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**AIR - 377
(CSE 2022)**

POLITICAL SCIENCE



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GS SCORE

Political Science Test Series 2020

TEST - 04

POLITICAL SCIENCE

124.5

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 Try to write More Relevant Content
 ② Quote Concepts of Scholars, Add Key words as used by Thinkers
 ③ Write dynamic Answer, Apply Various theories.

Name ANANTH CHINNOR ASEKHAIR

Mobile No. _____

Date _____

Signature [Signature]

1. Invigilator's Signature _____

2. Invigilator's Signature _____

REMARKS

Remarks

fractured, twisted, with skin, hair, etc.
and blood, and other body parts
and dirt, go back on the same
point which I left, except through holes.

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

(a) Marxist Theory of state is a mechanistic theory that argues that the state as part of superstructure tries to maintain base

It is divided into;

with
features
of
Marxist
State
↓
Product
Antagonist
Classes

(i) Instrumentalist school - Marx, Lenin
 They argue that the state is an instrument of class exploitation. Milliband argues that state is a bourgeoisie concept that seeks to perpetuate capitalism even with welfare state.

(ii) Structuralist school - Gramsci, Althusser
 Gramsci argued that state was a structure in itself that was relatively autonomous. State favours the bourgeoisie

Remarks

6.6

~~Quote
feature
criticism of
Liberal State~~

but acts also like a neutral
lopsided arbitrator between
societal factions. Althusser adds
the multi-dimensional structure
with concepts of Repressive State
Apparatus (military) and Scholastic
State Apparatus (education).

⊕
Milibond
debate

Poulantzas argued that
state was very close to being
an equilibrium maker. Here
he comes close to Liberal Plural
model. However, in our crisis,
state always favours the rich.

It is criticised by liberals
for economic determinism. It
is argued by feminists (Paterson)
that state is masculine.

Post-modernists and post-colonial
school argue ^{against} ethnic bias
inherent in such theories.

Marxist schools also influenced
IR theories - AGI Franks' Dependency
and Wallerstein's World Systems
Theory.

Remarks

(b) ~~Liberty and Equality are both foundational normative concepts in political science. They seek to govern the relationship between individuals and society as well as state.~~

~~Initially, liberal scholars upheld liberty over equality. Mill, Locke, Bentham, Hobbes favoured negative liberty as trump card against state. Isaiah Berlin warned that state could only protect liberty and couldn't interfere to equalise individuals. It is based on liberal concept of Atomistic man and possessive individuals.~~

~~Explain
relative
liberal
theories.~~

~~As a critique, Marx, Engels and scholars like DWORKIN prioritised equality. They argued that politico-socio-economic equality was sacrosanct. They argued for situated man and equalising differences. Dworkin's Luck Egalitarianism and Sen's~~

6.0

~~Equality of capabilities are example.~~

~~Modern positiv liberating
represented the golden mean of
liberty and equality. They argued
that man cannot be without one.
or the other. T. H. Green, Michael
Walzer argued for welfare state,
market regulation and affirmati
in action (Rules). Walzer's COMPLEX
EQUITY where spheres of
influence are separated is another
example.~~

~~Human rights doctrine
argue for both to be synchronized
as 3 generations of rights -
political, socio-economic and
cultural-environmental (Karl Vassil).
however, the post cold war
neo-liberal concept saw a rebirth
of negative liberty over equality.
This is being challenged by
post 2008 rise of right and
left.~~

Remarks

(c) Contemporary political theory evolved from behaviouralist school into post-behaviourism that stressed on golden mean between theory and science.

As such, it focuses on both normative and empirical methods to develop viable theories. & David Easton's Criteria of Relevance is an example.

Further, there is the influence of post-modernism and subaltern school. Foucault's discourses, Derrida's deconstruction and Lyotard's meta-narrative all influence schools like post-colonialism (Edwards said).

There is also an expansion of the discipline to cover sociological, anthropological and economic disciplines. For example, Rawls' Theory of Justice is said to be the footnote of

Remarks

(60)

contemporary political theory & borrows from philosophy, the sociological undercurrents and economic redistribution to provide political conceptions of justice.

~~Discuss
History of Pol. Science~~

~~I Revitalize the discipline~~
There has been a considerable generation of useful discrete and aggregated data to provide relevance to ideal type political models eg: Easton's Input-Output Almond's Structural Functional model, Kaplan's Systems Theory.

~~discusses
features
of the
society
Justification~~

Further, the discipline has been trying to regain its authority as it was criticised for both espousing "armchair theories" and "abstract impersonal scientific models". Thus, there is a focus on marriage between prescriptive, descriptive and study methodology.

Remarks

~~Book:~~

(d) Foucault's power is sui generis, manifests when people assimilate in concent and dissipates thereafter.

She argues that power is a function of people in concent while force that of nature and violence for state.

Power is a positive concept that gives rise to change and enables man to become "soon political".

If was different from the negative conceptions of power like Weber's authority, Foucault's discourses and Marx's class exploitation.

It also has similarities with the gandhian notions of power as "speaking truth to rulers" and concept of

Satyagraha & Civil Disobedience (Thoreau)

~~disrupt
key words
good
Attempt
keep it
In moving~~

Arendt is criticised for her abstract language. Marxists argue that power is to be used to fight class exploitation and establish communism.

Feminist like MacKinnon and Carole Pateman argue that power is a masculine concept and it means nothing in a male-dominated society.

Post-modernists and cultural relativists argue against grand narratives like "zoon politikon".

The multi-cultural perspective argues that minorities have their own set of norms that are culturally situated. Eg in some societies women not allowed to participate in public protests

However, it was a revolutionary concept that paved the way for a positive conception of power.

Remarks

2. 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)

(a) Power is described by Robert Dahl as extractive, coercive and power over other people. Traditionally, the concept of power is seen as negative.

Gramsci added concept of hegemony (soft power), or power that generates concept. This happens via ideological state apparatus (ISA) (Althusser) like family, education.

Positive conception of power was given by Aronoff and Gandhi. They argued that real power was developmental and "power to" construct.

Post-modernists like Foucault spoke of discourses as "regimes of power" and

Remarks

Maoism
Lukas
Three
Principles
Work
Some
School of
Thought

~~"knowledge as power"~~

~~Elitist scholars argued that power was never diffused and always circulated among elites (Mosca and Pareto).~~

~~Power with consent is seen as legitimate. It derives the willing compliance and ensures stability and governance.~~

~~Hofmann argued that "crisis of legitimacy" would lead to a breakdown of state and relations~~

~~Power that is legitimate is seen as authoritative (Weber).~~

~~Authority is a constitutional means of exercising power which is of 3 types — traditional, charismatic and legal-rational.~~

Thus, power + consent = legitimate

Legitimate power + use
= authority

Remarks

Power

Authority

Explain

The concept of ex-authoritative power of Weber was criticised by McPherson. He argued that developmental power was legitimate, one that lead to increased creative freedom of man.

Thus, debates on power have given a positive and negative conception of the normative power concept.

(b) Rawlsian conception of justice is deontological, universalist, social contractualist, based on thought experiment. It can be summed up with his triad of principles.

1. Liberty principle - maximum liberties with same for all

2a. Difference principle - least advantaged to be most benefited

2b. Fair equality of opportunity - safeguard innovation merit to promote and realisation of worth

Remarks

Enrich your
Subject
Nature

This was criticised by

Marxists as;

① Rawls justified inequality with principle 2b. Marxists argue for against the normalisation of equality.

② Rawls gave a lexical order that preferred 2b over 2a. Marxists criticise this as they prefer equality.

③ Marxists argue against his conception of "moral man". They argue that man is situated within society.

④ They criticise the social contract tradition as a liberal construction to ensure the capitalist oppression of working class.

⑤ They argue against his claim of universalism in his

Remarks

justice. Marxists argue that only true universal conception is class struggle.

Apart from Marxist critique, communiaction, feminist, social democratic and new-liberal criticisms of his theory were present.

Marxist thus suggest that the way to conceptualise justice was not via Rawls' notion but via the Marx's maxims of "from each according to his ability to each according to his need".

(c) Bentham's liberal-utilitarian
approach argued that human nature preferred pleasure over pain, thus man sought to maximise happiness. With Felicific calculus, thus justice was achieved when greatest happiness was achieved by greatest number.

This was criticised day as Pig's philosophy. It was very against Kantian concept of "human dignity" and may as an end. ~~is it~~ It resulted in colonialism, civilising missions, class exploitation of workers and racial discrimination, wealth inequality.

As a corrective, Rawls in the backdrop of US Civil Rights movement and anti-war protest wrote his magnum opus "A Theory of Justice". He argued that "justice is the

Remarks

Underline
Keywords

first instance of social institutions,
thus classifying his motivation
and goal.

He argued that justice was found when we deliberate in an original position behind a veil of ignorance, where man is morally situated without being socially situated. This results in a contract with Liberty, Difference and Equality of Opportunity principles.

The philosophical basis of this justice is deontological, with human dignity as paramount. Rawls argues for democratising the concept of equality. Argues for affirmative action to ensure that least disadvantaged are compensated for effects of brute luck.

Explain your points through three principles mentioned by

Rawls

11.0

~~Dworkin took Rawls concept a step further by introducing "Option Luck" and auctions as the way of accommodating for including people's misfortunes.~~

~~Criticism came from Nozick's Anarchy, State & Utopia. He argued that justice was achieved via safeguarding liberties of people from violence, destruction and redistribution. Nozick called for rectifications of injustice and equated wealthy redistribution without consent as "slavery".~~

~~Thus, the state was like a firm "friend" to protect property of citizens. This evolved into neo-liberal conception of justice.~~

~~Received thus, Rawls conception taken political theory and made its normative end goal achievable~~

Remarks

try to focus on core demand of the question

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)

(a) Democracy depends on three values of equality, participation and deliberation.

Deliberative democracy is form that incorporates importance of debate and deliberation. Scholars also argue that democracy is inherently deliberative.

Democracy where deliberative maximises its potential and also resolves twin contradictions of;

- ① democracy as popular vote
- ② democracy as bulwark of personal freedom.

Thus, it ensures consensus!

Remarks

~~Thus, deliberative democracy gives priority to voice over vote and debate over vote. Haleom as argued for ideal speech situation and communicative action to transform procedural democracies to substantive deliberative ones.~~

~~however, deliberative democracy is criticised as discursive democracy. It can lead to digression from subject and emphasis on discourse. An example is American filibuster of long debates to delay voting.~~

~~Post-modernists also argue that discourse behind debate also affect the way in which system works. Eg:- US's 2 major parties are not different in economic ideology so discourse is always~~

Remarks

Discuss
Key features

✓ Petit

Joshua Cohen

✓ Discursive
demo. by

Dziverek
Pluralist
Party

limited.

Further, there needs to be insulation of sustaining values to make ~~deliberative~~ democracy work. The scholars like Rawls gave concept of "overlapping consensus" to resolve disputes in his book "Political Liberalism".

Further, scholars like Isaias Berlin emphasised values of tolerance, reasonable pluralism. He argued that there should be no hierarchy of values (value relativism) and that conflicts are to be resolved via dialogue among civilisations.

Marxists focus on democratic centralism rather than a deliberative model.

(11.5)

~~Democracy's inherent limitations are exposed by democratic dilemma of not being able to maximise equality, after debate and participation. Here, Rousseau suggests a direct democracy model (Eg Switzerland) where debate results in revealing of "general will". However, this is again criticised as totalitarian.~~

~~Thus, deliberation is inseparable from democracy. As Mill said, freedom of speech reveals truth. Socrates argued that dialectics via debate gives eliminates contradictions. Thus, deliberative democracy is an ideal needed especially with delivering role of Parliament in India.~~

Remarks

~~Try to write
More Concrete
Comprehensive
Content~~

(b) Contract Theory is a mechanistic counter-narrative to the organic theory of state; which emphasises that people signed a "social contract" to form state/govt.

It is a liberal concept that seeks to explain formation of state. Contract theorists justify it morally on basis of

① consent - no one is forced to enter into contract at time of signing

② individual nature of man - man as individual has every right to decide contract as per his/her free will.

Hobbes argued that before state govt there existed state of nature that was wasty, poor, brutish & short. Locke and Rousseau had more

Remarks

positive outcome of state of nature. However, it was deemed inadequate as man didn't have security / safety to develop fully.

Thus, social contract resulted in state. Hobbes argued for an absolutist state with no right to withdraw from the contract. Since the consent was given, contract couldn't be violated and had to be obeyed.

Locke argued that social contract didn't give away man's rights of life, liberty & property. Thus, consent needed to be given if state infringed on these rights. If not, then people could change govt via revolution (vote out Parliament).

Remarks

~~Rousseau argued that general will once revealed needed to be implemented. Rousseau believed that "man can be forced to be free".~~

~~Contemporary social theorists include Rawls in his "A Theory of Justice". Contract Theory is criticised as;~~

- ~~Metaphysical abstraction by E. Burke~~
- ~~Liberal Fiction by Marxists~~
- Not a social contract by feminists as consent wasn't given by women
- ~~meta-narrative by Derrida as a post-modernist~~
- Oakescott (neo-conservative) argued that man was situated and so cannot be rational, only rational things were customs/Traditions

11.5
x.5 (2.0)

Habermas argued that breakdown of social contract occurred when there was a "legitimation crisis" in society.

He argued that welfare state couldn't minimise inequality completely. Further, it was based on a flawed model. This is because it was based on corporate taxation by govt. This would lead to more and more demands by people. Eventually the state couldn't finance it as corporate sector was overburdened. However, it couldn't be withdrawn as govt extracts legitimacy from welfare schemes. This leads to "legitimation crisis" and to collapse of system.

Eg:- Greece borrowed heavily from Eurozone to finance its welfare schemes but economy collapsed.

Remarks

Writte
More
Relevant
Cognized
Points

Attempt all questions:

SECTION-B

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

(a) ~~Normative approach looks for a right or good political order. It uses logic, dialectics and superior equilibrium to attain this.~~

~~Political philosophies of Plato, Aristotle, Leo Strauss are examples. It is suited for discipline as it deals with prescription of for issues. It is also futuristic and inspires betterment of conditions.~~

~~Its weaknesses are that it may get divorced from reality as it may become "armchair theories". There is also a possibility of ethnic/ideological bias. They are also~~

Remarks

6.3

not objectively verifiable.

*With
proper
features*

Empirical approach focus on observations of phenomena. It is materialistic and objective. It uses Locke's concept of Tabula Rasa to abstract bias from study.

Advantages are generation of data, verifiable methodology and observable nature.

However, it is criticised for not prescribing a way forward. Thus, it is called status-quoist and utilitarian.

Robert Dahl argued for infusing moral quality within empirical quality, which gave rise to norm-empiricists.

These both approaches were harmonised after post-behaviouralism movement and concepts of ends of relevance.

Remarks

(b) They are both models within CB McPherson's study of Democracies as contemporary theories

Competitive elitist democracy is a model where liberal democracies elect "elites" as rulers but there is no true mass democracy. It is competitive because of fractured elite and that masses can choose between competing elites as to who comes to power (Schumpeter, Meesa).

Schumpeter argues that it is different from socialist countries as;

- their elites are single group - MONOLITHIC
- there is no free and fair elections so elites are stagnant
- centralized bureaucracies are the norm

(6)

another R. Dahl argues that democracy is based on individual groups as powerful lobby groups as example of NRA in US.

He called this the best practicable form - a golden mean between demagoguery and oligarchy.
However, in his later book "Who governs" he argues that US is a "deformed polyarchy" where power is tilted towards business / corporate groups.

Both groups stress on procedural & empirical aspect of study, and consider a practicable than ideal form of democracy.

models (McPherson, Schumpeter - Dahl axis) and gave his own concept of developmental democracy

Remarks

~~good attempt it
Keep Improving~~

(c) ~~Equality of opportunity~~
 is a ~~liberal~~ concept that
 seeks to harmonise liberty
 and equality.

~~# Liberal~~ conception argues
 that ~~equality of opportunity~~
 should allow for ~~rational~~
~~standardised basis~~ to judge on
~~merit~~ and not ~~wealth~~. This
 is to allow for natural
 inequalities to filter out
 individuals who can gain or
 maximum benefits with respect
 to natural abilities. (Isaiah Berlin)

~~Positive liberals argue for~~
~~a more substantive equality of~~
~~opportunity. They argue that~~
~~there shouldn't be any internal~~
~~hindrances as well.~~ TH Green,
Laski argued for a welfare
 state and public education
 and health care to minimise

historical injustice.

Thinkers like Rawls, Martin Luther, etc call for affirmative action. Ambedkar gave corrupt system of reservations based on population in India to rectify caste injustice and ensure a representative system.

Marxists advocate for equality of opportunity by removing class inequalities by establishing a communist utopia.

Social liberals like Dworkin, Walzer and Rawls argue for equality of outcome. Rawls argues for nyaya via equality of capability.

Debates on interplay between merit and nature over nature has widened scope of equality of opportunity to a more substantive model.

(d)

Feminist argue for women equality via emancipation from a gendered society.

Initially, the feminist conception of justice was to attain equal political rights (Mary Wollenstonecraft).

This gave way to radical feminism and need to abolish patriarchy (Betty Friedan), gendered society (Simone de Beauvoir); and personal is political (Susan Moller Okin).

Caroline McKinnon argues that justice ~~is~~ ending patriarchy. This requires society to ~~oversee~~ itself via differentiated ~~marriage~~ Young) citizenship (Iris and sexual politics (Carol Pateman). Separation of gender

Remarks

(C.0)

From biology and functional specialisation is essential for economic, sexual and social empowerment for women (Bouvois).

~~Try to concentrate of Justice context of IR perspectives~~

This would also result in justice for sexual violence, patriarchal hierarchy and liberate women from societal chains (existence over essence).

It is criticised by post-feminists as they argue that females are "feminist sex" and that femininity should be elaborated.

3rd and 4th wave feminism also look at intersectional nature of patriarchy, sex, race and ethnicity. Scholars like Angela Davis argue that problems of black women are different from white women.

Thus, feminist conception of justice is emancipation for half of humanity via collective action.

Remarks

7. 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)

(a) Multiculturalism is a school that argues that since man is situated, different ethnicities and cultures should have their own rights.

It is significant because

- ① prevents genocides Eg:- Bosnia, Rwanda
- ② ensures minority rights and majoritarianism
- ③ promotes societal stability
- ④ prevents global "Clash of civilisations" (Huntington)
- ⑤ bulwark against religious fundamentalism due to manufactured local sense of victimhood

Remarks

~~Note~~
Recent
Black life
Matters
Campaigns

Racism
Anti-Apartheid

Mandela
Luther

⑥ It also may result in the creation of a cosmopolitan world order based on pluralism, tolerance and respect for humans and dignity.

Will Kymlicka argues for 3 sets of rights given for national minorities

- self-government
- special representation
- poly-ethnic rights.

However, immigrants should conform to the society present, no rights for them.

Bhikhu Parekh argues that there should be a negative list of rights not available. Essentially, his argument is that all ethnic/cultural rights are permissible if they pass the test of Human principle. Eg:- Muslims can take holiday

on Friday and rest on Sunday.

He argues that any debate should be resolved via "Dialogue among civilisations". This prevents imposition of majority culture in name of universalism and rationalism.

Thus, liberalism was further democratised and made incorporated a post-colonial perspective.

Add Indian Perspectives

(b) McPherson evolved his concept of creative freedom as developmental power of state to ensure individual emancipation

He evolved this theory in response to criticism of prevailing models of democracy, especially contemporary elitist and pluralist models. He argued that liberal democracy needed to ensure redirection of inequalities and focus on substantive values.

Remarks

Try to Show
 Utility / Power
 Maximization
 through
 Extensive
 Developmental
 Powers

McPherson argued that the state was focused on extractive and coercive power. He argued that state should instead promote development of individuals.

Safeguarding of rights, minimising inequalities and promoting social security measures and affirmative action are required to ensure true emancipation. McPherson terms this as "creative freedom".

Noam Chomsky also espouses a similar concept but argues for anarcho-syndicalism as the way forward.

McPherson was criticised for his conception by Noam Chomsky as an idealist notion. Liberal scholars and neo-liberal critics

Remarks

Car

This inclusion of communist totalitarian countries as democracies provided fair elections are held that are competitive.

However, Mphusson's concept is critical to understanding the impediments to increasing societal equality. He argues that lack of adequate means of life, lack of access to means of labour and lack of protection against invasion by others as main development impediments.

It is relevant in today's increasing inequality and COVID pandemic times. It also offers a solution to AI evolutions that create a class-based division that becomes a "hereditary meritocracy".

good points
deep it
improving

(c) Amartya Sen critiqued Rawlsian conception of justice on 3 parameters - social choice, spread of theory, dependence on fair procedures

As a social liberal, Sen argues that Rawls prioritised rational choice in his thought experiment. Sen argues that man cannot be abstract from social standing. Thus, Rawls should have prioritised social choice over rational choice.

Further Sen argued that Rawls spread of theory was narrow as it was biased and situated within liberal-democratic norms of justice that are western. In his book "Argumentative Indians", he

Remarks

Veil of Ignorance

With three principles
of Rawls

Add
Keywords

life

Original
position

Veil of
ignorance

shows how democracy exists in India as well. (eg:- Buddhist councils).

Further, Sen criticised Rawls dependence on basic procedures (deontologism / right) over outcomes (telology / naya).
Sen argues that naya should take precedence and lead to equality of outcome via equality of capabilities.

Sen argues that Buddhist ideals of spiritual liberation and subduing minimisation of This can be achieved by focusing on a realisation-based approach.

Sen thus perceives developing individuals by affirming capabilities of

11.0

action, social spending on education and training and healthcare to prevent minimising inequality and ensure a healthy society.

→ All critical points through keywords

Thus, Sen gives a more all-rounded notion of justice that plugs the holes in Rawls' conception of justice.

→ further proposed suggestions by

Sen like
Capability Approach

Remarks