

G|SCORE

An Institute for Civil Services

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GOLDI GUPTA

**AIR - 181
(CSE 2022)**

POLITICAL SCIENCE



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POLITICAL SCIENCE

Time Allowed: 3 hr.

Max. Marks: 250

Instructions to Candidate

- There are EIGHT questions. Candidate has to attempt FIVE questions in all.
- Question no. 1 and 5 are compulsory and out of the remaining, THREE are to be attempted.
- Answers must be written in the medium authorized in the Admission certificate which must be stated clearly on the cover of this Question-cum-Answer (QCA) booklet in the space provided. No marks will be given for answers written in medium other than the authorized one.
- Word limit in questions, wherever specified, should be adhered to.
- Attempts of questions shall be counted in chronological order. Unless struck off, attempt of a question shall be counted even if attempted partly. Any page or portion of the page left blank in the answer book must be clearly struck off.

- ① Improve Conceptual clarity and concrete Subject-Matter.
- ② Improve Structuring and presentation.
- ③ Quote Keywords/Scholars.

Name Goldi Gupta

Mobile No. _____

Date _____

Signature Goldi

1. Invigilator's Signature _____

2. Invigilator's Signature _____

SECTION-A

Attempt all questions:

1. Answer the following questions in about 150 words each:

 $(12.5 \times 4 = 50)$

- (a) Discuss Marxist Theory of State
- (b) Liberty and Equality as opposed to each other. Comment.
- (c) Highlight the characteristic features of contemporary political theory
- (d) Hannah Arendt's constructive view of power

Ans

(A)

~~State~~ Marxist theory of state is found in two important works of Karl Marx. In his work "Communist Manifesto" (1848), Marx propounded the instrumentalist theory of state. According to Marx "state is but the manager for the affairs of bourgeoisie". As per this understanding state works for the antagonistic interests of the Capitalists. This theory was further explained by Ralph Miliband in his work "State in Capitalist Society". He argues that in capitalist societies, state is populated by the Capitalists and through National State serves the class interests of the bourgeoisie as against the liberal claims of state being a neutral arbiter between the interests of various classes. Miliband debate disagrees foucault.

6.0

Improve
Structuring and
Presenting

Another view of state in marxism comes in his work '18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte', this view is known as the theory of 'relatively autonomous state', as per this view, in developing Asian country where capitalism has not developed yet, the state assumes agency and works autonomously from all classes. However, it eventually serves the class interests of capitalists because of the reinforcement of structural inequalities. Thus this understanding is also called the structural state.

In marxist vision, state as an institution would either away with the abolition of class conflict after the communist revolution.

(B)

Liberty is a central concept in liberal political philosophy, on the other hand equality is the lifblood of the marxist philosophy.

According to classical liberals like John Locke, right to liberty and right to property are sacred rights. Claims of equality may interfere with liberty and property rights thus there is an inherent contradiction in the values of equality and liberty.

Scholars like Lord Acton and Alexis de Tocqueville prefer liberty over equality due to their fundamental opposition to equality principle, the socialist thought developed that focused on the questions of ensuring equality.

Later liberals like T.H. Green and more recently Rawls argued a case of democratic equality in the sense of ensuring equality of liberty that all people can enjoy. This stream of thought recognized the need of reexamining the principles of equality and liberty to ensure that inequalities do not end up destroying the liberty available to people.

Indian thinkers like Gandhi and

60

Try to terms of
lonite
relative liberal
scholars and
their view
Examples to
Points

Ambedkar saw liberty and equality as complementary to each other. Ambedkar argued that without equality, liberty will produce monopolies, while without liberty, equality will hinder creativity and initiative. Indian constitution provides a unique blend of these values in the form of fundamental rights.

(2) Political theory is the study of correlations between political processes, political ideas and political behaviours. Traditional political theory dealt with the questions of idea state, good life, common good, justice and inculcation of ethics etc. However since the early 1950s and 1960s, under the influence of behaviourism, contemporary political theory started looking at the

Quote
David Held

Historical
evolution and
Development

Remarks;

88
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~~political processes form a scientific viewpoint focusing on facts as against values.~~

~~Recent works on political theory focus on theorising political behaviour, working of democracy and human rights. In the post cold war period, the traditional focus on liberty, equality and justice has given way to multicultural citizenship and other issues that it creates.~~

~~state as a category in contemporary problematised internal and external pressures created by the globalization processes and rising political consciousness in the electorate.~~

Evidently contemporary political theory is a blend of traditional behaviouralist and methodological values and the

Quale facts/ Notions/ Bottom Brain

Informative structuring and presentation

(1)

~~Book~~

Hannah Arendt is a scholar of ~~CIVIL~~
~~republicanism~~ and her methodology
is ~~phenomenology~~. Her political theory
shows a break from the past and
she has looked at issues such
as modernity, power and democracy
from a completely different perspective.

According to Arendt, power is
a ~~productive resource~~ rather than
the traditional negative connotations of
power as something regressive. As against
the traditional belief of ~~power of being~~
~~the attribute of individual actions~~, power
~~is the product of collective actions~~. It
shows itself in the realm of '~~the~~
~~political~~' when people ~~come together~~
~~to work in concert~~.

According to Hannah Arendt, power
is not controlled from a centre or
stored in some institutions; it is
~~big-government~~ i.e. comes out itself whenever
collective actions are being performed

by the people and disappears when people leave the sphere OR "the political". power is different from force or authority. power does not require legitimization, it is self-legitimized.

Evidently Arendt's idea of power is completely different from the "power as domination" idea of thinkers like Robert Dahl. However it has been criticized as being idealistic view and without any substance.

Note
Keywords
"Duty for Duty"
Bureaucrat Attitude
Gramsci/Gandhi Foucault
White Application last

1. Answer the following questions:

- Explain the term Power. Also discuss the relationship between power, Legitimacy and Authority. (200 Words) (15)
- Marxist Criticisms of the Rawlsian Conception of Justice. (200 Words) (15)
- Rawls's principles of social justice are a corrective to the liberal-utilitarian principle of the greatest happiness of the greatest number. Examine. (250 Words) (20)

Dahl

(a) power According to Robert Dahl is 'the ability of an agent A to get something done by an ~~open~~ subject B, that B would not do otherwise'. This view of power shows the facilitative dimension of power.

According to Steven Lukes, power is an essentially contested concept. He points out three types of power in his work "power": A radical view. firstly power as decision making, secondly power as agenda setting and thirdly power as thought control. Power as thought control comes close to the Gramscian view of power as hegemony.

Relationship between power, legitimacy and authority.

Improve
Presentation

legiti.
Power
Auth.

7.0

~~Authority is the legitimized form of power. Authority shows the liberal view of power in modern society which is legitimized through the consent of the people as expressed in the regular elections. T. H. Green argued that "will not force is the basis of power of state", to emphasize on the legitimacy aspect of authority.~~

~~This legitimacy grants the monopoly to the power of an individual. According to Max Weber, power can get legitimacy from at least three ways - firstly traditional basis of power comes from the customs and traditions of a community for example the authority of khap panchayats in India. Secondly Charisma of a person turns his power into authority and engenders legitimacy for example the power enjoyed by Mahatma Gandhi among masses. Thirdly The rational-legal basis that depends on the command of law to provide legitimacy.~~

A) The power of holders of legal positions for example the power of the election commission of India.

Thus power, authority and legitimacy have mutually constitutive relationship.

(B) John Rawls in his 'Theory of Justice' came up with his three principles of justice to deal with the problems of who gets, what and how?

As per Rawls's first principle everyone should get maximum amount or most extensive liberties consistent with equal liberties of others. Second principle has two parts while equality in the positions related to public offices, limited deviation from equality is permissible for the pursuance of the good of the least-well off sections of the society. This principle is known as the ^{original} ~~original~~ difference principle.

~~Rawls~~
Rawls
Original
difference
principle

(x.0)

Marxist thinkers like G.E. Cohen have criticised the Rawlsian Justice Theory on Marx's counts. Firstly Cohen argues that the Rawlsian theory is a procedural theory and limits the requirement of justice to only following of some procedures. It does not take into account the unjust outcomes of the principles of justice, consequently it is not serving the goals of socio-economic justice.

Secondly as per Cohen, Rawlsian theory is a capitalist ploy to legitimize the already existing inequalities in the society by some reformatory processes. The dismemberment of unjust society requires revolutionary action.

Thirdly if does not take into account the 'needs of the members of society' and seeks to distribute basic primary goods on the basis of principles decided under the 'veil of ignorance'. Such principles would not work in the society which it real.

Try to
contribute
proper
flow

~~marxist' thinkers advance their own theory of justice which would be the basis of communistic society. It will be guided by the marxian maxim of "from each according to their ability, to each according to their needs".~~

~~(b) Utilitarianism as a political philosophy focused on the question of maximizing happiness and minimizing the pain of the individuals. The basic principle of the utilitarian Theory of justice is to ensure "The greatest happiness of the greatest numbers".~~

~~John Rawls criticised the utilitarian understanding of justice and argued that the utilitarian principles do not ~~realise~~ realize the equal moral worth of all individuals while ensuring the greatest happiness of the maximum people, utilitarians tend to ignore the interests of some individuals and sacrifice individuals for~~

Five distinctive features and shortcomings

L-O Approach

The greater good. It goes against the Kantian Categorical Imperative, to treat all individuals as ends in themselves and as means to some larger end?

To rectify these fallacies, Rawls came up with his own Theory of Justice which is based on the conception of justice or fairness. Rawls argue that the principles of justice should be the result of deliberation between the individuals and should not be guided by self-interests and biases. Thus, he proposes a contract ~~it~~ under the veil of ignorance. In such contract, people will be in their original position and would choose only those principles that maximize the minimum benefits of the least well off section of society, this is called the maximin principles.

Since people are not aware about their position in society, the well off

~~position of the weakest link in the society of chain would work for the best interest of all.~~

~~In this situation, as per Rawls, individuals will decide three principles of justice. First principle will recognize the 'priority of right' over the goods and ensure equal liberties to individuals that are consistent with similar liberties of other individuals. Second principle while ensuring the equality of opportunity will also allow some deviation in the favour of inequalities so long as such inequalities serve the interest of least well-off section of the society. This is also known as difference principle.~~

~~Thus in this way Rawlsian theory corrects the injustices against individuals in the utilitarian theory. However, many scholars have criticised Rawlsian theory. C.B. Macpherson argued that for from being the universal account of justice Rawlsian theory can only be implemented in liberal-capitalistic society.~~

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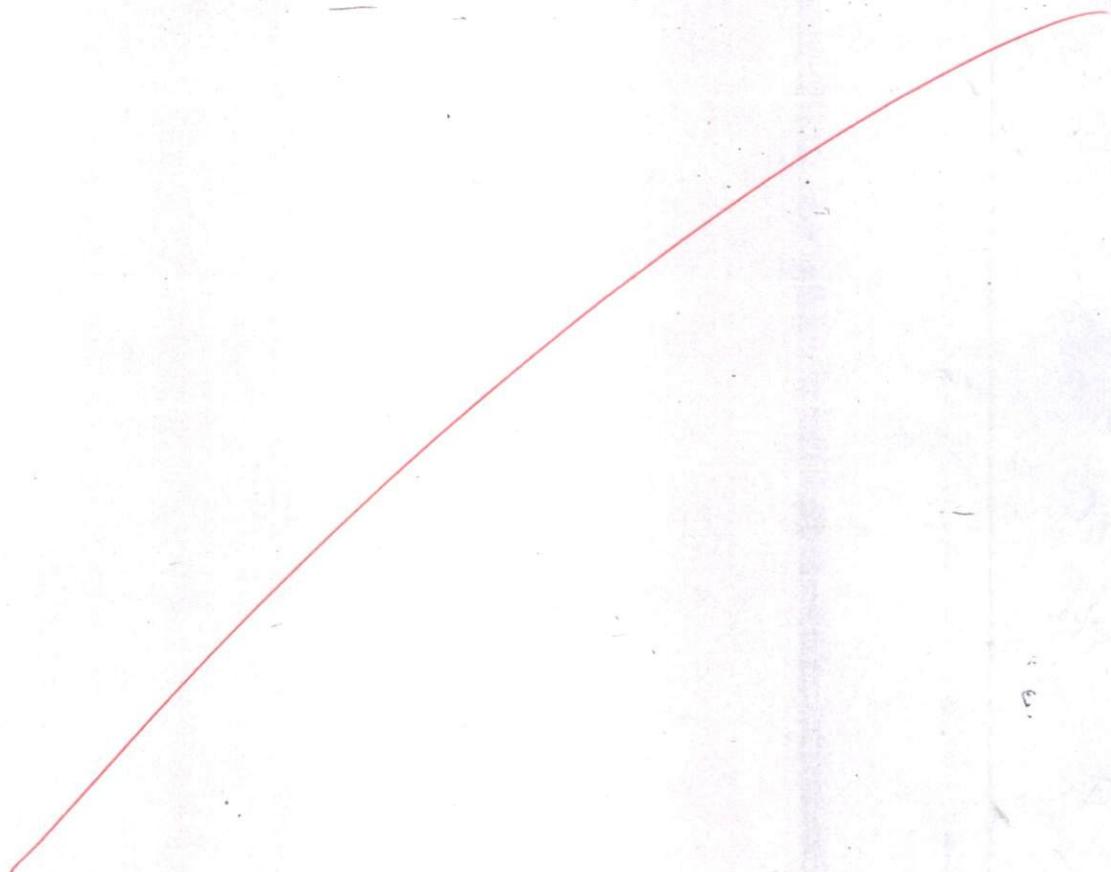
Communitarians criticize Rawls for focusing on individual justice while ignoring the role of society in forming the ~~individual~~ ^{united} conceptions.

- Apply three principles to rectify ~~individual~~ ^{united} conception
- L-V Model
- Note Key words / terminologies
- Justify your point

3. Answer the following questions:

- (a) How do you differentiate the term 'Global Justice' from 'International Justice'? Discuss the cosmopolitan approach to Global Justice. (300 Words) (25)
- (b) End of ideology debate is designed to project the supremacy of liberal-democratic system in theory as well as practice. Examine. (300 Words) (25)

Ans



n
4. Answer the following questions:

(a) Write short note on Deliberative Democracy. Discuss deliberative democracy as discursive democracy. Also give criticism of Deliberative Democracy.

(300 Words) (25)

(b) Analyse Contract theory as ground for legitimacy of the government and the obligation of the people to obey the government. Also discuss Legitimation Crisis Theory of Habermas.

(300 Words) (25)

Ans.

(A) Deliberative democracy ~~refers~~ refers to the democratic processes that see 'deliberation' at the centre of their working. The intellectual roots of deliberative democracy can be found in the Athenian model of democracy and the Rousseau's concept of "general will".

In the modern times, the idea of democracy emerged in response to the 'constitutional gap' between the

representative government and the people. The representative democracy has limited the people's participation in political processes to periodic elections. C.B. Macpherson argues

that the elitists and pluralists have reduced democracy to merely some procedures of voting and political associations.

Avoid cutting

* Jürgen Habermas pointed out that the ~~lack of communication has resulted in the loss of legitimacy~~ for modern democracies. To rectify this situation there's a need of ~~communicative action based on discourse ethics and idea-speech~~ situation where all can participate meaningfully.

Joshua Cohen in his book 'Habermas' generates the features of the modern notion of deliberative democracy. Firstly deliberation is defined as the most appropriate way to reach decision secondly all citizens recognize the capacity of others. This follows to be third features which recognize the pluralism of preferences and value system. Fourthly all participants agree to abide by the outcomes of deliberation; and lastly decisions will be eventually taken on the basis of majority consensus. Deliberative democracy based on the above mentioned values has

Deliberative

Joshua Cohen
Pettit
Aristotle

marks

multiple advantages firstly it enhances the legitimacy of the political process and improves the possibility of compliance by individuals. It allows the development of people's preferences about the issues, improves their capabilities and promotes respect and concern for the common good.

However Charles Bebbington has criticised the idea of deliberative democracy, firstly it is based on the assumption that all people have equal deliberative capacity. Secondly it assumes that people are interested in common good as against promoting their self-interests. Thirdly disproportionate focus on deliberation, favours Republican form of democracy. and Lastly it may allow the elitists to dominate the discourse and help promote propaganda.

Despite these limitations deliberative democracy shows a way for new era governance of small communities and it is being successfully used in New Orleans and other places for collective decision making.

(ii) Social contract theory is the basis of liberal theory of state and political obligation. It was propounded by Thomas Hobbes in his work 'Leviathan' and later on used by John Locke and J. J. Rousseau to explain why people choose to accept the authority of state and obey its command.

Contract theory emphasizes on two points firstly the importance of the expressed consent of individuals and secondly the performance of the contractual obligation by the state. These two aspects are the basis of the legitimacy of the authority of state. According to T. H. Green "A will not force is the basis of the authority of state". It also implies that the humans have the agency to refuse to obey the authority of state if it does not perform the terms of

Q8

Rawls

~~contract i.e. protection of life (Hobbes) and preservation of property (Locke).~~

~~However many theorists have questioned the validity of the contractual legitimacy for example pluralist and functionalist thinkers like MacIver argue that state comes because it serves, pointing out the functional basis of the authority of state.~~

~~Similarly Henry Maine in his "History of Institutions" argues that there is no historical indication of the existence of any contract and most probably state developed organically Thomas paine argued that social contract has lost legitimacy and it's a "dead weight on the way to progress", present generations must have the choice to decide for themselves.~~

~~Despite these limitations, social contract has utilized by thinkers like Rawls to give legitimacy to his theory of justice.~~

Legitimation crisis theory: That the Jürgen Habermas argues that the Contractual state continued to engender legitimacy through ~~selection and expression~~ of active and tacit consent by succeeding generations. However, in the modern capitalist democracies, the state is facing legitimation crisis due to the rising gap between the people and the state, rather than serving all people. The capitalist state is serving the interests of capitalist class only. Also, there is an inherent contradiction between capitalism and contractual democracy, while the former results in inequalities, the latter seeks to ensure political equality.

According to Habermas this crisis of legitimacy can be mitigated by promoting deliberative democracy and expanding the current political community, which is exclusive i.e. state. It should be based on the discursive ethics.

good Content
it
feel
improving

SECTION-B

Attempt all questions:

5. Answer the following questions in about 150 words each:

($12.5 \times 4 = 50$)

- (a) Discuss Normative Approach and Empirical Approach in Political Theory
- (b) Elaborate features of Competitive Elitist Democracy and Pluralist Democracy
- (c) Examine the various debates on Equality of Opportunity in brief
- (d) Feminist perspective on justice

Ans: Political theory refers to the systematic analysis of political phenomena to establish broad generalization.

Normative Approach to political Theory

① It focuses on the normative values like justice, equality, liberty and human dignity for example the Platonic theory of justice.

② It is concerned with 'what ought to be' rather than 'what is', thus general orientation towards ideal types.

③ It prioritizes values over facts.

④ The normative political theory is prescriptive and analytical,

Okate
Continent
Scholars
thinkers

Add
Keywords

~~Empirical political theory~~: It emerged as a response to the behaviour of revolution in political theory in the 1950s and 1960s. It was influenced by the methodology of physical natural sciences.

Features of Empirical political theory:

- ① Its concern lies in the realm of 'what is', i.e. reality.
- ② It prioritizes the facts over values and thus uses various data collection models.
- ③ The focus of empirical political theory is concrete ~~institutions~~, political behaviour rather than values like equality or liberty.
- ④ It is ~~a descriptive and explanatory~~ and does not focus on making ideal types.

However in the age of post-behaviourism both normative and empirical approach are being utilized in political theory.

(B) Democracy has become the universal answer to the question of who is to rule? It assumes multiple forms in various setups.

Elistist Democracy

Elistist democracy finds its basis in the works of thinkers like Joseph Schumpeter, Vilfredo Pareto, Mosca and Robert Michels. According to Elistists, democracy allows the people to choose between elite and works as legitimizing force for the rule of elites.

It has following features:

- ① ~~Monopolistic~~ freedom of expression and to form political associations.
- ② Monopolistic political parties.
- ③ Regular elections to choose between competing elites.
- ④ Underdeveloped parochial, concrete/comparative political culture.

Vote
More
Concrete/Comparative
Key words

(A.10)

Under the
Keywords

Write
Appreciation

Pluralist Democracy: Robert Dahl are the prominent proponents of pluralist idea of democracy. According to pluralists, democracy allows competing groups to exert pressure on state and works for the betterment of all. Intense pressure groups activity works as check and balances on the state.

(Features:

- (1) Freedom of expression and for forms political parties.
- (2) Regular elections fought by multiple groups.
- (3) Separation of power between various organs of the state.
- (4) Existence of equally powerful pressure groups.

C. B. Macpherson argues that Dahl - Schumpeter axis has reduced democratic procedure, and it should be developed and should be focusing on increasing cred

freedom of the individuals.

① Equality of Opportunity is the central point of debate on 'equality of what?'. According to Adam Swift, everyone is for equality of 'opportunity in principle' but conflict starts when it comes to defining the substance of 'equality of opportunity'.

Adam Swift identifies three major strands in the debate on equality of opportunity. Firstly the Liberal strand focuses on the limited equality of opportunity in the sense that there should be no discrimination based on caste, gender, race etc. while distribution of opportunity in the society. This is achieved through laws such as Article 14 of the Indian constitution.

The second debate is based on the socialist-liberal strand represented by ideas of Rawls and to some extent Rawls. It provides for equality of starting point. The idea that opportunity should be

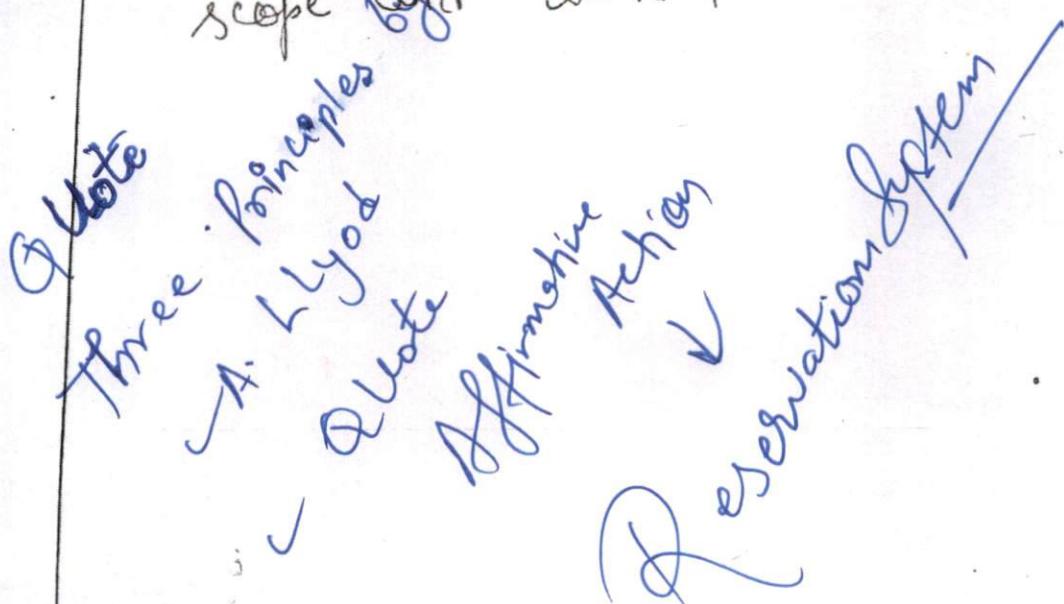
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40

~~Competence of the
individuals based on opportunities of the
individuals and individuals should
have equal chances of acquiring those
competencies.~~

~~Thirdly the radical conception of
equality of opportunities look at it
through the concept of equality of
outcomes: The end result of such
opportunities should also reflect in
terms of equal outcomes. This idea of
equality or opportunity is found
in the marxist theory.~~

~~Thus equality of opportunity is
a contested idea in terms of its
scope and limitations. A limited~~



Remarks

① feminist perspective of justice comes out
in the critique of Rawlsian theory
of justice made by feminist scholars
like Susan molar olcin.

Susan molar olcin, in her work "gender,
justice and family" argued the Rawlian
theory and other liberal theory of justice
does not take into account the concerns
of women. The social contract of Locke
or Rawls, does not include women as
participants and thus it does represent
the women interests.

Secondly Rawlian liberal justice is
based on the false dichotomy between
the public and private sphere and thus
fails to understand the injustice
suffered by women in personal
sphere.

Carol vasek argues that 'personal'
is political' and thus any theory
of justice should also be applicable

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to private sphere of family; because the inequalities carried over from personal sphere impact the position of women in the public sphere.

Susan Moller Okin argues that justice as fairness is based on the patriarchal values of objectivity and facts rather than the feminist values of cooperative and care ethics.

However radical feminists like Catherine Mackinnon argue that there are no universal feminist values like care etc. and that there is a conflict between the feminists over what would constitute the feminist idea of justice.

Justice

Dissent by
keeping a
Centre
at
Dilect IR
Perspective

*

1. Answer the following questions:

- (a) Discuss the significance of Multiculturalism. Also Analyse the kinds of special rights for minority communities as sanctioned by Multiculturalism. (200 Words) (15)
- (b) Comment on Macpherson's Concept of Creative Freedom. (200 Words) (15)
- (c) Examine Amartya Sen's critique of Rawlsian's approach to social Justice. (250 Words) (20)

~~Context
Black life
Matters & Abortion
feels
matters
Lethal~~

multiculturalism is the philosophy that promotes the cause of minorities, indigenous groups and immigrants against the liberal universalistic idea of citizenship. multiculturalism is based on the recognition of differences within groups and between different groups in the modern multiculturalist societies. It criticises the 'difference blindness' of the 'universal citizenship' model propounded by T.H. Marshall and other liberal thinkers.

The significance of multiculturalism lies in protection of diversity, promotion of inter-subjective understanding between different cultures and the people of peace and harmony among various groups in the society. While recognizing promoting these values, multiculturalism seeks to recognize the moral equality of

~~To preserve the democratic societies of these diverse cultures in groups and cultures, will kymlica proposes that diverse groups of that should enjoy.~~

~~Firstly kymlica promises for self-government rights in the sense that the group must be allowed to regulate the behaviour of the members of the group. Secondly he proposes poly-ethnic cultural rights that allows these groups to preserve and promote their culture against the dangers of assimilation and integration. Thirdly kymlica calls for providing special representation rights to these groups so that their concerns are not subdued by the tyranny of majority through power of numbers.~~

~~Bhikhuparech calls for extending these rights to immigrants also which is being享ed by kymlica only to national minorities and indigenous people.~~

Improve
Presentation

Note
Berlin

Value
Pluralism

Brink

(7.5)

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~~It's M.P. young minorities with issues that concern them.~~ calls for providing over self veto rights

~~However feminist scholars like Busen motor clerks argue against multiculturalist demands for self-governance rights because such rights are used by the groups to subvert the liberty of women.~~

(B)

~~C.B. McPherson is a neomarxist political philosopher and a critique of contemporary capitalist democracies.~~

~~According to McPherson, the merit of democracy lies in the fact that it enhances room for the participation of people in political process. It results in development of people's capabilities and realization of their mental faculties. And in the modern democratic culture, the scope for democratic participation of people has been limited by it to the voting in election and thus the goal~~

of unfolding the potential of human being remains to be achieved.

In the current democratic systems, the extractive power of capitalists and the state as high while the developmental power of the individuals, workers is very limited. It is resulting in the exploitation of workers by the state and capitalists.

To deal with this loss of human potential and exploitation, McPherson proposes the idea of creative freedom. The creative freedom to individuals will maximize their opportunities of participating in political process. It will minimize the exploitative and extractive power of both state and capital and herald an era of human freedom. It will promote maximum developmental power for all.

McPherson's view of creative freedom comes closer to the idea of freedom as development of capabilities as

Try to
create
more
understable
Content

Quest
of scholars

with
application

Remarks

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proposed by developmental theorist Amartya Sen. He argued that rather than focusing on mindless growth, the democratic governance must be focused on the developmental capabilities of the people.

However critics discard the idea of 'creative freedom' as another Marxist utopia that is bound to fail.

① Amartya Sen is an Indian Developmental theorists who deeply engages with themes such as justice, freedom, development and capabilities.

Rawls in his work "Theory of Justice" (1971)

Propounded three principles of justice to deal with the problems of distributive justice. These principles as per Rawls, are arrived at through the device of social contract among individuals who are under well of ignorance. Some primary goods like liberty, income and self-respect are to be distributed as the principle of democratic equality.

Highlight
Short Comings +
Proposal
Revised
Principles

Start with
Rawls

~~Rawlsian approach of social justice is based on allowing inequalities through affirmative action policies to undo the disadvantages of the weaker sections of the society. Amartya Sen argues that the first major flaw with Rawlsian principles is that these principles are decided by abstract individuals and thus can work only in principle and not in reality. Thus, their applicability is limited to controlled circumstances and not the open societies of present time.~~

~~Secondly, the focus of Rawls is on equality of most extensive liberties that are consistent with similar liberties of others. However, it fails to take into account the different capability of individuals to use these capabilities and freedom for realization of their inherent humanity.~~

~~Thirdly, Rawlsian theory only talks about the following of procedure and does not have any feedback mechanism to register the outcome of the principles.~~

Remarks

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GS SCORE

of justice on society, thus it's long term viability is in question.

Amartha Sen argues that ~~the~~ rather than distribution of freedoms, the focus should be on building the long term capabilities of the people, so that people can enjoy their rights. In addition to capability enhancement, the inequality analysis must be used to measure the intensity of inequalities in different sections of society. Any reasonable theory of justice must take into account the different socio-economic qualifications of different

~~Ques.
N. Martha's
view~~

~~Key words
Reflexive Qualitative
case~~