

G|S SCORE

An Institute for Civil Services

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TEST COPY

KUNAL YADAV

RANK - 185

POLITICAL SCIENCE TEST - 4



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TEST - 04

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.

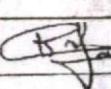
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Name KUNAL YADAV

Mobile No. _____

Date _____

Signature 

SECTION-A

Attempt all questions:

1. Answer the following questions in about 150 words each: (12.5 × 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 nothing but analysis of states in western liberal world.

Karl Marx in his book "Communist Manifesto" has called state as subjugation of poor by rich. He has given force origin of the state.

According to Marx, state is a class institution and whichever class controls basic structure ie.. economic structure will control state.

Hence for him, "State is an executive committee of bourgeoisie class". He has also given relative autonomy theory according to which states appear autonomous when

Remarks

more than one class controls basic structure or workers are organised.

From instrumentalist perspective, Ralph Miliband has studied post capitalist states. He opines that wealth is concentrated in the hands of few and "Managerial Revolution" by "Burkhard" is a myth.

Structuralist scholars, like Gramsci and Althusser has further divided society into various structure. Gramsci proposed concept of integral state and Althusser gave law of overdetermination.

Nicos Poulantzas, also believes state has become relatively autonomous due to universal adult franchise, competitive party politics. However state during crisis will also favour capitalist class.

Remarks

(ii) liberty and equality are two fundamental normative values of political science. Their relationship remains a contested topic and has been looked at from different perspectives.

1) Classical liberals and Neo-liberals:

They believe that both values are anti-thetical to each other. According to them, liberty has priority over equality. Inspired by individualistic nature they believe in negative liberty which means protection of man from state interference.

Equality of opportunity is supported by scholars such as Nozick, Hayek.

2) Socialists

They give preference to equality over liberty. According to Marx, liberty is a bourgeoisie.

Remarks

concept. They associate liberty as justification given for capitalist state.

Socialist believe in absolute equality and propose abolition of private property and social ownership over means of production for achieving it.

3) Modern liberals and Social liberals.

According to them liberty and equality can be exercised in presence of state. They believe in positive liberty where state acts as facilitator and works for upliftment of disadvantaged section.

Scholars like Keynes propose state intervention to generate equity. Amartya Sen & Ravels advocate state's role in promoting equity in terms of capabilities.

Remarks

(c) Contemporary political theory emerged after WW-II period. It adopted novel methods of analysis in political science. Various approaches are :-

- 1) Post-Modernism :- It stands for rejection of any hegemonic discourse. Lyotard calls it "Incredulity towards metanarratives". Foucault and Derrida are other prominent scholars.
- 2) Radical feminism :- Scholars such as Betty Friedman and Simone De Beauvoir stood for issues plaguing women. They proposed differentiation between sex and gender.
- 3) Phenomenological approach:- It was adopted by Hannah Arendt. It suggests analysis of a particular event or phenomenon from 1st person experience.

Remarks

Other few approaches are critical school, structural approach, existentialism.

Features of contemporary approach :-

- 1) Focuses on contemporary relevant research area such as human rights, women emancipation, environmental movements etc.
- 2) Advocates both scientific verifiability as well as philosophical justification of any theory.
- 3) Aims to revival of philosophical approach.

It is extremely relevant in modern times for political science to present a systematic body of knowledge and suggest solutions to world problems.

Remarks

(d) Hannah Arendt is a complex thinker. She has used phenomenological approach which is based on experience of first person.

She has given elaborate view on power and politics in her book "On origin of totalitarianism"

Firstly she differentiates between similar terms such as force, strength, violence. According to her power is "sui generis".

Power is exercised when people come together and start acting in concert with each other.

Power doesn't need legitimation. Origin of power is through people and is itself legitimate.

She advocated active public participation in political sphere. Power emerges when people come together to undertake debate, discussion and disappears when they return to their personal sphere.

Remarks

According to her, power excised by state is nothing but violence. No authority or institution can be source of power. It can't be stored or transferred.

Arendt's emphasis on public participation is also an attempt to keep a check on rise of totalitarian powers. She has been

described as scholar of "Civil Republicanism"

School of thought

Historical perspective
Individual / collective
self-government / public realm
surveillance
consent

Remarks

Great
Answers
need to be
more detailed

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) Political science is said to be study of shaping and sharing of power. Power is a relational concept. However it remains a contested concept.

Marxist scholars term power as an instrument in hands of capitalist class to subjugate workers.

Elitist scholars such as Pareto, Mosca, C. Wright Mills, Robert Michels believed power is an instrument of elite class. They believe masses don't have power in real sense.

Pluralists such as Daski, Robert Dahl believe power is exercised by people through

Remarks

their participation in pressure group politics.

Feminist scholars believe power is exercised by men and lead to subjugation of women.

Power, Legitimacy and Authority

~~Power is According to Max Weber,~~

Authority is exercise of power by state which enjoys legitimacy in the eyes of people.

$$\boxed{\text{Authority} = \text{Power} + \text{legitimacy}}$$

Only that power is legitimate which is approved by people.

Example:- Constitution provides for equality between sexes (Art. 14) but women are still not allowed to enter Sabrimala temple as people believe it to be against culture.

Remarks

However, Hannah Arendt believe that use of power by state is nothing but violence. Power is only legitimate when exercised by people in concert with each other.

(b) Justice is the core concept of political philosophy and remains contested. Rawls theory of justice is based on concept of "original position", "Maximin principle".

Rawls suggest that natural distribution is random and we should deal with it in a manner which is fair to all. Therefore he proposed three principles in a lexical order.

- 1) Equality of liberty
- 2) (a) Equality of advantage (difference principle)

Remarks

(ii) Equality of opportunity

$$\text{Order} = 1 > 2(b) > 2(a)$$

Rawls believe what matters is how we deal with natural distribution. He has given concept of difference principle. It suggests that inequalities in a society are natural and acceptable if

- It results from equality of opportunity
- It works out in favour of disadvantaged

Hence he proposes max liberty to advantaged person to generate wealth and then impose obligation on them to provide for welfare of society.

Marxist scholars are very critical of Rawls's theory of justice. They consider it as a vulgar justification of inequalities found

Remarks

in capitalist societies. It is a rational philosophical attempt to justify state's policies of liberty and concept of private property.

Marxist - Socialist scholars such as Ralph Miliband, Gramsci, Nicos Poulantzas suggest abolition of private property and a classless society. Only when no one possesses property, will it lead to resolution of class conflict.

(c) Rawl's belong to social-egalitarian school. He believes in society that is based on principles that promote equality, justice and peace.

However, in 1960's and 1970's there was social unrest in U.S.A. There were movement such as environment, human rights movement etc.

Remarks

People didn't think U.S society was based on justice. Hence, Rawls thought of theory of justice which is based on Rational procedure and universally acceptable.

His theory is criticism of utilitarian conception of justice found in works of Bentham, Locke etc.

1) Utilitarians focus on concept of utility and believes in principle of "greatest happiness to greatest number". They adopt consequentialist approach where moral worth of an action is judged on the basis of pleasure it secures for people.

However, Rawls revived Kantian tradition. He believed that it is categorical imperative to

Remarks

respect human dignity. According to Rawls, dignity of an individual can't be overridden for overall pleasure of society.

2) Rawls brought principle of inviolability according to which each person is an end in itself. whereas utilitarians considered man as means to an end i.e., overall happiness of the society.

3) Rawls approach is deontological and is advocating respect for dignity irrespective of the consequences.

4) Utilitarians also believe in priority of good over right. According to them rights of an individual can't stand in line against overall good of society.

Remarks

Rawls has restablished right over good which denotes that individual is as important as society if not more. He calls Justice as fairness.

However even Rawls theory has been criticised by communitarian scholars.

Michael Walzer believes no principle of justice can claim universality and gives concept of spheres of justice.

Michael Sandel suggests that man is a situated self and can never be free of communities conception of right and wrong.

Remarks

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)

Remarks

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Remarks

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) Deliberative democracy subscribes to it as a form of government, way of life based on discussions, debates and deliberation. It is the essence of democracy to be deliberative.

Aristotle recommended society based on laws formulated by discussions among common man.

J.S. Mill chief proponent of democracy suggests freedom of speech and expression as necessary for smooth conduct of democracy.

Hannah Arendt has emphasised over role of public participation. She suggests exercise of power by people in political sphere to keep a check on democratic character of state.

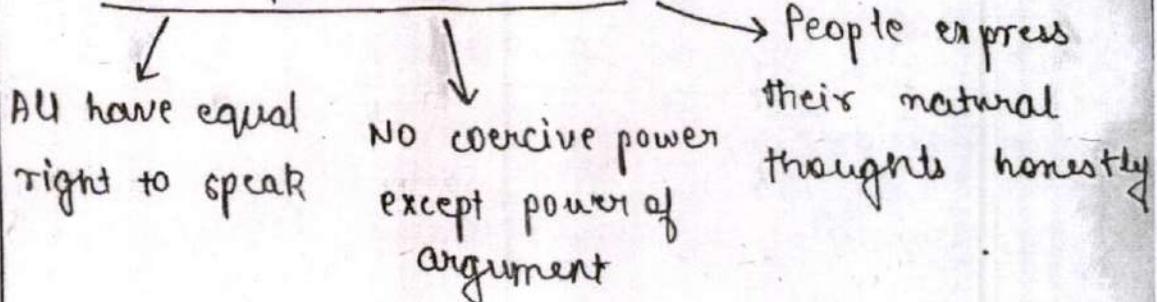
Remarks

Amartya Sen in his book "Argumentative Indian" has shown how debates, discussions formed an integral part of ancient Indian tradition.

Two prominent scholars of deliberative democracy are :-

1) Habermas :- He believes power of democracy in U.S.A is not through parliament but through "coffee houses".

Like Hannah Arendt, he has given concept of "Ideal Speech Situation".



Habermas suggests that only that policy is legitimate which is a result of people engaging together in "communicative action"

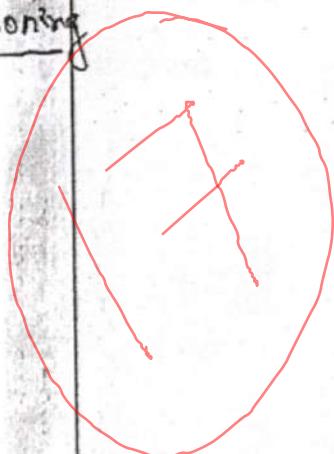
Remarks

"in their "ideal speech situation".

2) Joshua Cohen :- He is inspired by Rawls concept of Public reasoning. It suggests that all issues, conflicts, matters can be resolved through public debates, discussions etc.

He has given few principles of public reasoning

- 1) Deliberative democracy is accepted as the only way to resolve conflicts.
- 2) There is no environment of coercion.
- 3) Respect for pluralism of values
- 4) It is an ongoing association and reflects continuity.
- 5) Deliberation is a source of legitimacy.



Criticism :- 1) It is said to be inclusive but

very tardy, time taking process that brings down efficiency of the state.

marks

- 2) During crisis period, it remains ineffective due to slow decision making and need for consensus building.
- 3) People engaging in debates and discussions are inherently biased. They are not value-free individuals and hence conciliation of interests is difficult.

In contemporary times, democracy all over world is losing its deliberative character and there is a need to revive the tradition.

Remarks

(b) According to Crane, Political science begins and ends with the state. In ancient times, it was political obligation of man to obey laws and rules of state. There was no concept of rights.

Social contract theory emerged in the works of Hobbes when he wrote "Leviathan". It proposed all supreme and powerful state created by men through a single irreversible contract. State is supreme power and only sovereign. Law is command of sovereign and man is politically obligated to obey laws.

However, people can revolt only when state deprives them of their right to life in an arbitrary manner.

Remarks

John Locke further established state through two contracts. He has given representative form of government where state acts as trustee and functions according to will of people. Hence, people will follow law made by state in accordance to wishes of people.

Moreover, people can change government even if state formulate law which are not in accordance with general will.

Social contract scholars describe state as a creation of man and an instrument of utility. Therefore, man is obligated to obey laws as per terms of contract.

Remarks

Habermas has given concept of legitimization crisis in respect to modern welfare states as well as societies where state don't enjoy legitimacy.

$$\text{Authority} = \text{Power} + \text{legitimacy}$$

States can exercise power only when it is legitimate in eyes of people and can lead to governmentality crisis otherwise.

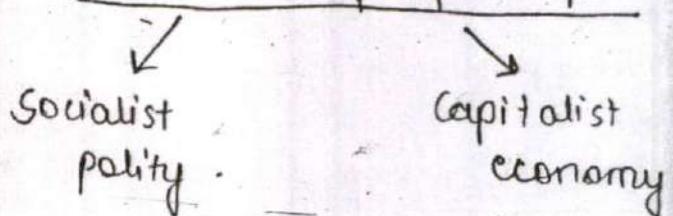
Example :- State of J & K, North Eastern states in India.

He has given features of a legitimate state and society.

- 1) Respect for national symbols
- 2) Prevalence of peace.
- 3) Solidarity and unity among nationals

Remarks

According to him states adopting welfare measures are bound to face legitimization crisis due to contradictory principles



There is a limit to which welfare measures can be financed through capitalist mode of economy. Therefore there is a need to socialist mode of ownership to promote real welfare.

Remarks

*dissemination
basis of the
contract entered
not based on contract
people's obligation / legal relationship with
legitimation review / social
detailed document*

SECTION-B

Attempt all questions:

5. Answer the following questions in about 150 words each: (12.5 × 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

(4) Political science is one of the most democratic disciplines where things are looked at from different perspectives. On one hand normative approach deals with study of values, ideas based on logic, empirical approach is more modern and scientific based on observation.

Normative Approach :-
1) One of the oldest approaches.
2) Plato is known as father of political philosophy.
3) It deals with normative issues and is prescriptive in nature.
4) It is future oriented (What ought to be)

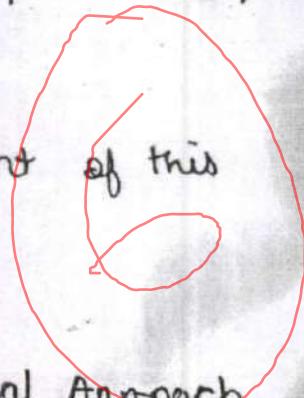
Scholars :- Plato, Socrates, Rawls etc.

Remarks

However it is criticised for being disconnected with real world, giving arm chair theories and biased in nature.

Empirical nature :-

- 1) It is based on observation of events as it is.
- 2) Even Plato, used empirical approach ~~before~~ in observing others state.
- 3) Machiavelli is earliest exponent of this approach.



Normative Approach

- Study of ideas
- Method is logic
- Future oriented
- Prescriptive in nature

Empirical Approach

- Study of facts
- Method is observation
- Status quoist
- Descriptive in nature.

Remarks

Discrete what it is
overlapped features / commonalities
critical remarks

(ii) Democracy denotes not just a form of government but a way of life, values etc.

a) Competitive Elitist democracy

According to elitist scholars, democracy is equated with conduct of free and fair elections. Their view is purely procedural and believe role of masses is limited to exercising of right to vote.

C. Wright Mills calls democracy in U.S.A as myth. He has given concept of power elites and suggests power vests in them.

Pareto has given theory of circulation of elites where power exchanges hand between different set of elites. There is no trickle down effect on masses.

Robert Michels in his book "Political Parties" has given iron law of oligarchy where power is always concentrated in hands of few.

Remarks

Pluralist Democracy :- According to pluralists, democracy is politics of pressure groups. Masses exercise influence over decision making through their association with different pressure groups / professional groups.

Robert Dahl has studied democracy in U.S.A. He suggests that people have considerable influence over decisions affecting their life. He calls it as "Polyarchy" and later refined it as "deformed Polyarchy".

However, these both schools have ignored substantive aspect of democracy and been criticised for that.

Remarks

(i) According to Dworkins "Equality is a sovereign virtue". He has given his concept of equality of opportunity. It was in criticism of equality of welfare promoted by utilitarian scholars such as Locke, Bentham etc.

Dworkins suggest that to provide justice and promote equality, there should be equal distribution of resources. He proposes a political fiction and suggests auction method for distribution.

Further, he suggests that theory of equality should pass envy test such that no person is envious about resources of another person.

He has also given concept of societal insurance (one-time) to offset any natural disability suffered by an individual (Brute fact)

Remarks

When each person is able to receive resources, opportunities in equal sense, it would be fair and lead to peace.

However, his theory of equality has been criticised by Amartya Sen. He says that there is no point providing a person with cycling bicycle unless he knows cycling.

He is an advocate of equality in terms of capabilities. Equality of opportunity will invariably lead to socio-economic inequalities unless state undertakes capability development of its citizens.

Remarks

(d) Justice is an architectonic notion and core concept of political philosophy. like every other topic, it remains contested.

Feminist scholars turn our attention towards injustice suffered by women. They make difference between sex and gender and blame gendered society for discrimination of women.

Feminists believe patriarchy is root cause of injustice suffered by women. They also look at state as an institution dominated by men.

They urge state to look at impact of its omissions and commissions in personal life and hence call for slogan

"Personal is Political"

Remarks

Carole Gilligan has given concept of "Ethics of Care".

According to her, justice is a masculinist idea and focus should be on care in society. It will give women recognition for their contribution.

Carole Pateman has criticised Rawl's theory of justice and called it a sexual contract.

She says that Rational negotiators in original position are men and hence neglect women perspective.

Susan Moller Okin also equates state as an patriarchal institution. She proposes to make institutions of state more representative for women to promote justice in society.

(Ex:- Women reservation in Panchayats (33.1.))

Remarks

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Answer the following questions:

- (a) A comfortable, smooth, reasonable, democratic unfreedom prevails in advanced industrial civilization, a token of technical progress (Herbert Marcuse). Comment on One-Dimensional Thinking. (300 Words) (25)
- (b) Discuss Contemporary Libertarian Perspective of state. (300 Words) (25)

Remarks

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GS SCORE

Remarks

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)

1. Multiculturalism is a relatively recent philosophy of 20th century. The essence of multiculturalism is to provide protection to rights of minorities.

It assumes prominent significance in the age of globalisation and increased cross border movement of people. World has witnessed ethnic wars, human rights violation and exodus of refugees and immigrants especially from 3rd world countries.

Therefore, scholars like "Isaiah Berlin" advocate policy of toleration to be adopted by western countries towards minorities. However scholars

Remarks

like "Bruce Banner" is concerned that recognition of minority rights and culture would threaten western liberal way of life.

Example:- Australia and Canada officially declared themselves as multicultural country.

Will Kymlicka in his book "Multicultural citizenship" has provided for different sets of rights:-

1) Self-governance rights :- When one ethnic community is located in a particular area, they can be provided right to self govern.

(Ex:- 6th Schedule (tribal areas), State of J&K)
till 2019)

2) Special Representation rights :- Special protection in the form of reservation to provide adequate representation to minorities view. It prevents country from being tyranny of majority.

Remarks

(Ex:- Art 15 and 16 in Indian constitution)

3) Poly Ethnic Rights :- Minorities can be provided with certain rights to practice their own culture freely.

(Ex:- Art 29 and 30)

Bhikhu Parekh in his book "Rethinking Multiculturalism" has challenged Kymlicka for differentiating between national minorities and immigrants. He proposes "Cosopolitan world order" based on deliberation and discussion by different ideologies.

He believes we can arrive at certain basic values acceptable to all such as Human dignity.

Multiculturalism is essential in contemporary world for promotion of human rights, peace, tolerance in societies.

Remarks

(b) C.B Macpherson has done one of the most exhaustive works in field of democracy. He has studied all theoretical and practical models of democracy.

He proposed that there is a need to look at both substantive and procedural aspect of democracy. Upon study of democracy in Western liberal ~~as~~ countries, he found them inegalitarian.

According to him there are two kinds of power in society → Extractive power
→ Developmental power.

Western countries, rich capitalist class possess both extractive and developmental power whereas workers are left with nothing.

Remarks

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| | Capitalists | Workers | | Capitalist | Workers |
|---------------------|-------------|---------|---|------------|---------|
| extractive power | 99% | 0-1% | → | 0% | 0% |
| Developmental power | 99% | 0-1% | | 100% | 100% |

Inegalitarian society Egalitarian Society

In egalitarian society, no one possesses extractive power and everyone shares power to develop.

He calls it "Creative Freedom". It denotes empowerment of masses to undertake activities that enable growth of creative faculties.

Macpherson suggests that we can't ignore substance of democracy i.e., upliftment of masses in all spheres.

Example :- Indian constitution provides for various fundamental rights such as Art. 14 (Right to equality), Positive discrimination in form of Art 15 and 16 etc.

Remarks

More details
Explanation needed
on Topic
mentioned

There are other models of democracy too.

Elitist theory equates democracy with free and fair conduct of elections (Procedural view).

Classical Theorists adopted protective and developmental value of democracy necessary for true satisfaction and fulfillment of man's needs.

(C) Justice is an architectonic notion and core concept of political philosophy. Rawls's concept of social justice was inspired by social unrest prevailing in U.S.A during 60's & 70's.

Rawls has given three principles of justice.

1) Each person should have right to most extensive liberty which can be enjoyed by all.

Remarks

- 2) Social and ~~for~~ economic inequalities are acceptable if
- They are working out to be in favour of disadvantaged (Difference principle)
 - Attached to the offices and Institutions available to all (Equality of opportunity)

Textual order 1 > 2b > 2a



Amartya Sen has criticised Rawl's Theory on following grounds :-

1) Rawl's has given this theory based on rational choice by people gathered in original position from position of neutrality.

Amartya Sen provides concept of social choice where decision making is done by real people in real situations and not abstract persons.

Remarks

- 2) Amartya Sen also opines that Rawl's has overemphasised on universality of his theory. Different person / society have their own sense of justice and injustice. It is not possible to arrive at a theory acceptable to all.
- 3) Sen proposes that we should adopt realisation focussed approach, where ends of justice are secured (Inspired by Lord Buddha)

However, even Sen's idea of justice has been criticised by Bhikhu Parekh. He accuses Sen of under-theorisation when he suggests that there is no need of ~~universal theory of justice~~

Remarks

~~His original position~~
~~Primary responsibility~~
~~Doesn't register~~
~~Non-exclusivity~~
~~criticism~~
~~countenance~~

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Answer the following questions:

- (a) "The executive of the modern state is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie". In the light of the given statement, discuss the Marxist Critique of Liberal Democracy. (300 Words) (25)
- (b) State as an instrument of regulation of the public sphere and as an instrument of power. In the light of given statement, discuss Feminist perspective on state. (300 Words) (25)

Remarks

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Remarks

