

BLOCK : III
CHANGING DISCOURSE OF LIBERAL
THEORY

Unit 1 :**Utilitarianism: The Concept**

Unit Structure :

- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Objectives
- 1.3 Meaning and Concept of Utilitarianism
- 1.4 Elements and Types of Utilitarianism
- 1.5 Principles of Utilitarianism
- 1.6 Summing Up
- 1.7 References and Suggested Readings

1. 1 Introduction:

Utilitarianism as an ideology flourished in England from the middle of eighteenth to the middle of nineteenth century. It advocates the idea of the greatest happiness of the greatest number. It is a very important concept in political science as it speaks about bringing welfare in the society. Many thinkers have contributed towards the growth of utilitarian philosophy. However, Jeremy Bentham is regarded as the father of utilitarianism. In the next units we shall discuss the utilitarian ideas provided by Bentham and John Stuart Mill in detail. Before discussing the thinkers and their ideas, let us learn about the concept of utilitarianism in this unit first.

1.2 Objectives

Utilitarianism contributes significantly towards Political theory. It describes the nature and scope of government since it believes that the main function of the government is to take positive action to promote happiness. After reading this unit we shall be able to:

- Discuss the concept of utilitarianism
- Explain the types of utilitarianism
- List out the principles of utilitarianism

1.3 Meaning and Concept of Utilitarianism

The basic contention of utilitarianism is that the pleasure alone is good and desirable for its own sake. The utilitarian argue that an action can be termed as right only when it produces the greatest happiness possible.

Bentham is of the view that actions should be judged right or wrong to the extent they promote or decrease the well being of the individuals. The utilitarian thinkers repudiate the theory of social contract. According to them individual's obligation to the government of the country is also guided by the principle of utility. Again, for the utilitarians, man is a complex being with diverse interests. They do not consider individual to be self-contained. According to them, State is a necessary instrument to promote general happiness.

The basis of utilitarian ideology is said to be provided by some of the ideas of Locke and Hume. It is based on the premises like the greatest happiness of the greatest number. It also believes that all men seeks pleasure and avoid pain. Truth and morality is considered as a mean to happiness. The government was to take positive action to promote happiness.

Utilitarianism promotes democracy. It believes greatest happiness of the greatest number should be the aim of every government. Moreover, utilitarianism is individualistic. It is also based on the premises that individual is the best judge of his interest. It advocated individual liberty as it promoted human happiness. Further it believes that fulfillment of the interests of majority of the individuals will lead to the happiness of the greatest number.

Hence we can say that utilitarianism believes that actions must be judged by their usefulness. According to utilitarians, utility brings welfare. In the previous units you have already read about Hobbes. Many thinkers compare utilitarian philosophy with the ideas of Hobbes. It is because utilitarians agreed with Hobbes that government is justified by its usefulness. The utilitarian ideas were mainly developed by James Mill, John Austin, Jeremy Bentham and John Stuart Mill.

1.4 Elements and Types of Utilitarianism

The modern Utilitarianism consists of four elements. They are ----

- i). **Consequentialism** : it means one always ought to promote good outcomes. It implies whether to perform an action depends on the outcome of the action. If an act has bad outcome consequentialism opposes it. There are two different views of consequentialism viz. direct consequentialism and indirect consequentialism. Direct consequentialism believes that the righteousness of an act depends only on its consequences. The moral rightness of an action is directly

assessed by the act utilitarianism. In indirect consequentialism, the morality of an action depends on its conformity to a rule rather than its own consequences. This is also known as rule utilitarianism. It is said that direct consequentialism is the only type of consequentialism. But we should remember here that though direct consequentialism directly depends on the outcome of the act yet it cannot ignore certain basic moral rules like 'don't lie' or 'don't kill'.

- ii). **Welfarism:** it means that the value of an outcome is wholly determined by the well being of the individuals in it. It simply believes positive well being as good and negative well being as bad.
- iii). **Impartiality :** it stands for a situation where a given quantity of well-being is equally valuable no matter whose well being it is. It clearly shows that the identity of an individual is irrelevant to the value of an outcome.
- iv). **Aggregationism:** it is the view that sum value of the lives it contains. This adds up the well being of different individuals and decide the trade offs on this total.

However, the classical utilitarianism has two more elements, viz,

- i). **Hedonism** as a theory of well being – It believes that human being love enjoyment and pleasure over misery and pain.
- ii). **Total view of population ethics.** This view believes that this world can be improved in two ways. Either by improving the quality of life of existing people or by increasing the number of people living the positive life. Here the trade off is between making the existing people happier and creating more happy people.

One prominent advocate of utilitarianism, Richard Hare supports the principle of utility as it does more good to the larger number of the population.

Stop to Consider

Criticism of Utilitarianism

The utilitarian theory has been criticized on several grounds.

- The happiness of a human being cannot be quantified. It cannot be measured.
- The main element of utilitarianism i.e. consequentialism believes that the rightness of an act directly depends on the rightness or

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the wrongness of the consequence of the act. But the problem is not everyone has the ability to correctly guess the future consequences of an act.

- In utilitarian philosophy the motive behind the actions are ignored.
- Another criticism labelled against utilitarianism is that it has created a black and white construct of morality. According to the utilitarians something is either wrong or right. There is no shade of grey.
- According to some critics utilitarian philosophy goes against the values like justice and individual right. For example, if four patients in a hospital need organ transplant, according to this theory, one healthy person can be sacrificed and his organs can be donated to these four patients as it will produce greatest happiness of greatest number of people.

1.5 Principles of Utilitarianism

You should remember here that Utilitarianism believes that there is a science of the mind. The mind derives the sensations from the environment. Then it groups the sensations into agreeable and painful. The human beings desire the agreeable sensations and try to avoid the painful sensations. According to utilitarianism truth and morality has no other meaning as all men seek pleasure and avoid pain.

The legislators play an important role in creating a moral order based on balance of pleasure and pain. For suppose two individuals wishes to derive happiness from the same plot of land by owning it. In such a situation to preserve the happiness of the lawful owner of the land, the government can threaten the other one to inflict pain. The government can take positive action to promote happiness.

In the economic sphere, the utilitarians believe that happiness can be promoted through allowing nature to take its course. It will help in developing division of labour.

The utilitarian philosophers opine that greatest happiness of the greatest number of people should be the goal of every government. In that sense democratic majority is best government. An individual knows his interest best and therefore when the greatest number of people will rule the country there will be greatest happiness.

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Utilitarians believe that the goodness or badness of an act depends on whether it promotes pleasure or pain among the individuals. The utilitarians denounced the concepts like absolute justice, rightness or wrongness. Pleasures and pains can be measured in quantity according to the utilitarians.

The utilitarian philosophy is individualistic in nature. They opine that individual liberty promote human happiness. The state is there for the individual and not vice versa. The duty of the state is to maintain law and order so that the individual can enjoy happiness. They also believe that the welfare of the society is nothing but the sum total of the welfare of the individuals. The utilitarian philosophy do not depend on abstract principles but rely on practical politics and ethics. For them state is the necessity of the individual, so that law and order is maintained and individuals can achieve happiness to the greatest extent. Utilitarianism is a revolutionary philosophy as it believes that actions should be based on the usefulness.

Utilitarianism believes in hedonistic or pragmatic philosophy. It tried to replace the 18th century idealism with empiricism. It is altruistic in nature. It tries to promote happiness of the people both at individual as well as social level. The utilitarian opines that state exist to promote general welfare. The legislators mainly have to increase the happiness of the people and lessen the sorrows and sufferings of the people. They are the champions of individual liberty.

Utilitarianism is analytical, descriptive and inductive in nature. It uses the facts to improve the existing condition of life and society. According to Professor Catlin, utilitarianism deals with four main issues like utility, pleasure or happiness, the greatest happiness of the greatest number and benevolence.

Utilitarianism reflected the aims and needs of the 19th century England. The utilitarian leaders were very active in real life. Their philosophy was not limited to books only. Their efforts brought changes in legal and panel systems, improved the conditions of the factories and mines and reformed the parliamentary suffrage and representation. Principles of utilitarianism also influenced the reform of the poor law, repeal of the corn laws and gradual adoption of universal suffrage.

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Utilitarianism aims at the welfare of the mankind. It tries to raise the condition of masses through effective state legislation. Utilitarian philosophy conceives man not only as individual but also as social individual.

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Check Your Progress

1. According to the utilitarian thinkers, individual's obligation to the government of the country is also guided by the principle of _____. (Fill in the blank)
2. The basis of utilitarian ideology is said to be provided by some of the ideas of Locke and Hume. (State True or False)
3. Utilitarianism promotes democracy. (State True or False)
4. Name some advocates of utilitarian ideology.
5. Write a note on the elements of utilitarianism.
6. Differentiate between direct consequentialism and indirect consequentialism.
7. Write the differences between rule utilitarianism and act utilitarianism.
8. Define hedonism.
9. Briefly discuss the principles of utilitarianism.
10. Pleasures and pains can be measured in quantity according to the utilitarians. (State True or False)

1.6 Summing Up

After reading this unit now you are in a position to understand the concept of utilitarianism. You have learnt that utilitarianism advocates the idea of greatest happiness of the greatest number of people. This ideology opines that an action must be judged by its usefulness. According to the utilitarian thinkers utility brings welfare. In this unit you have also learnt the elements and types of utilitarianism. You must remember here that consequentialism, welfarism, impartiality and aggregationism are the four main elements of utilitarianism. Moreover, the act utilitarianism and rule utilitarianism are the two broad types of utilitarianism. While the act utilitarianism opines that only the consequence of an act decides the rightness of the act, the rule utilitarianism believes that the rules associated with an act decide the rightness of the act. You have also learnt the

principles of utilitarianism like all men seek pleasure and avoid pain. The government should take action to promote greatest happiness of the greatest number of people. In the next unit you shall learn the contribution of Bentham in utilitarian ideology.

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1.7 References and Suggested Readings

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2. Gupta, R. C. Great Political Thinkers : East and West, Agra, Lakshmi Narain Agarwal Educational Publishers, 2001
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Links :

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Unit 2 :
Jeremy Bentham: Utilitarianism - I

Unit Structure :

- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Objectives
- 2.3 Bentham on Political Society
- 2.4 Bentham on Law and Rights
- 2.5 Bentham's Ideas of Pleasure and Pain
- 2.6 Summing Up
- 2.7 References and Suggested Readings

2.1 Introduction

Jeremy Bentham was an English jurist, philosopher and legal and social reformer. He was a political radical and a legal theorist in Anglo-American philosophy of law. He is best known for the advocacy of utilitarianism, the concept of animal rights and the opposition to the idea of natural rights. His position includes arguments in favour of individual and economic freedom, the separation of the church and the state, freedom of expression, equal rights for women, the end of slavery, and the abolition of physical punishment (including that of children), the right to divorce and decriminalization of homosexual acts. He is probably the best known in popular society as the originator of the concept of the panopticon.

This unit on Bentham is an attempt to deal with the ideas of Bentham regarding political society and law and rights. Here, we will also introduce you to his concept of pleasure and pain.

2.2 Objectives

This unit is an attempt to analyse the ideas of Bentham. After reading this unit you will be able to

- Explain his views on political society,
- Discuss his notion of law and rights
- Discuss his idea of pleasure and pain

2.3 Bentham on Political Society:

“when a number of persons are supposed to be in the habit of paying obedience to a person, or an assemblage of persons, of a known and certain description (whom we may call governor or governors) such persons altogether (subjects and governed) are said to be in a state of political society.” (Bentham 1977: 140)

From the above definition, we can see that Bentham considers the state as a group of persons organized for the promotion and maintenance of happiness and acting through law to that end. According to Bentham, the state is primarily a law making body. He looks at the state as a contrivance designed by men for the promotion of their pleasure or happiness. State is not an end in itself. It exists merely to promote the happiness of its members. According to him, people obey the authority of state because of its utility. Again, Bentham has propounded an individualistic or atomistic conception of state. He does not believe that the state is the product of any social contract. According to him, man submits to the requirements of law and government for their interest to do so. Therefore, he opines that if any group of men living in a society and if in this group some of the members pay obedience to other members, whether one or more in number, the group altogether constitutes a political society. Bentham has rejected the theory of social contract as origin of state. He believes that utility is the basic reason behind the emergence of origin of state. Bentham opined that the individuals have submitted to the requirements of law and government because of their interest to do so and not because of any contract as stated by the social contract theorists. The state of bentham is a trustee of the individuals. Benthamite state is a democractic state. But it was clear that interest of the state was never superior than the interest of the individuals. He believed that democracy is better than monarchy. His state is a sovereign state. It is the hall-mark of a sovereign state that it does nothing illegal. To speak of it as exceeding its authority is an abuse of language. This is true of the free state as well as the most despotic of the states. But Bentham also admits that a written constitution can limit the governmental power. In his state, all men have equal rights and all must be equal before the law. One of the most urgent tasks of state, according to Bentham, is to ensure a greater equalization of property.

Again Bentham has said that the state has no integral relation with the moral life of the citizen. Hence, though the state seeks to change his behaviour; it cannot change him. It cannot help him to develop his character, to bring out the best in him. For it is not the state that moulds the citizens, it is the citizens

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that mould the state. In this way, Bentham's state is a trustee for the individual. It is a democratic state in true sense. According to him, the interest of the individual is superior to the interest of the state. He mainly assigns negative functions to the state. According to him, the most important function of the state is to make laws which enable the citizens to know the felicific and non felicific tendencies of various types of action and remove all the hindrances which stand in the way of individual's pursuit of self-interest. Bentham believes that, people obey the government as long as it promotes the general happiness. But when it fails to do so, people have a right to disobey it. Thus, according to him, the only justification for the existence of the state is the promotion of utility. He asserts that the people have a moral right and duty to resist the state if the utility of resistance is greater than the evil of resistance.

According to Bentham, it is the duty of the state to promote the happiness of the society by a system of punishments and rewards. A governance which promotes the happiness of its citizens is called a good governance. According to him, the main function of a state is legislation. The legislations are made with the objective to remove all the institutional restrictions on the free actions of man. The state can restrain individuals from indulging in activities which affect the general happiness of the individuals. Bentham has assigned the function of punishing the offenders to the state.

Stop To Consider:

Life Sketch of Jeremy Bentham

Bentham was born in Spitalfield, London into a wealthy Tory family. He began his study of Latin at the age of 3. He went to Westminster School and in 1760 his father sent him to Queens College, Oxford, where he took his Bachelors Degree in 1763 and his Masters Degree in 1766. He was trained as a lawyer and was called to the Bar in 1769. He became deeply frustrated with the complexity of the English legal code which he termed as the 'Demon of Chicane'. During the period 1791-94, Bentham actively campaigned for his model prison Panopticon. Despite his adamant opposition to the natural law, language and principles of the 1776 Declaration of Independence and the 1789 Declaration of the Rights of Man, Bentham welcomed both the American and French Revolution. He was made an honorary citizen of French Republic in 1792. In 1823 he co-founded the Westminster Review with James Mill as a journal for the Radicals- a group of younger disciples through whom Bentham exerted considerable influence in British public life. Bentham died on June 6, 1832.

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2.4 Bentham on Law and Rights:

As we have already learnt Bentham's views on political society, in this section we will discuss his ideas regarding law and rights. According to Bentham, laws of the state are not rooted in the natural law. It is simply a command expressing the will of the sovereign. Thus, according to him, a law that commands morally questionable or morally evil actions, or is not based on consent, is still law. Again, Bentham points out certain negative aspects of law. He feels that law is an evil as it restricts liberty which is painful. However, Bentham also points out the positive role to be played by law and government, particularly in achieving well-being of the community. He considers law necessary to maintain social order. He further states that good laws are clearly essential to good government. Hence, we can say that Bentham has visualized law both from positive as well as negative perspectives.

According to Bentham, the worth of laws always depends on the general obedience given to it and the utility it promotes. The aims of model laws are security, substance, equality and abundance. According to him, people are punished mostly because of the mistakes of legislators who do not pass proper and healthy laws. Sometimes, even such laws are passed which are more respected in violation rather than in obedience. Bentham feels that state is contrivance and it is the foremost duty of legislators to see that laws passed by them promote utility.

It needs to be mentioned here that Bentham wants to remove the defects present in the English law and judicial procedure. He cannot accept that the English common law is faultless because it has an ancient origin and is developed by eminent jurists. He has no respect for the antiquity and wants that the law must be in keeping with the needs of time. Bentham insists that the old laws must be judged on the basis of their utility. If any existing law does not contribute to the happiness of the individual, it should be discarded. Bentham stated that the laws will be obeyed only if the legislation carry the people along with it. He also opined that revolution is the result of unwilling obedience and general dissatisfaction.

Check Your Progress

1. According to Bentham, state is primarily a law making body. (True/ False)
2. Bentham has accepted the theory of social contract as origin of state. (True/ False)

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3. Bentham believes that ____ is the basic reason behind the emergence of state. (Fill in the blanks)
4. The state of Bentham is a ____ of the individuals. (Fill in the blanks)
5. Bentham opined that the state has no integral relation with the moral life of the citizen. (True/ False)
6. According to Bentham, what is a good governance?
7. In which year Bentham took his Bachelors Degree?
8. Bentham feels that law is an evil as it restricts liberty which is painful. (True/ False)
9. Comment on the creation of state as specified by Bentham.
10. Mention the reasons behind the obedience of state and law as stated by Bentham.

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SAQ

Do you think that Bentham’s idea of state as primarily a law making body is valid? Give reasons in support of your answer (20+ 60 words)

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After discussing Bentham’s views on laws, now we will discuss his views on rights in the light of his understanding of natural law. Bentham’s views on rights are, perhaps, best known through his attacks on the concept of “natural rights” that appear throughout his work. Bentham’s criticisms here are rooted in his understanding of the nature of law. According to him, rights are created by the law, and law is simply a command of the sovereign. The existence of law and rights, therefore, requires government. Rights are also usually correlative with duties determined by the law. Therefore, it can be assumed that there are no natural rights prior to the establishment of state. And hence, Bentham discards the concept of natural rights. He feels that there are no rights anterior to government. Again, Bentham believes that the existence of natural rights has been derived from the theory of social contract. In the previous block on Individualism and Liberalism, we have already discussed the social contract theories according to which individuals form a society and choose a government by surrendering their rights. But Bentham criticizes it by saying that it does not even serve as a useful fiction to explain the origin

of political authority.

Again, according to Bentham, the idea of a natural right is “anarchical.” Since a natural right is anterior to law, it cannot be limited by law. If everyone has such freedom, the result will be pure anarchy. To have a right in any meaningful sense entails that others cannot legitimately interfere with one’s rights. This implies that rights must be made capable of enforcement. Such restriction, as noted earlier, is the province of the law. Bentham is of the opinion that ‘nature’ is a very vague term and as such the concept of ‘natural rights’ is equally vague, uncertain and undependable. He however, justifies the existence of private property and perhaps the influence of Locke on him inspires his justification. According to Bentham, since the state is the sovereign and supreme authority and exclusively responsible for giving laws, there is no justification in claiming natural rights against state sovereignty and hence absolutely unjustified. On normative grounds, Bentham pointed out that the natural rights helps an individual to rise up in arms against whatever one does not like.

Stop To Consider :

The Major Works of Bentham

- **Principles of International Law:** It is published in the year 1798. In this book, Bentham argues that universal peace can only be obtained by first achieving European unity. He hopes that some form of European parliament will be able to enforce the liberty of the press, free trade, the abandonment of all colonies and a reduction in the money spent on armaments.
- **Catechism of Reformers:** It is published in the year 1809. Here Bentham criticizes the law of libel as he believes it is so ambiguous that judges are able to use it in the interest of the government. Bentham also points out that the authorities can use the law to punish any radical for hurting the feelings of the ruling class.
- **Constitutional Code:** It is published in 1830. This book deals with the most detailed account of Bentham’s ideas on political democracy. In this book, he argues that political reform should be dictated by the principle that the new system will promote the happiness of the majority of the people affected by it. He argues in favour of universal suffrage, annual parliaments and vote by ballot. According to him, there should be no king, no house of lords and no established church. This book also includes his view that man as well as woman should be given the

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right to vote. In this book, he also addresses the problem of how government should be organized. This book also suggests the continual inspection of the work of politicians and government officials. Bentham feels that they should be continually reminded that they are the servants, not the masters of the public.

- *Fragments of Government* (1776) and *Introduction to the Principles of Moral and Legislation* (1789): In these books, Bentham argues that the proper objective of all conduct and legislation is the greatest happiness of the greatest number.
- *Essays on Political Tactics*: It is published in 1791. This book contains the earliest and perhaps the most important theoretical analysis of parliamentary procedure ever written. Bentham discusses some central themes like the publicity of proceedings, the rule of debate, the conduct of deputies and the proper steps to be taken in composing, proposing and voting in a motion. He even discusses the minor issues such as the size of the assembly room and the costume of the deputies in this book.
- *Discourses on Civil and Penal Legislation* (1802)
- *Theory of Punishments and Rewards* (1811)
- *A Treatise on Judicial Evidence* (1813)
- *Papers on Codification of Public Instruction* (1817)

The discussion of the central thematic concern of Bentham as depicted in his writings will help you assess his contribution to political philosophy.

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Interestingly, even though Bentham undermines the sanctity of natural rights formulations, he recognizes the importance of rights as being crucial for the security of the individual. He rejects the idea of not only natural and inviolable rights of property, but also the idea of absolute right to property as the government has the right to interfere with property in order to ensure security. Bentham distinguishes between the sudden and critical attack on property from the fixed, regular and necessary deduction from the wealth of the people. The regular and necessary deduction is needed to finance and support the functions and services rendered by governments. He defends the need for adequate compensation in case of a violation of individual's right to property. According to Bentham, property is neither natural, nor absolute, nor violable.

Therefore, we can say that what Bentham calls the real rights are fundamentally legal rights. So far as rights exist in law, they are protected. Here we must remember that Bentham is widely recognized as one of the earliest proponents of animal rights. He argues that animal pain is very similar to human pain. According to him, the ability to suffer, not the ability to reason, must be the benchmark of how we treat other beings. If the ability to reason are the criterion, many human beings, including babies and disabled people, will also have to be treated as things. He also speaks for a complete equality between the sexes. He is also one of the earliest philosophers to argue for decriminalization of homosexuality and equal rights for homosexuals. In two extended essays, unpublished during his lifetime, he puts forward a detailed logical argument against the stigmatization of same sex relations.

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Check Your Progress :

1. Comment on the creation of the state as specified by Bentham.
2. Mention the reasons stated by Bentham behind the obedience of state and law by the people.
3. Write True or False
 - a). Bentham has discarded the concept of natural law.
 - b). Bentham believes that the state is a product of social contract.
 - c). Jeremy Bentham is regarded as the father of individualism.
4. Write a note on Bentham’s views on law.

SAQ

Do you agree with Bentham’s view on Rights? Give reasons in support of your answer. (20+80 words)

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2.5 Bentham’s Ideas of Pleasure and Pain:

“Nature has placed mankind under the governance of two sovereign masters, pain and pleasure. (Bentham, 1789) Bentham finds pain and pleasure to be the only intrinsic values in the world. He believes that we desire pleasure and want to avoid pain. Only pains and pleasures give us the real value of actions. Whether it is private or public life, people are concerned with

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maximizing their happiness. According to Bentham, human beings by nature are hedonists. Each of their actions is motivated by a desire to seek pleasure and avoid pain. Every human action has a cause and a motive.

“Take away all pleasures and all pain and you have no desire and without a desire there can be no action.” (Bentham *ibid* : 40)

He has also given the idea that pleasure and pain is both simple and complex. According to him, whatever produces greatest amount of pleasure and minimum amount of pain is good and things which produce only pain without the pleasure are evil. This concept of pleasure and pain is defined by Bentham as physical as well as spiritual. Again, Bentham provides a classification of various kinds of pleasures and pains. Pleasures and pains may be caused by various kinds of sensations, thoughts, emotions, memories, expectations and associations. Simple pleasures and pains may be combined to form complex pleasures and pains. Pleasure may also be caused by the satisfaction of desire, and pain may be caused by the frustration of desire.

Bentham explains that the sensitivity to pleasure or pain may vary among individuals, and that each individual may respond differently to the same pleasure or pain. If rewards for good conduct or punishment for bad conduct are to be administered fairly, then these rewards and punishments must account for the differences that may occur among individuals in their sensitivity to pleasure or pain. According to him, pleasure is intrinsically good and pain is intrinsically evil.

Bentham’s classification of 12 pains and 14 pleasures attracts the attention of the political thinkers. The 14 pleasures according to Bentham are ---

Sense, Wealth, Skill, Amity, Good name, Power, Piety, Benevolence, Malevolence, Memory, Imagination, Expectation, Association and Relief. Now let us have a look at the simple pains enumerated by Bentham: Privation, Sense, Awkwardness, Ill name, Enmity, Expectation, Association, Memory, Imagination, Piety, Benevolence, Malevolence.

He further states that all pleasures and pains differ in sensitivity and sensibility and lists as many as 32 factors which influence sensitivity of pleasure and pains. These factors include --health, strength, firmness of mind, sensibility, insanity, sex, age, education, etc.

Bentham proposes a system for measuring the amount of pleasure and pain that an action produces. This system is called the felicific calculus. This is also known as the utility calculus, the hedonistic calculus or the hedonic

calculus. This felicific calculus is an algorithm formulated by Bentham for calculating the degree or amount of pleasure that a specific action is likely to cause. Bentham's system identifies the seven aspects of an action's consequence that can be used to compare the results of different deeds. Bentham calls these elements or dimensions. These are as follows-

- Intensity: How strong is the pleasure?
- Duration: How long will the pleasure last?
- Certainty or uncertainty: How likely or unlikely is it that the pleasure will occur?
- Propinquity or remoteness: How soon will the pleasure occur?
- Fecundity: The probability that the action will be followed by sensations of the same kind.
- Purity: The probability that it will not be followed by sensations of the opposite kind.
- Extent: How many people will be affected? Bentham distinguished pleasures quantitatively rather than qualitatively.

He, therefore, regards pushpin as good as poetry. By that he means that if a simple child's game like hopscotch or pushpin causes more pleasure to more people than a night at the opera house, the society should devote more resources to propagating hopscotch or pushpin than running opera houses. He does not differentiate between pleasures and in that sense he is not an elitist. He does not assign any inherent grading to activities and treated them at par in terms of their contribution to individual happiness. According to Bentham, there are four sanctions regarding pains and pleasures. The physical or natural sanction implies those pleasures and pains which are not the product of any human efforts but have been given by nature in course of time. The moral sanction implies the sanction which is promoted by goodwill or contempt by the hands of our fellow beings. Then he mentions about public sanctions by which he means legal sanction which is given to the individuals by the magistrates in exercise of their legal powers. The religious sanction follows from religious doctrines. Hence, it can be concluded here that in the hands of Bentham, the theory of pleasure and pain evolves into a scientific principle to be applied to the policies of the state, welfare measures and for administrative, penal and legislative reforms. Using the yardstick of utility, Bentham and his followers desire the restructuring of government and legal institutions to maximize individual happiness.

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Check Your Progress

1. Bentham stated that there are no natural rights prior to the establishment of state. (True/ False)
2. According to Bentham, the idea of natural right is _____. (Fill in the blanks)
3. Write two major works written by Bentham.
4. In which year 'Principles of International Law' was published?
5. What was the main theme of the book 'Constitutional Code' written by Bentham?
6. 'Essays on Political Tactics' written by Bentham was published in the year _____. (Fill in the blank)
7. What was Bentham's view on animal rights?
8. What is simple and complex pleasure and pain according to Bentham?
9. Write down the 12 pains and 14 pleasures as classified by Bentham.
10. What is felicific calculus?

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2.6 Summing up:

Bentham is one of the important thinkers of the utilitarian school of thought. After reading this unit, you are in a position to comprehend his political ideas. The reading of this unit has enabled you to understand Bentham's political philosophy as well as his views on political society, state, law and rights. You have also learnt that Bentham is one of those thinkers who condemn the theory of social contract and pleads that the government should stand at the bar of public opinion. He thus elevates public opinion in an age in which preaching such a doctrine is considered a symbol of revolution. His government is not a mystery but on the other hand can be tested on the basis of utility. He insists that the state exists for man and man does not exist for the state. In the field of jurisprudence, he is the first political thinker who boldly demands that the laws should be modified, complicated laws should be replaced by simple ones and these should be given wide publicity. Execution of laws should not only be simple and cheap but quick too. Bentham has considerably influenced the domain of political philosophy. His ideas and speeches influenced French revolutionaries and were appreciated in Spain, Russia and Portugal. His influence was quite visible in the collapse of Turkish and Spanish empires and Holy Roman Empire. He has suggested the U.S.A and Russian governments to improve their legal

systems. In the second unit we shall discuss Bentham's ideas about administrative justice and punishment. We shall also discuss Bentham as a moral philosopher and reformer.

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Unit 3 :**Jeremy Bentham: Utilitarianism - II**

Unit Structure :

3.1 Introduction

3.2 Objectives

3.3 Bentham on Administration of Justice and Punishment

3.3.1 Bentham favoured Form of Punishment

3.4 Bentham as a Moral Philosopher and Reformer

3.4.1 Bentham as Reformer

3.5 Summing Up

3.6 References and Suggested Readings

3.1 Introduction

In the previous unit you have already learnt that Jeremy Bentham was an English jurist, philosopher and legal and social reformer. He was a political radical and a legal theorist in Anglo-American philosophy of law. You have also learnt that Bentham was an utilitarian thinker. The previous unit has introduced you to his concepts of political society, law, rights and most importantly his theories of pleasure and pain. By talking about a good or bad consequences of an action Bentham actually meant about the happy and painful consequences of an action. Bentham believed that all experiences are either pleasurable or painful or both.

Here in this unit you will be able to understand his concepts of justice and punishment. An attempt will also be made to make you familiar with Bentham as a moral philosopher and reformer.

3.2 Objectives

This unit is an attempt to analyse the ideas of Bentham. After reading this unit you will be able to

- Understand Bentham's idea of administration of justice
- Explain Bentham's notion of punishment
- Discuss Bentham as a moral philosopher
- Explain Bentham as a reformer

3.3 Bentham on Administration of Justice and Punishment:

You have already learnt that according to Bentham, those actions which promote happiness or pleasure among the greatest number of people can be termed as morally right actions. Bentham is concerned with the way in which justice is being administered in the country. He stands for codification of laws and pleads that laws should be enacted in the way that these are understood by all. In justice, there should neither be any uncertainty nor unnecessary expenses. He also believes that justice delayed is justice denied. Regarding the present system of justice, Bentham is of the view that in it justice is not given but only sold at different prices, which suits the pocket of the lawyers. This is the most undesirable situation and as such corrective measures must immediately be taken so that justice becomes available to all and is cheap. Bentham as a utilitarian believes that real justice is less important than apparent justice. In other words, he believes that seeing justice done is more important than justice actually being done.

SAQ

Do you agree with Bentham that seeing justice done is more important than justice actually being done? Give reasons in favour of your answer. (20+80 words)

.....
.....
.....
.....

While dealing with the concept of justice, Bentham has also reviewed the concept of punishment. He also discusses whether a punishment will create more pleasure or more pain for a society. He calls for legislators to determine whether punishment creates more evil offence. Instead of suppressing the evil acts, Bentham argues that certain unnecessary laws and punishments can ultimately lead to negative and more dangerous vices. Thus, we can say that according to Bentham while punishment is sometimes reformatory sometimes it fails to control the actions of human beings.

Stop To Consider:**Bentham on Sovereignty:**

It must be remembered that, unlike Austin and Hobbes, Bentham does not think that the powers of the sovereign are to be unlimited or illimitable. Instead, he dismisses talk of illegality of actions of government as absurd

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unless it is possible to limit these actions by conventions. He accepts the division of sovereignty as a federal system. He also envisages the possibility of constitutional law. According to him, sovereignty rests with the people, and has to be exercised by the 'constitutive authority' i.e. the electorate. The task of a sovereign is to harmonize different individual interests and promote social cooperation through legislation in form of punishment, rewards, encouragement and incentives. Bentham feels that the individuals have no right to resist the sovereign. The legal duty of the people is only to extend unconditional obedience to the sovereign. He has justified right to resistance only under very exceptional circumstances.

It needs to be mentioned here that Bentham's utilitarian perspective on punishment is greatly influenced by Cesare Beccaria. Influenced by him, Bentham forms some harsh notions of punishment. He believes that torture can be justified in certain cases. According to him, punishment is a very weak disincentive. There is always a risk that an offender will commit another offence. He believes that torture removes this risk as it does not cease until the subject complies with the demands of authority. He terms legal punishment as the embodiment of an unquestionable evil. According to Bentham, punishment is a particular category of pain, produced not just as the result of some individual action, but of an action that can be termed an 'offence'. Each and every legal punishment has the potential of becoming morally unacceptable. That is to say, in Bentham's terms, any offence may be found 'unmeet for punishment'. In fact, if it can be known for sure that a similar offence will never again be committed, then, from his utilitarian standpoint, he finds no justification for the infliction of any punishment. For Bentham, pain, and thus punishment, is always a social negative, unless it promises greater pleasure in future.

Stop to Consider Economic Ideas

Bentham believed that for bringing international harmony among the individuals, the economic interdependence must be recognized and accepted. Though Bentham was a supporter of laissez faire and free trade yet he did not advocated for a non interventionist government. He wanted the government to be used for producing happiness which includes security, abundance, subsistence and equality. Basically he proposed a welfare state with free education, guaranteed employment, minimum wages, sickness benefit and old age insurance. The law needs to ensure security in benthamite state. Until and unless an individual is

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sure that his/her property will be protected, he/she wont thrive to acquire more property. The expectation in human being determines and influences the future decision of that person. Hence, security of expectation is a prime function of law. Bentham believed that increase in individual wealth will lead to increase in mass wealth. The individuals should get the freedom to buy the best economic opportunities. According to Bentham, economic leveling is impractical as it will bring more pain than pleasure. Bentham did not want government intervention in acquiring wealth. He believed that the wealth of the society is the wealth of the individuals and they know their interest better than anyone else. Bentham opined that government action implies restriction upon individuals and this restriction will give pain to the individuals. Therefore, for healthy competition, Bentham proposed unlimited freedom.

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3.3.1 Bentham's Favoured Forms of Punishment:

It must be remembered that Bentham's preferred forms of punishment certainly undergo a change over the course of his life. It is found that, in his earlier writings a variety of corporal punishments are recommended; in his middle years the panopticon penitentiary is his prime interest; and finally, in the 1820s, he feels an increasing attachment towards banishment and fining. Most importantly, punishment has to provide a variable quantity of pain in response to the varying quantities of mischief caused by offences. In addition to that, an equalization of pain is necessary when the same punishment is applied to different individuals. It should be ensured that the offenders receive the same pain if they commit the same offence.

Again in the late 1970's, he abandons his support for simple corporal punishment and joins the pursuit of an increased use of penal incarceration. His theory of punishment includes the reformation of the criminals. He believes that a great many criminals and evil-doers are capable of improvement and that they can be restored to society as useful and self-respecting members. On the strength of this belief, he advocates many principal reforms for the reformation of the criminal and for teaching them some skills while in confinement. He has evolved a scheme known as 'panopticon' for the systematic supervision of the daily life of the convicts. He is of the opinion that the prison buildings are to be arranged in such a fashion (semicircular) that the superintendent can have a view of all the cells from his residence. The scheme combines careful supervision and discipline with sympathy and improved environment. The criminals are to be taught not only useful trades but also to be given elementary education. Moral and religious training should

be imparted to them. On their discharge, criminals are to be provided with employment until they are able to regain the confidence of the public and stand on their own feet.

By the early 1790s, panopticon imprisonment has become the dominant mode of punishment promoted by Bentham. It offers adequate punishment for the most, if not all, serious offences. It can inflict both simple and complex punishment as demanded by the occasion. Additionally, it uses the means of reward to reform the prisoners. Bentham envisages panopticon as an institution primarily related with the psychological motivation of the prisoners. But it should also be noted that 'corporal' pain still forms an intrinsic part of the punishment. Thus, it is not simply a punishment of 'the mind', but equally it is an effective punishment of the body.

Throughout the period of Bentham's intense focus on penitentiary imprisonment, the main legal punishment for serious offences continues to be capital punishment. The death penalty is universally attacked by penal reformers in the late eighteenth century, though it is not until 1830 that Bentham publishes the reasons for his own opposition to capital punishment. He draws up a pamphlet on the death penalty, specifically for the people of France, and throughout this text he displays all the fundamental penal principles he has first established in 1776-78. In concise terms, Bentham denounces capital punishment for possessing the detrimental qualities of inefficiency, irremissibility etc. In Bentham's view, the pains resulting from capital punishment, and more particularly from the widespread threat of capital punishment, are judged to be considerable and excessive.

As we have already learnt, Bentham is much interested in the theory of punishment and prison reforms. He opines that the chief end of punishment is to prevent crime. Punishment should not be given in order to take revenge. Punishment should be exactly suited to the purpose. It should be neither more nor less. It should secure the good of the community. If capital punishment is necessary for the safety and security of society, it is justifiable, otherwise not. According to Bentham, whether capital punishment is to be administered in cases other than murder, it should be determined by their consideration of utility, i.e. their effect upon the general good. The execution of justice should, as far as possible, be exhibited to the public eye so that prospective evil-doers are frightened away from committing the crime.

Bentham believes that punishment should fit the criminal and not vice-versa. He believes that punishment should be graded according to the nature of the crime, the previous character of the offender, his parentage, the

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circumstances in which the crime is committed, the motive of the criminal, and the kind of persons to whom the injury is done. Punishment, thus is to be certain and impartial in its imposition. As a matter of fact, according to him, the only valid test of the adequacy of a punishment is its ability to secure public welfare.

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Check Your Progress

1. Bentham believed that justice is not given but sold at different prices. (True/ False)
2. Justice delayed is justice _____. (Fill in the blank)
3. Bentham opines that the powers of the sovereign are unlimited. (True/ False)
4. Write Bentham's views on sovereignty.
5. Who influenced Bentham's utilitarian perspective on punishment?
6. What is punishment according to Bentham?
7. Bentham was in favour of free trade. (True/ False)
8. What are Bentham's economic ideas?
9. Bentham's theory of punishment includes the reformation of the criminals. (True/ False)
10. What is panopticon?
11. Why Bentham opposed capital punishment?
12. What is the only valid test of adequacy of a punishment as advocated by Bentham?
13. Idea of punishment presupposes that idea of _____. (Fill in the blank)
14. What is Bentham's favoured form of punishment?
15. According to Bentham, punishment is a very ___ disincentive. (Fill in the blank)

3.4 Bentham as a Moral Philosopher and Reformer:

After reading the previous sections of the unit, it can be said that Bentham is a moral philosopher and a reformer. Bentham's moral philosophy consists of three basic principles- the greatest happiness principle, universal egoism and the artificial identification of one's interest with those of others. According to Bentham whether an action is good or bad should be judged from the happiness or utility which it produces. An action which results in pain is sure

to be a bad action. According to Bentham, an act of theft is not always bad and can be good as well if it produces pleasure. But if the outcome of action is pain, it is surely bad. As a moral philosopher, he has made it clear that pleasures and pains are our sovereign masters. According to him, these however, proceed from physical, political, moral and religious sources. Regarding physical sources, he has said that temperance conserves health and thus pleasure and intemperance result in ill health and thus pain. To describe the political source, he has said that we know how governmental legislation can result in bringing either pleasure or pain. To elaborate the moral source, we find that praise of an action by the public morally encourages and thus gives pleasure, whereas condemning by the public results in pain. Coming to religious source, he says that when one performs duties towards God, one feels pleasure otherwise the feeling of pain disturbs one. As a moral philosopher, he is of the view that both pleasure and pain can be mathematically measured and arithmetically calculated. In estimating pleasure, he has said that intensity, duration, certainty, propinquity, remoteness, fecundity, purity and extent must be taken into consideration. According to his philosophy, principles of pleasure are as certain as those of geometry. Bentham has also given the idea that pleasure and pain is both simple and complex. In the complex form wealth, skill, amity, good name, power, pity, benevolence, expectation and relief are included, whereas simple form includes pains of privation, sense, awkwardness, etc. All pleasures and pains differ in sensitivity and sensibility and he has listed as many as 32 factors which influence sensitivity of pleasure and pains. These factors include health, strength, firmness of mind, sensibility, insanity, sex, age, education, etc.

Stop To Consider :

Bentham's Views on Church of England:

Bentham was opposed to the Church of England, because he could not reconcile himself to the situation where the bishops could become rich. He also failed to understand how the priests could usefully and purposefully sit in the House of Lords and contribute to its proceedings. He felt that church activities should be checked and priests, bishops should desist from owning huge amounts and private property.

3.4.1 Bentham as Reformer

As we have already seen, Bentham is a firm believer in gradual reform. He has no faith in the violence of a revolution. He believes that there is scope for reform in British society, law and judicial procedure. He has said that procedure in law should be simplified. He also favours codification of laws.

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In his view, a complicated procedure only serves lawyers and as such the poor are always in a disadvantageous position. He feels that in its present system, justice is simply sold. He has also condemned delays by judges in giving justice. Bentham does not like the idea that the punishment is not proportionate to the crimes and pleads that the end of punishment should be the prevention of crimes.

Bentham is a great social reformer. He believes that all existing social and political institutions must be reformed, if these are to exist. He believes in universal adult franchise and wants that there should be annual elections for the parliament. Bentham is in favour of introducing secret ballot system in order to check intimidation and bribery. He also wants that existing laws should be reformed and hereditary character of House of Lords should be dispensed with. He has propagated a national scheme for improving the health of the people. Bentham also favours national system of education.

Bentham advocates a numbers of practical reforms. The principal among them are: the reform of the corrupt and restricted parliamentary system; a thorough going municipal reform; the humanization of the terribly cruel criminal law of the time; the improvement of prisons and prison management; the abolition of imprisonment for debt; the elimination of the usury laws; the repeal of religious test ; the reform of the poor law; the suppression of 'tardy beggars'; the utilization of able-bodied paupers; the training of pauper children; the institution of savings banks and friendly societies; the following of a code for merchant shipping; the protection of inventors; the encouragement of local courts; a comprehensive system of health legislation; the creation of the public prosecutors and of advocates for the poor; a thorough-going revision of hereditary rights; the supervision of scientific and philosophical foundation; and the recall of public officials. It is needless to add that many of the reforms which Bentham ardently pleads have been incorporated into the laws of various lands. He suggests reforms in educational field also as he is in favour of the establishment of a vast scheme of national education. His scheme includes two system of education- one for the pauper children and the other for the upper class children. His scheme of education has paid due regard to the capacity of learner. According to him, it is the duty of the state to look after the education of the poor children.

Bentham also suggests that the legislators should be subject to the punishment of dismissal. Bentham's chief interest is in devising systems and methods of legislation that will surely conform to and serve this great end. His services to ethical and juristic science in connection with this work are of utmost value. Bentham also formulates codes of international law, constitutional law, civil law, criminal law which embody principles and fruitful suggestions

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in later generations. He is eager to see justice administered and happiness secured to the deserving and the oppressed. With this objective, he criticizes the existing laws and the existing machinery for the execution of them. But he never appears to be a destructive critic. His objective is primarily constructive and criticism is simply a means to that end. Bentham emphasizes the need of reforming the existing institutions to transform them into instruments of general good. Most of the legal and parliamentary reforms advocated by Bentham have been carried out in England and other countries.

Check Your Progress

1. Bentham rejected the idea of irrevocable marriage. (True/ False)
2. According to Bentham, what are the two spheres of autonomy of a woman?
3. Write a note on Bentham's views on women and gender equality.
4. What are the three basic principles that constituted the moral philosophy of Bentham?
5. According to Bentham, pleasure and ____ are our sovereign masters. (Fill in the blank)
6. Bentham believes that principles of pleasure are as certain as those of geometry. (True/ False)
7. What was Bentham's view on Church of England?
8. Bentham did not favour secret ballot system. (True/ False)
9. Name few practical reforms advocated by Bentham.
10. What was Bentham's suggested scheme of education?

3.5 Summing Up :

You have already learnt that Bentham is one of the important thinkers of the utilitarian school of thought. After reading this unit, you are in a position to understand his political ideas regarding administration of justice, punishment, and Bentham as a moral philosopher and reformer. This unit has helped you to understand that Bentham is perhaps the first political thinker to point out glaring defects in English constitutional, legal and jail system and stand for their reforms. His jurisprudence is one of the most remarkable achievements of 19th century. He has discussed the system of punishment in a detailed manner. Like a practical thinker, he preaches that punishment should not be retaliatory but should aim at reforms. Though Bentham is a radical thinker, he does not suggest far-reaching changes and does not wish to upset the whole political system. His realism can be appreciated with the saying that with Bentham an era of stagnant legislation comes to an end. His influence on J.S.Mill is quite

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immense and in the second unit we shall discuss Mill as a reformer of Bentham's utilitarian ideas.

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Unit 4 :**J.S. Mill: Utilitarianism, Concept of State**

Unit Structure :

4.1 Introduction

4.2 Objectives

4.3 Mill as an Utilitarian

4.4 Mill on State

4.4.1 Basic Features of Mills State

4.5 Summing Up

4.6 References and Suggested Readings

4.1 Introduction:

We have already discussed Bentham's views on Utilitarianism in the previous unit of this block. Now, in this unit we shall discuss Mills revision of Bentham's Utilitarianism. John Stuart Mill is considered as the last Utilitarian and the foremost of the individualists. He is the most influential thinker of the nineteenth century and known as the champion of individual liberty. In his political theory, liberalism makes a transition from Laissez Faire to an active role for the state, from a negative to a positive conception of liberty and from an atomistic to a more social conception of individuality. Mill can be regarded as a liberal, reluctant democrat, a pluralist, a cooperative socialist, an elitist and a feminist. Reading of this unit will help you to understand Mill's ideas on state and representative government. As mentioned earlier, we will also analyze Mill as a revisionist of Bentham's utilitarian ideas in this unit.

4.2 Objectives :

Mill is the only male thinker of nineteenth century who provides arguments in favour of women and suggests various rights for them. He is also admired for his theory of liberty. His political philosophy is based on his principle of logic. He applied empirical methods in explaining his ideas. After reading this unit you will be able to:

- Discuss Mill's view on Utilitarianism
- Explain Mill's view on the state

4.3 Mill as an Utilitarian:

In the previous unit of this block we have discussed Utilitarianism. Utilitarianism is a doctrine which believes in greatest happiness of the greatest number. As you know Bentham is the main proponent of the doctrine of Utilitarianism. Now in this section we shall discuss Mill as an utilitarian. While doing so let us discuss Mill's revisionism of Benthamite Utilitarianism first.

Mill is deeply influenced by Bentham in his earlier days but later he does not agree with some of the ideas of Bentham. During his youth, Mill is a great supporter of Bentham's doctrines and radical politics. However in his later years, he has made certain modifications in the principle of Utilitarianism. In the process he not only repudiates the Utilitarian philosophy but practically overthrows the whole of it.

Mill's doctrine of Utilitarianism is found in the famous essay "Utilitarianism". He introduces many elements which counter Bentham's Utilitarianism. In this sense Mill is a revisionist of Bentham's Utilitarianism. He even transforms Bentham's idea of Utilitarianism and gives his own view on Utilitarianism different from Bentham. In the previous unit we have studied the pleasure and pain theory of Bentham. Mill provides a critique of this theory. To Bentham, pleasure differs only in quantity and one pleasure is as good as another. But, Mill makes a distinction between quality and quantity of pleasure and emphasizes the quality of pleasure. Mill has revised Bentham's Utilitarianism in the following ways

- Bentham is of the opinion that pleasure differs only in quantity. Mill retains the basic premise of Utilitarianism but distinguishes between higher and lower pleasures and opines that greater human pleasure means an increase not merely in quantity but also in quality of goods enjoyed. Mill insists that human beings are capable of intellectual and moral pleasures superior to the physical ones that they share with animals.
- According to Bentham, pleasure is the only cause and motive of individual's actions. According to Mill, individual pleasure does not give maximum pleasure. On the other hand, it is collective pleasure which gives maximum happiness and joy to the individual. Thus he believes that pleasure comes from outside and not from within. He regarded individual self-development and diversity as the ultimate ends and important components of human happiness and the principal

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ingredients of individual and social progress. This is in complete contrast to Bentham's view that pleasure comes from within.

- In Bentham's Utilitarianism, the gulf between self-interest and general happiness is very wide. Mill, on the other hand, has greatly narrowed down the gulf between self-interest and general happiness. He holds that utilitarian standard is not the individual's own greatest happiness but the greatest amount of happiness altogether. The distinction between the two has been brought out by Prof Maxey "Bentham's principle of Utility in a society of wolves would exalt exact wolfishness; in a society of saints it would exalt saintliness. Mill was determined that saintliness should be the criterion in any society whatsoever".
- Bentham considers personal happiness as the sole criteria for all human actions. Mill introduces the concept of good life more than a life devoted to pleasure. He places the moral ends above individual happiness and thus tries to promote virtuous life. Mill points out that every human action had three aspects –
 - a) the moral aspect of right and wrong,
 - b) the aesthetic aspect,
 - c) The sympathetic aspect of its loveableness. The first principle instructs one to disapprove, the second teaches one to admire or despise and the third enables one to love, pity or dislike.
- Bentham does not attach any importance to liberty because according to him it does not in any way contribute to the greatest happiness of the greatest number of people. He attaches more importance to security than liberty. Mill, on the other hand, considers liberty essential for the attainment of the principle of Utility and asserts that minority rights can be protected only when all enjoy liberty.
- Bentham advocates secret voting. Mill advocates public voting as he believes that voting is public duty and like any other public duty it should be performed before the public.
- Nextly, Bentham gives no special treatment to women in his Utility. Mill gives special position to women and gives them educational and political rights for their emancipation.
- Both Mill and Bentham favour democracy but the reasons for their support of democracy are different. Bentham justifies it because of

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the nature of men. But Mill justifies it because of the condition of men.

- Bentham is in favour of unicameral legislature, but Mill is in favour of bicameral legislature.

Mill defines utilitarianism as a concept based on the principle that “actions are right in proportion as they tend to promote happiness , wrong as they tend to produce the reverse of happiness.” Thus for Mill happiness is pleasure and the absence of pain. Further, he believes that pleasure can differ in quality and quantity. However, he has spoken about degrees of pleasures. According to him, pleasures that are rooted in one’s higher faculties should be given more weightage than other pleasures. Again, Mill is of the view that people’s happiness is also constituted of their achievements.

According to Mill, utilitarianism coincides with “natural” sentiments that originate from human’s social nature. The society which embraces utilitarianism as an ethic, people would naturally internalise these standards as morally binding. For Mill, happiness is the sole basis of morality, and that people never desire anything but happiness. He defends this claim by showing that all the other objects of people's desire are either means to happiness, or included in the definition of happiness. Mill explains at length that the sentiment of justice is actually based on utility, and that rights exist only because they are necessary for human happiness.

This theory of utilitarianism of Mill is criticised on many grounds. Many critics are of the view that this theory does not provide adequate protection for individual rights because everything can not be measured by same standards. Moreover, happiness has been defined in a very simple way by this theory which actually is very complex.

Mill has discussed the concept of utilitarianism in details in his Book named ‘Utilitarianism’ which is composed of Five chapters. The first chapter of the book provides an introduction to the essay. In the second chapter Mill discusses the definition of utilitarianism where he has put forwarded some misconceptions about the theory. In the Third Chapter there is a discussion about the ultimate sanctions or rewards which utilitarianism may offer. The Fourth chapter of his work discusses methods of proving validity of utilitarianism. In the Last and the Fifth chapter Mill writes about the connection between justice and utility. Here he has also concluded that happiness is the foundation of justice.

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Stop To Consider:**Mill's Views on India:**

Mill held a respectful office during the British rule in India. From his Autobiography and his personal letters, we can analyze his views regarding India. His Autobiography indicates that he looks upon his Indian duties as essentially belonging to his official employment. He writes about India and is influenced by his father's pessimistic views on Indian culture. From his writings, we find that he is skeptical about the feasibility and success of representative government in India. Mill believes that centuries of despotisms prevent the people of India from taking an active posture in the public sphere. He also argues that despite attaining high standards of civilization, they are dominated at that time by custom and sufficiently unresponsive to the stimulating ideas of individualism and rationalism. He also marks that it has made Eastern societies essentially passive and stagnant, making it difficult for them to progress on their volition. In this point, we can say that Mill's views are Eurocentric. However, Mill suggests that some form of benevolent despotism or rule by a superior people belonging to an advanced society is best suited for India. In the mean time, he is also critical about the capacity of a foreign government to act in the best interest of its subject, especially in the case of India where the British had very little understanding of their subjects, or sympathy for them. For the development of India, Mill suggests that British parliament must take permanent interest and responsibility in the Indian affairs. Thus it can be said that Mill favours the British policy and their rule for developing Indian society. As evident from his writings, we find that he is in favour of non- interference in religious practices in India and also advocates gender equality.

Space for Learners**Check Your Progress:**

1. Fill in the banks
 - a). Utilitarian Society is founded by.....
 - b). The best form of Government according to Mill is.....
2. Name the two activities in which Mill divides individual activities.
3. Name the individual activities where Mill advocates full freedom.
4. What was Mill's view on payment to the members of the Parliament?
5. Write a note on Mill's view on public voting?

4.4 Mill on State :

State is the legal and the supreme authority. Every political philosopher has discussed the state in their political philosophy. Mill has dealt with state elaborately and rejected the mechanistic view of the state and considers it as the product of the will of the people. His theory of state is based on the classical economic theory of laissez faire. Mill believes that the theory of laissez faire is the ideal. However it should be kept out for the purposes of education, care of children and the insane, relief for poor, public utilities etc. The basic task for the state, according to him is to ensure that none is starved.

4.4.1 Basic Features of Mill's State

- Mill rejects the mechanistic view of theories of the state because it completely ignores the human will and neglects the personalities of men.
- He considers state as the product of the will of the people who compose it rather than an instrument for the promotion of their interests.
- Mill considers that the state and other political institutions are the result of human voluntary agency and do not act by themselves. They require an active participation of the individuals and must adjust according to the capacities and qualities of those individuals.
- Mill does not emphasize the negative aspect of state and asserts that state interference is indispensable for the development of the individual personality.
- Mill wants that the state should be regulated to stimulate and utilize the best intellectual and moral qualities of the citizens for the service of the society.
- Mill's theory of state is based on the classical economic theory of "Laissez Faire".

SAQ

Examine Mill as a revisionist of Bentham's Utilitarianism? (80 words)

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4.5 Summing up:

Mill is one of the foremost individualists or liberal thinker who emphasizes the principle of human progress as the goal of civilization. After reading this unit, we can now draw a conclusion that Mill is one of the supporters of liberty of thought and expression. He highlights the evils of bureaucracy and opposes governmental interference in the economic life of the community. Again, we have also learnt that he is a strong advocator of women's rights. The profound influence of Mill is still witnessed on the contemporary intellectuals. Mill is the first male philosopher of considerable stature and repute to consider the women's question. He applies the liberal principles not only in the public sphere but also in the private realm and remains the only philosopher to emphasize the importance of fairness, equality and independence within the family well as within the state. Towards this end, he advocates women's enfranchisement, quality elementary education for the masses and land reforms for agriculture labourers.

This unit also helps you to understand that Mill makes Benthamite Utilitarianism more humane and consistent. Due to his contribution to Utilitarianism, he is described as the last of the great Utilitarians. Mill's effort to revise and modify classical Utilitarianism by emphasizing the social aspect of the individual as well as the need to assess happiness both quantitatively and qualitatively is significant. He also states that liberty is the chief end of the state and defines happiness to include liberty, individuality, self – development and self – control. Hence, Mill's above mentioned ideas pave the way for many of the changes initiated within English political thought and practice

4.6 References and Suggested Readings

1. Gupta, R.C. Great Political Thinkers East and West. Educational Publishers, 2006
2. Mukherjee, Subrata&SushilaRamaswamy. AHistory Of Political Thought – Plato To Marx , Prentice Hall of India Pvt. Ltd , 1999
3. Sabine, H. George & Thomas L Thorson. A History of Political Theory. Oxford and IBH Publishing Co, New Delhi 1973
4. Rao, V. Venkata. AHistory of Political Theories. S. Chand and Company, 2000.

Links :

<http://www.google.co.in//search=J.S Mill>.

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Unit 5 :**J. S. Mill: Concept of Liberty, Representative Government, Subjection of Women**

Unit Structure :

5.1 Introduction

5.2 Objectives

5.3 Mill on liberty

5.3.1 Different Type of Liberty

5.3.2 Criticism of Mill's view on Liberty

5.4 Mill on Representative Government

5.4.1 Basic Features of Mill's Representative Government

5.4.2 Criticism of Mill's Representative Government

5.5 Mill on Subjection of Women

5.5.1 Criticism of Mill's view on Gender Equity

5.6 Summing Up

5.7 References and Suggested Readings

5.1 Introduction

This unit also makes an attempt to analyze Mill's ideas on liberty and his ideas of gender discrimination and gender equality. In the previous unit you have learnt some of the ideas of Mill as an utilitarian thinker. From this unit you will learn the important ideas put forwarded by Mill. Besides, you will also get an idea about his concept of representative government and Women.

5.2 Objectives

Reading of this unit will help you to

- Examine Mill's idea on Liberty
- Discuss Mill's idea on Representative Government
- Describe Mill's view on Subjection of Women

5.3 Mill on Liberty:

Liberty indicates freedom and it is the foremost requirement for the

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development of the personality of an individual. Among the various political ideas of Mill, the concept of 'liberty' has received wider attention. In fact, he is regarded as a champion of individual liberty as he insists that neither state nor government should interfere in the life of the individual. He believes that liberty is an essential ingredient for moral development of mankind and thus an end in itself. Mill's development of this doctrine, on the basis of utility, embodies a complete and systematic philosophy of individualism and laissez faire. He emerges as the advocate general of individuality – of the supreme importance of developing the individual in all the completeness of his being so that his active and intellectual nature realize their utmost scope and reach the highest efficiency. Without this, general progress is impossible. In this sense, Mill is an ardent advocate of individual liberty.

Mill defends individual's right to freedom. This right has both positive and negative aspects. In its negative sense, it means that society has no right to coerce an unwilling individual, except for self- defense. Again, in its positive sense, it means the grant of the largest and the greatest amount of freedom for the pursuit of the individual's creative impulses and energies and self-development. He further states that if there is a clash between the opinion of the individual and that of the community, it is the opinion of the individual which will prevail, unless the community can convince him without resorting to threat and coercion.

Thus, Mill considers individuals to be the ultimate judge. He lays stress on the concept of individual liberty on the grounds that liberty is essential for the development of human personality and that without maximum liberty one cannot develop and becomes stagnant. According to Mill, if every individual is allowed to develop his personality as he likes, it will enrich the world with variety of characters. He further believes that democracy, public opinion and collectivism are dangerous to individual liberty and must be kept within their sphere of activity. Any effort on the part of the government to hamper the full development of personality of the individual leads to monotony, which is no sign of progress of the society. It is very interesting to note that Mill divides individual activities into two types

1. Self- Regarding Actions- These activities of the individual are concerned with the individual person alone. Mill argued that there should be no interference with self- regarding actions.

2. Other- Regarding Actions - These activities of the individual are concerned with other members of the community. Mill argued that there shall be interference with other-regarding actions if it produces positive and

demonstrable harm to others. Though Mill is an ardent advocate of individual liberty, he argues that so long as the action of the individual concerns him alone and does not in any way hamper the interest of others, he can be free and there will be no limitation on him. Thus, Mill permits full freedom in self-regarding activities. However in case of other-regarding activities, the state or society can impose restrictions on those actions which affect other members of the community.

Mill here admits that as a natural development of this position, it is legitimate to oblige a man to bear his share in maintaining society – conscription is not to be regarded as an unwarranted infringement of liberty. He must not make himself a nuisance to other people. Again, Mill defends the right of individuality which means the right to choice. As far as self-regarding actions are concerned; he explains why coercion will be detrimental to self- development. Firstly, the evil of coercion outweighs the good achieved. Secondly, individuals are so diverse in their needs and capacities for happiness that coercion will be futile. Since the person is the best judge of his own interests, thus he has the incentive and information to achieve them. Thirdly, since diversity is in itself good, other things being equal, it should be encouraged. Lastly, freedom is the most important requirement in the life of a rational person. Here we should remember that Mill wants to promote the development of individual men and women as he is convinced that all wise and noble things come from individuals. According to him, there can be no self-development without liberty. It is this connection between liberty and self-development which attracts him most and he goes on to argue that liberty is necessary for the happiness of the society.

5.3.1 Different Types of Liberty:

Mill categorizes liberty in the following ways:

- Liberty of thought and expression
- Liberty of opinion and sentiments
- Liberty of conduct
- Liberty of taste and pursuit
- Liberty of scientific and practical or speculative
- Liberty to unite
- Liberty of conscience
- Liberty to live
- Liberty of association

Mill has made a forceful plea for freedom of thought and asserted that the state has no justification to suppress the independent thinking of an individual even if it is wrong because the truth emerges out of collision of opinion. According to Mill, liberty of conscience, liberty to express and publish one's opinion, liberty to live as one pleased and freedom of association are essentials for a meaningful life and for the pursuit of one's good. Mill further argues for liberty of tastes and pursuits, of framing the plan of our life to suit our own character.

Again, Mill contends that positive liberty i.e. autonomy and self-mastery, are inherently desirable and it is possible if individuals are allowed to develop their own talents and invent their own lifestyles. Mill's doctrine of the individual liberty of conduct may be summarized under three heads:

- The advocacy of the due recognition of the place and importance of impulse and desire in man. According to Mill the supreme need is to amply acknowledge 'the active and energetic side of the individual's nature'.
- Insistence on the view that spontaneity or individuality is a necessary ingredient for happiness or human welfare.
- Revolt against the conventionalities of society that hinder or seem to hinder the development and expression conduct.

5.3.2 Criticism of Mill's View on Liberty :

Though Mill has given an excellent argument on individual liberty, we can criticize his views in liberty on the following grounds-

- Mill has divided human activities into two types which are defective and unacceptable. It is difficult to draw a line of demarcation between self regarding and other-regarding activities.
- There can be hardly any action of the individual which does not affect other members of the community.
- Mill's concept of liberty is not consistent. He is not clear whether liberty is absence of restraint or freedom to do what one desires.
- Mill's concept of liberty deals with the individual not as a part of the society but in isolation. However, in actual practice the individual is an integral part of the society.
- Mill has advocated liberty of thought and expression but he does not grant absolute liberty in the field of action.

- Mill talks about bestowing maximum freedom to the individual, but when individual is given maximum freedom as conceived by Mill, it leads to inequality among men. Despite these criticisms, it must be admitted here that Mill is one of the foremost individualists who offer the best vindication of liberty of thought and expression.

Stop To Consider:

Life Sketch of Mill :

J. S Mill was born on 1806 and he was the eldest son of James Mill. As a child he was subjected to a very hard training by his father and spent most of the time reading books. He learnt Greek, Latin and French languages and was greatly influenced by the dialogues and dialectic methods of Plato. He also studied the history of Roman Government and felt its influence. The Utilitarian Philosophy of Bentham has exercised the maximum influence on J.S Mill. At the age of sixteen, he founded the Utilitarian Society. He also became the member of Speculative Debating Society and the Political Economy Club. The other thinkers and writers who exercised profound influence on Mill were Coleridge and Wordsworth. Above all, his wife Mrs. Taylor greatly stimulated him. At the age of twenty-three, Mill followed his father into the service of the East India Company, and stayed there until he retired in 1858. He is one of the very few voices raised in England against the treatment of the prisoners after the Indian Mutiny was put down. Mill’s intellectual energy alone was enough to make him an eminent Victorian. All the cross-currents of the age— romanticism, positivism, political economy, the suffrage question (including votes for women), birth control, socialism (Mill had generous things to say about the Communards) united in Mill. He was the MP for Westminster from 1865 to 1868. Harriet Taylor died the year before ‘On Liberty’ came out in 1859. By that time Mill had established himself as one of the leading social scientific thinkers of the day, and, in a happy phrase, he became the schoolmaster of liberalism. He died and was buried in Avignon in 1873.

SAQ

Discuss Mill as a champion of individual liberty. (80 words)

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5.4 Mill on Representative Government:

Now in this section we will discuss Mill's ideas on representative government. In his book Representative Government, Mill proceeds to discuss the form of government that will best apply the basic principles of liberty. Ideally, he considers that form of government to be the best in which "the sovereignty, or supreme controlling power in the last resort is vested in the entire aggregate of the community". Again, every citizen has a voice in the expression of the sovereign will and at least occasionally they can take an actual part in the discharge of some public functions. The excellence of such a representative government is to be deduced from two principles:

- Firstly, that any task is done best by those whose rights and interest are immediately involved and
- Secondly, that the moral, intellectual and practical faculties of men are most developed and improved when they are in active exercise.

As a champion of individual liberty, Mill opines the representative government as an ideal form of government as it guarantees individual freedom. He also believes that the best government is that which promotes the virtue and intelligence of the people and its value should be judged by its action. The representative government serves the purpose of citizenship to the highest degree. It imparts political education and training to the citizens by fostering the moral and intellectual qualities of the citizens.

Mill has made three considerations for representative government-

- Mill has considered the representative government as the best form of government as it raises the general standard of intelligence and honesty existing in the community.
- Mill has favoured representative government only for the advanced nations and did not favour it for the backward and colonial people.
- Mill has pointed out that the representative government prevailing in England has various shortcomings. To improve its working and make it fully representative and democratic, Mill favours "Proportional Representation" system.

5.4.1 Basic Features of Mill's Representative Government

The basic features of Mill's Representative Government are as follows :

- Proportional representation - Mill advocates the system of Proportional

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representation to ensure that each section of the society gets representation in proportion to its voting strength. He is unhappy with the inadequate representation accorded to the minorities and the tyrannical attitude of the majority. He argues that in real democracy, every section of the society must be represented proportionally.

- Right to vote to all - Mill advocates the right to vote to all without distinction as he believes that all are competent enough to exercise this right properly and intelligently. However, he insists on property and educational qualifications for the voters. He pleads for greater emphasis to voting to persons with better abilities and capabilities.
- Public voting - Mill argues for public voting in contrast to secret voting. He says that “the duty of voting like any other public duty” should be performed under the eye and criticism of the public.
- Equal treatment to women - Mill stands for equal treatment to women and favours that they should enjoy equal status with men. Mill argues that the difference of sex is only external, thus it should not become a disqualification for women and qualification for men.
- Non-payment to the members of the parliament - Mill is against payment to the members of the parliament. He asserts that membership of the parliament is an honour and service for which the members need no payment. This will ensure not only efficiency and purity in administration but also leads to economy.
- Rejection of the idea of annual election of parliament - Mill also rejects the idea of annual election of the parliament. Once elected, the candidate should be completely free to guide and instruct the state.

5.4.2 Criticism of Mill’s Representative Government:

However Mill’s representative government can also be criticized on the following grounds-

- Mill is in favour of public voting which is not practicable at the present times. Presently all the countries follow for secret ballot.
- Mill has given more emphasis on giving voting right to the people with educational and property qualification, which is against the principal of equality and democracy.
- If voting is done publicly, the people will not be in a position to vote fearlessly.

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- He favours the idea of proportional representation which is impracticable in the present times as it is impossible to give due representation to all people.
- Mill's representative government is meant only for developed countries not for developing countries.

Though, Mill's representative government has the above mentioned shortcomings, he strongly favours representative government, adult franchise and equality of women which are the hallmarks of modern democracy.

Stop To Consider :

Major Works of Mill:

Like many other nineteenth-century thinkers, John Stuart Mill had to face the crisis of authority which had been implicit in Europe since the French Revolution and which became pressing after the Revolution of 1848. When Mill wrote his famous essay 'On Liberty', France was going through a phase of Napoleonic rule for the second time. From Mill's attitude the idea how far utilitarianism had travelled since Bentham. In his book On Representative Government (1861), Mill makes an important addition to the traditional utilitarian definition of good government. Again in his System of Logic (1843) which he began writing in the 1920s, he tries to elucidate a coherent philosophy of politics. One of his important works was Subjection of Women (1869), which is the classic elaboration of liberal thought on some important issues regarding the liberation of women in the context of law, rights and liberty. His famous pamphlet Utilitarianism (1863) endorsed the Benthamite principle of the greatest happiness of greatest number. Apart from these, some other major works of him are as follows: Principles of Political Economy (1848) The Three Essays on Religions (1874) Enfranchisement of Women Dissertations and Discussions Women Suffrage.

SAQ

Discuss how Mill's idea of Government can be regarded as the basis of modern democracy. (80 words)

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5.5 Mill on Subjection of Women :

Mill has discussed elaborately on general discrimination and equality of sexes. Mill's thought and activism can be distinguished from all his predecessors within the liberal tradition because of the application of the principles of liberalism to the question of women. In his book *Subjection of Women*, Mill makes a strong plea for equality of sexes. For Mill, improving women's position by giving them suffrage, education and reemployment opportunities is a stepping stone to progress and civility. Women are denied equal treatment for long and considered inferior to men. They are not allowed to act according to their wishes and always have to be dependent on their male counterparts. Mill has referred to women as both the subject and the enslaved class as their position is even worse than slaves. Their capacities are spent in seeking happiness for others. A woman is not free within marriage, nor is she free to remain unmarried. Unmarried women are deprived of avenues for leading a good and independent life. There is lack of freedom of choice for women. The subordination and domination of women are possible for the following reasons –

- Women are physically weak and not as strong as their male counterparts.
- Women have accepted the domination voluntarily without any protest or resistance.
- The psychology of women from childhood is moulded in such a pattern that she accepts all subordination without objection.
- Renunciation, patience, resignation and submission to power have been regarded as the characteristics of a gentle and graceful woman which woman willingly accept from birth.

Again, Mill has argued for three key areas for the equal status to women –

- Right to vote – Mill argues that women should be given the right to vote and chose their representatives.
- Right to education – Mill argues for women's education. Unless they are given proper education, they will not understand their capacities and rights and their empowerment will remain impossible.
- Right to employment – Mill insists for the right to employment for women because employment will lead to empowerment and progress of women.

From the above discussion it is clear that Mill considers women as bright and gifted as men and once granted the same eagerness for fame; women

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will achieve the same success. Moreover, a judgment regarding capacities and talent in women can be made only after generations of women benefit from equal opportunities for education and employment. He supports the idea that it is the women who should be able to decide whether to marry and manage a house, or to pursue a career. According to Mill, it is society that has decided marriage to be ultimate aim of a woman. Mill has articulated and defended the right of women to be considered as free rational beings capable of choosing the life they like to lead for themselves rather than being dictated by what society thinks they should be or do. Mill is confident that women, even if granted freedom and opportunities will not fail to perform their traditional functions. It is not a question of a choice between domesticity and career. The reason why men do not grant equal status to women is because they are afraid of marriage on equal terms.

Mill further points out that marriage does not give the women the dignity and equal status she is entitled to get. Once she is married, she is totally under the control of her husband. Hence they must have the right to property, inheritance and custody. A marriage contract based on the equality of married persons before law is not only sufficient but a necessary condition for full and just equality between the sexes. For Mill, equality is a genuine moral sentiment that ought to govern all relationships including the marital one. Such a sentiment could be instilled and nurtured within a family that had been justly constituted. Mill acknowledged the family as the real school for learning the virtues of freedom and liberation. The boy by virtue of being a male was treated and reared as if he was superior and better thus dismissing the needs and interests of one half of mankind to bear the consequences of sub-ordination and inhumanness. The self-worship of the male in the traditional family was described by Mill as a school of despotism. A just family will nurture feelings of sympathy in terms of equality and love, rather than sub-ordination and command. Mill desires a transformation of the family to suit the temperament and spirit of the modern age namely the spirit of equality and justice and in the process aims to bring a moral regeneration of humankind.

Mill also suggests some reformative measures for the improvement of women's condition:

- Men should not be vested with absolute powers. Such absolute power within the family and marriage only leads to brutalization of women.
- Women should have the right to decision-making because this will reduce

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the feeling of negligence and ignorance.

- The dignity of women will be guaranteed if women are given the power to earn their own living. She should be given the right to enter a profession and take up a career.
- Women should have full right in her property and earning.
- Women should be equally paid for equal work with men.
- Women should be given the political right to vote and participate in government and administration as rulers.
- Condition of women can be improved by education, opinion, habits and finally a change in family life itself.

SAQ

Critically examine Mill’s ideas on gender discrimination and equality of sexes. (60 words)

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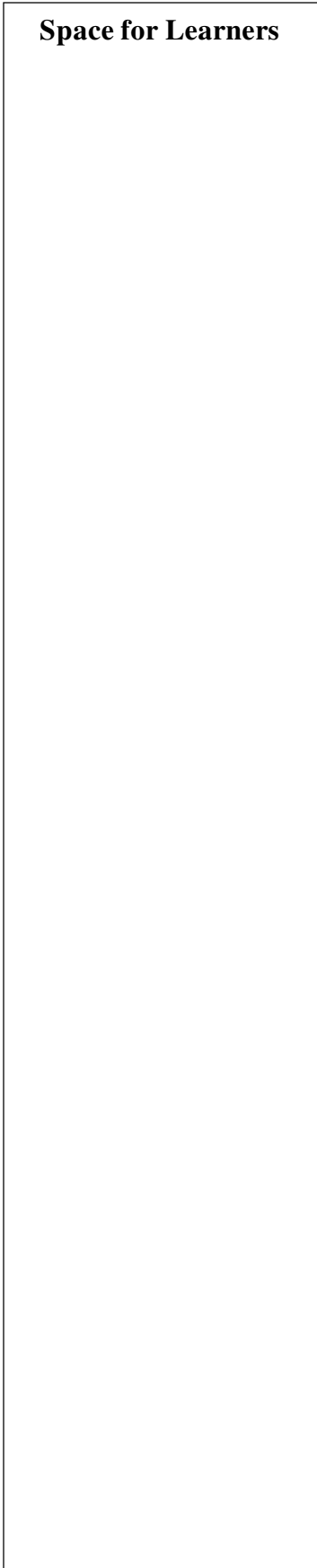
5.5.1 Criticism of Mill’s view on Gender Equality:

Mill’s view on general discrimination and gender equality has various shortcomings which are as follows –

- Mill has failed to address the problems of women in the market place and as a part of the labour force.
- The critics highlight that Mill’s main focus in the ‘Subjection of Women’ is on wife and mother and he ignores the plight of daughters, sisters etc.
- Mill does focus on the plight of single women in a society thereby giving undue importance to marriage.
- Mill has supported women’s power of decision-making but he does not mention how their decisions can be made binding.

Thus, it is giving power on one hand and taking it away on the other hand. However, Mill has made a brilliant study of the plight of women and suggested various measures for the improvement of their condition. He does not believe that women are slaves to customs and it is necessary to improve their position by giving them suffrage, education and employment, the stepping stones to progress and civility.

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Check Your Progress:

1. Discuss Mill as a Supporter of Gender Equality.
2. Critically analyse Mill's view on Liberty.
3. What are the different types of Liberty according to Mill?
4. What are the basic Features of Mill's Representative Government?
5. Discuss his view on Representative Government.

5.6 Summing up

From the last two units of this Block you have got some ideas about Mill's philosophy. These two units have helped you to analyse Mill as an utilitarian. Reading of this unit has also helped you learning Mill's idea on Liberty. He is known as the champion of liberty. We have also learnt that for Mill liberty is an essential ingredient for moral development of mankind and thus an end in itself. Further, this unit has also helped us in learning Mill's view on representative government. As a champion of individual liberty, Mill opines the representative government as an ideal form of government as it guarantees individual freedom. According to him, the representative government serves the purpose of citizenship to the highest degree. From this unit we have also learnt that Mill considers women as bright and gifted as men and once granted the same eagerness for fame; women will achieve the same success.

5.7 References and Suggested Readings:

1. Mukherjee, Subrata&SushilaRamaswamy. A History Of Political Thought – Plato To Marx , Prentice Hall of India Pvt. Ltd , 1999
2. Sabine, H. George & Thomas L Thorson. A History of Political Theory. Oxford and IBH Publishing Co, New Delhi 1973
3. Rao, V. Venkata. A History of Political Theories. S. Chand and Company, 2000.

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