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**ANANTH CHANDRASEKHAR**

**RANK - 145**

**POLITICAL SCIENCE  
TEST - 4**



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**GS SCORE**

TEST - 04

**POLITICAL SCIENCE**

124.5

Time Allowed: 3 hr.

Max. Marks: 250

**Instructions to Candidate**

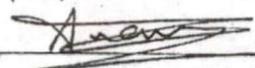
- There are EIGHT questions. Candidate has to attempt FIVE questions in all.
- Question no. 1 and 5 are compulsory and out of the remaining, THREE are to be attempted.
- Answers must be written in the medium authorized in the Admission certificate which must be stated clearly on the cover of this Question-cum-Answer (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 context of scholars, Add key words as used by thinkers
- ③ Write dynamic answer, Apply various theories.

Name ANANTH CHANDRASEKHAR

Mobile No. \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_

Signature 

1. Invigilator's Signature \_\_\_\_\_

2. Invigilator's Signature \_\_\_\_\_

# REMARKS

2

(1) The work was done in accordance with the contract.  
 (2) The work was done in accordance with the contract.  
 (3) The work was done in accordance with the contract.  
 (4) The work was done in accordance with the contract.  
 (5) The work was done in accordance with the contract.

Remarks

## SECTION-A

Attempt all questions:

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

(12.5 × 4 = 50)

- Discuss Marxist Theory of State
- Liberty and Equality as opposed to each other. Comment.
- Highlight the characteristic features of contemporary political theory.
- 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;

(i) Instrumentalist school - Marx, Lenin  
They argue that the state is an instrument of class exploitation. Miliband 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.

Cont. Features of Marxist State  
Product of Antagonist Classes

Remarks

60

Quote  
feature  
criticism of  
rather  
liberal  
state

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

⊕  
Miliband  
debate

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

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

Post-modernists and post-colonial  
school argue <sup>against</sup> ethnic bias  
inherent in such theories.

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

(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 Possession Individualism.

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

Explain  
+ve/-ve  
liberal  
theories

(6:0)

Equality of capabilities are examples.

Modern/positive liberalism 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 affirmative action (Rawls). Walzer's COMPLEX EQUALITY where spheres of influence are separated is another example.

Human rights doctrine argue for both to be synchronised as 3 generations of rights - political, socio-economic and cultural-environmental (Kaul Vasek). 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.

1 Discuss Keywords

2 Avoid Randomness in your Answer

3 Write flow

Remarks

(c) Contemporary political theory evolved from behaviouralist school into post-behaviouralism 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 Credo of Relevance is an example.

Further, there is the influence of post-modernism and sub-altern school. Foucault's Discourses, Derrida's deconstruction and Lyotard's meta-narratives all influence schools like post-colonialism (Edward 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

6.0

Discuss History of Pol

Revitalize the discoveries

discuss features rather

Just Quotation

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

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.

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

(d) Arendt's power is sui generis, manifests when people assemble in concert and dissipates thereafter.

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

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

It was different from the negative conception of power like Weber's Authority, Foucault's discourses and Marx's exp class exploitation.

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

6.5

Satyagraha & Civil disobedience (Thoreau)

discuss  
keywords

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

good  
Attempt  
keep it  
improving

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:

- (a) Explain the term Power. Also discuss the relationship between power, Legitimacy and Authority. (200 Words) (15)
- (b) Marxist Criticisms of the Rawlsian Conception of Justice. (200 Words) (15)
- (c) 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 'powers), or powers that generates concept. This happens via ideological state apparatus (ISA) (Althusser) like family, education.

Positive conception of power was given by Trendt 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

Mention  
Lukas  
↓  
Three Principles  
↓  
wrote  
Some school of thought

Remarks

"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 denotes the willing compliance and energetic stability and goodman. Habermas 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 2 types - traditional, charismatic and legal-rational.

Thus, power + consent = legitimate  
legitimate power + use = authority

Remarks

Explain

legitimacy

Power

Authority

7.0

The concept of authoritarian power of Weber was criticised by Macpherson. He argued that developmental power was legitimate, one that lead to increased "creative freedom of man".

Enrich your  
Subject -  
Nattel

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

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

This was criticised by

Marxists as;

① Rawls justified inequality with principle 2b. Marxists argue for against his 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 contraption to ensure the capitalist oppression of working classes.

⑤ They argue against his claim of universalism in his

Remarks

Critique  
Keywords

Original  
Position

Veil of  
Ignorance

Work-  
shop  
Point of  
Analysis

7.0

GS SCORE

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

Apart from Marxist critique, Communitarian, feminist, social democratic and neo-liberal criticisms of his theory are present.

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

Remarks

(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.

Underline Keywords

This was criticised as Pig's Philosophy. It was against Kantian concept of "human dignity" and man as an end. ~~it~~ It resulted in colonialism, civilising mission, 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 ~~existence~~ of social institutions, thus clarifying his normative end 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.

Explains  
your points

Three  
Principle  
as  
mentioned  
by

Rawls

Rawls

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 ambitions.

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 rectification of injustice and equated wealth redistribution without consent as "slavery".

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

Thus, Rawls conception took 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.

Deliberative democracy maximises its potential and also resolves their contradictions of;

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

Thus, it ensures consensus!

Remarks

Thus, deliberative democrats give priority to voice over vote and debate over vote. Habermas 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 agree that discourse behind debates also about the way in which system works. Eg:- US's 2 major parties are not different in economic ideology so discourse is always

Remarks

✓ Discursive  
Key features

✓ Pettit by

✓ Joshua  
Cohen

✓ Discursive  
demo. by

✓ Dryzek

✓ Pluralist  
Participation

limited.

Further, there needs to be inculcation of substantive values to make ~~democracy~~ <sup>deliberative</sup> democracy work. The scholars like Rawls gave concept of "overlapping consensus" to resolve disputes in his book "Political Liberalism".

Further, scholars like Isaiah 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.

Democracy's inherent limitations are exposed by democratic dilemma of not being able to maximise equality, ~~at~~ 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 model especially with declining role of Parliament in India.

Remarks

Try to write  
More Concrete  
Comprehensive  
Content

(b) Contract Theory is a mechanistic counter-variant 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 govt there existed state of nature that was nasty, poor, brutish & short. Locke and Rousseau had more

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 3 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).

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

Add  
Rawls also

Contemporary social contract 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 Lyotard as a post-modernist.
- Oakesott (neo-conservative) argued that man was situated and so cannot be rational, only rational things were customs/traditions

11.5  
x 1.5  
TR.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 inequalities 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.

Work  
More  
Relevant  
Critical  
Points

~~11.5~~

At  
5.

Remarks

## SECTION-B

Attempt all questions:

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

(12.5 × 4 = 50)

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

(a) Normative approach looks for a right or good political order. It uses logic, dialectics and supremacy equilibriums 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 "omniscient theories". There is also a possibility of ethnic ideological bias. They are also

Remarks

not objectively verifiable.

Empirical approach focuses on observation 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, ~~is~~ 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 trans-empiricists.

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

Remarks

With Proper features

(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).

it is 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

- centralised authoritarian norms are the norms

6.3

another pluralist democracy is a contemporary model of democracy that argues that individuals are not accessible by powerful interest groups as part of lobbying. The example of NRA in US is given.

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" whose 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.

Mohrson criticized both models (Schumpeter - Dahl axis) and gave his own concept of substantive developmental democracy.

Good Attempt  
Keep it Improving

Remarks

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

The liberal conception argues that equality of opportunity should allow for rational standardised basis to judge on merit and not birth. This is to allow for natural inequalities to filter out individuals who can garner 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. J.H. Green, Laski argued for a welfare state with public education and health care to minimise

historical injustice. Thinkers like Rawls, Martin Luther, etc call for affirmative action. Ambedkar gave concept 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 Amartya Sen argue for equality of outcome. Sen argues for nyaya via equality of capability.

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

Good Attempt

Keep Improving

Write three Principles of

Thomas Lyod

(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 Wollstonecraft).

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

Caroline McKinnon argues that justice ~~was~~ ending patriarchy. This requires society to remake itself via concepts like differentiated citizenship (Iris Marion Young) and sexual politics (Carole Pateman). Separation of gender



from biology and functional specialisation is essential for economic, sexual and social empowerment for women (Bourdieu)

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 "fairer sex" and that femininity should be elaborated.

3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> 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 shared collective action.

Remarks

Try to  
Concentrate of  
Justice theories  
Cont  
IR Perspectives

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 of thought 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 prevents majoritarianism
- ③ promotes social stability
- ④ prevents global "Clash of civilisations" (Huntington)
- ⑤ bulwark against religious fundamentalism due to manufactured / real sense of victimhood

is write  
Paragraph

Global  
Recent #  
Black life  
Matters  
Campaigns

USA

Racism  
Anti-Apartheid

Mandela  
Luther

Remarks

⑥ It also may result in the creation of a cosmopolitan world order based on pluralism. toleration and human dignity support for

Will Kymlicka argues for 3 sets of rights quiers for rational minorities

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

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

Bhikhu Rawls 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 harm principle.  
Eg:- Muslims can take holiday

7.5

GS SCORE

on Friday and work 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  
brought democratised and made  
incorporated a post-colonial  
perspective.

Add  
Indian  
Perspectives

(b) Mepherston 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 democracies  
needed to ensure reduction  
of inequalities and focus  
on substantive values.

Remarks

Try to show  
Ability/Power  
Maximization  
through  
& to achieve  
Developmental  
Powers

McPherson argued that the state was focused on extraction and resource 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 espouse a similar concept, but argues for anarcho-syndicalism as the way forward.

McPherson was criticised for his conception by Norman Barry as an idealist notion. Liberal and neo-liberal scholars criticise

Remarks

Draw  
Table  
if  
you  
can

7.5

GS SCORE

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

However, Mephusson's concept is critical to understanding the impediments to ensuring 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 impediments to development.

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

Good points  
keep it  
improving

Remarks

(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

Write three principles

Rawls

Keywords

Original Position

Veil of Ignorance

shows how democracy existed in India as well. (eg:- Buddhist Councils).

Further, Sen criticised Rawls dependence on fair procedure (deontologism / vyāhiti) over outcome (teleology / nyaya). Sen argues that nyaya should take precedence and lead to equality of outcome via equality of capabilities.

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

Sen thus prescribes developing individuals by capabilities of affirmative

11.0

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

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

Add  
Critical Points  
through  
Keywords

→ further  
proposed  
Suggestion by

Sen like  
Capability Approach

Remarks