for a particular type of government. Specifically, Locke states that absolute monarchy, which Hobbes preferred, is no civil government at all. Locke does not agree with Hobbes that absolute monarchy is better than the state of nature. Locke prefers a civil government where

powers are vested in different entities and where limits are placed on the exercise of these powers. *Second Treatise* reveals Locke's preference for government founded on liberal constitutionalism—a government that enjoys certain powers, is based on the rule of law and is run for limited objectives. One scholar noted that for Locke liberal government is the only form of government founded on correct and rational principles. Once these principles are put into practice correctly, men will find themselves out of the state of nature and in society where their properties are safe and secure (Germino, 1972:138-139).

What powers are mentioned by Locke? Well, the most supreme of all is legislative power and this is "sacred and unalterable in the hands where the community has once placed it." There is also executive power necessary for effective administration and survival of the government. Since Locke was wary of the abuses that may arise from an absolutist government, he puts limits on the exercise of powers, as follows: (1) to govern only according to promulgated and established laws; (2) to make laws which are necessary and designed for the good of the people; (3) to raise property taxes only with people's directly or indirectly expressed consent; and (4) to bar the transfer of legislative power to any entity other than the body on which the people initially bestowed it. The transfer of powers should be done only by those who have the right to confer that power in the first place. Do you agree with this proposition?

This is the right time to explain Locke's concept of government as a fiduciary trust. Any ideas on what government as a fiduciary trust means? Here is another thought bubble for you to jot down any ideas you may have about this matter. Give it a try. You can consult a dictionary if you want.



Draw your face or paste your picture here.
This is you thinking!

Were you able to come up with your own ideas? If you had some difficulty doing so, do not despair as we will try to define Locke's concept right now.

In an ordinary trust, it is said that there are usually three parties: (1) the trustor who creates the trust; (2) the trustee who administers the trust; and (3) the beneficiary for whom the trust was created and is being administered in the first place. Now, in Locke's view there are only two parties to the trust: (1) the people who are both trustor and beneficiary and (2) the government (in particular, the legislature) who is the trustee. The government, as the trustee, is the one to which the rights of the people are entrusted. In this sense, the government does not possess any rights which the people did not entrust to it in the first place. The role of government then is to act as the caretaker of the rights delegated to it by the people. Ebenstein and Ebenstein (2000:384) articulates this concept in this way:

> The purpose of the trust is determined by the interest of the beneficiary and not by the will of the trustee. The trustee is little more than a servant of both trustor and beneficiary, and he may be recalled by the trustor in the event of neglect of duty.

This quotation now leads us to an important idea—one that again distinguishes Locke from Hobbes and also makes Locke's social contract supportive of the people's right to oppose an abusive government and transfer their rights to another government by consent.

The right to resist

Suppose you got some land as part of your inheritance from a very rich and generous aunt or uncle. Suppose further that you are still underage and you would have to wait until you turn 18 years old before you can use your inheritance without needing the consent of your guardians. What happens is that a trust will be created in your name by your parents or guardians and they, as the trustee, will manage the trust until you reach the right age. Now, supposing your land is sold by the trustee without your knowledge and consent. What do you do? Do you keep quiet or do you run after the trustee who misused your inheritance?

This example, with a few modifications, can be likened to the situation some people may find themselves in if the government to which they entrusted their rights suddenly turns abusive and tyrannical. What do they do? Locke says that the people can exercise their right to resist government and such resistance is justifiable since the people simply entrusted their rights to the government. The government, as the trustee, has the duty to preserve and protect the people's rights; if the government fails to fulfill its end of the bargain, the people can transfer their rights to another entity. Given that the government is only a trustee or caretaker, the people continue to possess the power to replace the government when the need arises.

You might be wondering what will happen if people develop the penchant for changing government for the most trivial reasons. Locke tells us that we should not worry about this happening. First, men do not resist "upon every little mismanagement in public affairs" but will do so only when their patience has run out. Second, the right to resist can only be exercised against the unjust and unlawful use of force. And third, this right can only be exercised by the people as a collective entity, either by majority vote or by unanimity (Ebenstein & Ebenstein, 2000:387). This last point is based on Locke's view that only the people can judge when a government has become abusive as they are the ones who suffer from the abuse. And only they as a people can go against such abuse.

If and when the people decide to exercise their right to resist a tyrannical or despotic government, they do so because the government has done wrong. Since they have only entrusted, as opposed to "submitted" (in Hobbes' theory), their rights to the government, they have a right, perhaps even an obligation, to do away with that government by withdrawing its rights and transferring these to another government. When they do this, they are not rebelling against the government. It is the government which has rebelled against the people by not doing its tasks properly. And since government did not take care of the rights entrusted to it, then the people have every right to exercise their legitimate right to resist (Germino, 1972:145-146). This is very different from the view expressed by Hobbes in *Leviathan* where he said that the people have no legitimate right to go against the sovereign power for they have submitted their rights to it already, and being the author of the sovereign's actions, people who resist the sovereign are resisting themselves. Were you able to get that? I hope so.

Summary

Before we end our visit with Locke, let us try to go over important ideas we have learned from him. According to Locke:

1. Men by nature are free, equal and independent. They possess the faculty of reason and have the right to preserve their property which consists of life, liberty and estates.
2. The state of nature is a state of perfect freedom, equality, rationality and liberty, but not license. However, the absence of a common judge to decide on cases involving violations of laws results in a sense of insecurity and instability among the people. As such, there is a predisposition to move from the state of nature to a state of war which is a state of malice, violence and enmity.
3. Men enter into a social contract to avoid the inconveniences of the state of nature. They choose a government and entrust their rights to it. The government thus serves as the caretaker or trustee and acts as the representative of the people. Its main task is to ensure the preservation of the people's properties. People, as citizens, are in turn obliged to follow the laws put forward by the government. However, absolute obedience is not required.
4. Since the government is simply the trustee, the people who are the trustor and beneficiary of the trust or contract have the legitimate right to resist a tyrannical or despotic government. They can withdraw their rights and transfer these to a new government—one that they feel is more fit to serve their interests. When the people exercise this right, they are not rebelling against the government. It is a legitimate response to the government that has rebelled against the people by not performing their responsibilities towards the citizens.

Okay. Now that we know what Locke has to say about the social contract and we have compared his version with Hobbes' version of the social contract, it is time to reflect on what we have just learned. How can we apply Locke's views, especially his concept of the right to resist an abusive government, to certain issues of our day?

With this, we wrap up our visit with Locke. Now we can proceed to Jean Jacques Rousseau and learn about his version of the social contract. Unlike the social contract theories of Hobbes and Locke, Rousseau's version is fraught with ambiguities. But rather than look at this as a problem, let us see it as a challenge and as something that makes reading Rousseau an interesting experience. If you are ready for Rousseau, then you may now proceed to the next module. Get ready to meet one of the more controversial and important philosophers of all time.

Module 8
Jean Jacques Rousseau

The 1700s has been called the Age of Enlightenment by some scholars. It was during the latter part of this century that the French Revolution happened. The Age of Enlightenment is a phase in the 18th century prior to the French Revolution that was characterized by reason, scientific inquiry, a respect for humanity and a desire to reexamine and question all accepted ideas and values and explore new ones. On the other hand, the French Revolution, which took place during the period 1789-1799, was a political, economic and social upheaval in France that transformed France from being an absolutist monarchy to a republic. How is Rousseau linked to these?

Well, to put it simply, Rousseau is considered one of the most eloquent writers of the Age of Enlightenment and he has been credited by some as being the man behind the French Revolution. Can you imagine being credited for such a big and significant event? Let's find out why Rousseau is credited with such important historical events.

Objectives

After studying this module, you should be able to:

1. Identify the key elements of Rousseau's version of the social contract;
2. Explain the differences and similarities in the social contract theories of Hobbes, Locke, and Rousseau; and
3. Discuss whether Rousseau's views continue to be relevant to our world and if so, in what way.

Meeting Rousseau

Source: Grolier Multimedia Encyclopedia, 1995

Jean Jacques Rousseau is probably one of the most controversial, if not the most misunderstood, philosophers of all time. He was born to a poor family in Geneva on 28 June 1712. His mother died shortly after his birth and his father deserted him while Jean Jacques was still a child. During his early teenage years, he was apprentice to a notary and then to an engraver. When he was 16 years old, Rousseau served as the secretary and companion to Madame Louise de Warens who sent him to a school in Turin. All told, Rousseau spent eight years (from 1731 to 1738) at Madame de Warens' household where he had the chance to study and be exposed to music, philosophy, chemistry, mathematics and Latin. He also took a liking to the theater and opera. In 1742, Rousseau went to Paris where he moved from one trade to another—he became a music teacher, a music copyist and then a political secretary. Compared to the other philosophers who traveled the European continent in comfort and style, Rousseau had a more difficult time due to his poverty. In fact, it is said that Rousseau's "poverty made him commit minor thefts and larcenies, change his religion for temporary material advantage and accept charity from people he detested" (Ebenstein & Ebenstein, 2000:443-444). It was his personality (his charm, perhaps?) that opened doors for Rousseau in the various social groups in Paris. While he was staying at a small hotel in Paris, he met and fell in love with a servant girl by the name of Therese Levasseur. They remained together until Rousseau's death.

Rousseau wrote several works. Some works were musical, others biographical/personal sketches, and still others philosophical. He wrote an opera, *Les Muses Galantes,* which was anything but a success. In his *Confessions* and *Rousseau Judge of Jean Jacques,* he gave readers insights into the exciting and interesting details of his life. His *A Discourse on the Moral Effects of the Arts and Sciences* won a contest sponsored by the Academy of Dijon and the victory made Rousseau famous. A second entry, *Discourse on the Origin of Inequality*, did not win but scholars say this is more systematic in its treatment of the subject matter than the first discourse.

Rousseau also wrote *Emile* where he talked about his views on education. And, last but not the least, *The Social Contract*, written in 1762, is considered Rousseau's most important contribution to political philosophy.

Some of Rousseau's works were too controversial for comfort and authorities ordered them burned (*Emile,* for example) and Rousseau arrested. Rousseau fled to Paris to escape these threats. He moved to Neuchatel, then to Prussia, and finally he found himself accepting asylum in England offered by his friend David Hume. But his penchant for picking fights and quarrelling with his friends and his fear of being persecuted rendered him homeless and so he returned to France. Here, he wrote and finished some of his important works, like *Confessions.* It was in France that Rousseau met his death quite suddenly on 2 July 1778. Some accounts say that Rousseau died stark raving mad. Some say he committed suicide. Up until his death, he lived up to the description of being a solitary wanderer. To sum up, Rousseau has been characterized as "an unhappy and neurotic man [who] at times suffer[ed] from extreme paranoid delusions ... [but as a] political thinker [he was] of the first rank ... one of the four or five great political writers of modern times" (Germino, 1972:179).

Now that we know a little more about the man and his life, it is time to get your reader and go through the excerpt from Rousseau's *The Social Contract*. Keep an eye out for similarities and differences between his version of the social contract and those of Hobbes and Locke.

The Social Contract *Ala* Rousseau

Any initial reactions to Rousseau's work? Did you like it? How does it compare with the excerpts you read from Hobbes and Locke? Right now, it is time to check what you have understood from the excerpt and the introduction. Complete the following exercise before we continue with our discussion. Do your best!

SAQ 8-1

Here are two columns. In Column A, are descriptions or definitions of concepts that have to do with Rousseau's life and works. In Column B are the concepts being described and defined in Column A. To spice things up a bit, I have left some blank spaces and only a few letters as clues. Your task is to complete the answer by filling in the missing letters. Okay? So, what are you waiting for? Go, go, go!

Column A	Column B
1. Rousseau's second entry to the Academy of Dijon contest that did not win but was deemed to be a more systematic essay than his winning entry	_ _ S _ _ _ R _ _ _ _ _ H _ _ _ I _ _ N _ F _ _ E _ _ _ L _ _ _
2. Rousseau's work that dealt with his views on education	_ _ I _ _
3. City and country where Rousseau was born	_ E _ _ _ A, _ W _ _ _ E _ L _ _ _
4. The most famous line from Rousseau's *The Social Contract*	M _ _ _ _ B _ _ N _ _ E _ A _ _ _ V _ _ Y _ _ _ R _ _ _ I _ _ _ _ H _ _ N _
5. Through this, each individual puts his person and all his power in common under the supreme direction of the general will	_ O _ _ _ _ C _ _ P _ _ _
6. The body formed by the people takes on this name when it is active	_ O _ E _ _ _ G _
7. Only this can direct the state toward the attainment of the common good	G _ _ _ R _ _ _ I _ _
8. The end goal of the civil state is to attain this	_ O _ _ L _ _ B _ _ _ Y
9. For Locke, sovereignty resides in this	_ _ O _ L _
10. The sum of particular wills	W _ _ _ _ F _ L _
11. The engineer who invents the machine	_ E _ _ S _ _ _ O _
12. The intermediate body set up between the subjects and the sovereign	G _ _ _ R _ _ _ N _
13. Sovereignty cannot be represented and is characterized as indivisible and this	I _ _ L _ _ _ A _ _ _
14. This forms the basis of all legitimate authority among men	_ _ N _ _ _ T _ _ N _
15. Man loses this when he becomes a party to the social contract	N _ _ U _ _ _ L _ _ _ R _ Y

ASAQ 8-1

So, how long did it take you to complete the exercise? I bet it took you only a few minutes, right? Now, let us see how well you did. Here are the correct answers.

1. Discourse on The Origin of Inequality
2. Emile
3. Geneva, Switzerland
4. Man is born free and everywhere he is in chains.
5. Social compact
6. Sovereign
7. General will
8. Moral liberty
9. People
10. Will of all
11. Legislator
12. Government
13. Inalienable
14. Conventions
15. Natural liberty

Now that you know how many correct answers you got, see what your score means:

14-15 correct answers	☺ Excellent! Brilliant!
12-13 correct answers	☺ Congratulations on a job well done!
10-11 correct ans wers	☺ Good work!
0-9 correct answers	☹ I am sure you can do better. Try again next time. There is always hope, right? Do not give up now.

The nature of primitive man

As with Hobbes and Locke's works, we begin our examination of Rousseau's work by looking at his views on the nature of the human being. You might say to yourself: "But I have read the excerpt twice already (or even more) and there is no discussion there of Rousseau's concept of the nature of man?" Well, this is because Rousseau's discussion of this matter is found in a separate work. Do you remember the title of Rousseau's second entry to the Academy of Dijon essay-writing contest? No? Go back to the first item in the quiz you just completed. Yes, that's correct. It is in *Discourse on the Origin of Inequality* that Rousseau elaborates on the nature of man. Of course, he does mention it in *The Social Contract.* His most famous line, after all, is a remark on man, right?

Rousseau's approach to the concept of the nature of man is like this: First, he presents a portrait of man before he enters civil society. To put it another way, man reduced to his basic elements and "divested of his civilizational garments." Then, he describes the changes that man undergoes once he becomes part of a social organization. Our concern in this section is the first item. We will be discussing the second element in succeeding sections. Let us now begin looking at Rousseau's portrait of the natural man.

"Man is born free and everywhere he is in chains." This famous line from *The Social Contract* gives us a glimpse into Rousseau's idea of the pre-social or primitive man. (The use of the word "primitive" here is not meant to degrade any individual or group. It just so happens that this is the term used in the literature. If you want, we can substitute the word "natural" for "primitive" when possible.) Rousseau states that man is by nature free. Again, what this means is that man is independent of other individuals. His independence is partly due to the view, expressed by Rousseau, that man in the state of nature is self-sufficient. If man is self-sufficient, he can stand alone since he can obtain his needs without help from others. Another characteristic that we can draw from the preceding discussion is that since man is alone, independent and self-sufficient, there is no social force drawing man to join others in some form of social organization. This, again, contradicts Aristotle's view that man is a social animal and that he needs to be part of the *polis* to attain self-sufficiency.

Man in the pre-social state, says Rousseau, is driven by two instincts: (1) self-preservation or protection of his self-interest; and (2) compassion for other men. This implies that unlike Hobbes' pre-social man, Rousseau's primitive man does not consider his fellow an enemy. While both philosophers view men in the state of nature as being driven by the desire for self-preservation, Rousseau's man does not consider other human beings as a threat to his life as Hobbes' man does. There is an interpretation of this

view that attributes innate goodness to man. Since man is compassionate and does not see others as his enemies, then he must be good by nature. Just a little clarification on this matter. While some scholars have attributed innate goodness to man, Rousseau said that man does not consider himself good because man cannot conceive himself as good. Now what exactly does that mean?

Man in the state of nature and on his own accord, according to Rousseau, does not consider himself good because he has no concept of good and bad, right and wrong, and just and unjust. Man has no moral or religious standards while he is still in the state of nature simply because, Rousseau believes, man by nature does not possess reason. Man possesses the faculty of reason only when he enters and becomes part of the civil society. Thus, we can say that man in the state of nature is good but he is amoral. Without reason, instincts drive men to behave a certain way. One scholar suggests that primitive man is first and foremost driven by immediate wants and instincts and "the desires of the savage never go beyond his physical wants" (Copleston, 1994:66).

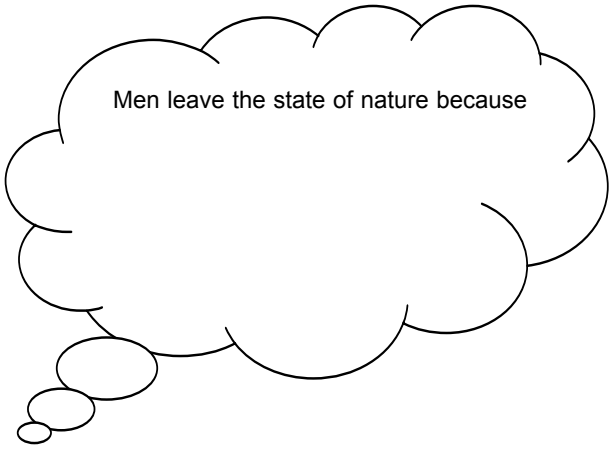
All these characteristics are summed up by Rousseau in his concept of man as a "noble savage." Natural man is primitive and wild, does not possess the faculties of speech and reason, and does not have a sense of right and wrong and of good and evil. These make him a savage. On the other hand, natural man is compassionate and good. He does not consider his fellow men as enemies. He lacks the desire to harm others and is self-sufficient. These traits make him noble. Hence the concept of man as a noble savage, a label which at first might seem like a contradiction in terms but if you look at it from Rousseau's viewpoint, is a sound and valid statement. The concept of the "noble savage" is only one of the paradoxes that we see in Rousseau's works. This is why Rousseau has been called by some as a philosopher of paradoxes.

There is another concept about man's nature that we have not yet discussed. This has to do with Rousseau's view that men are unequal in two ways. There is natural inequality which arises from differences in physical built, traits, age and other differences that are due to nature. And then there is physical or moral inequality which arises from differences in wealth, power and so on. Thus, unlike Hobbes and Locke who both claim that men in the state of nature are equal, Rousseau believes otherwise. It has to be said, however, that the inequality one finds in Rousseau's state of nature is based on natural or physical differences. Such inequality is related to differences in the natural rights and talents that we find among men. Moral or political inequality, on the other hand, comes into existence "due originally to the development of our faculties, and it is 'rendered permanent and legitimate by the establishment of property and law'" (Copleston, 1994:69). Here we see that moral or political inequality

can be observed once man's faculties are developed, and private property and political society are established. Thus, it is a type of inequality we cannot find in the state of nature. To repeat, the state of nature is characterized by inequality of the natural or physical kind and not of the moral or political kind.

From all these, we can try to draw out the characteristics of the state of nature. Rousseau refers the state of nature, but unlike Hobbes and Locke, he does not elaborate on this. However, we can still see a glimpse of Rousseau's state of nature from his discussion of the nature of man. Thus, it can be pointed out that the state of nature for Rousseau is a state of "primitiveness," of amorality alongside goodness, and of natural or physical inequality but also of self-sufficiency. It is a state of freedom and independence, and of no speech and reason, and a state driven by men's instincts. According to Germino (1972:183-184), "*The Social Contract* ... makes little of the state of nature aside from mentioning its existence and the fact that at a certain point, 'obstacles'—presumably such natural calamities as floods and earthquakes—make it necessary for isolated individuals to unite and combine forces in order to survive."

This brings us to the reason man leaves the state of nature and enters society. What are the factors that lead men to draw up a covenant with each other, form an association? Think about this for a moment and try to fill up the thought bubble below with your answer. Come on, think hard and reflect on Rousseau's work. Again, the question is: "Why do men leave the state of nature and enter civil society?"



Draw your face or
paste your picture here.
This is you thinking!

Let's see if your answer matches Rousseau's idea. Move on to the next section where we will discuss why societies are formed in Rousseau's version of the social contract.

The origin of civil society

Before we proceed, let's take another trip down memory lane. Can you still remember what Hobbes and Locke say about civil society? What reasons do Hobbes and Locke give for the creation of society or any association in their social contract theories? If you recall, Hobbes tells us that the state of nature is a condition of war of everyone against everybody else. Because of such a condition, men fear violent death. As a consequence, they agree to give up or submit their rights to a sovereign power chosen by them. They give up their rights because by doing so, they get out of the condition of war and move into an association led by a sovereign that will ensure the preservation of men's lives and the maintenance of the social contract. It is the desire for self-preservation and the fear of violent death which persuade the Hobbesian man to contract with others and form an association.

How about Locke? If we go back to Locke's state of nature, we find that it is a condition of perfect freedom, liberty but not license, equality and rationality. Compared to Hobbes' state of nature, Locke's state of nature is relatively peaceful. However, inconveniences arising from the absence of a common judge that will decide on violations of the law lead men to get out of the state of nature. It is these inconveniences that may transform the relative peace in the state of nature into a state of war. In order to avoid this regress, men agree to entrust their rights to a government who acts as the caretaker of such rights. And that is how an association among men is formed from Locke's perspective.

What does Rousseau say? In *Discourse on the Origins of Inequality*, Rousseau gives us one explanation why men form society. To him, the establishment of private property is the reason society is formed:

> The first man who, having enclosed a piece of ground, bethought himself of saying "this is mine," and found people simple enough to believe him, was the real founder of *civil society* ... [U]surpations by the rich, robbery by the poor and the unbridled passions of both, suppressed the cries of natural compassion and the still feeble voice of justice and filled men with avarice, ambition and vice ... the new-born state of society thus gave rise to a horrible state of war. (italics supplied)

What does this quotation tell us about man's reason for leaving the state of nature? Well, here we find that the establishment of private property brought with it certain problems like a sense of insecurity among the people in their enjoyment of things formerly held in common in the state of nature. This insecurity, along with other "evils," necessitated the creation of some form of association that will make man's life more manageable and less insecure.

In *The Social Contract*, we find Rousseau explaining the creation of civil society but now the emphasis is not on the institution of private property. Rousseau tells us that:

> ... the problem is to find a form of association which will defend and protect with the whole common force the person and goods of each association, and in which each, while uniting himself with all, may still obey himself alone and remain as free as before ...

From this quotation, we see the reason for the creation of society: "security" and "liberty" or "freedom." Why is there a need or desire for security on the part of the noble savage? His insecurity arises from the discovery that his capacity to preserve himself from threats in the state of nature is not enough. It is within a collective association, such as the civil society, that men enjoy that sense of security which they do not possess in the state of nature. What about liberty? Didn't we say earlier that men in the state of nature are free? If you go back to our earlier discussion of the nature of man, we mentioned that men are born free; thus, even outside of civil society, man has liberty. But this liberty—natural liberty—is one that is founded on the strength of each man. This means that my freedom to enjoy my property, for instance, is based on my capacity to protect and defend my property from others. But since no one is strong enough to completely protect himself from others, everyone is insecure. Therefore, "the liberty of the state of nature is no true liberty, because it is enslavement to uncontrolled appetites" (Ebenstein & Ebenstein, 2000:447). Once a man is part of society, he now possesses civil liberty which is liberty limited by the laws of society which tell him what he can and cannot do with his fellow members. According to Rousseau, civil liberty is based on the general will. We will discuss this concept in a little while.

The end of civil society is not civil liberty, although that is important. The goal is moral liberty which, for Rousseau, is the only kind of liberty which makes man a true master of himself. Civil liberty is transformed to moral liberty when the rules and laws that determine and limit the actions of

men are made by the men themselves. This brings us to Rousseau's idea that men continue to be free even if they have to follow laws so long as they are the ones who make the laws. That is moral liberty, the goal of civil society. In sum, by getting out of the state of nature man loses his natural liberty, but he gains civil liberty which can be transformed into moral liberty.

What is the nature of the contract that men enter into? Like that of Hobbes and Locke, the contract of Rousseau is between men or the citizens themselves. It is also voluntary and mutually agreed upon and it requires unanimity. The contract is also the means by which men get out of the state of nature in search of a better and more secure life. However, there is one major difference among the three philosophers. (This is not to say that there is only one difference, okay? I just wanted to highlight one important point here. I'm sure you can think of other differences.) For Hobbes, men submit their rights to a sovereign. As a consequence of this submission, the sovereign has no obligation towards the subjects outside the minimum duty of preserving men's lives and maintaining the social contract. For Locke, men entrust their rights to their property to government. Because the relationship between government and the people is a trust, the government has the duty of preserving the properties of the people, of acting as an unbiased third-party judge in cases of violations of laws, and of taking care of the rights entrusted to it by the people for safekeeping. In the case of Rousseau, to whom do the people transfer their rights? To the sovereign? To the government in general? To the legislature? The answer is "NO" to all three choices. So, what is the answer?

The people transfer their rights to themselves because as Rousseau explains to us, the civil society is formed when "each citizen puts his person and all his power in common under the supreme direction of the general will, and, in our corporate capacity, we receive each member as an indivisible part of the whole." This quotation is from *The Social Contract*. Thus, in Rousseau's view, the people remain sovereign. We should also emphasize that Rousseau's social contract involves the "total alienation of each associate, together with all his rights, to the whole community" and this total renunciation of rights results in the formation of a true community. In such a community, the members give up their rights not to any individual or group of persons but to the entire community which is composed of the members themselves (Germino, 1972:184). This is what Rousseau was referring to when he said that through the social contract men do not really give up any right to anybody because as each individual gives himself to everyone, it turns out that he gives himself to nobody.

At this point, we have mentioned two important concepts that really need to be examined more exhaustively: "sovereignty" and "general will." We shall attempt to do so in the next section.

Sovereignty and the general will

What results from the social contract? Once individuals give up their rights to the community, what happens exactly? According to Rousseau, the act of the social contract leads to the formation of a moral and collective body. This public entity which is formed as a result of the union of all persons concerned is called a republic or body politic. Rousseau points out that the members call this body politic the state when it is passive and the sovereign when it is active. The members are referred to as citizens when they share in the sovereign power and subjects when they are under the laws of the state. Here, we see that the members have a dual role in the republic. First, they are members of the sovereign and as such they are bound to all the other members. Second, as members of the state they are bound to the sovereign. As citizens, the members take part in determining the general will. As subjects, they are duty-bound to obey the laws of the body politic. This is not actually going to pose a dilemma for them because as the sovereign, the people participate in the determination of the general will and in the making of the laws—the same laws that they will be following as subjects of the state.

We have been talking of the sovereign for quite sometime now. Who is the sovereign? What does being the sovereign mean? And while we are asking questions, we might as well add another one: What is the general will? Before we discuss the answers to these questions, put on your thinking cap again as we shall do some mental exercises.

Activity 8-1

Try to define the following concepts using your own words. Our objective is to see how well you were able to comprehend Rousseau's ideas. Write down your answers on the space provided.

1. sovereign

2. sovereignty

3. general will

4. particular will

5. will of all

Comments on Activity 8-1

Were you able to define all the concepts? That's wonderful! Good work. If you had difficulty differentiating one concept from another, do not worry, we will try to clearly explain all these concepts in a little while. At the same time that we will be defining these concepts, we will also try to differentiate them from one another and to examine the linkages between those concepts that are related. Let's now proceed to discuss these five key concepts and see how your definitions compare with those by Rousseau. Ready?

In his most basic definition of the concept of sovereignty, Rousseau tells us that sovereignty refers to the exercise of authoritative power and to the use of force without right. And who exercises this power? Why, the people, of course! As we said earlier, Rousseau's sovereign is the people who form a moral and collective community through the social contract. Thus, for Rousseau, "the sovereign is the whole body of the people as legislating, as the source of law" (Copleston, 1994:84).

How does Rousseau describe sovereignty? What characteristics did he associate with the concept? Sovereignty is, first and foremost, inalienable. Second, sovereignty is indivisible. Third, sovereignty cannot be represented. In sum, sovereignty can never be alienated and is indivisible and the Sovereign—who is no one else but the collective body composed of all the members of the State—cannot be represented except by itself. All these traits have to do with Rousseau's idea that sovereignty consists of the exercise of the general will.

What is the general will? By way of introduction, let me say that scholars consider the concept of the general will as one of Rousseau's important conceptual contributions to political philosophy. However, Rousseau does not explain precisely the concept of the general will. He leaves it to readers to define the concept. So, let us try to see what we—with the help of the experts, naturally—can make of the general will. We already know that sovereignty involves the exercise of the general will. Rousseau also tells us that it is the general will alone that can direct the state to attain the object for which it was instituted—the common good.

The general will, says Rousseau, is the expression of the interest of the community. It is the enlightened interest of the whole collective body and not the imposition of the interest of those who belong to the numerical majority. The general will seeks to attain a convergence between liberty and authority, interest and duty, and individuality and universality. The

general will is always right and works to the public advantage. However, in *The Social Contract,* we see Rousseau saying that "it does not follow that the deliberations of the people are always correct ... [because] our will is always for our good but we do not always see what that is because the people [are] never corrupted, but it is often deceived, and on such occasions only does it seem to will what is bad." *Discourse on Political Economy*—the work where the concept of the general will first appeared—explains to us that the general will "tends always to the preservation and welfare of the whole and of every part, and is the source of laws, constitutes for all the members of the state, in their relation to one another and to it, the rule of what is just or unjust."

Rousseau differentiates the general will from the will of all. According to him, "There is often a great deal of difference between the will of all and the general will as the latter considers only the common interest while the former takes private interest into account and is no more than a sum of particular wills." So, while the will of all is defined by Rousseau as the sum of particular wills, the general will is the sum of the differences of particular wills. You see, Rousseau thinks that each member of the community has his or her own particular will. Now, in the most ideal situation, each member's particular will should coincide with or tend to the general will. But this is not always the case. Thus, simply adding up all the members' particular wills does not give us the general will. Instead we get the will of all. We can arrive at the general will once the "pluses and minuses [in the particular wills] cancel out another," and the differences in the particular wills are all added up. Rousseau adds that "if, when the people, being furnished with adequate information, held its deliberations, the citizens had no communication one with another, the grand total of the small differences would always give the general will, and the decision would always be good." Moreover, in order for the general will to be expressed, there should be no "particular society within the State" because this will distort the general will. Particular societies may be able to impose their own will on the entire community and if that happens, the general will cannot be determined. But if particular societies cannot be avoided, then, Rousseau explains, "it is best to have as many as possible and to prevent them from being unequal, and these precautions are the only ones that can guarantee that the general will shall be always enlightened and that the people shall in no way deceive itself."

From our discussion so far, we can identify two key elements of the general will: (1) the general will is geared towards the common good; and (2) the general will must come from all the members of the collective body and must apply to all of them as well (Ebenstein & Ebenstein, 2000:448). But how do the people determine the general will? Again, Rousseau is not very clear on this matter. He does tell us though that the general will "cannot be identified without more ado with the sum of particular wills

as manifested in a majority, or even in a unanimous vote," and this is because "the result of voting may give expression to a mistaken idea of what the common good involves and demands; and a law which is enacted as the result of voting may conceivably be detrimental to the public advantage" (Copleston, 1994:86-87). And while on their own the people always tend to will what is for the common good, they may not be enlightened enough to know this. Such a situation may lead to a distortion of the general will. It is here that the legislator enters the picture. We will, for the time being, leave this concept aside as we wrap up our discussion on determining the general will.

We can see from *The Social Contract* that Rousseau places importance on the participation of the citizens. One scholar observes that Rousseau appears to support the idea that "there could be no valid expression of the general will without the personal participation of the entire citizen body" (Watkins, 1953:xxxiii). It has also been observed that the concept of the general will necessitates the participation of every citizen in the making of laws (Ebenstein & Ebenstein, 2000:450). From these remarks we can see why Rousseau has been called by some as a supporter of direct popular democracy. What Rousseau may have been thinking of was the experience of the small Swiss cantons of his time where it was possible for the people to directly participate in the decision-making process. In our country of 78 million Filipinos and more than 7,100 islands, it is clearly impossible for each one of us to be directly involved in the making of decisions. But this does not automatically mean that there is no way to determine the general will in a country like ours. What we can conclude from Rousseau's work is that he was not exactly clear how the general will can be determined. As observed by one scholar, Rousseau appears to be saying that "no government is legitimate unless it rests on the general will," but sadly, "there is no reliable way of telling what the general will may be" (Watkins, 1953:xxxiii). As we mentioned earlier, Rousseau is not exactly clear and definite in expressing his ideas. This has left his work open to varied, and sometimes conflicting, interpretations. On the one hand, we can say that his vagueness or ambiguity has watered down the value of his work. But on the other hand, it can also be argued that this has kept his work from being dated, and thus, from becoming obsolete or passé.

Another question that we need to deal with is what happens to those whose particular wills do not coincide with the general will or those who refuse to obey the general will. Let's turn our attention to Rousseau for enlightenment on this matter:

> In order then that the social compact may not be an empty formula, it tacitly includes the undertaking, which alone can give force to the rest, that whoever refuses to obey the general will shall be compelled to do so by the whole body,

> and this means nothing less than that he will be *forced to be free,* for this is the condition which, by giving each citizen to his country, secures him against all personal dependence. (italics supplied)

Those who will refuse to obey and those whose particular wills go against the general will shall be forced to be free. What does this mean? In the first place, by agreeing to give up their rights to the community, the members agree to submit to the general will and to give their consent to the laws. Second, the general will is said to tend to the common good and to public advantage. If we put these two things together, we can come up with a view similar to the conclusion expressed in the following passage: "The expression of the general will is the expression of each citizen's real will. Now, to follow one's own will is to act freely. Hence to be compelled to conform one's will to the general will is to be compelled to be free. It is to be brought into a state where one wills what one 'really' wills" (Copleston, 1994:91). It is only through compulsion that men who refuse to obey the general will can be made to obey. But in the end, it will be to their benefit that they are forced to be free. This concept also has to do with Rousseau's idea of moral liberty which, he tells us, is the end of the political community. Moral liberty, which men acquire only in the civil state, "can be attained only through the general will creating laws which come from all, apply to all and aim at the general good" (Ebenstein & Ebenstein, 2000:449-450). In the civil state, there may be instances when some members give their consent to one law but not to another. But by the mere fact that members stay in the civil state, they are giving their tacit consent to all the laws—even to those that punish them for whatever violations they may commit. Thus, the consent that they give at the inception of the social contract cannot be selective or qualified consent.

Now that we know more about how the civil state is formed and the reasons for its creation, we turn our attention to the operations of the government within the body politic.

Government: the agent of the general will

What are your views about government? What is the role of government? Is government necessary? Is there such a thing as a best form of government? According to Rousseau, the government is "an intermediate body set up between the subjects and the sovereign, to secure their mutual correspondence, charged with the execution of the laws and the maintenance of liberty, both civil and political." Based on this statement from Rousseau's work, we can see that the government is given control over the civil state and has the legitimate right to exercise executive power.

Why is government necessary? Why is it established in the first place? Well, because the people need an entity to bind them together and "set it to work under the direction of the general will, to serve as a means of communication between the state and the sovereign, and to do for the collective person more or less what the union of soul and body does for man." In addition, Rousseau points out that the orders given by the government come from the sovereign, who are the people themselves. We can therefore say that the government, although it is a body distinct from the collective community, is merely the agent of the people's interest or the general will. If it should happen that the leaders of the government begin to impose their own particular wills on the community and make it appear as if their particular will was the general will, then the body politic will dissolve and collapse and the collective body will come to an end. Thus, it is important to ensure that the government behaves in such a way that it is indeed a representative of the general will and not the particular will of any individual or group posturing as agents of the general will.

If executive power is vested in the government, who has legislative power? Any ideas? Come on, try an educated guess. If you said "the people," then you guessed correctly. Rousseau tells us that the legislative power can belong to no one else but the people.

We find that Rousseau advocates a system where the executive and legislative powers are not vested in one and the same body. What is the reason for this? *The Social Contract* explains to us that "it is not good for him who makes the laws to execute them, or for the body of the people to turn its attention away from a general standpoint and devote it to particular objects [because] nothing is more dangerous than the influences of private interests in public affairs." Rousseau prefers a system where there is division of labor or specialization among the different units of the system. The government looks at the particular issues while the sovereign concerns itself with the general interest. In an ideal system, however, the particulars should coincide with the general interest.

Aside from talking about the separation of executive and legislative powers, Rousseau also briefly considers forms of government. The choice of the form of government depends on many factors, among them population size, geographical considerations, size of the territory, climate and socio-cultural traditions. Rousseau relates these characteristics to the question of the most suitable form of government. For instance, he points out that the larger a society is, the greater is the need for a strong (referring to

the use of more force) government. The following are the forms of government suited to certain conditions: (1) a democratic government can exist only in very small societies; (2) a monarchy is fit for large states; and (3) an aristocracy is perfect for middle-sized states. While Rousseau prefers an elective aristocracy (or an elected government that is composed of a minority of the population who are the best among the citizenry and who are chosen for fixed terms through free elections), he does not categorically say that this is the best form of government. Hobbes, for his part, favors an absolutist monarchy as the best system. Rousseau, even though he prefers an elective aristocracy, does not think there is such a thing as an ideal government that will work for all communities (Germino, 1972:199-200). According to Rousseau, there can be no answer to the question of "what is the best government?" He believes "there are as many good answers as there are possible combinations in the absolute and relative situations of all nations"(Copleston, 1994:94). Rousseau is also open to the possibility of any form of government degenerating into an abusive or tyrannical government. Thus, given that the so-called best forms can become the worst governments, one cannot say for certain that a certain government is the best one and will work for all societies.

Who decides what form should be adopted by the body politic? It is at this point that we go back to Rousseau's concept of the legislator. In the simplest definition, Rousseau says that the legislator is "the engineer who invents the machine." This machine, of course, is the government. Rousseau also points out that "in order to discover the rules of society best suited to nations, a superior intelligence beholding all the passions of men without experiencing any of them would be needed" and whoever will take on the role of the legislator should, as stated in *The Social Contract,* be capable of: (1) changing the nature of men and women; (2) transforming each member into becoming part of a whole greater than his solitary being; (3) strengthening each member's constitution and (4) substituting a partial and moral existence for the physical and independent existence conferred by nature on human beings. From the discussion, we can see that the legislator is an extraordinary being. He is an individual "of outstanding moral and intellectual genius ... [whose] function was to perceive the optimum conditions of sociability as they existed at a given time and place, and to devise institutions which would enable men to live accordingly" (Watkins, 1953:xxxvii). We should also add that the legislator cannot and should not use force to have people accept his proposals. He can use his persuasive powers but he cannot, under any circumstances, coerce them into acceptance.

Summary

Rousseau's social contract finds men leaving the state of nature in order to attain the twin goals of security and liberty in the civil state. By entering the civil state, men give up their natural liberty in exchange for civil and moral liberty. Moral liberty, which is the highest end of the community, is the only kind of liberty that makes men true masters of themselves. This is because moral liberty is attained only when men follow rules that they made themselves.

In the civil state, sovereignty resides in the people. Sovereignty involves the exercise of the general will. Also, the sovereign power possessed by the people cannot be represented and is both inalienable and indivisible. The general will, meanwhile, is the expression of the enlightened interest of the community. Since it is the enlightened interest of the collective body, it always tends to the common good. The general will is the only thing that can direct the body politic to attain the objective for which it was instituted in the first place—the common good.

As sovereignty is possessed by the people, they are the ones who have legislative power, which involves making rules and laws for the body politic. The executive power, or the right of supreme administration of the community, is vested in the government. Rousseau does not think that there is such a thing as the best form of government, although he is said to have shown a preference for an elective aristocracy. How do the people know what system is best suited for them? The legislator will help them set up the system of institutions and laws which best fits the specific conditions of a particular community.

Should the government, whatever form it may be, decide to impose its particular will on the people and refuse to act as the agent of the general will, the people can decide to dissolve the government and give the executive power to another government. After all, it is the people who are sovereign and the government is simply their representative. In the final analysis, the government gets its orders from the sovereign.

With that, we bring to a close our journey into the world of the social contract thinkers. Did you learn a lot from our visit with Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau? I hope so. You can take a break for now. Give yourself a pat on the back for a job well done. See you in our forthcoming visit to the world of the economic thinkers.

UNIT III
From Smith to Mill

Module 9
Adam Smith

After successfully getting acquainted with the social contract thinkers, we will now pay a visit to several economic philosophers. We will discuss some concepts that you will encounter for the first time, as well as some issues that should be familiar to you by now. Perhaps you will learn a lesson or two which will help you better understand the economic predicament we Filipinos now find ourselves in.

The first stop in our itinerary is a visit with Adam Smith, a famous Scottish economist who lived in the 18th century. Let us examine his major contributions to the fields of economics and political economy.

Let's Meet Adam Smith

Source: Microsoft Encarta 2000

Like Hobbes and Locke, Adam Smith was an Oxford man. Born in 1723 in Kirkcaldy, Scotland, Smith received his primary education in Kirkcaldy. In 1737, he entered the University of Glasgow where he received his master's degree in 1740. After this, he was sent to the University of Oxford as a Snell fellow. He stayed there until 1746.

From 1746 to 1751, Smith conducted lectures on rhetoric in Edinburgh, Scotland. He developed a professional and personal association with David Hume, another famous Scottish philosopher. In 1751, Smith was appointed professor of logic at the University of Glasgow. A year later, he became profes-

Objectives

After studying this module, you should be able to:

1. Discuss the key economic ideas of Smith;
2. Identify the link between Smith's economic views and his ideas concerning government; and
3. Determine the applicability of Smith's ideas to national and international economic issues.

sor of moral philosophy at the same institution. Moral philosophy dealt with natural theology, ethics, jurisprudence and political economy. Quite a broad field of study, huh? Smith's lectures on these topics served as the basis for his work entitled *Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759) where he examined the moral sentiments—the passions, propensities, affections, feelings, whether of approbation or of disapproval—aroused by the interrelationships of men living in communities (Viner, 1968:323).

Smith left the University of Glasgow in 1763 when he opted to tutor Henry Scott, the third Duke of Buccleuch. As tutor, he went with the Duke on an 18-month tour of France and Switzerland. During these travels, he interacted with several philosophers who belonged to the physiocratic school. The physiocrats took their name from physiocracy, a school of thought in economics that believed that land is the sole source of income and wealth in society. Furthermore, they argued that there is a natural order in society that harmonizes the interests of individual citizens with the common interests of society. With such ideas, it is no surprise that the physiocrats advocated individual liberty and rejected government intervention in society and the economy (Pass, 1991: 393).

In 1766 Smith went back to the United Kingdom where he served as an adviser to Charles Townsend. Between 1766 to 1776 Smith wrote his greatest work, the first economic treatise on the nature of capital and the historical development of industry and commerce in European nations entitled *An Inquiry Into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations,* or simply *The Wealth of Nations*. Smith became commissioner of customs of Edinburgh in 1778. In 1787, he was named Lord Rector of the University of Glasgow (Microsoft Encarta, 2000:1). He spent the remaining days of his life in Edinburgh where he died on 17 July 1790.

Smith lived and worked during the same century the Industrial Revolution occurred. Do you know what the Industrial Revolution was all about? Well, it was a significant series of events in the 18th century that began in the United Kingdom as a result of several developments that transformed agricultural economies into industrial ones. One of the most immediate

and obvious changes had to do with the production process— changes in the goods that were produced, how they were produced and where they were produced. The developments that came with the Industrial Revolution compelled people to migrate from the rural areas to the cities, bringing on widespread urbanization. Thus the Industrial Revolution resulted not only in economic changes but also in sociocultural and, to a certain extent, political changes.

What does Smith's ideas have to do with the Industrial Revolution? During this period of rapid and widespread changes in society and the economy, "Great Britain's government pursued a relatively hands-off economic policy made popular through British philosopher and economist Adam Smith and his book *The Wealth of Nations.* The hands-off policy permitted fresh methods and ideas to flourish with little interference or regulation." (Porter, 2000:2)

According to Allais (1992: 31), there are three reasons why Smith's work is considered very significant: (1) the work is enriched by concrete facts and lessons of experience from the time of Ancient Greece and Rome and of Britain and France during the 1700s; (2) it is a remarkable and comprehensive synthesis of the economic thought of the time; and (3) the work criticized government interventionism and provided a theoretical justification for classical liberal ideology.

This is just a glimpse of the value of Smith's work. As you read the excerpt from *The Wealth of Nations*, pay attention to ideas that continue to have an impact on economies and societies to this day. Happy reading!

The Wealth of Nations

Now that you have read the excerpt, you are in a better position to discuss Smith's ideas. Were you able to identify concepts or views that have influenced economies worldwide? Before we discuss your answer, try your hand at a simple exercise. Let's see how much you know of Smith and his work. Good luck!

Activity 9-1

Below are two scenarios. Each scenario poses a particular economic problem. Try to answer the given problem by applying your knowledge of Smith's ideas. Write your answers on the space provided.

1. Oil prices are soaring. The countries producing oil for worldwide consumption have met to try and decide how much oil they need to produce and how much they can actually produce on a daily basis. In many countries, the Philippines in particular, the people are staging strikes to pressure government to lower oil prices. If Smith were alive today, what policy advice would he give to the Philippine president? How should our President handle the oil price hike crisis? Give only one policy suggestion.

2. You are the owner of a furniture shop which supplies chairs and tables to a big company in the city. One day, a customer orders 100 sets, with each set composed of a table and two chairs. At present, your shop is capable of producing only half of that requirement. However, since you do not want to let go of the opportunity, you decide to look for a way to meet the demand. You turn to Smith's work for help. What do you think will Smith tell you in order for you to increase the productivity of your shop? Give only one advice.

Comments on Activity 9-1

Were you able to apply Smith's ideas to the two scenarios? Below are some principles or key ideas that may be useful in terms of helping you identify Smith's line of thought on economic matters. We will be discussing these in more detail in the succeeding sections. For now, see if you were able to incorporate these concepts into your answers.

1. Division of labor
2. Specialization
3. *Laissez faire*
4. Free market competition
5. Rejection of government interventionism

Generally speaking, the first two ideas are relevant to Scenario 2 while the remaining three are useful for Scenario 1.

Let us now scrutinize *The Wealth of Nations.* This book is generally considered as the first treatise on political economy. Although Smith is not considered the father of political economy, he is widely considered to be the greatest political economist. *The Wealth of Nations* is divided into five books: (1) *Labor*; (2) *Capital*; (3) *Economic Progress*; (4) *The System of Political Economy*; and (5) *Public Finances*. In these books, Smith puts together in a very systematic manner the key ideas of his time. These ideas are:

1. All economic phenomena are linked and, as such, are interdependent.
2. Free competition is what makes production and exchange most advantageous for everyone.
3. Economic freedom is the condition of prosperity and growth.
4. Intervention by the state generally produces effects opposite to those which it claims to pursue (Allais, 1992:34-35).

Now let's direct our attention to Smith's ideas. Our starting point is his view of the nature of man which is articulated in *Theory of Moral Sentiments.*

Nature of human beings

Economists are usually thought of as being more concerned with equations and models than with human beings. If they do show an interest in people, they factor people into equations either as producers or as consumers of a particular good. But Smith is different in that he gives emphasis on the nature of human beings in general. The nature of man and woman is part of his economic analysis. According to Smith, "the free, decentralized action of economic agents in a system of competition and private property brings advantages for each of them … each one, moved by his selfish interest, is in reality led by an 'invisible hand' to satisfy the interests of all others" (Allais, 1992:33). From this statement, we already get an idea of Smith's concept of the nature of man and woman. Like Machiavelli and Hobbes, Smith believes that human beings are driven by selfish interests. However, according to Smith, an "invisible hand" leads the individual to the attainment of a condition or objective that is for the benefit not of the individual alone, but of all. Put another way, we can say that by acting on their own interests, men and women contribute to the attainment of a natural balance in the system. We should point out, however, that human beings do not act on their own interests out of a desire to contribute to the attainment of the natural balance. Human beings do not consciously intend to contribute to the well-being of society at large. Remember that human beings, according to Smith, are self-interested and, as such, are individualistic. Nevertheless, by their own self-interested actions, human beings contribute to the good of their fellowmen. And since men are constantly in pursuit of a better life, they will continually look for ways to achieve this goal. In the end, they will improve not only their own personal condition but also that of others in society (Ebenstein & Ebenstein, 2000:494).

Let's try to apply this to the economic system. A definition of the concept of the invisible hand says that it is a "term devised by Adam Smith to denote the way in which the market mechanism is capable of coordinating independent decisions of buyers and sellers without anyone being able to determine outcomes ... this invisible hand, acting as the automatic equilibrating mechanism of the competitive market, maximizes individual welfare and economic efficiency" (Pass *et al*., 1991:275). We will attempt to explain this with the use of an example.

Basically, we can see the invisible hand at work when we examine the price of a particular good, say, sugar. In the sugar market, there are two actors involved: the buyers (like you) and the sellers (like the Sugar Company). Your actions and that of the Sugar Companies will determine the price of a kilo of sugar. Suppose we start off with a kilo of sugar selling for 10 pesos. If the Sugar Companies sell a kilo at 10 pesos and you buy it at that price, then there will be no movement or change in the price. But if

the demand for sugar increases because buyers have decided, say, to open bakeshops or coffee houses, the Sugar Companies cannot immediately increase their production. What will happen is that the increase in demand with no corresponding increase in supply will result in an increase in the price of sugar. The more people want a particular good, the more expensive it becomes, particularly if the supply cannot be increased immediately to respond to the escalating demand for the good.

The Sugar Companies will eventually decide to produce more to meet the increase in demand. In some cases, however, the increase in production results in an oversupply of sugar because the Sugar Companies cannot determine the exact level of demand. Now, since there is more sugar than what you and other consumers need, prices will decrease. When the Sugar Companies underestimate the demand and do not produce enough, prices will continue to remain high until such time that they are able to produce enough to meet the demand. The increase and decrease in the price of sugar as dictated by the demands of buyers and sellers is a simplified example of how the mechanism of the invisible hand works. We will go back to this idea when we discuss the doctrine of *laissez faire*.

Division of labor

Thus far, we have mentioned that human beings are self-interested creatures. In addition, human beings are driven to act a certain way by other factors such as: (1) sympathy for others (which balances love for self); (2) desire for freedom in all aspects of life (but more particularly in economic affairs); (3) a sense of propriety; (4) a habit of labor; and (5) a natural propensity to trade or exchange something for another (Roll, 1992:129). Regarding this last point, Smith has this to say in *The Wealth of Nations*: "... the propensity to truck, barter and exchange one thing for another ... may be inherent in human nature or due to the faculties of reason and speech, but what is certain is that it is common to all men and to be found in an other race of animal." This tendency to exchange things with others leads men to specialize in a particular trade and results in the division of labor.

The division of labor increases the efficiency of labor. On a much larger scale, the division of labor is one of the requirements of economic development. Before we can understand the reason behind this argument, we have to have a common understanding of the concept. One definition of division of labor is:

> ... a process by which a particular productive operation is subdivided into a certain number of separate operations, each of which is carried out by a different person. With the division of labor the worker's skill increases, the idle time in transferring a worker from one activity to another is reduced and, above all, technical progress is stimulated. (Screpanti & Zamagni, 1995:57)

To illustrate the concept, Smith used as an example the trade of pin-making. If you still remember the excerpt from *The Wealth of Nations*, you will recall how Smith showed how the trade, which used to be carried out by only a few people, has been transformed through specialization into a trade composed of different branches with about 18 distinct operations. The operation is not performed by only one or two (or even three) persons but by many. The result is greater efficiency in the production of pins.

In particular, the division of labor has three contributions to productivity: (1) by permitting indefinite repetition of simple tasks, it promotes dexterity; (2) it eliminates the loss of working time involved in changing from one task to another; and (3) it facilitates invention of machinery, both by the artisans on the job and by outside observers (Viner, 1968:326). This is just a rewording of the quotation—to emphasize the importance of the concept of division of labor.

In the preceding section, we mentioned that the division of labor or specialization is related to the propensity of human beings to exchange things with their fellow men. *The Wealth of Nations* tells us that "the certainty of being able to exchange all that surplus part of the produce of his own labor, which is over and above his own consumption, for such parts of the produce of other men's labor as he may have occasion for, encourages every man to apply himself to a particular occupation, and to cultivate and bring to perfection whatever talent or genius he may possess for that particular species of business."

The argument is a logical one. If we all lived in a community where we all produced the same thing, say, cloth, we would not be motivated to exchange our produce with those of others in the community. But if there is a neighboring community that grows vegetables, among other things, we can perhaps exchange our surplus cloth for their surplus vegetables. And if there is a third community that produces oil, we can also exchange our surplus cloth for their surplus oil. This bartering leads to a condition where our community specializes in producing cloth while the neighbors concentrate on growing vegetables and producing oil because they can get their cloth from us in exchange for their produce. They no longer have to produce cloth because we can supply them cloth. So now, we have our own specialized trades

arising from exchanges of produce or goods. Of course, in reality things are not as simple as this. Our objective in using such an uncomplicated example is to show you the basic dynamics behind Smith's key ideas.

There are several factors that affect the division of labor. For one, a small market may discourage specialization; conversely, division of labor is encouraged when there is a sufficiently large market for the goods being produced. Advances in transport and communications also contribute to the expansion of markets, along with the development of credit and monetary instruments. These, in turn, enhance division of labor as they point to a bigger market demand to satisfy. In the end all these will result in increases in labor productivity and, in the long run, economic growth (Screpanti & Zamagni, 1995:57).

Smith makes another interesting and crucial point: he believes that a free market is necessary for the division of labor to be most effective—that is, for it to bring the most beneficial results to all parties concerned. The reason is that: "When there is a closed market ... or monopolies or guilds control productivity practices, inefficiencies can result, and often do ... [A] free market in labor and capital always directs resources to be used exclusively by those who manage them optimally and provides the rewards necessary to encourage innovation and technical advance." (Ebenstein & Ebenstein, 2000:495) But what exactly is a free market? What makes it free? And it is free from what? We turn to these questions in the next section.

Laissez faire

Laissez faire is a French word that, roughly translated, means to "let things alone." The doctrine of *laissez faire* advocates free trade and market competition. Among others, it argues that private enterprise, competitive markets for factors and products, and unimpeded international trade will result in optimum consumer welfare and a rising standard of living (Pass *et al*., 1991:294). Related to this is the view that a free market is vital for ensuring the highest quality of goods at the lowest prices and the belief that human beings, being self-interested and individualistic, interact most successfully in a condition of economic freedom (Ebenstein & Ebenstein, 2000:493-494).

Laissez faire is a reaction against the mercantilist tradition. Mercantilism is defined as "a set of ideas and policies established in the 17th century... [that] stressed the importance of trade and commerce as the source of the nation's wealth and advocated policies to increase a nation's wealth and power by encouraging exports and discouraging imports in order to al-

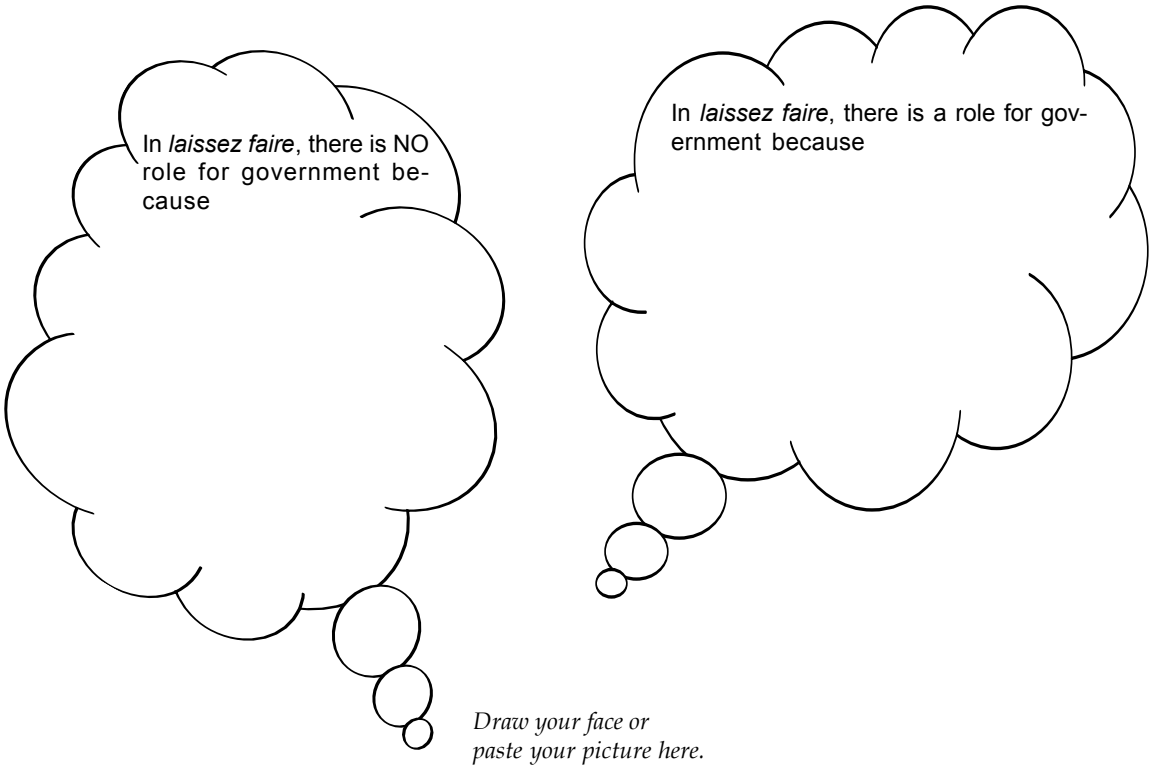
low the country to amass quantities of gold." (Pass *et al*., 1991:330) You see, at that time the wealth of a country was measured in terms of how much gold it possessed. Governments encouraged exports and discouraged imports. Smith and other critics characterize the mercantilist policy as being protectionist in nature. Why so? Because the mercantilists saw the need for government to participate in economics to promote exports and protect the local products from competition. You see, government intervention is a no-no from the perspective of advocates of the doctrine of *laissez faire*. From this description, we can see the reason why Smith is referred to as the apostle of capitalism (Ebenstein & Ebenstein, 2000:493). Under a capitalist system, the means of production are privately owned by individuals and firms, economic decision-making is highly decentralized, and resources are allocated through a large number of goods and service markets. In such a system, it is the market, and not government or any other state entity, which synchronizes decisions of buyers and sellers, and determines how much will be produced and sold and which factors will be employed (Pass *et al*., 1991:415). In brief, in a capitalist system market forces work on their own without any intervention from government.

We can relate this further to Smith's belief in the natural order of things. Do you still remember the physiocrats? Earlier, we mentioned that this group supported the idea that there is a natural order in society that leads to harmony between individual and societal interests. If harmony comes about naturally, then there is no need for any outside party to intervene in the process of harmonizing such interests. In fact, if the government, for example, decides to get involved, this will result only in the distortion of the process. Smith concludes that government's intervention in human affairs will only result in harmful consequences. The preference is to "leave each member of the community to seek to maximize his own advantage, and, compelled by natural law, he will contribute to the maximization of the common good" (Roll, 1992:129-130). The same thing goes for the economy. Left alone, the market will determine the level of supply, demand and price that will allow natural equilibrium to be attained.

What led Smith to have such a low regard for government? Well, governments then were highly inefficient and wasteful as a result of "poor taxation practices, misdirection of resources and over-regulation of the economy and society generally" (Ebenstein & Ebenstein, 2000:494). Social philosophers then believed that if government was the problem, then doing away with government, or having as minimal governmental presence as possible, would solve the problem. For this reason, they advocated *laissez faire*. The free market that Smith advocates is free from government intervention. It is a market where prices, for instance, are not determined by government (as in command or centrally-planned economies, like the former Soviet Union) but are controlled by the "invisible hand."

What is the "invisible hand" again? Going back to what you read several sections ago, we said that the "invisible hand" allows buyers and sellers to interact in such a way that no one is able to determine outcomes, such as prices, beforehand. It is some sort of an economy regulator that works well on its own, without governmental interference. Smith's concept of the "invisible hand" says that in conditions of competitive equilibrium: (1) the production system will produce goods the consumers demand; (2) the chosen production methods are the most efficient; and (3) the goods are sold at the lowest price possible (Screpanti & Zamagni, 1995:61). As you may have noticed, no mention is made of the government and what role it should play. That is precisely what the promoters of *laissez faire* wanted—the economy will be better off left to its own devices. Just let the market forces work on their own and everybody will be happy.

But is there really no place for government in a free market situation? Give this some thought for a moment and then jot down your thoughts in the thought bubbles below.



The role of government

Earlier we mentioned that Smith lived during a time when governments were generally inefficient and wasteful. This led him and his colleagues to call for a *laissez faire* policy that would get governments out of the economic arena. But Smith did not advocate for the total abolition of governments. He conceded that governments still have roles to play but these roles should be limited to those which they alone can perform. In general, governmental presence must be kept to a minimum. So what functions should governments perform? Smith limited the list to three: (1) to protect societies from violence and attacks from external enemies; (2) to protect every member of society from the injustice or oppression inflicted by other members and, consequently, to establish an exact administration of justice; and (3) to erect and maintain public institutions and public works which no individual or group of individuals can be expected to erect or maintain. By public works, Smith refers to the construction of bridges, roads and canals and the establishment of public programs such as education. This limited role, which Smith articulates in *The Wealth of Nations*, shows how reluctant or hesitant Smith was to let the government into the economic arena.

Inefficient government aside, Smith's preference for minimal government control can be traced to his view of human nature. As one scholar tells us, since man, "acting on his own self-interest, unconsciously promoted the good of the whole society, the functions of the state in economic matters should be reduced to a minimum, since individuals ought to be able to act without undue restriction in conditions of free trade and free competition." (Curtis, 1981:107) Instead of intervening in economic matters, governments must make sure that "a stable social framework within which 'the uniform, constant and uninterrupted effort of every man to better his condition' can be realized" exists in society (Ebenstein & Ebenstein, 2000:494).

Having said that, let's go back for a minute to the three roles of government. How does government perform these roles? Where does it get its resources? Providing for millions of citizens is no laughing matter. Not only do governments need people to build the roads and bridges and produce artillery, they will also require soldiers, policemen, judges and teachers to keep these systems running like a well-oiled machine. So, to whom does government turn for money? Why, who else but the people themselves! This brings us to the subject of taxation. To this day, taxes constitute a major source of revenue for governments worldwide.

Smith is careful to limit government's power of taxation thus:

1. Members of every state should contribute to support the government and such contribution should be proportionate to their economic capacities;

2. The tax that each individual should pay must be certain and not arbitrary, and the time of payment, the manner of payment, the quantity to be paid should all be clear and plain to the members of the state;

3. Every tax should be paid at the time and in a manner most convenient for the member to pay such tax; and

4. Every tax should take out and keep out of the pockets of the members as little as possible, over and above what it brings into the public treasury of the state.

The government can impose different types of taxes. For instance, government may opt to use direct taxes. Smith identifies four types of direct taxes, as follows: taxes on rent, profits, wages and poll tax. Smith put forward three principles for the imposition of taxes. First, taxes which cannot be assessed are wrongful. Second, taxes which do not promote production or which result in price increases are unwise. And third, the only types of taxes which are justified are those imposed on the unproductive members of society (e.g., people in official positions and landowners who just collect rent from their tenants). The use of these principles will help governments determine what taxes they should require their people to pay (Stone, 1992:71 & 73).

Since the power to tax is a very important power, Smith made sure to establish precautionary measures to avoid abuse by governments. The measures he recommended are designed to ensure that revenues generated from taxation be directed to the treasury and used for the benefit of the public. In conclusion, we can say that even though Smith did not think highly of government, he recognized just the same that there are roles that should be left with government.

Summary

Like the other philosophers we have already visited, Smith had his own conception of the nature of human beings. He begins by saying that men are self-interested and individualistic beings. However, their self-regard is tempered by sympathy for others. By unconsciously acting on their own interests, they contribute to the attainment of what is good for the public. It is as if an invisible hand leads men to behave a certain way.

According to Smith, the division of labor increases the efficiency of labor and thus leads to an increase in economic productivity. The division of labor results from the propensity of human beings to "truck, barter and exchange one thing for another." He adds that for the division of labor to be most effective, a free market is required.

The invisible hand is responsible for the determination of the competitive equilibrium. If buyers and sellers in any given market are left on their own, they would arrive at a balance where their respective interests would be met. Given this, Smith and his colleagues advocated a *laissez faire* policy where government would be given a limited number of roles and would be kept out of the economy as much as possible. Philosophers thought that the best government is that which governs the least. It would be better if government's role is limited to the provision of defense, justice and education. However, government will be given the power to tax, with limitations naturally, so that it can raise funds for its programs. Perhaps, we can say that for the advocates of *laissez faire*, the government is a necessary evil—can't live with it, can't live without it!

You have had your first encounter with a first-rate economist. Unfortunately, we were able to go through only some of his contributions to economic thought. But hopefully you have a better idea of Smith and his work after your initial exposure to *The Wealth of Nations*. In the next module, we will be visiting another British economist. Can you guess who he is?

Module 10
David Ricardo

How was your visit with Adam Smith? Was it exciting? If you enjoyed your visit with Smith, then you will be happy to know that in this next stop we will spend time with another British economist by the name of David Ricardo. If Smith was known for his systematic synthesis of ideas regarding division of labor, free market and free trade, Ricardo, for his part, gained recognition for his theory of rent and theory of comparative cost, among others. Do you have any idea what these theories are all about? Well, if you don't, there's no reason to panic. After all, the reason you are going through this particular module is to know more about Ricardo, his life, his ideas and his works.

Knowing David Ricardo

Source: www.pei_int.com

David Ricardo was born in the year 1772 in London to a family that emigrated from Holland in 1760. When he reached the age of 11, Ricardo was sent back to Holland to study. However, at the age of 14, he quit school and went back to London to work for his father. He found himself working at the stock exchange where he was fortunate to have gained quite a sum of money by his mid-20s. He retired from his business in 1814 and devoted his time to writing, a vocation which he began to pursue shortly after he came across a copy of Smith's *The Wealth of Nations* around the turn of the century. In 1809, he wrote a newspapar article which was later published as a pamphlet. This work, entitled *The High*

Objectives

After studying this module, you should be able to:

1. Explain Ricardo's main contributions to economic thought;
2. Relate Ricardo's ideas with those discussed by Smith; and
3. Apply Ricardo's economic arguments to problems that we are now experiencing.

Price of Bullion: A Proof of the Depreciation of Bank Notes, discussed the bullion controversy. In 1815, he published *Essay on the Influence of a Low Price of Corn on the Profits of Stock,* an essay about the law of diminishing returns to additions of capital and labor applied to land (Blaug, 1968:508). His most important work, and the one which you will be reading in just a short while, is *Principles of Political Economy and Taxation* which came out in 1817. A third edition of this work came out in 1821. Four years before his death in 1823, Smith got a seat in the House of Commons of the English Parliament. Ricardo died at his estate in England in 1823.

In *Principles of Political Economy and Taxation*, Ricardo discusses a wide range of topics. He begins by distinguishing between use value and exchange value and moves on to discuss one of his most important contributions to classical economics—the theory of rent. Ricardo also examines such issues as price, supply, demand and foreign trade and, in the third edition of his work, wages, profits and machinery. Taxation was also of interest to Ricardo. His treatment of all these issues has led some observers to refer to him as the greatest representative of classical political economy (Roll, 1992:155).

If we compare Ricardo's work to that of Smith we find that each thinker has his strengths and weaknesses. For one, Ricardo did not have the opportunity to undergo academic training in the best schools like Smith. He went to school but quit at a young age and opted to work at the stock exchange. We can perhaps deduce that the brilliant ideas he shares with us were, to a large extent, formed on the basis of his personal experiences in commerce and business. Smith, on the other hand, moved in academic circles; he was a Snell fellow, professor, tutor, lecturer and Lord Rector. We can also discern certain differences in their approach to economics. Let me quote at length one scholar's observation on this matter as this passage succinctly summarizes the distinction between the two thinkers' contributions to political economy and economics:

> If the problem of economics is the allocation of limited means among unlimited competing ends ... then Adam Smith contributed more to economics than did Ricardo; the only place where Ricardo addressed himself specifically to the allocation problem was in the chapter on foreign trade but here, at any rate, he was further and deeper than Adam Smith. If the problem of economics is growth and development ... there is again more in Adam Smith than in Ricardo. But if economics is essentially an engine of analysis, a method of thinking rather than a body of concrete results, Ricardo literally invented the technique of economists. His gift for heroic abstractions produced one of the most impressive models, judged by scope and practical import, in the entire history of economic theory. (Blaug, 1968:511)

From this passage, we can see that the contributions of Smith and Ricardo are valued differently, depending in part on what one views as the sphere and concern of the fields of economics and political economy. Suffice it to say that while they tackled similar concepts and issues in their major works, they were unique in the way they presented their analysis.

Now that we have a clearer idea of Ricardo's background, let's proceed to a more detailed examination of an excerpt from one of Ricardo's important works. After reading the excerpt, you will be given an exercise to see how well you were able to digest the reading material. The exercise will be followed by a commentary on three of Ricardo's most significant contributions to classical economics: his theory of rent, labor theory of value, and law of comparative advantage. Well, what are we waiting for? Go on and read the excerpt of Ricardo's *Principles of Political Economy and Taxation*.

Ricardo's Contributions to Classical Economics and Political Economy

Earlier, we mentioned that Ricardo is considered the greatest representative of classical political economy and one of the more famous names in classical economics. Why so? Does he deserve to be called that? Perhaps we will be in a better position to answer these questions once we understand more clearly the contributions that Ricardo made to these fields of study. However, before we begin the commentary, here's something for you to do.

SAQ 10-1

Do you watch game shows on television? If you do, then you must be familiar with the game show *Jeopardy*. In this show, the host gives a statement and contestants are expected to come up with the right or appropriate question to which the statement is the answer. For example, the host says: "The national hero of the Philippines." The contestant must respond with the question: "Who is Jose Rizal?"

We will do the same here. I will give statements and you must give the answer in the form of a question. Each correct question is worth a point. Are you ready? Write down the question on the space provided. Let's play *Jeopardy*!

1. Answer: Ricardo's most important written work.
   Question: _____?
2. Answer: Ricardo is considered as the greatest representative of this field of study.
   Question: _____?
3. Answer: Through this theory, Ricardo tells us that labor determines value.
   Question: _____?
4. Answer: Ricardo made quite a fortune from his work in this economic organization.
   Question: _____?
5. Answer: To explain the law of comparative advantage, Ricardo made use of these two commodities as examples.
   Question: _____?
6. Answer: Later in his life, Ricardo became a member of this political body.
   Question: _____?
7. Answer: This is the part of a nation's wealth used for production.
   Question: _____?
8. Answer: This is the real or actual price paid for labor.
   Question: _____?
9. Answer: Next to this person, Ricardo is perhaps the most famous representative of classical economics.
   Question: _____?
10. Answer: This depends on the habits and customs of the people, among others.
    Question: _____?

Finished already? Good work. Proceed to the next section to find out how many correct answers (or questions) you got.

ASAQ 10-1

1. What is the *Principles of Political Economy and Taxation*?
2. What is classical political economy?
3. What is the labor theory of value?
4. What is the stock exchange or the stock market?
5. What are wine and cloth?
6. What is the British House of Commons?
7. What is capital?
8. What is the market price of labor?
9. Who is Adam Smith?
10. What is the natural price of labor?

If you scored 10 points, you get a grade of excellent!
If you scored 9 points, you get a grade of very satisfactory!
If you scored 8 points, you get a grade of satisfactory!
If you scored 7 points, you get a grade of fair!
If you scored 6 points, you get a grade of pass!
A score of 5 and below gets you a grade of poor. Was the exercise difficult to do? What did you find hard to handle? Hopefully the commentary that follows can address your questions.

Theory of rent

Many people around the world do not own the house they live in. This means that they have to pay rent to a landlord who owns or simply manages the house, apartment or condominium. This rent, paid on a regular basis, is more or less fixed for a certain period of time but can be increased by a reasonable percentage usually set by law. Is the rent we pay related at all to the idea of rent put forward by Ricardo? The dictionary tells us that rent can be defined as the periodic payments that users make to those who own land or any other assets that are being utilized by users (Pass *et al*., 1991:461). If rent is defined this way, then Ricardo's concept is indeed related to our first example.

With that as a take-off point, we will now proceed to examine Ricardo's theory of rent. This theory is not unique to Ricardo. In fact, three other scholars developed their respective versions of the theory of rent and by some coincidence, all four thinkers published their work in February 1815. The three other thinkers were Robert Malthus, Edward West and Robert Torrens. Let me just add at this point that the fact that all four thinkers discussed the issue of rent at the same time is a testimony to the impor-

tance of rent in England during the early 1800s. Of particular concern was the Corn Laws, which pertained to tariffs on grain imports. The Corn Laws were ratified by a legislature dominated by landlords. At that time, England was experiencing a rapid increase in the price of grains, due in part to the growth of the population. You see, the increase in population size caused the demand for grain to exceed supply; consequently, prices grew to four times the original value of corn. Given that there was much profit to be made from selling grains, some entrepreneurs decided to import grains from foreign shores and sell them in England. Now, these imports proved to be stiff competition for the landlords to whom farming was big business. They passed a law that taxed grain imports. The lower the price of the imported grains, the higher the tax imposed! This policy was known as the Corn Laws (Heilbroners, 1992:79-80). This was the context for the development of the rent theory. Ricardo's version of the theory is said to be the most clear and complete (Jacob, 1970:87-88). Here, we will be exploring only a segment of Ricardo's theory.

Rent, according to Ricardo, is the "portion of the produce of the earth, which is paid to the landlord for the use of the original and indestructible powers of the soil." He adds to this definition the return of long-run capital investments that are amalgamated with the land and increase its productivity (Jacob, 1970:88). Rent is not just an amount or sum of money paid for the use of land; rather, rent is a "special kind of return which had its origin in the demonstrable fact that not all land was equally productive" (Heilbroner, 1992:96). What does Ricardo mean by this?

In explaining his concept of land, Ricardo makes use of a very simple example. He begins by telling us that in a so-called newly settled country, fertile soil is abundant. No one usually pays rents in new settlements. However, as society develops (i.e., population increases so demand for food also goes up), there is an increased need to plant crops in "land of the second degree of fertility." Once this expansion of cultivation activities in less fertile soil happens, rent is generated from the most fertile lands or lands of superior quality.

How much rent is generated? Well, that will be equivalent to the difference between the quality of the two types of lands. If it happens that the degree of fertility is still not enough, land of a third degree of fertility will be cultivated. Consequently, rent will now be generated from the lands of second quality. This development will, in turn, increase the rent paid on the lands of first quality. In the final analysis, "with every step in the progress of population, which shall oblige a country to have recourse to land of a worse quality, to enable it to raise its supply of food, rent, on all the more fertile lands, will rise" (Jacob, 1970, 88-89). Another way of putting it is to say that as activities based on land increase and expand, there will be higher competition for the use of land. As more people com-

pete for land, particularly for lands that are highly fertile, the landowners will be able to collect more rent. The higher the level of fertility of the land, the higher the rent that can be collected by the landowner (Screpanti & Zamagni, 1995:76). At this point, do you have a better idea of how rent is generated in societies?

Ricardo uses this same example to explain his concept of differential rent. Earlier, we said that in any given area there would be differences in the quality of the land. Another factor that affects rent on land would be the location of the land: the nearer a parcel of land is to the market, the smaller the transport costs that will be incurred, and thus, the higher the rent generated (Jacob, 1970:91). If we consider these two factors—differences in land quality and location of land—we see the varying cost involved in the production or cultivation of agricultural products. For instance, if you plant your crops in a less fertile, third quality land, you will have to spend more to grow your crops compared to your friend, Pedro, who planted his on fertile land. Ricardo says that if you are using infertile land, your production will just cover the costs that you have incurred. In other words, the cost will equal price. In the case of Pedro, since he is lucky enough to have grown his crops on top quality soil, there will be some surplus generated. If Pedro owns the land, then that surplus will go to him. However, if Juan owns the land, then Juan will get the surplus from Pedro in the form of rent. This example shows how different levels of rents are generated from different lands (Roll, 1992:164).

How are all these related to the Corn Laws? Do you still remember our brief discussion about this? We said that the Corn Laws were implemented by the landlord-dominated British Parliament to impose taxes on grain imports. Ricardo was against this act and used his theory of rent to justify his opposition. According to one account:

> The reasoning with which Ricardo tried to demonstrate the necessity for the abolition of the Corn Laws is simple. Given the limited amount of land suitable for cultivation, if corn imports are impeded, this will force the national agriculture to increase its production by intensifying investment in agriculture, thus increasing the rent share in the national income and diminishing the profit share. This slows capital accumulation, as most of the savings necessary to finance investment come from profits (Screpanti & Zamagni, 1995:77).

From this passage, we can see that Ricardo was opposed to the Corn Laws because in the end, as imported grains (which were usually cheaper than locally produced ones, which is why they were imported in the first place) became more and more scarce, the producers had to put in more

and more money into their lands, even the least productive ones. The final result is that capital accumulation slows down. The slowing down of capital accumulation is aggravated by the fact that the landowners are not interested in saving their high incomes since they are not concerned with capital accumulation. What they want is simply to get as much rent as possible from their properties. As for the workers, they cannot contribute to capital accumulation since they do not have any surplus earnings to save. In fact, they barely earn enough money to buy themselves and their families bread for basic survival. So, while rent increases as less fertile lands are cultivated, such increase in rent does not add to capital accumulation.

Ricardo explains that rent can be seen as both a differential return and a surplus above costs. He adds that "rent is price-determined but not price-determining—rents are high because the prices of farm products are high, but high prices cannot be explained by high rents" (Jacob, 1970:91). Therefore, if the price of corn is high, that means high rent may be generated by landowners whose properties are planted to corn. However, we cannot say that the price of corn is high because the rent collected by the landowners is high. For the rent level does not affect the price of corn. The price of corn is determined by the market for corn. And while it is true that landowners can charge whatever rent they like, they in fact do not do so because the land cannot be put to any alternative use (except farming).

This view is likewise based on the so-called law of diminishing returns. Oh-oh! What's that? Well, we turn to our dictionary again. The law of diminishing returns says that as equal quantities of one input are added into the production function, with the quantities of all other inputs remaining fixed, there will come a point beyond which the resulting addition to output will begin to decrease (Pass *et al*., 1991:133-134). This just means that constant inputs do not result in the same amount of outputs. Throughout the production process, there will be diminishing returns (or outputs) on the inputs (or the investments). What does this have to do with Ricardo's concept of rent? Roll (1992:166-167) notes that:

> The theory of differential rent implies that progressively less fertile (or less favorably situated) lands are taken into cultivation as population and demand for food increase. It was this implication which was expressed in the "law of diminishing returns" ... Ricardo continued to believe in a progressive decline of the fertility of land and in a continual rise in the price of good. Money wages, he thought, would have to go on rising in order to keep up with the rising cost of subsistence, though real wages need not rise. Rent would rise steadily and profits would as steadily decline.

And we already know that as profits decline, capital accumulation will slow down, right? Okay, so do we now understand the basic elements of Ricardo's theory of rent? If you said "yes," then we can move on to another issue that concerns Ricardo very much—value. If you said "no" and you still have some questions left unanswered, we will try to deal with them during our study session.

Labor theory of value

Let's begin by going back to Adam Smith's concept of value. In *The Wealth of Nations*, Smith says that the term "value" has two meanings—value in use and value in exchange. The first meaning refers to the utility of a particular good while the second meaning pertains to the power of certain goods to purchase other goods. Smith adds that usually, goods which have the greatest use value or those which are most useful tend to have little or no exchange value (e.g., water). On the other hand, goods which possess high exchange value often have little or no use value (e.g., diamonds).

How is value related to labor? According to Smith, labor is the real measure of the exchangeable value of all goods. Again in *The Wealth of Nations*, he tells us that "the real price of everything, what everything really costs to the man who wants to acquire it, is the toil and trouble of acquiring it." Also, "it was not by gold or by silver, but by labor, that all the wealth of the world was originally purchased, and its value, to those who possess it, and who want to exchange it for some new productions, is precisely equal to the quantity of labor which it can enable them to purchase or command."

Ricardo begins his examination of value and labor by building on the point made by Smith. Ricardo agrees that a good must be useful if that good is to have an exchange value. Moreover, exchange value derives from scarcity of labor. Ricardo argues that "the comparative quantity of commodities which labor will produce ... determines their present or past relative value, and not the comparative quantities of commodities which are given to the laborer in exchange for his labor" (Roll, 1992:159). On the whole, it can be said that the labor theory of value is based on the argument that the wages of laborers are a function of the price of food and other necessaries for subsistence. This price, in turn, is based on the cost of production, which in turn is determined by the amount of labor needed to produce food and other necessaries. What does this boil down to? Labor determines value. It should be pointed out, however, that Ricardo does not argue that labor is the only determinant of the price of commodities. What he said is that the "ratios in which goods exchange are quantitatively more influenced by relative labor costs than by other factors such as relative interest charges" (Blaug, 1968:510).

Another important issue that Ricardo deals with in relation to labor is the fact that like all other goods that are sold and bought, labor also has a natural as well as a market price. The natural price of labor is the price which enables the workers and their families to subsist and to perpetuate their kind. It can therefore be said that the natural price of labor is determined by the price of food, necessities and conveniences which workers need to support themselves and their family members. Based on this definition, Ricardo points out that an increase in the price of food and other necessary stuff will increase the natural price of labor. The reverse also holds true: a decrease in the price of food will result in a decrease in the natural price of labor. Now what about the market price? How is it different from the natural price of labor? What do you think?

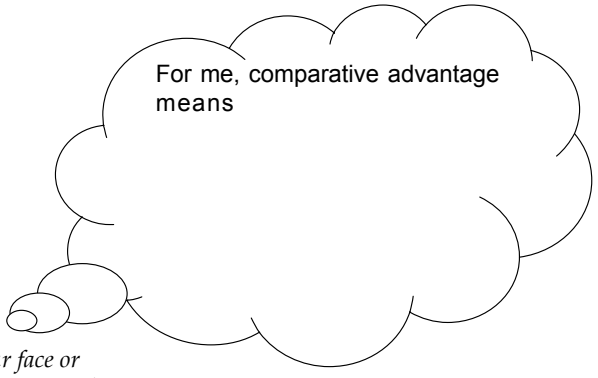
Ricardo defines the market price of labor as the price that is actually paid for it. The market price has to do with the demand for and supply of labor. When there is abundant labor, the market price is low. Conversely, when the supply of labor is scarce, the market price soars. From the definitions of natural and market prices of labor, we see that these two do not necessarily coincide. What we mean is that the natural price is not necessarily equal to the market price. In a situation where the market price is higher than the natural price, the workers are better off. This means that they get more in terms of wages than they actually need to buy food and other necessities for subsistence. On the other hand, if the natural price is higher than the market price, the workers find themselves in a losing situation. According to Ricardo, in this situation, "the condition of the laborers is most wretched and then poverty deprives them of those comforts which custom renders absolute necessaries." Karl Marx reiterates this conclusion when he discusses how laborers are exploited under the capitalist system of production.

As a last point on the labor theory of value, Ricardo argues that wages are subject to changes arising from two causes: (1) supply and demand and (2) the price of food and other commodities on which the wages of labor are expended. In the long run, the tendency is for workers to receive the subsistence wage. This idea came to be called the iron law of wages. However, Ricardo recognizes that there are two forces that can counteract the tendency towards subsistence wages. First, in an industrializing society, the market price may be higher than the natural price of labor due to the increasing demand for labor. And second, the natural price of labor varies at different times in the same country. Across countries, the natural price also varies. This is because the natural price of labor depends, among other things, on the habits and customs of the people. So, there is no common subsistence level among all countries and thus, no common or general subsistence wage that will hold true for all societies (Jacob, 1970:85). Is this clear? Yes? That's good.

After going through Ricardo's theories of rent and value, we shall now examine one of his important contributions to economics—the law of comparative advantage.

Law of comparative advantage

Before we continue, here is another thought bubble for you to fill up. I just want to get a sense of whether you have any ideas concerning the concept of comparative advantage.



Draw your face or paste your picture here.
This is you thinking!

Economists define comparative advantage as the advantage possessed by a country engaged in international trade if it can produce a certain good at a lower resource input cost than can other countries (Pass *et al*., 1991:79). How did Ricardo explain this concept? Suppose, Ricardo says, we have two countries—England and Portugal—and two goods—cloth and wine.

> Portugal can produce a certain quantity of wine with 80 man-years of labor, and cloth with 90 man-years. England can produce the wine with 120 man-years, and the cloth with 100. Portugal requires 1/3 less labor than England to produce wine, and 1/10 less labor for cloth. Portugal should therefore export wine and import cloth. By producing and exporting wine, Portugal will obtain cloth for 80 man-years of labor which otherwise would cost it 90. England, by producing and exporting cloth, will get wine for 100 man-years of labor which otherwise would cost it 120 (Jacob, 1970:93).

This argument is quite different from that of Adam Smith. For Smith, countries concentrate on producing goods that they can produce for a cheaper price in absolute terms than any other country can (Blaug, 1968:509). Put another way, in trading with other countries, countries usually buy goods from the markets where these goods sell at the cheapest price. Ricardo expands Smith's argument by adding the doctrine of comparative cost. According to this doctrine, trade will be beneficial for any two countries even if only one of the two is more efficient in producing all goods that they trade with each other. What happens is that "the more efficient country should export those commodities whose comparative cost is lowest, and it should import those whose comparative cost is highest" (Jacob, 1970:93). If we apply this to Ricardo's example, we can see that even if Portugal produces cheaper wine and cloth than England, it would be well advised to focus its efforts on producing wine. On the other hand, England should specialize in the production of cloth.

How did this division of labor between countries come about? Well, it evolved as a result of the different cost structures in the countries involved. This difference in cost structures means that certain countries enjoy a relative cost advantage over other countries when it comes to producing a particular good. And whoever has that relative cost advantage should specialize in the production of that good. In this way, all countries involved will benefit from international trade and the division of labor that evolves within the international trade structure. The bottom line, according to Ricardo, is that there exists "'a natural distribution of specie' between the trading nations of the world that tends, in the absence of tariffs, not merely to equilibrate each country's exports and imports, but also to produce such relative price and wage levels between countries as to induce each to produce those goods in which it has a comparative advantage" (Blaug, 1968:510).

The model that we have been discussing is the most simple one based on Ricardo's law of comparative advantage. Here, we are assuming only two countries, two goods, no flow of capital and labor between the two countries, constant costs and full employment. If any of these assumptions no longer holds, there will also be changes in the way the model works. But we shall not complicate our lives any further. For our purpose, it is enough that we understand the basic idea behind the concept of comparative advantage and to recognize that how the model works is determined by the assumptions that we make in the beginning. Any change in the assumptions will result in changes in the model. Remember this always whether you are talking of an economic, a political, or a socio-cultural model.

What else did Ricardo say about international trade other than that it is advisable for countries to specialize in the production of goods in which they have a relative cost advantage? Like Smith, Ricardo supports a *laissez faire* policy in foreign trade. What is *laissez faire* again? Can you still remember our definition? You are correct. It is a hands-off policy advocated by those who believe that government intervention in the economy only results in negative outcomes for society. There is a harmony of interests at the international level that allows a system of perfectly free trade to exist. In this system, "each country naturally devotes its capital and labor to such employments as are most beneficial to each ... [And] this pursuit of individual advantage is admirably connected with the universal good of the whole." Here, Ricardo is thinking along the same lines as Smith. A word of caution though: while Ricardo may have thought that there is harmony in the interests of states, this belief does not hold true within societies. On the contrary, Ricardo saw society as being internally divided. There is constant tension between the industrialists and the landowners. Of course, there is also the conflict between the landowners and the industrialists on the one hand, and the workers on the other.

Summary

Ricardo, another economist from the classical school, has three significant contributions to the field of economics. These are the theory of rent, labor theory of value, and law of comparative advantage. He defines rent not only as a sum of money paid for the use of land but also as a special kind of return arising from the reality that not all land is equally productive. In general, the higher the fertility of land, the higher the rent that can be collected by the landowner. The theory of rent came about as a reaction to the Corn Laws during the early 1800s in England.

Meanwhile, value has two components according to Smith and Ricardo: use value and exchange value. Use value has to do with the utility of a good while exchange value relates to the purchasing power possessed by a good. According to Ricardo, the exchange value depends on the scarcity of labor. He also argues that the wages of laborers are determined by the price of food and other necessities for the subsistence of the laborers and their families. In the final analysis, labor determines the value of goods.

As for comparative advantage, international trade between countries will be beneficial for all concerned if each country specializes in the production of the good in which it has a relative cost advantage vis-a-vis its trading partners. Ricardo, like Smith, also advocates a *laissez faire* or hands-off policy in foreign trade.

According to one scholar, "there is no more difficult economist to understand than Ricardo" (Heilbroner, 1992:85). Despite this, we should not lose sight of Ricardo's work. For in the end, "Ricardo's appeal rested on his ability to seize hold of a wide range of significant problems with a simple analytical model that involved only a few strategic variables and yielded, after a few elementary manipulations, dramatic conclusions of a distinctly practical nature" (Blaug, 1968:508). We should remember that through his theories, laws and models, Ricardo brought us one step closer to a better understanding of the complex world of economics.

Module 11
John Stuart Mill

Take a deep breath. Inhale. Exhale. Are you ready for our next stop? We are nearing our final destination so just hang in there. For now, we continue our journey and we pay a visit to another British philosopher-economist who is a well-known representative of the doctrine of utilitarianism. He goes by the name John Stuart Mill. We shall begin by getting to know him a little better by finding out certain information about his family, his educational experience and his works. We will then proceed to examine his works. Our main concern here is to study Mill's contributions to the field of politics, economics and philosophy.

Do You Know John Stuart Mill?

Source: Microsoft Encarta 2000

John Stuart Mill (or J.S. Mill) was born on 20 May 1806 in London. He was the son of another well known philosopher, James Mill. The elder Mill was a friend of Jeremy Bentham and these two, together with other British scholars, belonged to the group of scholars to whom is ascribed the utilitarian movement. James Mill played a crucial role in the education of his son as he exposed the younger Mill to Greek (at three years of age) and Latin (at eight years of age). Can you still remember what you were doing when you were three years old? Learning to run? Playing with your toys? Well, in John Stuart's case, he was already studying. Thus it is not surprising that he completed courses in Greek literature and philosophy, chemistry, botany, psychology and law before he turned 18 years old (Microsoft

Objectives

After studying this module, you should be able to:

1. Identify Mill's major contributions to politics, economics and philosophy;
2. Explain Mill's doctrine of utilitarianism; and
3. Determine the applicability of Mill's arguments to the present times.

Encarta, 2000:1). He studied economics and history too.

Some time during 1822-1823, John Stuart joined his father at the East India Company where he first served as clerk and then later as assistant examiner. He stayed with the company until 1858, when it was dissolved. By that time he was already chief of the examiner's office. In 1865, John Stuart ran for a seat in the British House of Commons and won. But he lost his reelection bid three years later. This did not surprise him at all. According to him, the real surprise was that he won the first time he ran (Ebenstein & Ebenstein, 2000:579). After his defeat, John Stuart Mill went to France where he spent his remaining years writing. He died on 8 May 1873.

Like many of the previous philosophers we have visited, J.S. Mill was a prolific writer. Even as a teenager, he was already publishing essays in the *Westminster Review*. Among his major works are *Principles of Political Economy* (1834), *On Liberty* (1859), *Utilitarianism* (1863), *On the Subjection of Women* (1869), *Autobiography* (1873), and *Three Essays on Religion* (1874). In the field of politics, Mill published the work entitled *Considerations on Representative Government* (1861). On the whole, Mill's body of works bridges the 18th century movements which focused on liberty, reason and science, and the 19th century movement which focused on empiricism and collectivism. The younger Mill is also credited for putting together systematically the utilitarian ideas of the elder Mill and Bentham.

Bentham, a British philosopher *cum* economist and jurist, is credited with founding the doctrine of utilitarianism. In brief, Bentham argued that "actions were right if they tended to produce the greatest happiness for the greatest number of people." The utilitarians equated happiness with pleasure and they believed that by calculating pleasures and pains, one can tell which action is right and which is wrong (Popkin, 2000:1). James Mill expounded on and developed Bentham's ideas further. This was perhaps because Bentham and the elder Mill were close associates. Both were involved in the establishment of the University of London. Aside from his utilitarian ideas, Mill was also an advocate of individual liberty. In fact, while he was a member of Parliament, he supported measures on public ownership of natural resources, equality for women, women's suffrage and education—ideas that were considered radical at the time. *On Liberty* is perhaps his greatest and most famous work.

In this module, you will get to sample two of Mill's works. The first is an excerpt from *Principles of Political Economy* and the second is taken from the work entitled *Utilitarianism*. Don't frown because you are reading two excerpts instead of the usual one; these are not very long excerpts so I'm sure you will have little or no difficulty going through them. Ready to go? Then by all means proceed. We'll get back to each other in a little while.

Utilitarianism, Liberty, Education and Government

Any comments about the materials you just read? How did you find them? Are you now in a position to discuss Mill's ideas on liberty and utilitarianism? First, let's see how well you were able to absorb Mill's ideas. What follows is a very simple exercise. Go through this first and then we will proceed with our discussion.

SAQ 11-1

Put a check mark (✓) in the box if the statement is from Mill and a cross mark (**X**) if it is from another philosopher. If the statement is not from Mill, then you have to identify the thinker who gave the statement. Write your answer on the space provided. As usual, each item is worth 1 point. Be sure to do your best!

_____ 1. • The theory of life says that pleasure and freedom from pain are the only things desirable as ends.

_____ 2. • Division of labor results in economic progress.

_____ 3. • Governments should confine themselves to providing the people with protection from force and fraud.

_____ 4. • Right actions are those which produce the greatest happiness for the greatest number of people.

_____ 5. • The goal of civil society is moral liberty.

SAQ 11-1 con't.

_____ 6. • The state should not only undertake to decide disputes but also take precautions so that disputes may not arise.

_____ 7. • The role of the sovereign is to preserve people's lives.

_____ 8. • It is better to be a human being dissatisfied than a pig satisfied; better to be Socrates dissatisfied than a fool satisfied.

_____ 9. • Man is born free and everywhere he is in chains.

_____ 10. • The main constituents of a satisfied life are tranquility and excitement.

_____ 11. • The end justifies the means.

_____ 12. • The most perfect political association is the *polis*.

_____ 13. • Along with selfishness, the principal cause which makes life unsatisfactory is want of mental cultivation.

_____ 14. • The state of nature is a state of liberty but not of license.

_____ 15. • The best leader is the philosopher-king.

ASAQ 11-1

Okay, it's time to see how well you did. I'm sure you found the exercise very easy. It was also some sort of a review as some items referred to ideas by the thinkers we have already studied. Here are the correct answers.

1. ✔
2. ✘ Adam Smith
3. ✔
4. ✘ Jeremy Bentham
5. ✘ Jean Jacques Rousseau
6. ✔
7. ✘ Thomas Hobbes
8. ✔
9. ✘ Jean Jacques Rousseau
10. ✔
11. ✘ Niccolo Machiavelli
12. ✘ Aristotle
13. ✔
14. ✘ John Locke
15. ✘ Plato

If you have 15 correct answers, that means you get ★★★★★! Bravo!
If you have 13-14 correct answers, that means you get ★★★★! Hooray!
If you have 11-12 correct answers, that means you get ★★★! Yahoo!
If you have 10 correct answers, that means you get ★★! Good!
If you have 0-9 correct answers, you get ★ as a consolation prize. But do better next time, okay?

Now that you have checked your answers and counted your stars, we can move on. Before we discuss the excerpts, I will first provide a short backgrounder on the doctrine of utilitarianism. Are you ready?

Utilitarianism: An introduction

As we mentioned earlier, Jeremy Bentham began the utilitarian tradition through his work entitled *Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation* (1789). Bentham provided the original intellectual inspiration for the group of utilitarians which included James and John Stuart Mill among others. According to Bentham, utility can be defined as "that property in any object, whereby it tends to produce benefit, advantage, pleasure, good or happiness or to prevent the happening of mischief, pain, evil or unhappiness to the party whose interest is considered." (Bentham, 1948:126) Bentham is credited with developing utilitarian or "felicific" calculus, which is based on the following arguments:

1. Pleasure, happiness, goodness, benefit, advantage and so on are interchangeable terms;
2. Pleasure is quantifiable and can be measured;
3. The guiding principle of action for both individuals and governments should be to maximize pleasure and minimize pain; and
4. "It is the greatest happiness of the greatest number that is the measure of right and wrong" of human action in every situation, and in particular when governmental action is called for. (Germino, 1972:235-236)

J.S. Mill builds on the ideas first expressed by Bentham. The concept or principle of utility, which is the foundation of morals, "holds that actions are right in proportion as they tend to promote happiness, wrong as they tend to produce the reverse of happiness." What does Mill mean when he refers to happiness and unhappiness? Happiness, he says, can be equated with pleasure and the absence of pain. Unhappiness, on the other hand, refers to pain and the deprivation of pleasure. One scholar notes that the younger Mill's contribution to the utilitarian tradition is his recognition that pleasures differ in terms of quality and intensity. With this insight, he rejects Bentham's idea that the "quality of pleasure [is] equal" (Hook, 2000:1). Now, "if pleasures differ in quality as well as in quantity, and if only those men who have experienced the entire range of pleasures are capable of reflecting upon and coherently articulating their experience and are capable of judging quality, then the legislator can no longer ... determine governmental policy on the basis of 'the greatest happiness of the greatest number'" (Germino, 1972:240). Mill zeroes in not on the "greatest happiness of the greatest number" but on the "greatest happiness" *per se*. Utility is still equated with pleasure but now, there is a recognition that pleasures are of varying quality and intensity. As an example of this view, scholars cite this line by Mill: "It is better to be a human being dissatisfied than a pig satisfied." How do you interpret this remark? Do you agree with Mill on this matter?

In addition, Mill rejects two other crucial arguments made by Bentham. The first has to do with the view that the reasons for human action can all be reduced to self-interest and to the individual's search for the maximum pleasure. The second argument deals with the individual being the only one capable of judging his or her own interest. Mill responds to the first argument by saying that individuals can also derive pleasure from participation in the happiness of others. Pleasure comes not only from self-interest but also from feelings of humanity and solidarity. Mill rejects the second view by saying that there may be certain instances when government interference is necessary (e.g., in education, labor, and poverty issues). This shows that the individual is not necessarily the best judge of his or her interests in all situations (Screpanti & Zamagni, 1995:95).

Now that we have discussed Bentham and Mill's views on utilitarianism, let us define the concept. An American professor defines utilitarianism as "the doctrine that says what is useful is good, and consequently, the ethical value of conduct is determined by the utility of its results." More particularly, the utilitarian tradition sees that the supreme objective of moral action is to achieve the greatest happiness for the greatest number (although we have seen the younger Mill modify this definition). Applied to the body politic, utilitarianism and its objective of "the greatest happiness for the greatest number" should be the goal of all laws and the ultimate criterion of all social institutions (Hook, 2000:1). Got that? Very good! We can now proceed to discuss the other elements of J.S. Mill's works.

Scope of human liberty

Mill is perhaps best known and best remembered for his work entitled *On Liberty* (1859). In this work, Mill explores the concepts individual liberty, political obligation, mass society and political equality. What is the central argument that he articulates in his essay? It is this:

> The object of this Essay is to assert one very simple principle, as entitled to govern absolutely the dealings of society with the individual in the way of compulsion and control, whether the means used be physical force ... or the moral coercion of public opinion. That principle is, that the sole end for which mankind [is] warranted, individually or collectively, in interfering with the liberty of action of any of their number, is *self-protection*. That the only purpose for which power can be rightfully exercised over any member of a civilized community, against his will, is to prevent harm to others. His own good, either physical or moral, is not a sufficient warrant. (italics supplied)

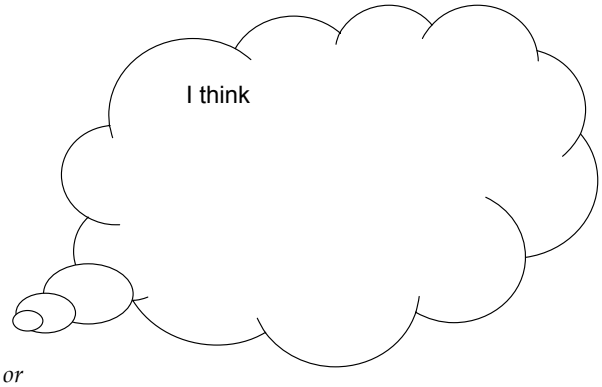
From this passage, we can glimpse the distinction Mill makes between the "self-regarding" and "other-regarding" orientation of human beings. The need to protect one's life is enough reason to interfere with another individual's exercise of his own liberty. That reflects the self-regarding aspect of man's nature. On the other hand, individuals can rightfully exercise power over others if by doing so they prevent harm to others. This reflects man's other-regarding orientation. We can also understand the difference between the two orientations through the following remark from Mill's *On Liberty*: "The only part of the conduct of any one, for which he is amenable to society, is that which concerns others. In the part which merely concerns himself, his independence is, of right, absolute. Over himself, over his own body and mind, the individual is sovereign." How did Mill differentiate between these two types of actions? Well, according to him, it may be difficult to do so because all actions done by each one of us inevitably affect others. However, only actions which directly affect or bring harm to others should be controlled by society (Germino, 1972:244). Can you think of any actions that would fall under this category?

Mill identifies three types of liberties with regard to the self-serving actions of men. These are: (1) absolute liberty of thought, conscience and speech; (2) liberty of tastes and pursuits; and (3) freedom to unite, for any purpose not involving harm to others. Just how important are these liberties? If we are to believe Mill, then they must be very important because as he tells us, "no society in which liberties are not, on the whole, respected, is free, whatever may be its form of government; and none is completely free in which they do not exist absolute and unqualified" (Germino, 1972:244). Thus, for Mill, each type of liberty is vital if society and the people are to be truly free.

Another significant point that Mill makes is that the form of government is not a critical matter; what matters is that these liberties are respected. This implies that belonging to a government based on popular self-rule does not guarantee that your liberties will be recognized and respected. Mill warns that even popular governments may exercise a certain kind of tyranny that may be worse than political oppression. If liberties are to be respected, political as well as other kinds of tyranny must be done away with. This may be easier said than done, however, since it is natural for men to impose their views on others which tends to result in intolerance and dissent (Ebenstein & Ebenstein, 2000:580). Quite a negative view of human nature, don't you think?

Let us now focus our attention on absolute liberty of thought, conscience and speech. Mill's argument favoring freedom of speech and thought is a very strong one. To begin with, he says: "To suppress an opinion is wrong, whether or not that opinion is true." According to him, all opinions should

be expressed whether these be for or against a particular issue or person or group or thing. Why so, you may ask. The answer is that: "For if it is true, we are robbed of the truth, and if it is false, we are denied that fuller understanding of the truth which comes from its conflict with error. And when, as often happens, the prevailing view is part truth and part error, we shall know the whole truth only by allowing free circulation of contesting opinions" (Rees, 1968:343). Clearly, then, we should allow everyone to speak, whether they have a consenting or dissenting opinion. To suppress any one would make all of us losers to a certain extent. To this we can add Mill's remark that: "If all mankind minus one, were of one opinion, and only one person were of the contrary opinion, mankind would be no more justified in silencing that one person, than he, if he had the power, would be justified in silencing mankind." Also, Miller mentions the need to have discussions that are completely unhampered (Ebenstein & Ebenstein, 2000:580). What about you? Do you agree with this? In the spirit of Mill's argument, let us hear your opinion on this matter. Here's another thought bubble where you can write down your thoughts on Mill's view regarding freedom of speech. Fill it up, okay? Do not waste this opportunity to have your voice heard.



Draw your face or
paste your picture here.
This is you thinking!

On the whole, we can identify three major reasons why freedom of speech and thought is necessary. The first reason, which we mentioned earlier, is that we may be silencing a true opinion. If we are, we lose the opportunity to know the truth. Secondly, the opinion may be partly true and we should not completely ignore it since prevailing opinion rarely accounts for the complete truth; "it is only by the collision of adverse opinions that the remainder of the truth has any chance of being supplied." Finally, Mill's third reason is that free and unhampered discussions, even of true opinions, prevent such opinions from becoming dogma, prejudice, or formula (Ebenstein & Ebenstein, 2000:581).

Is this freedom absolute in that no restrictions whatsoever may be placed on it? Not really, says Mill. While he is not in favor of restricting the expression of opinions and views, he recognizes that there may be situations when such restrictions are necessary. Mill explains that any unjustifiable act that will harm others may be, especially in the more important cases, controlled by the unfavorable sentiments and, when needful, by the active interference of mankind. "The liberty of the individual must be thus far limited; he must not make himself a nuisance to other people." The passage recognizes that some restrictions or limitations to the freedom of expression may be necessary but should only be imposed when the situation calls for it. Be that as it may, one scholar says that since the distinction between the absolute and limited exercise of freedom of expression is quite blurred, he feels that if Mill were to judge cases involving freedom of speech and thought, Mill would judge in favor of the "greatest possible freedom of expression" and he would favor putting restrictions only in the most extreme cases (Germino, 1972:247). If this interpretation is right, then we can see how liberal Mill is with his view on liberties and how staunch a supporter of freedom of expression and opinion he is.

Also, Mill points out that liberty is an indispensable prerequisite of human moral and intellectual development. Specifically, freedom of expression and opinion is said to cultivate excellence and develop the faculties of individuals. And why is the development of individual faculties important? The reason is that "the free development of individuality is indeed socially advantageous; it makes for improvement, progress and variety in ways of living" (Rees, 1968:343). What happens if individuality is not allowed to prosper? For Mill, "liberty is a necessary attribute of human personality" (Germino, 1972:252). Are you still wondering why *On Liberty* is one of the best works Mill produced in his lifetime? Hopefully, not anymore.

On education

In his work entitled *Autobiography,* Mill narrates how his father James educated him at a very young age. According to his own account, his father had him read books written in Greek and Latin and limited his playtime with his toys or with children his age. This regimented education taught him a certain habit of work that was not broken by any form of idleness (Jacob, 1970:119-120). And it comes as no wonder that Mill was concerned with education.

When we introduced you to Mill, we mentioned that he was quite a radical legislator because he advocated equal rights for women and compulsory education, among others. We find him speaking to us about this matter in

Book V (entitled "Applications") of *On Liberty*. Here, Mill asks: "Is it not almost a self-evident axiom that the state should require and compel the education, up to a certain standard, of every human being who is born its citizen?"

While people generally agree that it is the basic duty of all parents to educate their children, no one will (or can) oblige any parent to perform this duty (at least in the Philippines). Can you imagine yourself being fined or penalized because you are not educating your child? Since this neglect of duty on the part of parents or guardians is not yet considered a moral crime, it becomes difficult (or impossible) to have parents teach their children. Therefore, it is only the state which can, and should, regulate the education of children.

Even as Mill speaks of state and education in the same context, he is not saying that the state should direct education. Rather, what the state should do is to encourage the education of children. This is a very important point which has to do with Mill's position on liberty and individuality:

> All that has been said of the importance of individuality of character and diversity in opinions and modes of conduct, involves, as of the same unspeakable importance, diversity of education. A general state education is a mere contrivance for molding people to be exactly like one another: and as the mold in which it casts them is that which pleases the predominant power in government … it establishes a despotism over the mind, leading by natural tendency to one over the body.

From this passage, we can see why Mill does not favor state-directed or controlled education: it goes against his belief in the value of individuality. But Mill also sees when state education may be needed or when it may be justified. Can you think of any such occasion? Mill mentions two. First, "an education established and controlled by the state should only exist, if it exists at all, as one among many competing experiments, carried on for the purpose of example and stimulus, to keep the others up to a certain standard of excellence." Second, the state can and should take care of education directly when there are no other institutions in society capable of performing that duty in an exemplary manner. Other than these two, Mill does not see any other reason for state-controlled education. However, he concedes that the role of enforcing compulsory education rests with the state until such time that parents are obliged to educate their children. Performing this duty involves paying the appropriate salary to teachers and assisting those who cannot pay for their schooling.

How will the law requiring compulsory education be enforced? Mill suggests that a system of public examinations which all children must take be set up. Children must take these examinations when they reach a certain age. A child's knowledge of certain facts and positive science will be examined. This will avoid any allegations of "improper exercise of influence on opinion" on the part of the state. For instance, at age three, a child can be tested for his ability to read his ABC's. If the child passes the exam, then well and good. But if the child fails, what happens? Who do you think gets reprimanded? Mill says, "if a child proves unable [to read], the father, unless he has some sufficient ground of excuse, might be subjected to a moderate fine, to be worked out, if necessary, by his labor, and the child might be put to school at his expense." Now, isn't that interesting! If this is the case, then the parent will be "pressured" to educate his child in order to avoid the fine or whatever sanction.

The 1987 Constitution of the Philippines mandates compulsory elementary education. But many Filipino children are out of school. Do you think Mill's system is feasible and practicable in our country? Why do you say so?

The role of government

We have just discussed the role of government in enforcing compulsory education. The *Principles of Political Economy* discusses the general functions of governments. But before we discuss Mill's ideas, do you still recall the three functions of government according to Adam Smith? I'm sure you still remember your lessons from two modules back. The three functions Smith emphasizes are: (1) defense; (2) judicial administration; and (3) public works and public institutions, which include public education programs. What about Mill's position on the same issue? In *Considerations on Representative Government*, Mill says that we must remember two things regarding the proper functions of governments. One, these are not fixed across societies and they tend to be more extensive or wide-ranging in a less developed than in a developed society. And two, we cannot determine the character of a government if we limit ourselves to the legitimate sphere of governmental functions.

In addition, we can quote several passages from his works, such as the *Principles of Political Economy,* to show Mill's view on the role of government. Let's begin with the popular view that "governments ought to confine themselves to affording protection against force and fraud [and outside of these] people should be free agents, able to take care of themselves, and that so long as a person practices no violence or deception, to the injury of others in person or property, legislatures and governments are in no way called on to concern themselves about him." In this quotation, we can again see how Mill supports the recognition of the liberties of individuals and the idea that governments should intervene only when necessary.

Mill discusses other governmental functions in *Considerations on Representative Government.* He says that the merits of government can be observed from the degree to which it performs these functions. The first one is to promote the general mental advancement of the community. Mill includes here the advancement of intellect, virtue, and practical activity and efficiency. The second function has to do with the degree of perfection with which the existing moral, intellectual and active order is organized so that it has the greatest impact on public affairs. On the whole, "a government is to be judged by its action upon men, and by its action upon things; by what it makes of the citizens and what it does with them; its tendency to improve or deteriorate the people themselves and the goodness or badness of the work it performs for them, and by means of them."

Mill sets certain parameters for the roles government must perform. For one, government performs tasks which the people cannot do themselves. Conversely, when government is incapable of protecting the people from force and fraud, then the people can resort to self-help. Second, government performs certain tasks, like the administration of property, because public interest requires it. Third, government performs tasks that have to do with the enforcement of contracts. Fourth, government, by virtue of its role as protector of the people, undertakes the establishment of civil tribunals and affords employment for soldiers, policemen and judges who will all fight force and fraud. And fifth, government is assigned certain tasks "for which no reason can be assigned except the simple" reason that they lead to "general convenience." Examples of these are the minting of money, the building of roads and bridges, the making of maps and the setting of a standard of weights and measures.

There is one limit that Mill places on the exercise of liberties of people vis-à-vis the government. Basically, he asks whether all people can be "proper guardians of their own interests." Guess what Mill's answer is? Of course not! He says that even though "government owes nothing to them but to save them from being interfered with by other people, the doctrine can never be applicable to any persons but those who are capable of acting in their own

behalf." In particular, Mill says that "infants, lunatics and those who have fallen into imbecility," given that they are incapable of acting on their own, must be taken care of by government though "it does not necessarily do this through officers of its own [and] often devolves the trust upon some relative or connection." Thus, while Mill recognizes the liberties of infants and lunatics, he realizes the implications of these individuals deciding for themselves without the necessary faculties. On the whole, then, Mill concludes that:

> … the admitted functions of government embrace a much wider field than can easily be included within the ring-fence of any restrictive definition, and that it is hardly possible to find any ground of justification common to them all, except the comprehensive one of *general expediency*; not to limit the interference of government by any universal rule, save the simple and vague one that it should never be admitted but when the case of expediency is strong …

The keyword here, then, is expediency. This should be the determining factor that will tell us when governments should and should not intervene in the lives of the people. Why was Mill quite reluctant to allow government interference except in situations that really call for it? His view is akin to the arguments made by scholars in Smith's time: that things tend to become worse when governments step into the picture. In Book V (entitled "On the Influence of Government") of *Principles of Political Economy*, Mill says that in the more developed countries, "the great majority of things are worse done by the government, than the individuals most interested in the matter would do them, or cause them to be done, if left to themselves … people understand their own business and their own interests better, and care for them more, than the government does, or can be expected to do." But once again, this argument is not a blanket support for a system of *laissez faire*. And once more, there may be certain instances when people are not necessarily the best judges of their own interests. In this case, some form of regulation on the part of government is needed.

Can you think of any situation, issue or instance when government regulation may be necessary? If you said "education," then you are correct! Several paragraphs back we discussed Mill's position on compulsory education and the role that government should perform in the delivery of this service. Other areas would be child labor, monopolies, colonization (which was a big issue then), and all "those things that serve the general interests of mankind but are not profitable to individuals, such as undertaking geographic or scientific exploration" (Jacob, 1970:129). Thus, government should take on tasks which serve the interests of the people but which people will not take on themselves in a private capacity because these are not going to be worth their

time, effort and money. Ask yourself this: "Am I willing to repair the road in our village that is full of potholes? Am I willing to light the dark alley round the corner in my *barangay*? Am I willing to build the bridge that will connect my island to the neighboring island?" I bet not unless you are part of government (particularly if you are from the Department of Public Works and Highways, right?) or you have tons and tons of money and would like to make a generous donation to government or to society. Chances are, if government does not take on these tasks, no one else will. So, in the end, because the provision of these services is to the interest of the people, the government will perform the role of service provider.

As we said earlier, public education is one of those services that governments must provide when no one can or wants to be involved in it. Education is vital not only for human development but for social progress as well. For Mill, education prepares and equips people for the responsibilities and powers they can exercise under a representative government. Why a representative government? One scholar observes that "representative government as he conceived it is the best possible form of government because, among other things, its very operation requires such activities of its citizens as are likely to increase both the desire and the capacity to make it work more effectively" (Rees, 1968:344). The representative form of government is one that allows the marginalized or the powerless to exercise some form of power and to voice out their sentiments.

Before Mill discusses his preferred form of government, he first examines the characteristics of a good form of government. According to him, the most simple (but scientifically precise) way of defining good government is to say that the "best government is that which is most conducive to progress." What does Mill mean by the term "progress"? First, he points out that progress has to do with improvement. Second, progress entails order. Order may mean several things: obedience to government, preservation of peace and preservation of all kinds and amounts of good that exist in society. But the problem with the term "progress" is that while it may mean "moving onward," the term might also mean "the prevention of falling back" given that "the very same social causes—the same beliefs, feelings, institutions and practices—are as much required to prevent society from retrograding, as to produce a further advance." And so, if it is not apt to define good government as one conducive to progress, there must be some other way of conceptualizing the term. What did Mill finally settle for? Order and permanence—the basis for a classification of the requisites of a form of government.

Having talked about the important elements of a good form of government, Mill proceeds to identify the most ideal form of government. He says:

> There is no difficulty in showing that the ideally best form of government is that in which the sovereignty, or supreme controlling power in the last resort, is vested in the entire aggregate of the community; every citizen not only having a voice in the exercise of that ultimate sovereignty, but being, at least occasionally, called on to take an actual part in the government, by the personal discharge of some public function, local or general.

What does Mill call this form? According to Mill, "a completely *popular government* is the only polity which can make out any claim to this character" (italics supplied). Alternatively, we can refer to it as a representative form of government. But even as Mill points to this as the most ideal form, he recognizes the reality that this form will not be practicable and feasible in all societies. In this sense, he is very much like Rousseau. Do you still remember what Rousseau had to say on this matter? Rousseau tells us that while he prefers an elective aristocracy, he says that there is no single form of government that will work successfully in all systems. This is the same as Mill's argument, right?

The next question is: Why is a representative government the best form of government? Well, there are basically two reasons. First, the rights and interests of the people are secure only when they are able to articulate and work for these interests and to exercise these rights. In a popular or representative government, this is possible. Second, "the general prosperity attains a greater height, and is more widely diffused, in proportion to the amount and variety of the personal energies enlisted in promoting it." Mill sums up these two reasons in a succinct and interesting manner: "Human beings are only secure from evil at the hands of others in proportion as they have the power of being, and are, *self-promoting*; and they only achieve a high degree of success in their struggle with nature in proportion as they are *self-dependent*; relying on what they themselves can do, either separately or in concert, rather than on what others do for them." Here, we clearly see Mill's advocacy for a government where the people or the citizens are directly involved in the affairs of government. That for him is the best form of government.

Final Notes on Mill's Political Economy

Mill is considered by some as one of the great economists belonging to the classical school. He belongs to a very distinguished company of scholars which include Smith and Ricardo. What exactly did he contribute to the field? He is credited for systematizing and popularizing the economic ideas

of his colleagues and predecessors. His main economic ideas can be found in the work *Principles of Political Economy* which is composed of five books: (1) *Production*; (2) *Distribution*; (3) *Exchange*; (4) *Influence of the Progress of Society on Production and Distribution;* and (5) *Of the Influence of Government.* We talked about some of Mill's ideas in Book V during our examination of the functions of government. Do you still remember our discussion? I hope so.

Principles of Political Economy bridges classical and neoclassical economics. We discussed some of the ideas of classical economic thinkers when we visited Smith and Ricardo. Can you still recall their ideas? Well, to refresh your memory, the classical economists supported a hands-off or *laissez faire* policy and supported free trade among countries. These policies, they say, will contribute best to economic progress. On the other hand, neoclassical economics is the school of thought that studies the principles governing optimal allocation of scarce resources to given wants. It is also referred to as the marginal revolution, due in part to its having developed the principles of diminishing marginal utility (Pass *et al*., 1991:365).

Mill explores several issues in *Principles of Political Economy*. He devotes the first part of his work to an analysis of land, labor and capital, which are the three important productive factors. According to Mill, wealth includes all things that are useful and possess exchange value. Moreover, wealth pertains only to material objects because they are the only ones that can be accumulated. As for labor, productive labor includes labor that is capable of producing materials directly and indirectly. On the other hand, unproductive labor refers to labor that does not produce material products or material wealth. Meanwhile, Mill defines capital as the result of saving and the accumulated stock of the product of labor. Every additional unit of capital results in an additional employment of labor. This analysis leads to the optimistic view of a world of full employment. Why is this so? The explanation goes like this:

> If capitalists spent less on luxury consumption and more on investment, the demand for labor would rise. If population increased, the increased demand for necessities by wage earners would offset the decreased demand for luxuries by capitalists. If population did not increase in proportion to the growth of capital, wages would rise and luxury consumption by workers would supplant luxury consumption by their employers. This is the optimistic world of full employment (Jacob, 1970:121).

With full employment, the assumption is that production would also be maximized. However, there are certain obstacles to increasing production. These include the limited extent and the limited productiveness of land. The lack of labor is not considered an impediment to production since population, according to Robert Malthus, increases geometrically. But population growth somehow slows down, since land is limited and land resources cannot be increased easily (Jacob, 1970:122).

In the second part of *Distribution*, Mill states that production and distribution are interrelated and that interference with one involves interference with the other. Here, Ricardo's laws of distribution are disregarded and the possibility of a governmental role in economic affairs in general and in distribution and production in particular is raised. The concept of "wages," Mill says, is based primarily on the demand for labor and its supply. In turn, the demand for labor depends on that part of the capital that is devoted to the payment of wages. On the other hand, the number of people looking for work determines the supply of labor. Under a competitive regime, wages are affected only by the relative amounts of capital and population and nothing else (Jacob, 1970:122-123). Were you able to follow Mill's explanation? Yes? Very good!

The third section of *Principles of Political Economy* is about the concept of "exchange." The ideas here are quite similar to those of Ricardo. Remember the concept of exchange value? Well, Mill says that the value of a good is determined by its purchasing power or its power to buy other goods. Price, on the other hand, has to do with the value of a good in terms of money. The value of a commodity cannot rise higher than its estimated use value to the buyer. This means that effectual demand (or the desire to buy something plus the capacity to back up that desire with money) is a determinant of value. It should be added that different quantities of goods are demanded at different values. The conclusion: "Demand means the quantity demanded; the quantity varies according to the value. The interaction of demand and supply results in a market value." In the short run, the prices of goods change depending on the relationship of demand and supply. In general, the prices of goods rise as the demand increases and the prices decrease as the supply increases (Jacob, 1970:125). Got that?

OK. Let me just emphasize that what we have discussed here is only a sampling of Mill's economic ideas. Unfortunately, we do not have the time and space to examine the entire range of his economic thought so we have to content ourselves with just a glimpse. Hopefully, though, we are able to get an idea, even with just a sampling, of Mill's contribution to economic thought. Before we finally conclude this section, here is something for you to do.

SAQ 11-2

A pop quiz! Don't worry. This is just a review of what we have discussed. Grab a pen and try answering the following questions. All answers must be written on the space provided after each question. There are 15 questions for you. Well, what are you waiting for? Good luck!

1. Who taught John Stuart Mill his Greek and Latin?

2. Whose utilitarian ideas did John Stuart Mill reject?

3. What is the title of Mill's greatest and most enduring work?

4. For Mill what is happiness?

5. According to the utilitarian doctrine, what is the objective of moral action?

6. What is the only part of one's conduct for which he is amenable to society?

7. What are the three types of liberty according to Mill?

8. Since parents are not able to educate their children, who should undertake the provision of education?

9. Mill's role in the history of economic thought is to bridge classical economics and what?

10. What are the two types of labor according to Mill?

11. What two things limit production?

ASAQ 11-2

Here are the answers. See how well you did. Do you see a perfect score in sight?

1. James Mill (his father)
2. Jeremy Bentham
3. *On Liberty*
4. Absence of pain and pleasure
5. The greatest happiness for the greatest number
6. The part of his or her action which concerns others
7. a. Liberty of thought, conscience and speech
   b. Liberty of tastes and pursuits
8. Freedom to unite
9. The state
10. Neoclassical economics
    a. productive labor
    b. unproductive labor
11. a. Extent of land
    b. Land's productivity

Summary

Now the all important question: After all that reading, what have you learned about Mill and his ideas? Another way of putting this question is: What important contributions did Mill make to philosophy, politics, economics and scholarship in general?

Perhaps we can begin answering this question by pointing out Mill's utilitarian ideas. Mill expanded Bentham's ideas but he also rejected some of these, such as the emphasis on self-interest as a motivation for individual action and the individual as the best judge of his or her own interest.

What modifications did Mill introduce to utilitarianism? We can mention one very important idea—that there are not only various types of pleasures and pains, but also various qualities of pleasures and pains. That means that pleasures and pains differ in terms of their intensity. This leads Mill to remark that it is better to be a dissatisfied person than a satisfied pig. By saying so, he tells us that the pleasures and pains experienced by men are more profound than those experienced by animals. Also, he remarks that it is better to be Socrates dissatisfied than a fool satisfied. Here, he shows us that even among human beings, there are some pleasures and pains—those experienced by "more superior" people—which are at a higher level than those experienced by "ordinary" individuals.

Mill supports individual liberty. In particular, Mill identifies three types of liberties: (1) liberty of expression and opinion; (2) liberty of tastes and pursuits; and (3) freedom to unite. He adds that the only actions for which men are accountable to society are those actions which concern or affect the people.

However, even if Mill supports individual liberty, he recognizes that there may be areas where government presence is required. Among those areas are the provision of services which promote the welfare of the people but which the people themselves will not provide because it will not be profitable to them. This includes education and public works. In areas like these, government may be a better judge of the people's interests than the people themselves. Thus, for Mill, respect and exercise of the individual's liberty can co-exist with government presence.

In his economic ideas, Mill bridges classical and neoclassical economics. In his key economic work, *Principles of Political Economy*, Mill discusses such concepts as labor, capital, land, distribution and production, exchange, economic progress, and

even the influence of government in the economic sphere. Again, we see Mill's support for leaving market forces alone in certain areas, along with the view that some governmental interference may be needed in a few areas. Mill prefers having production, distribution and exchange take place in a free market but he also argues that some government intervention may be necessary to improve the conditions of the people.

With that we bring to a close our visit with the economists from the classical school—Adam Smith, David Ricardo and John Stuart Mill. Did you have an interesting time with them? I certainly hope so. In the next section, we shall spend some time with three philosophers who belong to the group of sociological thinkers.

For now, reward yourself with a break from all your hard work. See you later.

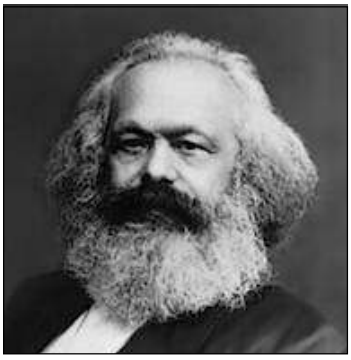
UNIT IV
From Marx to Weber

Module 12
Karl Marx

"I am not a Marxist." Guess who said this? Why, Karl Marx himself! And why would he say something like that? Well, you have to read on for the answer.

With this module on Karl Marx's ideas we begin our visit into the world of famous and important sociological thinkers. This does not mean, of course, that we will be discussing only sociological matters. As you will find out in a little while, these philosophers also had something to say about the economy and politics. Perhaps it would be better to say that these sociological thinkers were concerned with societal issues in general.

Roll Out the Red Carpet for Karl Marx



Source: Microsoft Encarta 2000

Why the red carpet for a person who is thought to be evil by some? Red, as you very well know, is the color associated with the communists and revolutions. The communists are also called the "reds." But we roll out the red carpet for Marx not only because of this but also because the red carpet is reserved only for very important persons. Once you know more about Marx, you will agree that he is indeed a V.I.P.—as in very important, interesting and intriguing philosopher!

The 5th of May 1818 marked the birth of Karl Marx. He was born in Trier, southern Germany to a middle class Jewish family. His family converted

Objectives

After studying this module, you should be able to:

1. Identify some of Karl Marx's major contributions to political, economic and social thought;
2. Explain Marx's concept of communism and socialism; and
3. Apply these ideas to issues and concerns that are relevant to our times.

to Protestantism to avoid the problems faced by Jews in German society then. When he was 17 years old, Marx studied law at the University of Bonn. However, he left soon after and went to the University of Berlin and then the University of Jena where he received his doctorate in April 1841. He went back to the University of Bonn, the school where he first studied, to apply for a teaching post but his efforts bore no fruit. Not one to stay idle, Marx worked as a journalist. In 1842, he published his first article in the popular German periodical, *Rheinische Zeitung*. A year later, Marx published two important works, *A Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right* and "On the Jewish Question." Out of these works evolved Marx's theory of history and economic life (Microsoft Encarta, 2000:1 & Morrison, 1995:27).

Marx moved from Germany to France in October 1843 where he did further studies in philosophy, history, political science, and political economy. It was during this time that he immersed himself in the works of Adam Smith and David Ricardo, among others. Also, while he was in Paris, Marx got to meet other famous people such as Pierre Joseph Proudhon, Mikhail Bakunin and Friedrich Engels. Marx also found himself getting involved in the socialist movement. In May 1844, he published his work on classical economics and alienated labor entitled *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts*. The following year, Marx moved to Brussels where his partnership with Engels grew. Some accounts say he was expelled from France on the request of the German government. Marx became exposed to Engel's ideas by reading the latter's *Condition of the Working Class in England* (1844). Their friendship began when Engels went to Paris in 1844 to visit Marx. They collaborated on several works, including *The Holy Family, The German Ideology*, and *The Communist Manifesto*. The latter was a product of Marx's involvement with the workers' movement and a request from the Communist League for Marx and Engels to come up with some sort of a workers' charter. *The Communist Manifesto* is considered to be Marx's most influential work, affecting the workers' movement not only in Brussels where Marx was at that time but in Europe as a whole (Morrison, 1995:27-28 & Ebenstein & Ebenstein, 2000:640).

In 1849 Marx moved from Brussels to London where he did more work on questions regarding political economy. Ten years after arriving on British soil, Marx published *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. Nearly a decade later, in 1867, Marx published the first volume of another major work—*Das Kapital*. The second and third volumes of this

analysis of the capitalist system would not be completed and published until after Marx's death. Edited by Engels, the books finally saw print between 1885 and 1895. Marx died in London in 1883 (Morrison, 1995:28).

Marx counted among his influences Georg W.F. Hegel. According to one account, when it comes to German philosophy "it was above all Hegel who greatly influenced Marx. Although Marx very early criticized Hegel, he never abandoned the basic categories of Hegel's thought" (Ebenstein & Ebenstein, 2000:641). Among Hegel's works are *The Philosophy of Right, Phenomenology of the Spirit*, and *Lectures on the Philosophy of History*. Hegel is recognized as the originator of philosophical idealism, defined as "a philosophic perspective which put forward the idea that the ultimate conditions of human existence and development can be arrived at only through the examination of abstract philosophic categories" (Morrison, 1995:29) such as being, reason, history and spirit.

Early in his life, Marx was part of a movement called the Young Hegelians. Like Hegel, Marx believed that history has meaning and history moves in a set pattern toward a known goal. This argument is reflected in Hegel's version of dialectic. What is dialectic? According to McClelland (1996:528):

1. Dialectical investigation proceeds by stages and at each stage of the argument a position is advanced which is presented as a finished truth.
2. Nothing is entirely or 100% true or false. Any position requires a contradiction to move on to a higher stage of synthesis.
3. The nearer to truth dialectical argument gets, the more comprehensive the truth being offered becomes.
4. Truth comes from the process of argument itself and is not introduced from the outside.
5. Since truth comes out of the process of argument, it is not invented but discovered, it is not created but grasped.
6. Each stage of a dialectical argument is necessary.

In Hegel's historical dialectic, he argues that history is progressive. In the search for truth (whatever that may be), an initial view is put forward as the prevailing idea or the thesis. But since no idea is ever wholly true or false, there will be a contradictory idea that will be pitted against this prevailing idea, and this is the anti-thesis. As these two ideas are pitted against each other, the "best" of the old and of the new ideas are brought together to form the synthesis, which now serves as the prevailing idea. Do you think history stops there? Of course not! The new prevailing idea becomes the new thesis, one whose position will be contested by a new anti-thesis—a contestation that will result in the formation of a new synthesis. When does it all end? Well, we can say that the cycle will end only

with the end of history or when the final synthesis, the Absolute Truth, is arrived at. Do you have any idea when that will be? By way of an answer consider this: in talking about the idea of freedom, the dialectical process continues "until Absolute Freedom is reached, corresponding to truth in ordinary dialectical argument. Like truth, Absolute Freedom is internally consistent and exists without contradiction—no new idea of freedom emerges to challenge it" (McClelland, 1998:528-529). The final synthesis, which will remain uncontested, brings the dialectical process to an end.

Another influence on Marx was French revolutionary politics. We have already discussed the French Revolution of 1789-1799 about. Do you still remember our discussion on this historical event? Jot down your ideas about the French Revolution in the box below:

The French Revolution of 1789-1799 was about...

Here's additional information on the French Revolution: It is considered "the first modern revolution because it changed the structure of society, rather than simply replacing the existing ruler or even the political regime and created new ideologies to explain its course when nothing suitable could be adopted from the past" (McLean, 1996:194). The revolution saw, among others, the fall of the monarchy, the collapse of feudalism, and the restructuring of society. To Marx, "if revolution was the principal method of destroying a capitalist society, France and her revolutionary experience served as the best laboratory. France was among the most advanced major western nations because its revolutions were most clearly based on social antagonism" (Ebenstein & Ebenstein, 2000:642). In addition, what set the French Revolution apart from the other revolutions of the time was that it was simply the start of a series of revolutionary changes which took France by storm (i.e., in 1830 and 1848), and whose end nobody knew for certain. France was also where the first attempt at putting in place a proletarian dictatorship happened. This took place through the short-lived Paris Commune of 1871 (Ebenstein & Ebenstein, 2000:642). For all these reasons, Marx saw the French historical experience as a very rich source of lessons for everyone.

The Industrial Revolution was another point of interest for Marx. In examining and analyzing this development and its aftermath, Marx turned to the experience of England, which was where it all began. Why was the Industrial Revolution of interest to Marx? One scholar points out that: "In what we have come to call the Industrial Revolution, something had happened which could not be stopped until it had worked through every national economy in the world. This became such an obvious truth that even Marxists came to believe it. Capitalism … and the division of labor did not allow other forms of economic organization to survive alongside them for so long" (McClelland, 1998:446). Marx was particularly interested in the widening gap between the rich and the poor in society—a gap that could be traced to the exploitative nature of the economic system that the Industrial Revolution brought forth. He saw that economic forces were the main driving force of history. And since "industrial civilization was irresistibly spreading throughout the whole world, Marx was convinced that England was the country to live in if one wanted to study industrial capitalism first hand, and that English (and Scottish) economic analysis was the most advanced of any country" (Ebenstein & Ebenstein, 2000:642). In the end, he used this analysis to support his argument that capitalism is wasteful and exploitative. He went as far as to say that capitalism will bring about its own downfall. Would you like to know why? Well, I'm not going to tell you just now. You will have to read the excerpt to find out.

In your book of readings is a section taken from *The Communist Manifesto*. Published in 1848 in London, the work is actually a declaration of principles and objectives of the Communist League. The final version was done mostly by Marx based on an earlier draft prepared by Engels. As a testament to the import of this work, let me quote the remarks of one professor of history: "The Manifesto is the most concise and intelligible statement of Marx's materialist view of history. Hence, although it produced little immediate effect, it has since become the most widely read of his works and the single most influential document in the socialist canon" (Congdon, 2000:1). Indeed, although his writings had very little effect on society while Marx was still alive, his ideas gained ground after his death. Up to now, his ideas are still being discussed and debated in academic and non-academic circles worldwide. If this is not enough evidence of Marx's influence, then I don't know what is. Well, so much for introducing you to Marx and his works. It's time to read for yourself *The Communist Manifesto*.

The Political, Economic and Social Ideas of Marx

Any initial reactions to what you have just read—violent or otherwise? Are you now a fan of Marx, or a critic? People who are not familiar with Marx and his works tend to have a very negative view of the German philosopher because when they hear the name Marx only one word comes to mind. Guess what that is? COMMUNISM! That's right. And for us Filipinos who have lived under the shadow of the United States for the longest time, communism is a no-no! Some people associate communism with an undesirable way of life working on. But I hope that after working on this module, you will all be better informed about Marx's concept of communism. Now, our first agenda is to complete the following exercise. Grab your pens or pencils and start answering. Have fun!

SAQ 12-1

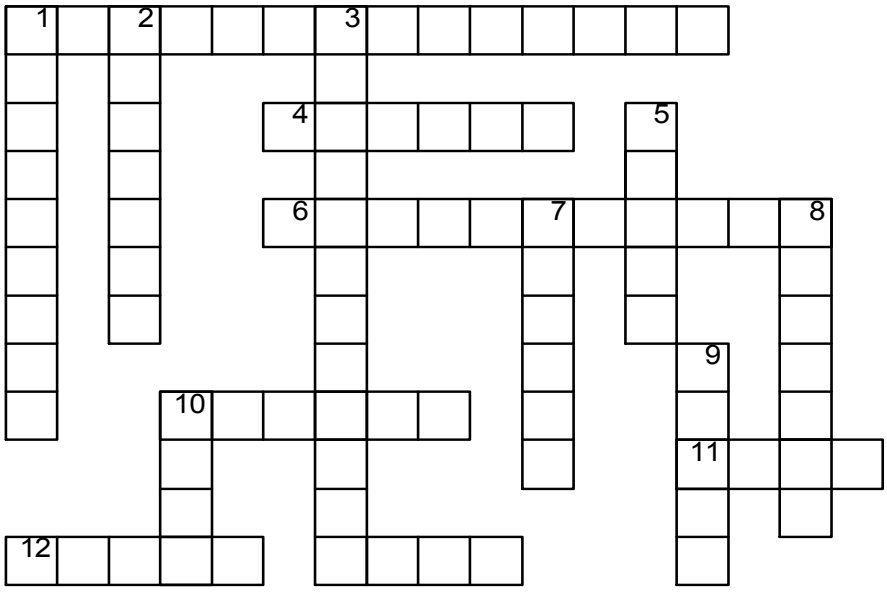
Do you still remember the crossword puzzle you filled up during our visit with Plato? How did you find that exercise? If you had an easy time completing it, I'm sure you will find this one equally manageable. The clues are given below. Good luck!

ACROSS

1. The history of all existing society, past and present, is the history of _____
4. Marx's second school was the University of _____
6. The _____ has played a most revolutionary role in history
10. The best example for studying revolutionary policies
11. Marx first studied at the University of _____
12. The originator of idealism
13. German socialism is also known as _____ socialism

DOWN

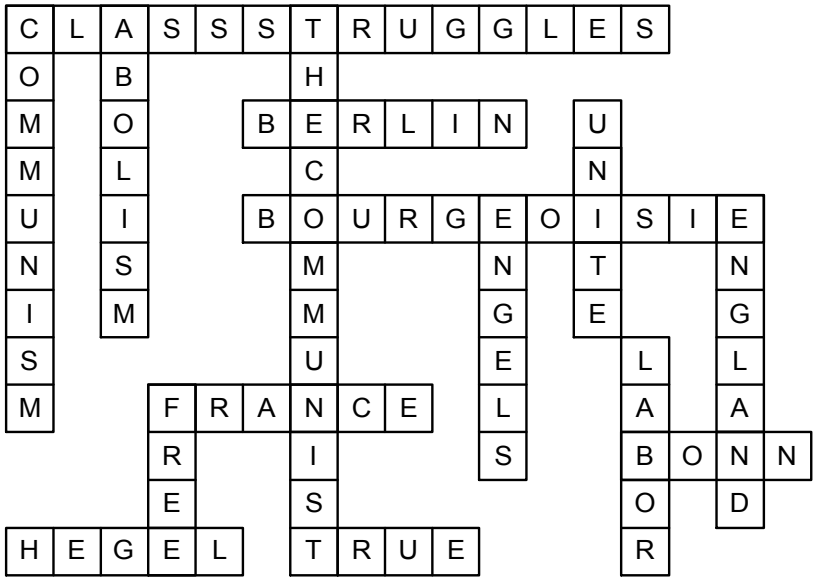
1. For Marx, this is the end of history
2. For the end of history to materialize, there is a need to _____ private property
3. _____ _____ Manifesto
5. "Workingmen of the world, _____!"
7. Marx's good friend and with whom he collaborated on several works
8. The best example for analyzing industrial capitalism
9. Alienation and exploitation results from extensive division of _____
10. Capitalism is also called _____ market economy



ASAQ 12-1

I'm certain that you found that exercise very easy to complete. Below is the completed puzzle. Go and check how many correct answers you have. Each correct answer is equivalent to a star. There is also a conversion table so that you will know what your score means. So, how many right answers did you get? A score of:

- 14 ☆s Stupendous work!
- 12-13 ☆s Wonderful accomplishment!
- 10-11 ☆s Commendable job!
- 0-9 ☆s Try to score better next time, okay? Do not despair.



After that fun break, let's do some serious stuff. Let us now examine the ideas and arguments of Marx (and Engels) in *The Communist Manifesto*.

The materialist interpretation of history

Earlier, we mentioned Hegel introducing the notion of philosophical idealism. What did he mean by this? The existence of man is best understood through the use of such abstract and philosophic categories as reason and being. The doctrine of idealism asserts that the external world must be understood through consciousness (McLean, 1996:233). What did Marx have to say about this?

No, no, no. Idealism, says Marx, is not the way to go. The right approach to studying man's existence is through materialism. And what, you might ask, is materialism? It is "a theoretical perspective which looks at human problems by studying the real conditions of human existence, especially those related to the satisfaction of simple economic needs." Moreover, "what was so important about this perspective was its attempt to devise a social theory of society and existence from the starting point of practical human needs and economic production" (Morrison, 1995:32). Stressing the point more emphatically, Marx points out that the social existence of man determines his consciousness and not the other way around (i.e., that man's consciousness determines his existence). What this implies is that "men's ideas are not accidental and haphazard, or freely left to their choice" (Ebenstein & Ebenstein, 2000:645); rather, ideas are shaped by the structures and processes that confront men in their everyday existence.

Certain key arguments led Marx to his materialist theory of history. These arguments are:

1. The first and most important historical act is the act of producing the means to satisfy human economic needs which, in turn, are basic to man's existence.

2. Man is different from all other creatures of the world because he must produce his means of subsistence and because he enters into a conscious relation with nature for survival.

3. The manner in which men exist and live "coincide(s) with what they produce and how they produce and the nature of individuals depends on the material conditions determining their production." (Morrison, 1995:35)

Aside from these basic arguments, there are important concepts central to Marx's ideas on materialism which we will try to define here. The first concept is the means of production. For Marx, this concept refers to "anything in the external world that is used to produce material needs and maintain existence." This includes land, animals, tools and machinery. Marx was interested in this concept because the "condition of ownership over the means of production is the single most fundamental fact of the materialist theory of history since it is this that leads to the division of society into economic classes," in particular the owners and non-owners of the means of production (Morrison, 1995:36). These classes are more popularly known as capitalists and workers, respectively.

Another concept is that of relations of production, which has to do with the link between how a society produces and the social roles of individuals in the production process. Because ownership of the means of production has the tendency to be monopolized by the capitalists, the result is the formation of two distinct social roles in production—the producers and the non-producers of physical labor (Morrison, 1995:36-37). Can you identify which of the two refers to the capitalist class?

Marx also speaks of mode of production and by this he refers to the means by which people actually produce and enter into social relationships. The mode of production "comprises a total way of life of society, its social activities and its social institutions" (Morrison, 1995:38). To understand how the mode of production can determine the system of social relations arising from it, let's look at Morrison's (1995:39-40) description of feudal societies where the main production process is cultivation, which:

> ... produces food crops, domestic animals, shelter and clothing. From this way of producing material needs arises a system of social relations (lord and serf) which tends to govern how the means of production are used. Since landholder and serf became the central economic institutions of feudal society, Marx would argue that they do so only because they reflect the unequal relations of production arising out of the fact that one class of persons tends to preside over the forces of production. The concept of mode of production allowed Marx to identify the primary economic elements of a historical period by showing how its economic base directly shaped its system of social relations.

In the last sentence, we can identify another of Marx's concepts—economic base or infrastructure. Are you already confused with all these concepts? Don't be. In this case, the infrastructure or mode of production serves as the economic base which determines the totality of the social

superstructure (which in turn is composed of the state and political institutions, among others). Thus, society can be changed only by "revolutionizing the economic base" (Rius, 1979:147).

Communism as the end of history

What exactly does Marx mean by communism? Before we go to Marx's view, perhaps a dictionary definition will help. Here's one: Communism is "a process of class conflict and revolutionary struggle, resulting in victory for the proletariat and the establishment of a classless, socialist society in which private ownership has been abolished and the means of production and subsistence belong to the community" (McLean, 1996:87).

For Marx, communism is the end of history: it is equivalent to the final synthesis that will no longer be contested or contradicted by any other system. But if this is the end of history, what is the starting point?

As in the movie *The Sound of Music*, "let's start from the very beginning, which is always a very good place to start." We begin with the tribal mode of production which is based on hunting and gathering. This system is also characterized by very basic division of labor, absence of private property, and a strong orientation towards the family and kinship systems. What such a system implies is the existence of a relatively classless society. It is also a system where production is done collectively to ensure communal survival.

In Marx's version of materialist history, the tribal system is followed by the ancient mode of production. In contrast to the hunting and gathering system of tribal societies, what one finds here is an agrarian system existing alongside a basic system of trade and commerce. Moreover, there is private property, from which arises relations between owners (i.e., citizens) and non-owners (i.e., slaves) of property. Also, you will find here a division of labor that is fairly extensive, as well as some form of civil, political and military authority and a system of state ownership of the means of production. The state here refers in particular to military elites who were responsible for conquering new lands and peoples.

What is the third mode of production? Marx calls it the feudal system. Among the characteristics of the feudal system are: (1) an agricultural system of production; (2) food production concentrated on the land; (3) absence of industry; (4) land ownership concentrated in the aristocratic class; and (5) landed property as the chief form of property. We should add that one finds in feudal societies a network of political and social institutions that give the landowners a means to exercise power over the serfs.

The "last" form of mode of production is capitalism. Capitalism follows the collapse of feudalism. Here, the serfs and peasants are transformed into wage laborers or industrial workers as production shifts away from the countryside to the cities, from the farms to the factories. Private property is ingrained in the system and a division between capitalists and wage laborers is established. What is the relationship between the two classes? The owners of the means of production get their wealth from the non-owners who are the primary producers. According to Marx, in a capitalist system, wage labor is the prevailing form of exploitation (Morrison, 1995:40-42).

These, then, are the characteristics of the mode of production which you find as you move from a tribal to a capitalism system. But does it all end here? Again, the answer is: NO! If you noticed, we referred to capitalism as the "last" form of mode of production. We enclosed it in quotation marks to indicate that while for some, the process ends with the capitalist system, for Marx there is a next stage—a stage that commences "when the economic conditions inherent in the class system become so great that the majority of workers form a class constituting the potential for revolutionary change." (Morrison, 1995:42-43) The next stage—also referred to as the transitional stage from capitalism to communism—is called socialism. This mode of production emphasizes collective ownership of the means of production, with the state playing a bigger role in the operation of the economy. Contrast this to the capitalist mode of production which it supplants. In his work, Marx said that "at a certain stage of development, the material forces of production in society come in conflict with the existing relations of production, or....with the property relations within which they had been at work before. From forms of development of the forces of production, these relations become their fetters. Then occurs a period of social revolution. With the change of the economic foundation, the entire immense superstructure is more or less rapidly transformed." Again, we see here a reiteration of Marx's argument that the material conditions of life determine man's existence and not the other way around. The implication is that if we want to change the system, what we should attack is the economic base or the material condition of our lives.

We have already pointed out that socialism is just a transitional stage. This means that it is not the Absolute Truth or the final synthesis referred to in dialectical analysis. According to Marx, the final synthesis is communism, which is the end of history. Of course, we should start with a definition of communism. However, it is difficult to pin the concept down in a single definition because of its numerous strands (the same holds true for socialism). So, to facilitate our study, let us confine ourselves to what some scholars call revolutionary communism. Revolutionary communism posits that fundamental social and economic change cannot be achieved except by class war, violence and revolution. Moreover, the supporters of

this doctrine "openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions" (quoted in Ebenstein & Ebenstein, 2000:647). Communism is also associated with the call for the abolition of private property, in particular bourgeois private property.

If it takes a social revolution to accomplish the transition from capitalism to socialism, then it takes nothing less than that to move on to communism. Marx himself says that "the Communist revolution is the most radical rupture with traditional property relations. No wonder that its development involves the most radical rupture with traditional ideas." What is the initial step in the communist revolution? You will find the answer in *The Communist Manifesto.* The first step is "to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class, to establish democracy." And what will be the task of the working class? Please write your answer to this question in the box below:

The task of the proletariat in the communist revolution is...

Marx assigns three main tasks to the proletariat or the working class: (1) to seize the bourgeoisie's capital; (2) to put all means of production in the hands of the state; and (3) to increase the total of productive forces as fast as possible. In addition, Marx stipulates the following for a communist system:

1. abolition of property in land and the application of all rents of land to public purposes;
2. progressive or graduated income tax;
3. abolition of all right of inheritance;
4. confiscation of the property of emigrants and rebels;
5. centralization of credit in the hands of the state;
6. centralization of the means of communication and transport in the hands of the state;
7. extension of factories and instruments of production owned by the state;
8. equal obligation of all to work;
9. combination of agriculture with manufacturing industries and gradual abolition of the distinction between town and country; and
10. free education for all children in public schools.

These are the basic traits of a communist mode of production. But to better understand what communism is about, it would help if we knew a bit more about the transition from capitalism to communism—with socialism in between, of course. In the following section, we will be exploring this transition as we examine Marx's observations regarding capitalism, its inherent weaknesses, and the changes that these weaknesses cause.

Critique of capitalism and classical political economy

Some paragraphs back, we said that Marx commented that what will lead to the collapse of capitalism will be the very weaknesses and contradictions that are inherent in this mode of production. Let's quickly recall our earlier discussion of capitalism when we visited Adam Smith. We said that capitalism is an economic system where the means of production are in private hands. More importantly, capitalism or a free market economy is a system that is based on decentralized decision-making and where market forces determine the prices and supply of goods, among others. Smith argued that the "invisible hand" in the capitalist system is responsible for attaining economic equilibrium.

Exactly what did Marx find weak in the system? How and why will capitalism end? Marx gives us the answer in the following passage from *The Communist Manifesto:*

> The essential condition for the existence and for the sway of the bourgeois class is the formation and augmentation of capital; the condition for capital is wage-labor. Wage-labor rests exclusively on competition between the laborers. The advance of industry, whose involuntary promoter is the bourgeoisie, replaces the isolation of the laborers, due to competition, by their revolutionary combinations, due to association. The development of modern industry, therefore, customs from under its feet the very foundation on which the bourgeoisie produces the appropriate products. *What the bourgeoisie therefore produces, above all, are its own gravediggers. Its fall and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable.* (italics supplied)

A note about the bourgeoisie: Marx explains that the bourgeois class is a product of the collapse of the feudal mode of production and the transition to the capitalist system. In a capitalist society, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat are pitted against each other. Marx also emphasizes that "the modern bourgeoisie is itself the product of a long course of development, of a series of revolutions in the modes of production and of exchange." In fact, Marx himself points out that the bourgeoisie has had a highly revolutionary role in history—revolutionary because through its actions it has changed relations of production, means of production and even entire social relations. However, this is where the problem comes in.

Since it is a mode of production that is driven by the search for more and more profits, capitalism is concerned with increasing productivity. Productivity is increased by division of labor, and by employing more and more machines and technology. With increasing use of newer technologies, human labor may be used less and less and human wage-labors will be replaced by machines. This results in an increase in unemployment or underemployment and a lowering of wages. If workers lose their jobs or get lower wages, who will then buy the products being produced by the capitalists? The economy may suffer from an oversupply of goods. The worsening conditions of the working class will lead to a revolution led by the working class. It will lead them to seize the means of production from the capitalists. This will bring about a system—the socialist mode of production—where the means of production will be under the control of the state.

The collapse of capitalism will occur because of the tendency, inherent in the system, for the productive forces (or the capacity to produce) to outstrip the productive relationships (i.e., production for private profit). According to Ebenstein and Ebenstein (2000:646): "The capitalist system as a system of social, economic and legal relations thus eventually stands in the way of the scientific resources and technological know-how that are not permitted to be fully utilized. Only the public ownership of the means of production will, according to Marx, bring into existence a new system of productive relationships (i.e., production for common use rather than private profit) that will match the tremendous forces of production actually or potentially existent and known to man." The collapse of capitalism is due in part to the reluctance of the owners of the means of production to allow the growth and development of the forces that make up the new mode of production (i.e., socialism and then communism). This explanation is related to Marx's observation that the "history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles." Such struggles have taken place between the oppressed and the oppressor.

At this point, we have a better idea of Marx's key argument about how capitalism is bound to collapse. But in order for us to understand the intricacies of Marx's argument, we have to dig deeper into his analysis. We shall do that by looking at his critique of classical political economy, more specifically, his counterarguments to Adam Smith and David Ricardo, the two classical economists who were advocates of the free market economy. Morrison (1995:55-56) summarizes Marx's critique of classical political economy as follows:

> Marx's critique of the political economists is leveled at Smith's and Ricardo's inability to see how economic laws were the effects of much broader historical and social processes. Marx attacked political economics on five separate fronts. First, he disagreed with Smith's and Ricardo's conception of capitalist society as governed by immutable laws and economic functions. Second, he criticized their tendency to conceive of the common good of society as consisting of the private pursuit of economic gain and their conception of society as an interchange between free merchants who exchange labor and wages in the market. Third, he criticized their work for being totally indifferent to the economic inequalities inherent in acts of exchange. Fourth, he rejected the claims by Smith and Ricardo that value was a "substance" inherent in commodities. Fifth, Marx criticized the political economists for their theoretical methods and their use of abstract categories, which tended to view economic activity as existing above the practical acts of individuals.

I would like to focus on Marx's critique of the division of labor which Smith and Ricardo discuss extensively in their respective works. Smith, in particular, says that division of labor is the cause of economic progress and development. It results in faster and more efficient production processes. Clearly then Smith has a very favorable opinion of division of labor. What about Marx? Well, Marx begins by tracing the history of division of labor. He points out that division of labor in the 1800s when manufacturing and industry first developed. Marx relates division of labor with some form of complex cooperation which "occurs when the skills formerly embedded in the worker become functions of the process of the division of labor itself" (Morrison, 1995:86-87). This leads to a situation where the workers are robbed of their own skills because these skills now become the property of the combined division of labor. Marx contrasts this system with simple cooperation, which existed in more simple labor systems. Simple cooperation can be likened to a case where one capitalist has several laborers working for him but they all perform the same work—

each worker produces the entire product, whether it be a t-shirt, a table, a bag or a pair of shoes. In complex cooperation, the individual worker has his own area of specialization. So, if you are a worker in a t-shirt factory, you will not be producing the entire shirt; instead you will be responsible only for a particular section such as attaching the sleeves or sewing the collar on or putting on the pocket. Is the distinction very clear to you? Be sure you understand it because the distinction is related to Marx's concept of alienation.

Marx is not against division of labor *per se*. What Marx is critical of is the alienation that extreme or extensive division of labor (or highly complex cooperation) brings with it. Alienation was used in the 1800s and 1900s to refer to "a state of disruption and change taking place in the system of social relations as a result of the development of modern society." Hegel also used the concept of alienation but he labeled it "estrangement." For Marx, the concept of alienation is related to the nature of man. Men define themselves in nature and history particularly through their labor; it is this that differentiates men from other creatures. "Labor defined human beings in at least three specific senses. First, through it individuals exert control over nature and natural obstacles, and therefore feel themselves to be active rather than passive in history. Second, labor is the source of human existence in that it produces the material necessities of good, shelter and clothing. Third, labor is part of human self-definition since through it individuals control their circumstances and actively feel confirmed in their activity and their being" (Morrison, 1995:92). Alienation disrupts the link between man and his labor.

There are, according to Marx, four basic forms of alienation: (1) alienation from the production of labor; (2) alienation from productive activity; (3) alienation from the human species; and (4) alienation from fellow human beings. Through these various types of alienation, the cooperation that arises from division of labor is disrupted. The consequence is that the economic progress and development, which Smith says results from division of labor, is no longer realizable. What is left is an alienated worker and a disrupted production process. Not a pretty prospect, right?

Now we have seen why Marx is not a big fan of capitalism and why he favors a different mode of production. How about you? What system do you favor and why? In your opinion, what system is more applicable to our own country?

Summary

Karl Marx is a philosopher whom you will either love or hate. It is said that there is no middle ground when it comes to Marx and his ideas. The latter continue to be discussed passionately up to this day. His name has been associated with communism but sadly, the communism (or socialism, to be more precise) that we have come to witness in our world is not what Marx was talking about. Marx's communism was a totally different thing, as we learned from our discussion.

This German scholar is not simply a philosopher. He was into political economy, economics, philosophy, sociology, law, history, and practically everything else. He was able to contribute ideas and arguments in all these fields. In this module, we highlighted his contributions to political, economic and social thought. Among these were his materialist theory of history (as opposed to Hegel's idealism), critique of classical political economy, concepts of class struggle and alienation, and communism as the end of history.

Marx advanced a materialist view of history, which holds that the existence of man is determined by his material conditions. In studying history, Marx advocated a focus on the mode of production that existed during a particular time in history. By mode of production, Marx refers to both the relations and the means of production. He said that if one wants to change the system, one must attack the mode of production. So, in the pursuit of communism—the end of history as Marx described it—one must attack the capitalist mode of production and its weaknesses. Only then can the communist mode of production be put in place.

We also saw Marx arguing that history is a history of class struggles. Each mode of production has its own particular class struggle but in general, the struggles that we have seen in history has always been between two classes—the oppressors and the oppressed. In the capitalist mode of production, we saw that the two classes Marx was referring to were the bourgeoisie (or the owners of the means of production) and the proletariat (or the non-owners). It must be added that every class struggle is a political struggle. Marx also noted that historically speaking, the bourgeoisie has played a most revolutionary role because "wherever it has got the upper hand, [it] has put an end to all feudal, patriarchal, idyllic relations." We also noted that "the bourgeoisie cannot exist without constantly revolutionizing the instruments of production, and thereby the relations of production and with them the

whole relations of society." This class, then, has been a catalyst for change in history.

In Marx's critique of capitalism and classical political economy, he attacked mainly the arguments put forward by Smith and Ricardo. Marx said that capitalism has inherent contradictions that will inevitably lead to its collapse. One of these contradictions has to do with the concept of division of labor which capitalism fosters and the consequent alienation that results from extreme or extensive division of labor. Marx said that capitalism will dig its own grave. Its collapse will be its own doing. And with the fall of capitalism will come the rise of communism. Socialism will serve as a transitional stage that will usher in communism.

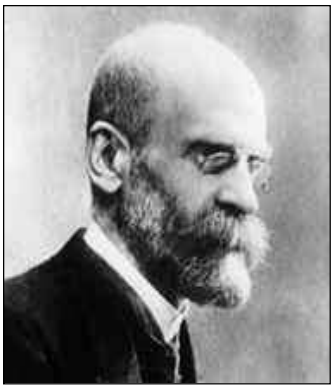
I have said this time and again, but I must reiterate it once more. What we have seen in this visit with Marx are just glimpses of one of the greatest minds the world has seen so far. Obviously, we do not have the luxury of time and space to immerse ourselves in all his works. *Das Kapital* alone is composed of three parts, each of which is a voluminous work! If Marx's ideas intrigued you and you are interested in getting to know his ideas better, then by all means read Marx's works. With the introduction that you got from his module, I hope you are now in a better position to appreciate his ideas and arguments.

Module 13
Emile Durkheim

Congratulations to you all! In case you haven't noticed, we are near the end of the journey and you have survived the challenges so far. Aren't you proud of yourself? You should be. Give yourself a congratulatory pat on the back. However, before you drown in all the accolades, let us proceed with our second-to-the last visit. All set to go?

In this section, we will meet one of the individuals responsible for founding modern sociology—Emile Durkheim. We will be examining his contributions to the discipline. In particular, we will concern ourselves with Durkheim's views on division of labor, social solidarity and suicide. Curious already? Well then, read on.

Durkheim Who?



Source: Microsoft Encarta 2000

On the 15th day of April 1858, Emile Durkheim was born into a Jewish family of modest means. in Epinal, France. Even as a child, Durkheim proved to be a highly disciplined and successful student. Thus, he was able to enter the very prestigious École Normale Supérieure in Paris in 1879. Durkheim worked on his doctoral degree at the École Normale. As a scholar, Durkheim's central concern was the study of philosophy. He was also interested in political and social applications—an interest that would be sustained for the rest of his life.

Objectives

After studying this module, you should be able to:

1. Explain Durkheim's concept of division of labor and its relationship to social solidarity;
2. Understand the link between social solidarity and suicide;
3. Compare Durkheim's views on division of labor with those of Adam Smith and Karl Marx; and
4. Apply Durkheim's ideas to some of the social problems we face today.

Again because of his outstanding scholarship, he was given a fellowship to the University of Berlin in 1885. He spent a year studying there. Upon his return from Berlin, he got a university position at Bordeaux. He was then only 29 years old. Durkheim wrote some of his most important works in Bordeaux, including *Division of Labor in Society* (1893), *Rules of Sociological Method* (1895), and *Suicide* (1897).

Sometime in 1902, Durkheim moved to Paris because he was given a teaching post at the Sorbonne. There he established his name in the field of sociology. In fact, he is known as the founder of sociology as a scientific discipline and one of the two fathers of modern sociological theory (Parsons, 1968:311). (The other one is Max Weber whom we will visit on our last stop). Durkheim wrote his other major book, *Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* (1912), at the Sorbonne. He died in 1917 at the age of 59 (Morrison, 1995:120).

In general, Durkheim supported the application of scientific methods to the analysis of societies. In particular, he wanted to develop sociology as the science of institutions and as the scientific study of the objective reality of social facts (Swingewood, 2000:58). To what can we attribute Durkheim's stress on the scientific approach? Well, during the 1880s in France, emphasis was placed on science and social progress in the context of France's pursuit of political consolidation and the establishment of its national identity. The French educational system focused on science and social progress which, in turn, led to calls for political reforms. From this series of developments can be traced the evolution of positivism.

Do you know what positivism is? Any ideas? Put simply, positivism is "a social movement which pronounced the demise of speculative philosophy." It was "a dominant social force advocating scientific change and social reform and methods premised on the natural sciences" (Morrison, 1995:25).

Durkheim also emphasized the idea that groups are more than the sum of their parts. Durkheim wanted to shift the focus away from the individual to the collective. According to one scholar, Durkheim did not see the atomistic or individualistic perspective as being adequate for the social sciences. For him, "Social solidarity could never flow from an atomistic concept of individuals freely pursuing their own private interests: social real-

ity could not be defined in terms of individuals who exchange goods and services and thus contribute to social cohesion" (Morrison, 1995:60-61). Durkheim believed that in societies which are dominated by individuals who are pursuers of their own interests, there is the tendency to be in a state of nature *a la* Hobbes. Do you still remember Hobbes' famous line? Hobbes declared that the life of man in the state of nature is solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short. In a state where men are at war with each other, the only recourse to survival is self-help. For Durkheim, such a society will eventually break down (Parsons, 1968:314). (As an aside, do you know whose ideas Durkheim is rejecting with this remark? Pause for a while to come up with your answer. If you said "Adam Smith," then you are absolutely correct! Very good!) Durkheim's position on this matter ran parallel to the anti-individualist trend that emerged in France during the latter part of the 19th century.

We can say that four people influenced Durkheim's thinking. Who were these individuals? Well, there was Auguste Comte (1798-1857), another well-known French philosopher who contributed much to the founding of sociology. Comte is credited with developing the positivist philosophical perspective which did away with speculative philosophy and emphasized the importance of observation in the development of a theory of knowledge. How exactly did Comte's positivism affect Durkheim? Let us count the ways. One scholar identifies three influences: (1) Durkheim's acceptance of the value of examination and observation of facts; (2) his support of the argument that the only valid and acceptable guide to objective knowledge is the scientific method; and (3) his agreement with Comte on the need to rid sociology, the scientific study of society, of its metaphysical abstraction and philosophical speculation (Morrison, 1995:123).

Another influential person in Durkheim's life was Claude Saint-Simon (1760-1825), a French socialist recognized as one of the founders of modern socialism. Saint-Simon preferred a system of organization led by people of science and industry and geared towards the benefit of the public as a whole. He saw industrialization as a means of improving society by eradicating poverty and war and sustaining social justice (Microsoft Encarta, 2000:1). Saint-Simon put forward the idea that in a society based on this scientific-industrial order, different classes would come into existence. While these classes may be related to one another in a hierarchical manner, their presence could also result in an "organic order of social peace and stability." In this setup, the integration of society would occur through the institution of appropriate moral ideals. This was a view supported by Durkheim. As one scholar notes, Durkheim explained that division of labor "need not lead … to 'disorganization' and 'anarchy' [because] everything depended, for Saint-Simon as for Durkheim, on whether the appropriate moral order could be developed to suit the new social and

technical conditions." Once you have read the excerpt from Durkheim's *Division of Labor in Society*, you will be in a better position to understand how Saint-Simon influenced Durkheim.

Durkheim was also influenced by Hobbes and Rousseau. However, whereas Comte and Saint-Simon's influence was positive, that of Hobbes and Rousseau was negative. More precisely, Durkheim rejected the individualist doctrines that we find in the works of Hobbes and Rousseau (with the exception of certain aspects of Rousseau's work). Durkheim did not accept Hobbes' idea that "individuals impose restraint on themselves by contracting out of nature and that restraint is nothing more than a by-product of individual will which is added incrementally to social reality" (Morrison, 1995:126). Instead, Durkheim saw such restraints as being imposed from outside of the individual (i.e., by society). Moreover, Durkheim rejected Rousseau's approach of deriving society from the individual. Can you still recall how Rousseau explained the creation of society and the reasons for its creation? If not, it wouldn't hurt to do a quick review of Module 8.

For Rousseau, individuals decide to transfer their rights to each other in order to form society. Society is established with the objective of attaining security and liberty—in particular, civil and moral liberty. Sovereignty resides in the people; and as the sovereign, they decide on the form of government. It is the duty of government to enforce the general will, which is determined and expressed by the people acting as the sovereign. From this explanation, we can see that society indeed derives from the individual. For Durkheim, however, society and the individual are two distinct entities and thus can be studied independently of each other. Durkheim supported the view that society can be examined as a reality independent of the individual (Morrison, 1995:127-128).

At this point, we should note that while we do recognize the influence these scholars had on Durkheim, we should not overemphasize their impact on Durkheim's ideas and works. Remember that like the other philosophers we have studied, Durkheim was his own man, with his own unique ideas and contributions to political philosophy in general and to the field of sociology in particular.

Now that you have more information about Durkheim's personal life and the events and people that influenced him, it is time to read an excerpt of one of Durkheim's important works, *Division of Labor in Society*. Durkheim began writing this book as part of his doctoral research some time in the 1880s but it was published only in 1893 while he was already at Bordeaux. This is considered to be Durkheim's first major theoretical work. Now read the excerpt.

The Division of Labor *a la* Durkheim

By now, you should be familiar with the concept of "division of labor" as discussed by two other philosophers in their respective works—Adam Smith and Karl Marx. Before we discuss Durkheim's version, why don't you try completing the following exercise first? Let's see how well you are able to compare and contrast the different versions of the concept of division of labor that you have read so far.

SAQ 13-1

Answer the following questions. Write your answers in the form of a table such as the one shown below. Try to make your answers concise. Remember, answers that go straight to the point are better than those which ramble on pointlessly. Also, use your own words (don't just quote directly from the works of the scholars) when answering the questions. This will help you synthesize your thoughts about the ideas of the scholars concerned.

1. How does Adam Smith define division of labor? Is Smith in favor of division of labor?
2. How does Karl Marx define division of labor? Is Marx in favor of division of labor?
3. How does Durkheim define division of labor? How does his definition compare with those of Smith and Marx? Is Durkheim in favor of division of labor?

Scholars	Definition	Opinion on the Concept of Division of Labor
Adam Smith		
Karl Marx		
Emile Durkheim		

ASAQ 13-1

Any comments about the exercise? How does it compare to the other exercises you have done so far? Let us briefly go through the answers to the questions posed.

1. Briefly, Smith said that the division of labor entails the breaking down of the production process into several distinct stages of operations, with each stage being the responsibility of one or two individuals (or one individual being responsible for one or two stages). The division of labor results in specialization among the workers. According to Smith, division of labor has resulted in "the greatest improvement in the productive powers of labor, and the greater part of the skill, dexterity, and judgment with which it is anywhere directed, or applied." In addition, Smith declares that: "It is the great multiplication of the production of all the different arts, in consequence of the division of labor, which occasions, in a well-governed society, that universal opulence which extends itself to the lowest ranks of the people." In both these remarks taken from Smith's *The Wealth of Nations*, we see that Smith had a very positive view of division of labor.

2. Marx was more critical of division of labor. According to Marx, the division of labor came with the development of manufacturing and industry. In the early stages of development, division of labor is based on simple cooperation; more extensive division of labor is founded on complex cooperation. Marx says that: "Complex cooperation occurs when the skills formerly embedded in the worker become functions of the process of the division of labor itself … the qualitative skill formerly belonging to the worker becomes the property of the combined division of labor—and this robs workers of their skill." (Morrison, 1995:87) Here, we see that extreme division of labor results in the alienation of workers from their labor or productive activity. We may therefore say that Marx was not opposed to division of labor *per se*. Rather, what he cautioned against was extreme or extensive division of labor which results in the alienation of workers.

ASAQ 13-1 cont'd.

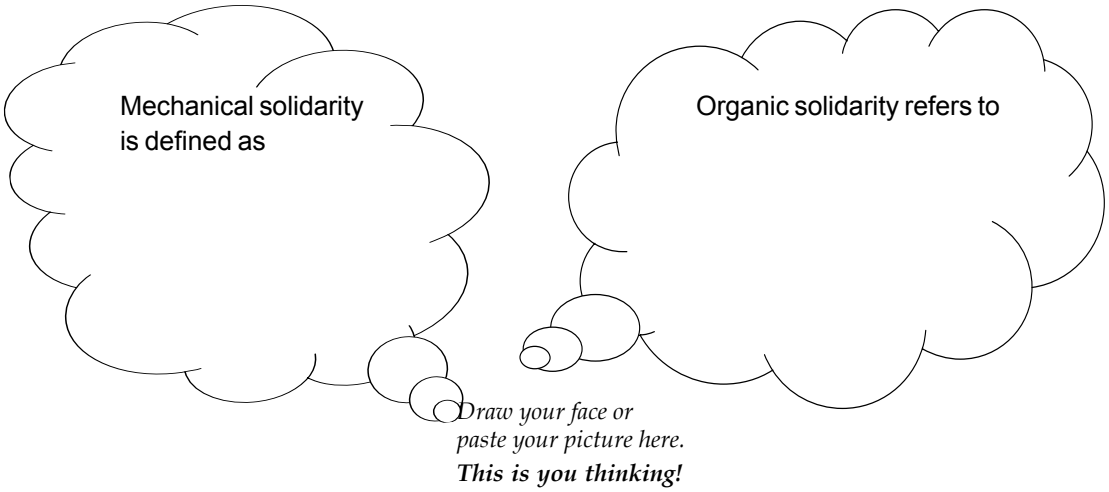
3. Now we turn to Durkheim's version. Put simply, Durkheim looked at the concept of division of labor from a sociological vantage point. He emphasized not the division of tasks within the production process but as a factor in social cohesion and the bonds or linkages which make unity and consolidation in society possible. Durkheim related the concept of division of labor to another concept—social solidarity. What was the relationship between the two concepts? Durkheim put it this way: as division of labor in society expands, this leads to "an ever higher form of solidarity" (Zietlin, 1968:242). For now, we shall content ourselves with that very short definition. If we go any further than that at this point, we will be getting ahead of the story.

So how do your definitions compare with the ones given here? If you were able to incorporate these ideas into your own definitions, then you have done well. If you left out some components, do take note of these so that you will not forget them again.

Types of solidarity and societies

Now that you have successfully completed the last exercise, it is time to proceed with our discussion of Durkheim's work. We will start with the argument made by Durkheim that the division of labor results in a higher form of social solidarity. By way of an introduction, we should mention that one reason Durkheim was concerned with the issue of solidarity was the political and social turmoil in France during the later part of the 1800s. In studying solidarity, Durkheim wanted to look into the links between society and the individuals that compose it as well as the relations that exist among the individuals themselves. He was also interested in how these relations influence social cohesion, and how these relations are affected by changes in the division of labor. As one scholar points out, the central concern of Durkheim's *Division of Labor in Society* is to reconcile the two phenomena of growing individualism and increasing solidarity, specifically within the context of industrialization (Morrison 1995:128). Would you like to venture an educated guess regarding how individualism and solidarity can be linked?

Well, we can begin by examining Durkheim's definition of the concept of solidarity. First, it referred to the system of social bonds which link individuals to society. Second, it pertained to the system of social relations which link individuals to each other and to society at large. A third use of the term is related to the system of social integration that links individuals to outside social groups (Morrison, 1995:128). After identifying these facets of social solidarity, Durkheim proceeds to elaborate on the two types of solidarity in different societies. Can you tell me what these are? Think hard now. Do you know the answers? If you said "mechanical solidarity" and "organic solidarity," that's great. You are 100% right! The next question then is what do these concepts mean. Can you define mechanical and organic solidarity? Here are two thought bubbles for you to fill up.



Were you able to fill in the thought bubbles? Mechanical solidarity, Durkheim points out, is the type of solidarity characterized by uniformity, homogeneity, and lack of differentiation (Parsons, 1968:314). Where do we find mechanical solidarity? Durkheim says that this type of solidarity exists in traditional, pre-industrial, or simple societies which he describes as possessing the following traits:

1. a homogenous population which is small and isolated;
2. a division of labor based on social cooperation, with little or no specialization;
3. a system of social institutions where religion is dominant;
4. a system of beliefs uniformly diffused throughout society, which results in uniform attitudes and actions;
5. a low degree of individual autonomy;
6. a social organization based on kinship;

7. a judicial system based on repressive sanctions which punish individual violations of the law and reaffirm core beliefs and values;
8. a system of social cohesion which results in a high degree of consistency in values and beliefs, and in individual attitudes and actions;
9. a low level of individualism; and
10. a system of social links between individuals founded on custom, obligation, and sentiment (Morrison, 1995:129-130).

The other type of solidarity is organic and this is characterized by the structural differentiations of the division of labor. Moreover, organic solidarity is said to be present in modern, complex, or industrialized societies (Parsons, 1968:314). What does Durkheim mean by a modern society? Well, this is a society characterized by the following:

1. larger populations spread over broader geographic areas;
2. an increased complexity of division of labor leading to specialization and, consequently, dependence on others;
3. a system of social relations where individuals are linked not so much by kinship as by contract;
4. a system where individuals obtain their place in society by occupation;
5. an increased individual autonomy founded on a system of laws recognizing rights and freedoms of individuals and
6. the development of contract law based on restitutive sanctions whereby wrongs are made right by restoring things to their original state (Morrison, 1995:131).

What is the relationship between social solidarity and division of labor? We turn to Durkheim for the answer:

> Why does the individual, while becoming more autonomous, depend more upon society? How can he be at once more individual and more solidary? Certainly, these two movements, contradictory as they appear, develop in parallel fashion and what resolves this apparent antimony is a transformation of social solidarity due to the steadily growing developments of the division of labor.

In this passage from *Division of Labor in Society*, Durkheim tells us that division of labor does not lead to increased individualism but rather to more solidarity among the members of society. He points out that the "true function of the division of labor is 'to create in two or more persons a feeling of solidarity'" (Swingewood, 2000:68). But the solidarity that division of labor leads to is not of one type alone. As division of labor expands with the development of societies from being traditional to being

modern, solidarity moves from being mechanical to being organic in nature. Let me quote at length from the work of Swingewood (2000:68-69) as he tries to explain to us how this evolution occurs:

> Mechanical solidarity is defined as a structure of resemblances linking the individual directly and harmoniously with society so much so that individual action is always spontaneous, unreflective, and collective. In contrast, the basis of organic solidarity is the division of labor and social differentiation; the social structure is characterized by a high level of interdependence, industrial development, and a high volume of population and moral and material density. Solidarity through social likeness is replaced by solidarity through difference and a strengthening of social bonds. The individual is no longer wholly enveloped by the collective conscience but develops greater individuality and personality.

We have now introduced another concept to our discussion—collective conscience (or conscience collective as the concept is sometimes referred to in the literature). What does Durkheim mean by the concept of collective conscience? Some say that this concept can be likened to Rousseau's concept of the "general will." (This is the reason why we said earlier that we have to make an exception regarding Rousseau's influence on Durkheim. The parallelism between the concepts of general will and collective conscience is an example of the link between their ideas.) We have already defined the general will as the sum of the differences among the particular wills of the members of society (Parsons, 1968:314). By now, this definition should sound very familiar to you as we discussed this during our visit with Rousseau. Others say that the notion of a collective conscience refers both to a common consciousness and a common conscience. In much the same way that the general will is part and parcel of each citizen's individual will, the collective conscience is also engraved on all individual consciences (Zietlin, 1968:243). Still another way of putting it is to define the concept as a "system of beliefs and sentiments held in common by the members of a society and defining what their mutual relations ought to be" (Parsons, 1968:314). Moreover, this system of beliefs is "diffused throughout the society, define social purposes, give meaning to action and generally structure the pattern of social life" (Morrison, 1995:131).

Given these definitions, you may tend to think of the collective conscience as being linked to mechanical solidarity (or as being present in traditional societies) solely. However, Durkheim did not think of it that way. The collective conscience referred to a set of values commonly held by members of a society. This conceptualization does not mean that only homogenous, small and kinship-based societies possess a collective conscience.

A system of common values can exist in both traditional and modern societies, and it can be associated with both mechanical and organic solidarity. It is just that the commonality exists at different levels as Parsons (1968:314) notes in the following remark:

> In the relatively less differentiated social systems characterized by mechanical solidarity, common, in the sense of uniform, sentiments tend to be implemented directly in collective action, while in the case of organic solidarity the common element lies at a more general level and must be implemented in relation to different functions in the system through norms that are not identical for different sections of the collectivity.

Clearly then, the collective conscience is not of one kind alone. Since it can be present in different types of societies, then the collective conscience must necessarily differ too depending on the nature of the society where it develops. This now brings us to Durkheim's discussion of the four characteristics of the collective conscience which are volume, intensity, determinateness and content. The collective conscience that one observes in different types of societies varies in terms of these four characteristics. Let us go through each characteristic briefly.

The volume of the collective conscience, say Durkheim, has to do with the persuasiveness of collective beliefs and the extent to which we can observe these throughout society in general. Volume also pertains to "the degree of intrusiveness of beliefs and practices into the lives and attitudes of the individuals in society" (Morrison, 1995:132).

The second characteristic is intensity, which is defined as the extent to which the collective conscience is able to exert influence over the members of society. It can be said that the more intense the collective conscience is, the more influence it can exert over the individual. Consequently, one finds in such a situation a higher degree of social cohesion and uniformity.

Determinateness, the third characteristic, deals with "the amount of resistance offered by collective beliefs and how willingly they give way to change, transgression, or violation" (Morrison, 1995:132-133). Here, you will find that the higher the level of determinateness, the higher the resistance to change basically because there is a strong consensus among the members of society. It should also be pointed out that the determinateness of the collective conscience has to do with the degree to which collective social roles are defined.

Lastly, there is the content of the collective conscience. This pertains to the dominant characteristic of society and its collective disposition. Durkheim observes that there are two prevailing forms of content: (1) religious content which consists of beliefs and sentiments based on religious law; and (2) secular content which is based more on the "practical and economic necessities of life" rather than on religious concerns (Morrison, 1995:133).

The primary lesson that we should take away from this discussion of the characteristics of the collective conscience is that it can exist in both traditional and modern societies. The collective conscience can be identified not only with mechanical solidarity but also with organic solidarity. Therefore, one can observe the presence of a collective conscience in a tribal society as well as in a highly industrialized one. However, the collective conscience one finds in both societies will differ in terms of volume, intensity, determinateness and content. Is the discussion clear so far? Yes? That's good then. We will now proceed to dissect Durkheim's views on the concept of division of labor.

More on the concept of division of labor

Earlier, we mentioned that division of labor involves the breaking down of the production process into different stages and the assignment of each stage to different people. You may look at the distribution of household chores in your own home, where each member of the family has a particular task to perform, as a simple model of division of labor. One takes care of cooking, the other does the laundry and still another cleans the house. Outside of the home, we can look at any company and find some form of division of labor there. A business firm will have an accounting department, a legal unit, a human resource development division, and a production team. Each section is responsible for particular things. This definition, however, is based on the economic conceptualization of division of labor, with its emphasis on specialization and its consequent effect on productivity. For the purpose of his study, Durkheim saw the need to redefine the concept from a sociological point of view. From the perspective of a sociologist, Durkheim explains, division of labor deals not so much with dividing labor and assigning tasks to specific individuals but with "the principle of social cohesion which develops in societies whose social links result from the way individuals relate when their occupational functions are separate and specialized" (Morrison, 1995:144). Do you see how different the economic and sociological definitions are from each other? While one emphasizes specialization, the other focuses on social cohesion. While one examines the economy, the other deals with society in general.

From an economic viewpoint, Smith puts forward an explanation for why division of labor occurs. For him, division of labor happens not because of human wisdom but because of the "propensity in human nature … to truck, barter and exchange one thing for another." On the other hand, Durkheim identifies three main causes for division of labor. First, there is the change in the geographical proximity of individuals. This has to do with the concentration of people in certain areas instead of being spread over vast territories. The second cause is the "formation of cities" which results from an increase in social density. A consequence of this development is the intensification of interaction among the individuals in society. The third cause is the increase in social volume which, Durkheim explains, is due to more frequent communication among the people and the need for transportation. These narrow the gaps between segments of society and in the process increase "moral density, intrasocial relations, and frequency of contact between individuals" (Morrison 1995:143-144).

We should note, however, that while Durkheim argues that division of labor leads to a higher form of solidarity (i.e., from mechanical to organic solidarity), not all forms of division of labor are good for society. Why is this so? For the answer, we turn our attention to Durkheim's idea of abnormal forms of division of labor. Durkheim names the three forms of abnormal division of labor as follows: (1) anomic division of labor; (2) forced division of labor; and (3) the poor coordination of functions which results from division of labor. By the way, Durkheim observed that these abnormal forms tend to occur only in advanced societies. Let's discuss each form.

Anomic division of labor is a form associated with times of industrial crises and widespread commercial failure. These developments erode social solidarity and cohesion. On the other hand, forced division of labor takes place "when the functions of specialization and the social organs representing them become instruments placed at the disposal of certain social classes and their interests." Forced division of labor results in the rearrangement of social functions such that they are no longer consistent with the natural demands of society, and they become useful only to certain groups and not to society in general. Here we see how forced division of labor impacts negatively on social solidarity. The poor coordination of functions in society, the third abnormal form of division of labor, results in part from the inequalities among social groups that arise from forced division of labor. Inequalities blur the links between individuals and their functions, and among individuals themselves. This gives particular social groups unfair advantage, at the expense of society (Morrison, 1995:149-151). In brief then, division of labor does not always result in solidarity. Durkheim says that: "Though normally the division of labor produces social solidarity, it sometimes happens that it has different, and even contrary results."

Do you know that even as Durkheim spoke of division of labor leading to social solidarity, what he saw during his lifetime were more abnormal than normal conditions? What is the way out of the abnormalities so common in society? There can only be one answer for Durkheim—social order. Moreover, "if the prevailing absence of orderly and regulated relations among functions is to end—if, in other words, anarchy and anomy are to decline and ultimately to disappear—what is required is the resurrection of an old social institution and its reintroduction, in a modified and appropriate form, into modern social life" (Zietlin, 1968:251).

social order *n*: the totality of structured human interrelationships in society or a part of it

Webster's Third New International Dictionary (Unabridged)

Are you now in a better position to compare Durkheim's definition of division of labor with that of Smith and Marx? I certainly hope so. It's time to move on and examine Durkheim's discussion of suicide. This one is really interesting. Ready?

On Suicide

Suicide is Durkheim's third major work. He began studying the issue in 1888 during his stint at Bordeaux but it was not until 1897 that the work was published. In between, he did a series of public lectures on the topic. Durkheim's initial interest in the problem of suicide can be traced to an earlier work he did on suicide and birth rates (Morrison, 1995:163). Do you have any idea how much data Durkheim studied for his book? Accounts say that for *Suicide*, he made use of available statistical information on suicide rates and he linked this information to variables such as nationality, religion, age, sex, marital status, family size, place of residence, economic status, changes in economic conditions, and seasons of the year and times of day when suicides happen. Whew! What a long list of variables to study. All in all, Durkheim examined a grand total of 26,000—that's right, 26,000—cases of suicide (Parsons, 1968:315-316)! This study must have been quite an undertaking, right?

Ordinary people like you and me tend to think of suicide as being of interest to psychologists and psychiatrists. So what is a sociologist like Durkheim doing studying suicide? On the whole, Durkheim's interest in suicide stemmed from his interest in the problem of social cohesion and the links that hold society together. Durkheim did not study suicide as an individual problem but as a social issue (Swingewood, 2000:73). Among the reasons why he pursued this issue as a research interest was the fact that suicide became a major social problem in Europe in the 1850s. During this time, many European countries were undergoing industrialization and there was a perception that the phenomenon of suicide was somehow related to the changes that industrialization brought with it. These changes included increasing individualism, growing fragmentation, and even

weakening social links. Another important reason why suicide became a major issue then was that industrialization and development made the economic system the dominant institution among all other institutions in society. What is the problem with that, you might be wondering? You see, with the economy gaining primacy over other social institutions, the focus shifted to individual self-interest and economic gain and away from social links and social cohesion. There were also developments in the political arena that negatively affected national unity and consolidation. All these tended to support the view that suicide should be studied not only from a psychological viewpoint but also from a sociological perspective (Morrison, 1995:163).

We should take note that in studying suicide, Durkheim had in mind the generation of recommendations for addressing the "general contemporary maladjustments being undergone by European societies" (quoted in Zietlin, 1968:271). We should also understand why Durkheim focused on suicide and not on some other dimension of the social problems being experienced by European societies then. One scholar notes that "Durkheim chose to study 'suicide' because the other aspects of the general malaise he perceived were bound up with the conditions of the working class, class conflict, and social change ... [I]n studying suicide rather than any other manifestation of the general malaise, Durkheim was in effect centering attention on the problems of the upper and middle classes and of the liberal professions, for suicide was 'undeniably exceptionally frequent in the highest class of society'" (Zietlin, 1968:272). Finally, just to reiterate a point made earlier, suicide was examined by Durkheim as a social issue and not as a psychological one. While the dominant viewpoint in his time saw suicide as a nervous disorder, Durkheim saw the need to bring the analysis a step or two further. In fact, he sought to develop a social theory of suicide and this he began doing by using the concept of social suicide rate.

What does this concept refer to? Technically speaking, social suicide rate pertains to "the number of suicide deaths in a given society and the extent to which the 'rates' themselves could be looked upon as establishing a pattern of suicide for that society" (Morrison, 1995:164). Durkheim also zeroed in not on the individual causes of suicide but on the social factors that lead individuals to commit suicide. Thus, Durkheim examined the cases of suicide not individually but as a collectivity.

What did Durkheim find out from his study? Taken collectively, suicide cases can be linked to two concepts—social integration and social regulation. Social integration is defined as "the extent to which individuals are linked to and feel allegiance for social groups to which they are attached." Defined as such, it can be said that social integration performs the functions of linking individuals to each other and to society at large, of curb-

ing individualism, and of promoting a sense of belonging to an entity larger than the self (Morrison, 1995:166-167). Based on the concept of social integration, Durkheim identified two types of suicide which can be found at the opposite ends of the pole of social integration—egoistic and altruistic suicides. How do these two types differ from each other and how do they relate to social integration? Would you care to venture an educated guess?

Let's take egoistic suicide first as Durkheim did. According to Durkheim, the concept of egoism has to do with individuals detaching themselves from society and retreating into their own shells. There is on extreme self-reflection on very personal matters and withdrawal from the outside world. What is the cause of this? Well, Durkheim says that there is egoism when the ties that bind us to our society weakens and we are not well integrated into that larger entity. Once we find ourselves in such a situation, "individual ends [become] more important than the common ends of society and the individual's personality dominates over the collective personality ... 'the individual ego asserts itself in the face of the social ego and at its expense' ... egoism [then] constitutes a threat to society, to aggregate social maintenance, and to collective authority" (Morrison, 1995:167-168).

Three social institutions play important roles in social integration: religious, family, and political or national groups. In terms of religion, Durkheim found out that there was a higher number of suicides in Protestant countries than in Catholic countries. Durkheim explains this as follows: First, although both religions are against suicide, "Catholic communities possess the stronger traditions and shared beliefs conducive to an integrated 'state of society' and a 'collective life' which restrains the suicidal tendencies endemic in industrial society." Second, suicide occurs when there is a weakening of the power of "collective representations," which happens in turn when society is transformed from its pre-industrial state to a more developed or modern condition (Swingewood, 2000:75). Moreover, Durkheim notes, the Protestant doctrine tends to emphasize religious autonomy and individualism so much more than other religions do. And also, "where Protestants embrace change and encourage freedom in religious thinking, Catholics remain bound to traditional beliefs and reject change as acceptable" (Morrison, 1995:170). Once the links that connect the individual to his religious group weaken, the individual finds himself with one less link to society at large.

The family, in the Philippines as in other societies, is considered the most important and the most basic social unit. As such, it has a vital role in linking us to our society. When Durkheim examined the relationship between marriages and suicides, guess what he found out? The data showed that those who were unmarried tended to commit suicide more frequently than those who were married. In fact, Durkheim noted, on average mar-

riage reduced suicide rates by half. The reason for this, says Durkheim, is the role that marriage in particular and family life in general plays in integrating the individual to society. Marriage and family life link us to society by reducing egoism. How so? The primary means is by making family members concentrate on the interests of the group as a whole and not on the interest of the individual. Moreover, within families "individuals have responsibilities and obligations lying outside themselves and these act to reduce the inclination to focus exclusively on oneself alone ... [and] create attachments which act to increase the individual's integration into the family group" (Morrison, 1995:174-175). Here, we can see that much like religious groups, familial relations counteract egoism and, consequently, the tendency to commit suicide, by integrating the individual to an entity larger than himself.

How about political groups? By this Durkheim was referring to relations between individuals and their national group. Durkheim also examined the impact of political disruption on social suicide rates. What do you think did Durkheim discover? Perhaps many of you are thinking that disruptions or crisis of a political nature will increase social suicide rates. Ah, but no, said Durkheim. On the contrary, political upheavals tend to increase a sense of belonging among individuals as these arouse patriotic and nationalistic sentiments. Such changes also create a sense of national unity, which increases social cohesion and strengthens the individual's integration in society (Morrison, 1995:175-176).

And so, we find that to the extent that these groups—the family, the religious group, and the political or national group—provide us a means to be integrated in society, they decrease social suicide rates. Once the bonds to society which these groups afford us are weakened or totally cut off, the tendency is to look to the self and retreat into one's own world. It is in instances like these that egoistic suicide is likely to happen.

On the other end of the social integration pole is altruistic suicide. And since altruistic suicide is the opposite of egoistic suicide, it is caused by the reverse of the cause of the latter. What is meant by this is that whereas egoistic suicide is due to the weakening of the social bonds that link individuals to society, altruistic suicide occurs as a result of very strong social integration (Zietlin, 1968:272). Those who commit altruistic suicide are "honored and their families spared humiliation ... [and] individuals who fail to take their own life are denied the honor of the funeral and a life of dishonor and pain is presumed to await them" (Morrison, 1995:177). To a certain extent, it can be said that those who commit altruistic suicide do so because they feel it is their duty to society to kill themselves. According to Durkheim, whereas egoistic suicide takes places due to too much individualism, altruistic suicide occurs as a result of extreme identification with society.

Durkheim identifies three types of altruistic suicide: (1) obligatory altruistic suicide; (2) optional altruistic suicide; and (3) acute altruistic suicide (also called mystical suicide). The difference among the three types has to do with the degree to which the obligation to take their lives is explicitly placed upon the members of society. For instance, in obligatory altruistic suicide society is perceived to impose a certain duty among the members to commit suicide. In contrast, there is less explicitness perceived in the case of optional altruistic suicide. But in both obligatory and optional altruistic suicides, "death may be held out as an expectation, where the duty to take one's own life is clear or where there is honor assigned to the renunciation of life. In such circumstances, 'not clinging to life is seen as a virtue' and for those who renounce life, society attaches honor which produces the effect of actually lowering the importance of the life of the individual over the group interest" (Morrison, 1995:179). As for acute altruistic suicide, this carries with it the idea that the individual who commits this type of suicide is doing so for the good feeling that comes from sacrificing himself in the interest of the society.

Having just discussed the two types of suicide on the basis of social integration, we will now examine the two types of suicide in relation to social regulation. Durkheim said that social regulation has to do with the performance of regulatory functions by particular social institutions. Regulatory functions of government involve two major concerns: bodily needs and social needs. The difference between the two is that whereas bodily needs may be regulated by the individual, social needs can be limited only by society and its institutions. It is the regulation of social needs and wants that Durkheim was talking about when he used the concept of social regulation. Before we discuss the two types of suicide as they are located on the pole of social regulation, let's first understand the concept of anomie which is directly linked to the idea of social regulation.

Anomie occurs when society is hit by a crisis, particularly a painful and drastic one. An observer notes that: "For Durkheim, anomie is clearly centered in the economic structure: in the sphere of trade and industry social life is in 'a chronic state' since economic development has severed industrial relations 'from all regulation', from the discipline exerted by religion and occupation associations" (Swingewood, 2000:72). What happens when society undergoes a drastic change? Well, to make a long story short, there is a decline in the regulatory powers of social institutions. Anomie is the condition that arises from the "weakening of the powers of society that regulate social equilibrium" (Morrison, 1995:183). How does this condition lead men and women alike to commit suicide? Morrison (1995:183-184) writes:

> In a state of anomie, the regulatory limits usually imposed by society are absent and limits are not well defined. Dis-

> appointment with life and feelings of failure are quick to arise and readily blamed on the individual since externally defined limits are lacking. When the majority of social wants cannot be attained ... it first leads to disappointment, then, eventually, to chronic morbidity, and finally to defeat.

Durkheim argues that the conditions of morbidity and defeat arising from the inability of social institutions to limit individual wants and desires are more complex in industrial societies than in traditional societies. One of the reasons is that the focus on the economy in industrial societies emphasizes the individual and his pursuit of economic gain for himself. On the other hand, in traditional societies, there are many institutions that may help regulate social wants and desires—the family and religious groups are examples (Morrison, 1995:184). If we link this argument to the statement made by Durkheim that abnormal forms of division of labor (which impact negatively on social solidarity) tend to be associated with industrial or modern societies, then it becomes clear why modern societies are vulnerable to anomic suicides.

Lastly, Durkheim talks about fatalistic suicide. In discussing this type of suicide, Durkheim is not as explicit and extensive as he was with the previous three. Fatalistic suicide, he says, takes place because of extreme social regulation. In this sense, it is the opposite of anomic suicide which is due to a weakening of the regulatory mechanisms in society. Fatalistic suicide occurs when there is an overbearing government that regulates practically every aspect of its citizens' lives (Morrison, 1995:187-188).

What then can we conclude from Durkheim's discussion of the four types of suicides? Fortunately, we don't have to go very far for an answer as somebody has already done a good job of summarizing Durkheim's argument. Zietlin (1968:272) explains:

> Modern man kills himself primarily as a result of two conditions: the loss of cohesion in modern society and the absence of the appropriate moral norms by which to orientate himself. Modern man is egoistic and anomic. Both conditions can be remedied by developing a new and appropriate moral code and by resurrecting and reorganizing the occupational guild so that it may serve an integrative and regulatory function under modern conditions. The primary and most essential task is to bring about a high degree of social integration¾moral, domestic, political, and economic¾ because the data tend to support the position: "Suicide varies inversely with the degree of integration of society."

After such a succinct commentary, need we say more?

Summary

Durkheim, one of the fathers modern sociology, contributed four major works to the field. We have gone through the highlights of two of these: *Division of Labor in Society* and *Suicide.*

In the former, Durkheim examines division of labor as it relates to two types of societies: traditional or pre-industrial and modern or industrial societies. He discusses two types of social solidary: mechanical and organic solidary. On the whole, Durkheim finds that from a sociological perspective, division of labor results in a higher form of solidarity. This finding ran counter to the common belief that with industrialization came increasing fragmentation and individualism and, consequently, a weakening of social cohesion. Durkheim says there can indeed be unity in diversity or solidarity amidst differences. Mechanical solidarity or solidarity based on likeness is not the only type of solidarity that exists in societies. Do you agree with this analysis? Why or why not?

As for suicide, Durkheim again relates this to the concept of social solidarity, in particular social integration and social integration. Relative to social integration, there are two types of suicide: egoistic and altruistic suicide. The short version of the story is that egoistic suicide is committed by individuals due to a lack of integration into society. The reverse holds true for altruistic suicide because it is extreme social integration that leads individuals to take their own lives. With respect to social regulation, the two types of suicide are anomic and fatalistic suicides. Anomic suicides come about from feelings of lack of a sense of direction arising from weak or absent regulatory limits in society. Fatalistic suicide is common in societies with overbearing regimes that possess extensive social regulatory frameworks. The solution to the problem of fatalistic suicide is to put in place a moral code that allows the individual to be integrated into society in a healthy manner without necessarily regulating each and every aspect of his life. Does that make sense to you?

Module 14
Max Weber

And now, the end is near and so we face the last philosopher in our roster (with apologies to Frank Sinatra). Our philosopher is a well-known economist, trained in political economy and law, but who got into sociology through his debates with Karl Marx. We are talking about Max Weber who, like Marx, is a great German philosopher. We will examine Weber's contributions to the history of knowledge—his concept of the bureaucracy and typology of legitimate forms of domination. As you will soon find out, Weber used the concept of bureaucracy quite differently from the way we think of bureaucracy these days.

Presenting Max Weber

Max Weber's birth date is 21 April 1864 and his birthplace is Erfurt, Germany. He died in June 1920. What?! That's it?! What happened between the womb and the tomb? Well, of course, Weber, like the other philosophers we've read in this course, lived quite an exciting and productive life. He also made quite an important contribution to his discipline. Otherwise, we wouldn't be discussing him here, right?

Source: Grolier Multimedia Encyclopedia, 1995

Weber is considered the most important sociologist of the 20th century. Like some of the thinkers we have studied, he was a diligent and outstanding student. His outstanding academic performance earned him a bachelor's degree in law and a doctorate in political economy in Berlin. In addition, he studied in the universities of Heidelberg and Göttingen

Objectives

After studying this module, you should be able to:

1. Explain the key concepts put forward by Max Weber in his major works;
2. Understand his theory of bureaucracy and types of legitimate domination; and
3. Examine the relevance and applicability of Weber's ideas to the current times.

(Morrison, 1995:212 & Microsoft Encarta, 2000:1). After his studies, he got a university position at the University of Berlin. This was sometime in 1893. Weber accomplished this feat at a very young age—young, that is, relative to the standards of his time. A year later, he taught economics at the University of Freiburg. Weber also held professorship positions at the Universities of Heidelburg (1897) and Munich (1919).

Weber's intellectual activities came to an abrupt halt in 1897 due to a nervous disorder. His illness forced him to leave his teaching duties. Fortunately, Weber managed to get back on his feet and began working again sometime in 1903. It was then that he began to work on his major research projects on methodology, capitalism and religion. His most famous work, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, was produced during this period but it was not translated into English until 1930. In addition to writing, Weber also served as editor of a major German sociological journal, an appointment that began in 1909. At this time, he also began work on *Economy and Society*, considered to be his most ambitious theoretical and historical work. He expanded his theme in *The Protestant Ethic* into a three-volume work released in 1920-1921 entitled *The Religions of the East*. Here, Weber explores the link between religious and philosophical ideas in the east and the development (or lack of it) of capitalism in that part of the world.

Shortly before his death in 1920, Weber conducted a series of public lectures on the history of capitalist development at the University of Freiburg (Morrison, 1995:212-213 & Microsoft Encarta, 2000:1). Unlike some academicians who stay in their ivory towers, Weber got out of his and involved himself in German politics. His involvement came in the form of public addresses and lectures on topics related to relevant political issues of the time. His lectures were quite well received by the audience. We should note that even as Weber got involved in politics, he continued to emphasize the importance of objectivity in any study of social issues and the need for value-free empirical analysis (Curtis, 1981:423).

On the whole, Weber's works were broad in terms of their historical and substantive coverage. He compared and examined the experiences of various countries and their economic, political, legal and religious development. He also made significant contributions to the theoretical discussions on such concepts as class, political legitimacy, law and bureaucracy,

among others. In addition, Weber emphasized the concept of rationality. In terms of methodology, he used the concept of ideal types. What were these things about? Have you encountered these terms before? If you have not and this is the first time you are hearing about them, then read the following section carefully.

By rationality, Weber meant "the application of systematic and precise modes of calculation and available means in the pursuit of specific goals and ends" (Swingewood, 2000:103). There are, according to Weber, four types of rationality—substantive, formal, practical and theoretical or technical. The first type is founded on the belief in values, ideals, goals and ends which individuals pursue for their own sake. Formal rationality has to do with calculating means over ends and looking for the most effective and efficient means of attaining a particular goal (Swingewood, 2000:104). Practical rationality, is "a way of looking at the world in which the meaning of an act is believed to lie in its function or utility." In the context of practical rationality, all means of attaining the desired goals are seen as "techniques" or strategies rather than as "systems of values." Theoretical rationality is said to impose order on reality through conceptual reasoning and through the use of abstract concepts. It "undertakes an orientation to reality in the realm of theory" (Morrison, 1995:222-223). That, in brief, is Weber's concept of rationality. What about ideal types?

Weber used the concept of ideal type in studying political power and types of legitimate authority, among others. The use of ideal type was deemed the most desirable way to understand such phenomena (Curtis, 1981:423). The first time Weber spoke about ideal types was in a work entitled "Objectivity in Social Science and Social Policy" (1905). What he meant by the ideal type was "a conceptual pattern which brings together certain relationships and events of historical life into a complex which is conceived of as an internally consistent system" (quoted in Morrison, 2000:270). Think of the ideal type as a means for analyzing the behavior of individuals. It helps to explain why individuals behave in a certain manner and not in another. It is important to understand that the ideal type is not reality. We can think of the ideal type as "a mental construction which incorporates the essential, not the average, properties of a particular phenomenon," and as "a methodological concept which facilitates the understanding and explanation of social phenomena" (Swingewood, 2000:92).

Weber identified three forms of ideal types:

1. historical ideal types which are based on the general concepts that are common to a range of events (e.g., modern capitalism and the Protestant ethic);
2. abstract ideal types which describe different historical and cultural periods (e.g., bureaucracy and feudalism); and
3. types of action (Morrison, 1995:270-272 & Swingewood, 2000:92-93).

Morrison (1995: 273) identifies five uses of ideal types:

1. to discover relationships of the types referred to in concrete reality by determining whether the types actually exist in the real world;
2. to develop an understanding of the kinds of activities which can be assigned to different societies during research;
3. to provide help in the formulation of research hypotheses;
4. to assist in lessening the ambiguity of empirical reality by providing enough descriptions of that reality; and
5. to contribute to the formation of concepts regarding societies.

Now that we know what Weber meant by the concepts of rationality and ideal type, it is time to see how he applied these in his works. You will now read an excerpt taken from a work entitled *Max Weber: The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*. The excerpt deals with Weber's typology of forms of legitimate authority.

Weber on Bureaucracy

It is appropriate to begin our discussion of Weber's theory of bureaucracy by saying that this concept is considered one of Weber's most notable contributions, particularly in the fields of politics and public administration. Weber defined bureaucracy not as a type of political system, but as a continuous, professionalized and rule-governed form of administration (Beetham, 1993:971). The first time Weber wrote anything about the concept of bureaucracy was in 1908 and this was in his work *Economies of Antiquity*. He spoke more extensively about the concept in *Economy and Society*. Before we examine Weber's idea more thoroughly, do the following exercise. This is just to get you thinking about the ideas Weber discusses in his works and to compare Weber's definition of these ideas with how these ideas are defined nowadays. Do we still use them in the same way or have we somehow changed their definitions by the way we have operationalized and put them into practice? Let's see what you have in mind.

Activity 14-1

Informally interview anywhere between 3-5 members of your family, community or workplace. You may even interview perfect strangers. Ask them the following questions and use the table below to record the highlights of their responses. Are the instructions clear? Okay, then, look for your respondents now and interview them. Try not to influence their views by imposing your own opinion. Remember to let your respondents speak freely.

Activity 14-1 cont'd.

1. What is the first word that comes to your mind when you hear the word "bureaucracy"? Why?
2. In your opinion, what are the top two problems associated with bureaucracy?
3. Please identify probable solutions to these problems.
4. On the whole, would you say that the bureaucracy as you know it or have experienced it is _____? Please choose only one answer by writing the corresponding letters on the grid.

    Truly Effective (TE)
    Somewhat Effective (SE)
    May be Effective or Ineffective (MEI)
    Somewhat Ineffective (SI)
    Truly Ineffective (TI)

Remember to write down or read your respondents' answers in tabular form (see the sample table below). Answer the questions yourself and write down your thoughts on the matter. But do this only after you have completed your interviews. How do your answers compare with those of the people whom you interviewed. Are your ideas similar or are they very different? What do you think accounts for the similarity or difference, as the case may be?

Name of respondent	Word/s associated with "bureaucracy"	Problems of the bureaucracy	Probable solutions	Rating of the bureaucracy
1.				
2.				
3.				
↓				
10.				

Comments on Activity 14-1

So, what were the results of your interviews? Did you get mostly positive or mostly negative views on the bureaucracy? Below is a brief commentary on what some of the likely answers to the questions posed in the exercise.

1. Words usually associated with the concept bureaucracy include the following:

   - Government
   - Administration
   - Red tape
   - Graft
   - Corruption
   - Slow/fast service
   - Efficiency/inefficiency
   - Bribery (or *lagay*)
   - Delivery of basic services
   - Civil service system

   Some of your respondents may even associate particular personalities with the word "bureaucracy." These personalities may include the President, the Vice-President, the various department secretaries who head the different agencies of government and even the chairperson of the Civil Service Commission. This is fine because, after all, in asking this question, we wanted to identify any word which comes to the minds of individuals upon hearing the word "bureaucracy."

2. Among the problems associated with the bureaucracy are the following:

   - Loss of scarce government resources through graft and corruption and other illegal activities
   - Slow and inefficient delivery of services
   - Lack of competent and committed personnel
   - Weak application of merit system due in part to nepotism
   - Lack of incentives and rewards system for employees

Comments on Activity 14-1 cont'd.

- Low salaries and poor remuneration system
- Lack of coordination among the various agencies of government

3. The probable solutions to these problems may include the following:

   - Strict implementation of anti-graft and corruption laws to prevent such acts
   - Values education not only among employees but more so among the young (be they in school or not) or better yet, let's make that values education for the entire society
   - Proper decentralization of delivery of the basic services to allow faster action
   - Strict enforcement of application procedures and requirements to ensure that only the qualified get into the bureaucracy
   - Increase the salaries of employees to make these competitive with those in the private sector but if this cannot be done, an alternative would be to provide employees with non-monetary benefits such as housing, health insurance and education plans
   - Promotion of transparency in the government to make all processes open to public scrutiny
   - Establishment of a communication and information exchange mechanism to allow the various government agencies to consult each other on matters that are trans-departmental in nature.

I'm sure you and your respondents were able to come up with your own brilliant suggestions. Keep in mind that this list is not exhaustive. If there were answers (and I'm certain there are) that are not included in the list, I would love to hear about these during our study session.

Okay, now that you have just completed your exercise, give yourself a round of applause. Relax and take a break for now. You certainly deserve it for completing your job successfully. Once you have recharged your batteries, we can proceed with our discussion.

In talking about the concept of bureaucracy, Weber had in mind "a legal-rational form of domination described as eliminating all personal, irrational and emotional elements from administration [and] bureaucratic administration subordinating the individual to the rational, specialized division of labor and an increasing rationalization of all spheres of social life" (Swingewood, 2000:108). From this quotation, we can see that Weber associates bureaucracy with rationality and rationalization. We have already defined rationality. But what exactly is rationalization? Well, we can describe rationalization as "the process by which nature, society and individual action are increasingly mastered by an orientation to planning, technical procedure and rational action." Moreover, there are several themes we can link with the concept of rationalization, namely:

1. the principle of development one finds in the process of civilization and Western society;
2. a stress on the rational containment of everyday life;
3. widespread use of calculation as a strategy of social action;
4. the freeing of social action from all magical thought;
5. the emphasis on a practical orientation to empirical reality; and
6. widespread use of technical and procedural reasoning to control practical outcomes and master daily life. (Morrison, 1995:218)

In terms of an institutional definition, we can think of bureaucracy as the branch of government that provides us, the citizens, with the basic services that we need on a daily basis. In this sense, we can say that the bureaucracy brings the government and the people closer together because the bureaucracy is the unit of government which the people come face-to-face with on a more regular basis. Due to the vital role played by the bureaucracy, it has been called the fourth branch of government (i.e., in addition to the executive, legislative, and judicial branches). A very significant role played by the bureaucracy is that it provides continuity and stability during periods of transition (e.g., during elections when some current officials have to leave due to an electoral loss and they are replaced by newly-elected individuals). Having said this, what prompted Weber to examine the bureaucracy instead of some other organization? In what context did he analyze this concept?

In general, Weber's study of the bureaucracy is related to his examination of the different types of legitimate domination. However, beyond that, Weber is also concerned with the link between the phenomenon of bureaucratization on the one hand, and the development of modern society on the other. He begins his study by looking at how the modern means of

administration evolved through the years and in different societal and institutional contexts. Take note that Weber identifies six basic types of bureaucratic structure: (1) states which tend to control policy and policing functions; (2) religious groups which are required to administer to large populations of believers; (3) economies whose main function is to distribute goods and coordinate functions; (4) modern agency; (5) the military and (6) the judiciary (Morrison, 1995:293-294).

What exactly leads to the development of a bureaucratic means of administration? Weber says that historical factors are responsible for bureaucratization. These factors fall into two general categories. The first category includes changes in the conditions and organization of society while the second category consists of changes taking place in the system of rationality and decision-making. What examples does Weber give for these two categories? Well, there is the process of industrialization which replaced human labor with machines and consequently, alter not only the production process but also social relations. This historical development also affected the decision-making process and system of rationality with the emergence of markets governed by universalistic legal norms and the development of a system of written records, accounting, file-keeping and documentation, and administration (Morrison, 1995:296-297). The example we just cited also shows how bureaucratization is associated with the development of more complex societies. In fact, Weber relates bureaucratization or the development of a bureaucratic administrative system with the development of modern society. Weber gives the following argument:

> …the highly specialized division of labor, which forms the backbone of a modern economy, must inevitably lead to greater bureaucratization [because] bureaucratic modes of organization, technically superior to other modes, are essential for large-scale planning and mobilization of resources. Only through formal rational principles of bureaucratic organization is it possible to develop the modern polity, economy and technology … The development of modern society demands this mode of administration for the larger the association, the more complicated its tasks and its reliance on rational organization (Swingewood, 2000:108-109).

Weber also notes that bureaucratization is also linked to "the concentration of the means of administration, means of violence, means of research, etc." He writes:

> The bureaucratic structure goes hand in hand with the concentration of the material means of management in the hands of the master. This concentration occurs, for instance, in a well-known and typical fashion, in the development of big capitalist enterprises, which find their essential characteristics in this process. A corresponding process occurs in public organizations (Weber, 1958:221).

But what is it about the bureaucracy that allows it to perform particular roles in modern societies? What makes bureaucratization an essential element in modern economies? Basically, what we are interested in are the characteristics of the bureaucracy that distinguish it from other social structures and which make it special? For the answer, we turn our attention to Morrison's summary of the characteristics of the bureaucracy that may be gleaned from Weber's work. Morrison's (1995: 300) lists them as follows:

1. presence of a hierarchical chain of command, existence of a clearly defined structure of offices and positions with corresponding responsibilities, and use of procedurally-correct decision-making;
2. application of a system of impersonal rules;
3. explicit statement of the rights and duties of officials;
4. granting of contractually-fixed salaries;
5. implementation of a system of impersonal guidelines for dealing with and defining work responsibilities, and of a system of decision-making based on technical knowledge and expertise;
6. development of a clearly defined division of labor founded on functional specialization of tasks and a well-defined hierarchy of authority;
7. use of a system where norms of impersonality govern interpersonal relations;
8. application of a system of impersonal contacts between the officials and the public;
9. implementation of a decision-making process based on written documentation and orientation to file-keeping; and
10. presence of a system of discharging responsibilities based on calculable rules which are impersonal.

Here's another way of saying all these:

> Bureaucracy is characterized by the following characteristics: precision, speed, unambiguity, knowledge of the files, continuity, discretion, unity, strict subordination; the bureaucratic office has a clearly defined sphere of competence, its officials organized in a clearly defined hierarchy of positions, and appointed, not elected, on the basis of technical

> qualifications. All personal and irrational elements are eliminated in favor of specialists and experts (Swingewood, 2000:109).

Now we know why a bureaucracy is such a vital entity in modern societies. The characteristics that were mentioned enable the bureaucracy to perform the task of administering the various complex activities that take place in such societies. But I'm sure there are questions bugging your mind. And if I may hazard a guess, one of them is this: "If the bureaucracy is supposed to be rational, impersonal, clearly defined, well organized, precise, unambiguous, and technically superior, among other things, then why do Filipinos (and other nationalities as well) have a very negative view of the bureaucracy?" This is one question I would like you to think about. I will leave this issue for you to examine further and think about more carefully. For now, let us close this section by discussing how the concept of bureaucracy is related to Weber's idea of legitimate domination.

According to one scholar, Weber argues that the bureaucracy is the major source of authority in modern societies. Weber says "Every domination expresses itself and functions through administration, [and conversely], every administration … needs domination, because it is always necessary that some powers of command be in the hands of somebody" (qtd. in Swingewood, 2000:109). What does Weber mean by domination? Domination is quite different from power because the former implies legitimacy and the latter does not. In a system where there is domination, the individuals follow the rules and regulations not because they are compelled to follow by some physical force. Rather, they obey because they believe that the rules and regulations (and those who made them as well) are legitimate (Swingewood, 2000:109). Did you understand the explanation? According to Weber, domination has to do with "an order which enjoys the prestige of being considered binding, or, as it may be expressed, of 'legitimacy'." If you still cannot understand it clearly, then hopefully the next section will enlighten you.

Weber on Legitimate Types of Authority

Let me begin by saying that Weber uses the concepts authority and domination interchangeably. This means that legitimate authority and legitimate domination mean the same thing for Weber. So, do not get confused if I sometimes use domination and at other times I use authority; they refer to the same thing, okay? Weber's concern with the concept of domination was first expressed in his work *Economy and Society*. Here, he deals with changes in political institutions found in modern societies and how

political power is manifested at different times and in different societies. As we mentioned earlier, Weber said that domination is different from power. How so? One scholar puts it this way: "Power is the ability of individuals to carry out their will in a given situation, despite resistance. Domination, by contrast, refers to the right of a ruler within an 'established order' to issue commands to others and expect them to obey." (Morrison, 1995:283) Having defined domination, Weber then points out that there are different systems of domination across history and societies.

How do those systems differ? One way is in terms of the way commands are issued by rulers and another is the extent to which obedience can be expected from the individuals to whom the commands are issued. We can link these differences to the two central elements of the concept of domination that were identified by Weber: (1) concern for legitimacy and the subjects' perception that authority is legitimate; and (2) the development of an administrative staff that will carry out the orders. You will recall that legitimacy has to do with the perception that the rulers' procedures for making and implementing laws, rules and policies are acceptable to and valid in the eyes of the people. Seymour Lipset, in his classical work *Political Man*, defines legitimacy as "the capacity of the [political] system to engender and maintain the belief that the existing political institutions are the most appropriate ones for the society" (cited in McLean, 1996:281). Are we now clear on the concept of legitimacy? Yes? Very good.

Before we move on to identify the three types of legitimate domination or authority according to Weber, let us first enumerate the four bases for the differences among the different systems of domination. Weber says that each system of domination varies in terms of four characteristics. These are the: (1) system's claim to legitimacy; (2) kind of obedience which the system derives from the people; (3) kind of administrative staff established to implement laws, rules and policies; and (4) manner by which the system exercises authority or domination (Morrison, 1995:284). Weber then identifies the three types of legitimate domination that have existed and continue to exist in the world. Before we continue, here is another exercise for you to busy yourself with. Have fun!

Activity 14-2

Weber identifies three major types of domination or authority: (1) charismatic domination; (2) traditional domination; and (3) rational-legal domination. Each system has its own basis for claiming legitimacy, a system of obedience, an administrative staff, and a manner of exercising authority. What you will do now is to think about the kind of leadership style we can find in each system. Try your hand at describing each leadership style by identifying their key characteristics. Moreover, think of an example for each kind of leadership style. Use the following as your guide.

1. Identify at least two major characteristics of the leadership style found in each type of legitimate domination.
2. Give an example of each leadership style. You can mention a particular leader whom you think practiced a particular leadership style or you can cite a certain type of political system where you can find a certain style of leadership being practiced.

Your answers should be written on the table below. If you need more space, feel free to use extra sheets of paper. Again, keep your answers brief and direct.

Type of Legitimate Domination	Qualities of Leadership Style	Specific Example
• Charismatic		
• Traditional		
• Rational-Legal		

Comment on Activity 14-2

Were you able to identify or cite examples for each leadership style? Was it difficult to complete the table? Hopefully not. If you had a little bit of difficulty, the important thing is you tried. What we will do now is to proceed with our discussion of the types of legitimate domination. In the process of exploring that issue, we will be answering the questions that were posed to you in this exercise. Read on to know whether your answers are correct.

Before we discuss the three types of legitimate domination, we have to point out that these are pure types in the sense of Weber's concept of ideal types. Do you still remember what Weber meant by ideal type? This concept referred not to a description of reality but to a means by which reality can be better understood. It is more appropriate to think of an ideal type as a mental construct based on empirical reality. When we make use of Weber's typology of legitimate domination, we are utilizing an example of ideal types.

What are the three types then? Weber enumerates them thus:

> There are three pure types of legitimate authority. The validity of their claims to legitimacy may be based on: (1) rational grounds—resting on belief in the "legality" of patterns of normative rules and the right of those elevated to authority under such rules to issue commands (legal authority); (2) traditional grounds—resting on an established belief in the sanctity of immemorial traditions and the legitimacy of the status of those exercising authority under them (traditional authority); or finally, (3) charismatic grounds—esting on devotion to the specific and exceptional sanctity, heroism or exemplary character of an individual person, and of the normative patterns of order revealed or ordained by him (charismatic authority).

We should also mention Weber's discussion of the sources of legitimacy of any order which, according to him, can be one of the following: (1) from purely disinterested motives; and (2) from pure self-interest or expectations of particular ulterior outcomes. The first source is further broken down into three: purely affectual motives, rational beliefs in the validity of any order, and religious attitudes. As we discuss the three types of legitimate domination, you will notice that these sources are present in the typology.

Legal domination

The first type of domination examined by Weber is legal domination which is also referred to as legal-rational or bureaucratic domination. A word of caution here: By bureaucratic, we are referring to Weber's concept of bureaucracy, and not the negative connotation attached to the word like red tape, graft, corruption, inefficiency, and so on. Are we clear on this? Very well then. Back to legal domination.

In this type of domination, authority is said to be based on reason (that is why it is rational) and on formally defined and accepted processes. Accepted by whom? Well, accepted by everybody—both the leaders and the people (or followers). In particular, those in authority must realize that their exercise of authority depends on their acceptance of due legal procedures and their possession of the right qualifications as determined through the merit system (Jarvis, 2000:1-2). What about on the part of the people? Weber said that in this system, the people comply "on the basis of principles of law rather than the personal authority of the leader, and individuals owe their obedience to an impersonal legal order" (Morrison, 1995:291). Hence, we say that under rational-legal domination, the people owe allegiance to the state, the government, and even the flag, but not to any particular individual who is temporarily occupying a governmental position. We must also emphasize that an important distinguishing characteristic of legal domination is that both the officials or leaders and the people at large are subject to the laws of the land. Everyone is held liable for any violations he commits because under this system, the law applies to all equally. This practice can be traced to the impersonal nature of the laws and rules that are in place.

How is the rational-legal type of domination related to Weber's concept of bureaucracy? In other words, why is rational-legal domination also called bureaucratic domination? Let me quote the reasons cited by one scholar:

> The connection between legal authority or legality *per se* and a bureaucratically organized means of administration is central to Weber's reasoning in a number of ways. First, he believed that bureaucracy and the bureaucratic organization were technically the most rational means of exercising authority over people … Second, he thought that in a system essentially defined by legal precepts, the organization of offices necessarily followed a pattern of official hierarchy related to offices in terms of ranks, and related to functions in terms of specified jurisdictions … More than any other system of domination, legal authority decreases

> arbitrariness in power and eliminates forms of authority in which individuals wield power by virtue of status privilege or by the appropriation of power through sheer physical force. (Morrison, 1995:291-292)

Clearly then, the characteristics associated with the bureaucracy are the very same characteristics possessed by the rational-legal type of domination. These would include rationality, impersonal rules, legality, hierarchical division of labor, clearly defined tasks and responsibilities, efficiency, and precision.

Traditional domination

Traditional domination tends to be found in systems where roles, customs, and practices are accepted parts of the people's everyday lives. In such cases, authority is said to be based not on any "legal" precept but on family lineage, for instance (Jarvis, 2000:1). Here, people's compliance with authority is founded on a network of obligations linking the people to their leader by personal loyalties. Thus, people obey not an impersonal legal order as in rational-legal domination but a particular individual leader. How do traditional leaders obtain authority? In general, there are two ways: (1) by the prestige conferred by tradition and by the belief that the ruler's commands are valid because of the authority inherent in the office or status of the leader; and (2) by virtue of the discretionary powers which are given them by titles or hereditary claims to power (Morrison, 1995:288-289). As we mentioned earlier, authority in the traditional context may be passed on or obtained through the familial or kinship system.

Can you cite any examples of traditional domination? If you had in mind "monarchies," you are very much right! In monarchical systems such as what they have in Great Britain, Spain, the Netherlands, and Thailand, among others, authority cannot be given or transferred to anyone outside the family (except in very unique situations). Usually, the crown is passed on from the king or queen, as the case may be, to the eldest child. In some cases, authority can be possessed only by the males or, in other instances, only by the females (in patriarchal and matriarchal communities, respectively). Whatever the specific arrangements may be, the important thing to note is that authority is not based on legal precepts but on customs and tradition, rites, and rituals. This does not mean, of course, that traditional domination is illegal. What we mean is that in contrast to rational-legal domination, the ruling element in traditional domination is traditions, norms, practices, and rites and rituals as opposed to any legal doctrines.

If rational-legal authority is closely linked with bureaucracy and the phenomenon of bureaucratization, the reverse is true for traditional authority. What elements are lacking in systems of traditional authority? "Weber believed that traditional systems of domination tend to resist bureaucratic development. The main features of bureaucratic organization lacking in [traditional] forms of administration are rationally established hierarchies of offices, technical training for functionaries, and a clearly delineated jurisdiction of powers and responsibilities." (Morrison, 1995:289-290) We see here that the central components of a bureaucracy are missing in a system of traditional authority. The absence of these very crucial characteristics is the reason why Weber said that traditional authority and bureaucratic development do not go together. They simply are not compatible with each other.

Charismatic domination

The third form of legitimate domination is called charismatic domination or authority. As Weber explains, this form is based on the extraordinary qualities possessed by a certain leader—qualities that may be inherent in the leader or those that may have surfaced during a particular event (for example the leader's heroism and patriotism becoming evident in times of war). In this case, the leader plays a very central role in the running of the system since he is the one who organizes, directs, and runs the show. In fact, it has to be said that under charismatic domination, "organizational success depends on the single-mindedness and expertise of the leader and the inspired followers" (Jarvis, 2000:1). Why is this so?

To know the reason behind the traits associated with charismatic domination, we have to understand what Weber meant by the term "charisma." According to him, this has to do with "a certain quality of an individual's personality which is considered extraordinary and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman, or exceptional powers and qualities" (quoted in Morrison, 1995:284). Charisma then is what separates these extraordinary beings from ordinary people like you and me (unless you think you are charismatic). Sometimes the authority associated with charismatic people is thought to have a divine origin, as in the case of prophets.

On the whole, there are two sources of legitimacy for charismatic domination. The first is the people's belief that the leader should be followed because of his extraordinary capacity to inspire the people. And the second is the degree of "felt duty" to follow the leader which the people perceive as being placed upon them. We should add that this sense of having a "felt duty" or

"recognition of duty" is "key to the followers' felt belief that they should undertake to put into practice the vision of the charismatic leader … believers adhere to the authority of the leader on the basis of an inner devotion, which they expect will rescue long-standing inner conflicts and suffering from which they hope to be emancipated" (Morrison, 1995:285). But due to the very nature of charismatic authority, it is said to rest on shaky grounds. Once the leader is replaced or dies, the entire system may crumble. And once the leader is viewed as no longer possessing charisma, then he will soon find it difficult to command the obedience of the people. Sooner than later, he might find himself out of his office. As we say in Tagalog, he will be "outside the *kulambo*."

However, all is not lost for the charismatic leader. He can think of ways to make his authority more stable. Some suggestions from Weber include the following: (1) focusing on the ideal goals rather than on the material world; (2) setting into texts or received doctrines the revelations that attest to the leader's powers and capabilities; and (3) separating the charismatic authority from the individual so that legitimacy is no longer focused on the individual leader. These may lead to the transformation of a charismatic type of domination into a traditional or legal type (Morrison, 1995:287). From the discussion, we can see that the type of domination that exists in any given system can be changed—deliberately or not. Changes may be initiated by the leader himself, pushed for by the followers, and implemented jointly by the leader and his followers.

A last note before we leave Weber. You may be saying that in the Philippines, one can observe various types of legitimate domination in existence. There are elements associated with legal, traditional, and also charismatic authority. How can this be? Well, this is possible. One system can possess traits of all three forms. Remember that Weber discussed each type as a pure and ideal type. But he himself did not discount the possibility that all three types may be found in a single system or society.

Summary

Weber, one of the fathers of modern sociological theory, contributed greatly to various fields of study. A jurist and political economist by training, he ended up doing work in the areas of law, political economy, economics, policies, public administration, philosophy, and of course, sociology. Among his many contributions, we have discussed two of the more important and lasting ones—his theory of bureaucracy and typology of legitimate domination. Bureaucracy has to do with a continuous, rational, professionalized, and rule-governed form of administration. Weber conceived of the bureaucracy as a form of administration without any personal, irrational, or emotional elements. From this conceptualization, Weber went on to link the phenomenon of bureaucratic development or bureaucratization with rationalization and modernization. Bureaucratic development, he said further, is also associated with a division of labor or specialization but in the sphere of administration and not economic production (as discussed by Adam Smith and Karl Marx).

Despite all the positive qualities he associated with bureaucracy, such as impartiality, rationality, and efficiency, Weber also recognized the dangers that arise from bureaucratic development. These are the incompatibility of bureaucratization with democracy and the alienation of the public from the bureaucratic processes.

As for the types of legitimate domination, Weber identified three types: rational-legal, traditional and charismatic. Rational-legal domination is founded on legal precepts and rules, and obedience is owed to an impersonal legal order. It is also associated with bureaucratic administration as they share common characteristics— rationality, impartiality, precision, hierarchy, efficiency, and so on. Meanwhile, traditional domination is based on accepted norms, practices, rules, rites, and rituals. Here, the source of authority is usually the family or kinship line. Loyalty in this context is to a person and not a legal order. Because of these characteristics, Weber said that traditional authority is resistant to bureaucratic development. And lastly, charismatic domination is rooted in the extraordinary qualities of a leader and his capacity to inspire his followers. The possession of charisma is said to be the basis for the leader's capacity to make the followers obey his orders and to run the entire system basically on his own.

Module 15
The Final Destination

Do you realize that it's the end of the semester? And what more, you're still here! Congratulations for reaching the final destination! Your hard work and diligence have finally paid off. However, before you put this study guide away, here are a few exercises that will help you synthesize what we have learned.

We begin by testing how good your memory is. Here is a basic exercise that requires you to recall the names and the titles of the works of the philosophers we read throughout the semester.

Objectives

After working on this module, you should be able to:

1. Identify the key works each of the 14 philosophers we have visited;
2. Explain the ideas contributed by these philosophers to political, economic and social thought; and
3. Integrate the lessons learned from the philosophers' works.

SAQ 15-1

Column A lists the 14 philosophers. Column B enumerates the works of these philosophers. Match the philosopher with the work he wrote. Draw a line to connect the philosopher to his work.

Column A	Column B
Niccolo Machiavelli	*The Wealth of Nations*
Plato	*City of God*
Thomas Hobbes	*Politics*
Adam Smith	*The Social Contract*
Karl Marx	*Division of Labor in Society*
Aristotle	*Summa Theologica*
Jean Jacques Rousseau	*The Communist Manifesto*
St. Augustine	*Republic*
Max Weber	*The Second Treatise of Civil Government*
John Locke	*Principles of Political Economy and Taxation*
Emile Durkheim	*Leviathan*
John Stuart Mill	*The Prince*
St. Thomas Aquinas	*Theory of Social and Economic Organization*
David Ricardo	*On Liberty*

ASAQ 15-1

Here are the answers to your first exercise. Did your memory serve you well or did you have to sneak a look at the previous modules? Check how many correct answers you got.

1. Niccolo Machiavelli — *The Prince*
2. Plato — *Republic*
3. Thomas Hobbes — *Leviathan*
4. Adam Smith — *The Wealth of Nations*
5. Karl Marx — *The Communist Manifesto* (with Friedrich Engels)
6. Aristotle — *Politics*
7. Jean Jacques Rousseau — *The Social Contract*
8. St. Augustine — *City of God*
9. Max Weber — *Theory of Social and Economic Organization*
10. John Locke — *The Second Treatise of Civil Government*
11. Emile Durkheim — *Division of Labor in Society*
12. John Stuart Mill — *On Liberty*
13. St. Thomas Aquinas — *Summa Theologica*
14. David Ricardo — *Principles of Political Economy and Taxation*

Find out what your score means. If you got:
A perfect score of 14 correct answers, you get five more ☆s for your collection.
A score of 12-13 correct answers, credit yourself with three more ☆s.
A score of 10-11 correct answers, add two more ☆s to your total so far.
A score of 0-9 correct answers, give yourself a consolation price of half a ☆. Now, if you try harder in the next exercise, you might be seeing more stars in your future. Who wouldn't like a bright future?

After familiarizing ourselves again with the philosophers and their works, it is time to look at what's inside their masterpieces. Try this next exercise.

SAQ 15-2

It's time for some quotable quotes! Below are 14 quotations—one from each of the works we identified in the first exercise. Your task is to identify who said each of these memorable quotations. Write your answer on the space provided after each quotation. This is another opportunity to collect more stars to add to your total so far. As always, do your best, okay?

1. "This division of labor, from which so many advantages are derived, is not originally the effect of any human wisdom, which foresees and intends that general opulence to which it gives occasion. It is the necessary, though very slow and gradual, consequence of a certain propensity in human nature which has in view no such extensive utility; the propensity to truck, barter and exchange one thing for another."

2. "The final and perfect association, formed from a number of villages, is the *polis*—an association which may be said to have reached the height of full self-sufficiency; or rather we may say that while it grows for the sake of mere life, it exists for the sake of a good life."

3. "The passions that most of all cause the difference of wit, are principally, the more or less desire of power, of riches, of knowledge and of honor. All of which may be reduced to the first, that is, desire of power. For riches, knowledge and honor, are but several sorts of power."

4. "Nothing seems easier to determine, at first glance, than the role of the division of labor. Are not its effects universally recognized? Since it combines both the productive power and the ability of the workman, it is the necessary condition of development in societies, both intellectual and material development. It is the source of civilization."

SAQ 15-2 cont'd.

5. "There never will be a perfect state or constitution, nor yet a perfect man, until some happy circumstance compels these few philosophers who have escaped corruption but are now called useless, to take charge, whether they like it or not, of a state which will submit to their authority; or else until kings and rulers or their sons are divinely inspired with a genuine passion for true philosophy."

6. "Working men of all countries, unite!"

7. "Of all men who have been eulogized, those deserve it most who have been the authors and founders of religions; next come such as have established republics or kingdoms."

8. "Justice being taken away, then, what are kingdoms but great robberies? For what are robberies themselves, but little kingdoms?"

9. "Man is born free; and everywhere he is in chains. One thinks himself the master of others, and still remains a greater slave than they."

10. "The creed which accepts as the foundation of morals, Utility, or the Greatest Happiness Principle, holds that actions are right in proportion as they tend to promote happiness, wrong as they tend to produce the reverse of happiness. By happiness is intended pleasure, and the absence of pain; by unhappiness, pain and the privation of pleasure."

SAQ 15-2 cont'd.

11. "The state of nature has a low of nature to govern it which obliges every one; and reason, which is that law, teaches all mankind who will but consult it that, being all equal and independent, no one ought to harm another in his life, health, liberty, or possessions; men being all the workmanship of one omnipotent and infinitely wise Maker."

12. "The derivation of the legitimacy of an order from a belief in the sanctity of tradition is the most universal and most primitive case."

13. "Therefore, since the rule of one man, which is the best, is to be preferred, and since it may happen that it be changed into a tyranny, which is the worst, a scheme should be carefully worked out which would prevent the multitude ruled by a king from falling into the hands of a tyrant."

14. "In different stages of society, the accumulation of capital, or of the means of employing labor, is more or less rapid, and must in all cases depend on the productive powers of labor. The productive powers of labor are generally greatest when there is an abundance of fertile land: at such periods accumulation is often so rapid that laborers cannot be supplied with the same rapidity as capital."

ASAQ 15-2

So, who said what? The answers below. Go get your stars!

1. Adam Smith
2. Aristotle
3. Thomas Hobbes
4. Emile Durkheim
5. Plato
6. Karl Marx (with Friedrich Engels)
7. Niccolo Machiavelli
8. St. Augustine
9. Jean Jacques Rousseau
10. John Stuart Mill
11. John Locke
12. Max Weber
13. St. Thomas Aquinas
14. David Ricardo

Getting all the answers correctly means you also get the perfect number of stars for this exercise which is five ☆s.
Four ☆s go to those who obtained 12-13 correct answers.
Those who got 10-11 correct answers should credit themselves with three ☆s.
And as a consolation prize, again half a ☆ for those who have a score of 9 or less.

How many stars have you collected so far? Can you already form a constellation of your own?

I know you're eager for more exercises so here's another one. This time I'm interested in who your favorite philosophers are, what ideas interested you the most, and your other views of the personalities that we met during our journey. There's no pressure in this exercise because there are no wrong or right answers. Just give us your honest views, okay?

Activity 15-1

Complete the following statements by filling in the blanks with your thoughts and sentiments. Remember, there are no wrong or right answers this time around. Feel free to express your views. If you need more writing space, just use extra sheets of paper. Now, go write!

1. Of the 14 philosophers we visited, I found _____ to be the most interesting because _____
   _____
   _____

2. Of the 14 philosophers, my least favorite is _____ because _____
   _____
   _____

3. Of all the ideas and concepts I read about, the concept of _____ by _____ was the most intriguing for me because _____
   _____
   _____

4. Of all ideas and concepts I read about, the concept of _____ by _____ is the most relevant to the current times. We can use this concept to study the problem or issue of _____
   _____
   _____

5. The philosopher who was easiest to understand was _____. On the other hand, the most difficult to read was _____. The excerpt which I liked best was the one from _____ which was written by _____.

6. If I could make one suggestion regarding the course, I would like to suggest that _____
   _____
   _____
   _____
   _____

Comments on Activity 15-1

Actually, no answers will be provided to the exercise you have just completed since there are no correct answers to the above statements. So, all of you who have successfully completed the third exercise, do give yourself a round of applause and credit your account with 10 more ☆s. Congratulations! Are you now ready to conclude our journey?

Concluding Note

We started this journey almost four months ago. I was trying to convince you then that this was going to be an exciting, interesting and enlightening experience for all of us. Also, I said that you have no cause to panic or worry if you didn't know or had not heard of Plato, Niccolo Machiavelli, Karl Marx or Adam Smith. Well, we have come to the end of our journey. I hope that I have helped you meet your expectations of the course. I hope that you learned a thing or two the 14 philosophers we discussed.

Throughout this journey, we got acquainted with various ideas and concepts—the nature of man, nature of society, laws of nature, vision of an ideal society, mode of production, division of labor, social contract, liberties and rights, social reform, forms of government and types of legitimate authority. Can you remember other ideas that you learned? We saw how one concept was defined differently by various philosophers. On the other hand, we saw how several thinkers who lived during different periods can come to an agreement (without them knowing it, of course!) about one concept. Some ideas were quite revolutionary while others were not. Also, I'm sure you saw that some ideas continue to be applicable to this day while others have become obsolete. All these make the world of political, economic and social thought quite interesting.

One more thing: Do you realize that in just four months we have covered several centuries? We have not only journeyed through the minds of great men, we have also journeyed through time! Where else can you do that except perhaps in a course on history?

As we bring our journey to a close, I would like to extend my congratulations to all you hardworking students. I hope you feel that your efforts have paid off. If you have learned a couple of ideas, then that's good. In the end, what is important is that we go beyond simply memorizing these ideas and what they mean according to the philosophers. You should be able to pick out an idea or two that you feel will be useful to you in your daily life. Perhaps this idea may not even be a technical concept but a lesson from the life of a particular philosopher. We certainly have much to learn from them—not only from their works but also from their personal experiences. Of course, you'll have to read more about them and what they thought. This course has simply introduced you to them, so to speak. I hope your initial encounter was sufficiently stimulating to encourage you to find out more.

For now, a round of applause to all of you! Take a bow for a job well done!

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