



An Institute for Civil Services

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TEST COPY

SARA ASHRAF

RANK - 316

**POLITICAL SCIENCE
TEST - 4**



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GS SCORE

TEST - 04

117.0

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 Address Core Concept and Concrete Subject-Matter.
- ② Create Dynamic Content by adding Current events/developments rather static points only.
- ③ Improve flow in your Answer, Align and Sync your paragraphs.

1. Invigilator's Signature _____

2. Invigilator's Signature _____

Name SARA ASHRAF

Mobile No. _____

Date _____

Signature Sara Ashraf

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 a critique to the Liberal Theory & Idealist theory of State.

Write feature rather than Crit. of Liberalism

Marx proposed origin of State not in contract / treaty but force. It represents 'class struggle'. The nature of the state being "instrument of the Bourgeoisie" as explained by Marx is "Communist Manifesto". And the functions of state as exploitation.

product of two Antagonist classes

Remarks

6.0

The Marxist Theory of state is further divided into Instrumentalist and Structural Relativist perspective.

While both agree, state is part of superstructure. The difference is with respect to the state's autonomy.

Instrumentalist see state completely reflection of the Base. And the other perspective inspired by Gramsci takes view of Bonapartist state.

But both agree that state is ultimately an instrument of the Bourgeoisie.

Marxist theory of state comes near to Gandhiji's Ramrajya. Both - state as means of exploitation.

Remarks

①. Enrich your content
②. Add and Explain keywords

(b) The values of liberty and equality and their inter relationships have been historically disagreed upon by different schools. — Liberalism and Marxism.

It was Rawls who tried to incorporate both values in his Theory of Justice — Lexical order.

Justice has been defined differently as equality, liberty and even fairness.

As Isaiah Berlin put values are "inherently pluralistic".

The Liberal, neo-liberal and Libertarian school give priority to Liberty over Equality. Nozick is like this.

Remarks

Discuss +ve/-ve Liberal Scholars and establish their Relationship ✓ Give Examples like Affirmative Actions etc

6.2

GS SCORE

Entitlement Theory suggests that equality is not so important that liberty of each be impinged upon.

On the contrary, socialist and Marxist school prefer equality over liberty.

Referring to their equality as substantive equality as liberal conception as procedural.

Socialists believe in equality of outcome while liberals limit itself to equality of opportunity.

Thus, the disagreements between values of Equality and liberty were bridged by

Liberal Egalitarians like Amartya Sen and Rawls

Remarks

More
Relevant
Points
Scholars
G/A - Good

(c) Political theory is set of political ideas systematically arranged & such consequence bringing about a theory.

Political theory is involved with (political) solutions to political problems/ crisis of the time and space.

Contemporary political theory show characteristics of ~~both~~^{all} - Traditional, Modern and Post-Modern.

Traditional approach involves deliberation on values and norms like

justice, rights and liberty etc. The recent Rawlsian Theory of

Justice is said to have revived the tradition of philosophy.

Remarks

As a result, contemporary political theory deals with such values by scholars like Michael Sandel in 'Limits to Justice'

Explain with Analysis of your points

Another characteristic feature is its reliance on scientific methods and approaches - data, statistics and field survey. ex. Louise Tillin's 'Politics of welfare' uses all such methodologies. Modern approaches have contributed much to India's electoral behavior study.

Finally, the post-behavioral characteristic in contemporary political theory re-studies values and its effects esp. at a time when we see global issues - financial and a pandemic.

Remarks

Book

CS SCORE

(d) Hannah Arendt's Constructive view of Power is given in her 'On Human Condition'. It comes in direct contrast to extractive view of power as given by Marxist School.

Arendt believed power is not domination but empowerment. She assigns the attribute of Violence rather Power to the State.

The Constructive view of Power is a characteristic of the people or the Collective. For her, power is always legitimate.

Remarks

6.0

Power is also co-generis - arises when people come together in the public sphere.

A perfect manifestation of H. Arendt's power is Indian mass struggle for freedom - i.e. "people acting in concert".

H. Arendt's constructive view of power comes near to Foucault's views (Post-Modern School) of power - power as empowerment.

The constructive view of power was appealed to Counter Fascist states in inter-war period. Even today, with rise of demagogic leaders, Arendt's power is needed.

Remarks

Issues
Keywords
used as
by
H. Arendt

Add
Gramsci
Gandhi

Application
of
H.C.M.

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)

(c) Rawls's principles of social justice are a corrective to the liberal-utilitarian principle of the greatest happiness of the greatest number. Examine.

The Liberal principle of justice has been dominated by the Utilitarian tradition as given by Bentham. It takes narrow view of justice — as equality of welfare.

Greatest Happiness Principle

However, this equality of welfare is in terms of equality of pleasure. For them, each gets what they aspire for.

marks

And aspirations of each can be as low or as high. Such distributive justice would fulfill the Greatest Happiness of the Greatest Number. *good*

On the contrary, Rawls principle of social justice views individuals not as means for happiness of other but individuals as end in themselves.

Rawlsian principle takes dignity of each individual into account. It comes near to Deontological tradition whereas Utilitarianism is obsessed with Teleological tradition.

Remarks

Rawls in his principle of social Justice revives Kantian tradition of human dignity. He states "each person possesses inviolability founded on principles of justice". This refutes the utilitarian's cost-benefit analysis bases of Greatest Happiness of the Greatest Number (GHGN).

Further, even though Rawls accords priority to maximum equal liberty in his lexical priority. The other two principles being equality and the 'Difference Principles'.

emarks

write justification by veil of ignorance original position

write with proper explanation

Rawls's 'Difference Principle' maintains that the least-advantaged in the society is as least worst-off as they can be. Since society is like a chain ^{where} ~~and~~ the weakest link is as important as the strongest link.

Hence, Rawlsian social Justice doesn't concern itself with numbers but each individual. His theory provided and furthered Mills connection of Utilitarianism as happiness is not always quantity but also quality.

However, Rawls has been criticised for his principle of distribution by various

Remarks

Align your
Content
with
Doobee
Justification

10.2

GS SCORE

schools alike - Marxists calling it as vulgar justification for inequality while Communitarians questioning the universal applicability of Rawls's theory.

Even then with today's highly inequitable wealth in 21st Century (Piketty) makes Rawls relevant.

b) Marxist criticism of Rawls' Conception of Justice.

Marxist critique of Rawls Theory of Justice is rooted in the historical rivalry between the two schools of Liberalism and Marxism.

Remarks

5.5

first-
world
analysis
three
principles by
Rash
discuss through
keywords and
analysis
criticised by
Marxist

Marxist school have criticised Rawls
Difference Principle and his lexical
Order of Priority. Terming it as
vulgar justification of inequality.

Marxist conception of Justice is absolute
equality and call liberal school as
Formal equality. Marx conceived of
Justice as freedom from wants.

However, Rawls replying to the Marxist
School that such equality will result
in equal deprivation of all. And not
distribution of welfare but equal poverty.

And as opposed to Marxist critique, Rawls
conception of justice still hold ground in
contemporary political philosophy.

Remarks

(a) Explain the term Power. Also discuss the relationship between power, Legitimacy and Authority.

Power is the ability to make someone do something which they otherwise wouldn't do. It is exertable. But it can be visible (H. Arendt) or invisible (Giroux).

Power is a central theme in political science. However, it is a highly contested concept. Since concepts in political science are "inherently pluralistic".

The relationship between power, legitimacy and authority has been established by

Remarks

Max Weber. He held Authority is legitimate power which is the defining element of the modern states.

On the contrary, Marxist school holds power is always illegitimate and since state represents force being an instrument of the bourgeoisie. state will ultimately meet with Revolution and "wither away".

However, as opposed to Weberian theory of state's legitimacy, the debates on human rights, globalisation and 'rise of 'disaggregated states' like EU have decentred authority and resulting into post-national legitimacy [Habermas].

Remarks

discuss his classification

Explain

Power & Authority
Legitimacy

Enrich your
Subject matter

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 comes in response to inadequacies of participatory and representative democracy. The latter have taken democracy as in narrow sense i.e. - only as a form of government.

But Deliberative Democracy takes a wider view - i.e. - democracy as a value system and way of life.

Deliberative Democracy is based on Power of Argument and public Debate.

Remarks

It relies on 'public reasoning' as means and ways to policy-making.

It is here that Deliberative Democracy comes close to Discursive Democracy when people not only take part in elections but in policy-formulation.

Scholar of Deliberative Democracy Habermas calls for 'ideal speech situation' i.e. each has freedom and capability to speak. An ideal speech situation is free of external as well as internal barriers. Hence, the discursive democracy,

Remarks

Also supported by Amartya Sen who held "until and unless an issue becomes part of public sphere, govt. will not pay attention".

Similarly, Joshua Cohen finds legitimacy of state in deliberation. Such model of discursive democracy comes close to Marxists Radical Democracy.

However, Deliberative Democracy is not prone from criticism. As it has not been materialised yet in practical real life. Also, such a lengthened public discussions would lead to policy-paralysis since "overlapping consensus" would be difficult

Remarks

11.0

to achieve given today's diverse nation-states. Further, Communicative Action as given by Habermas would require strengthening of watch-dog institutions based on political will.

However, even though, the recent Ostbelgier Model of 'Citizens Council' can be considered an exercise in Deliberative Democracy in contemporary times.

① Add Discursive by Dryzek
demo. ~~Power~~
Pluralist Participation
Structure Your Answer
properly

Remarks

Analyse Contract theory as ground for legitimacy of the govt. and the obligation of the ppl to obey the govt. Also discuss the legitimation crisis. Theory of Habermas.

The Contract theory of the state is given by scholars of social Contract Tradition — Hobbes, Locke & Rousseau. It is mechanistic origin of theory of state.

Hobbes and Locke based this contract as the ground for legitimacy of the State. The state is treated as a means to protect the rights of the individuals. For Hobbes, the end being self-preservation of each while for Locke, it is protection of life, liberty & property.

Remarks

To come out of the hypothetical and anarchical state of Nature, each individual give up some/all of their rights to a collective entity - viz. State. For Hobbes "I give up all my rights to this entity on the condition that all give up their rights to the same entity." Hence, ensuring the legitimacy of the authority.

All would agree to such an obligation since all men are 'Rational Agents'. To choose between 'either complete authority (obligation) or either complete anarchy' - rational men

Remarks

To third
All powerful
Entity
Leviathan
↑
Supranational
Entity

quote

Representative

Direct democracy
with
Right

to Resist (Revolution)

would choose the former.

However, Social Contract Tradition has been criticised by feminist.

Scholar Carole Pateman for ignoring female's point of view and excluding women.

While, Marxists do not recognize such contracts dismissing it as 'false consciousness'. It considers Contract tradition as a Bourgeoisie concept to enforce domination of state.

Legitimation crisis Theory was given by Marxist scholar Habermas in response to the 'welfare state' as propounded by Positive Liberals.

Conclusion

Remarks

11.5
T.O
12.0

Habermas predicts such a 'post-capitalist state' is bound to collapse since based on "inherent contradictions" political system is Capitalist while social system is socialist. (both are contradictory principles.

The pressure of populism will make such states unsustainable ultimately leading to rolling-back of the ^{welfare} state.

Since state is instrument of the Bourgeoisie it will rule in favour of the rich rolling back its welfare policies. Thus, leading to legitimation crisis.

Today, Wall Street Mout. and Yellow vest Mout. and Macpherson's theory of maximum coercive power with Capitalists show

Remarks

class contradictions are not over yet & Compassionate Capitalism is further required.

good points
gt
keep improving

work with boxes

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

(a) Normative Approach is the oldest approach in political theory. It started with Ancient Greek scholars like Plato, Aristotle and their master Socrates.

Empirical Approach is comparatively newer as compared to normative and philosophical. It is said to have started with Machiavelli. He held "look at things as they are". However, even Plato gave his theory of Philosopher King after observing state of Athens.

Remarks

6.0

Normative approach is philosophical, prescriptive and rooted in values of justice, rights, liberty etc. Socratic method of 'Dialectics' is a suggested way.

While, Empirical approach is focus on Observation on the practical world.

It is descriptive. And include other approaches like Historical approach. Empirical approach gave way to origin of scientific methods & Behaviouralism.

However, even the post-Behaviouralism invites values and norms along with scientific approaches in political theory. But here, condensing both.

Remarks

①
good points
keep it
improving

②
increase
flow in

Your
Answer

Rather
Random
points

(b) Elitist and Pluralist models of Democracy fall under the Contemporary models of Democracy as laid out by C.B. Macpherson.

It was the result of Political sociology approach - studying interaction between state and society. Hence, can be considered contribution of Behavioral Movement in political science.

Both the models explain the real world, ignoring the substantive aspect of democracy. They are only focused on procedural aspect of democracy - i.e. free and fair conduct of elections.

Remarks

Both explain invisibilty of masses from domain of politics. While Elitist theory held power flows in a closed loop of what we see is actually "circulation of elites".

① Write proper features of the concepts

Pluralistic theory held power with masses is a myth. It is neither feasible nor desirable. Power is held by Corporate Class.

Mayhewson noted that both theories do not differ much in their features — gave "Dahl - Schumpeter Axis".

In India, we can see convergence of their features in rising crony capitalism and permanent ^{set of} elites in each political party restricting ^{the} trickling down of power to last man.

Remarks

(4) Equality of opportunity is the liberal conception of equality. It also believed in equality before law.

The conception of equality of opportunity has been contested in many debates by different schools.

The socialistic school calls for equality of outcome in place of mere opportunity. It views liberal conception as a Bourgeois concept.

It viewed merit is a flawed argument.

According to Karl Mannheim's sociology of knowledge, every theory represents interests of a social base. Hence, equality of

Remarks

6.5

Opportunity is credited to the rising middle class - Bourgeoisie.

Further, Amartya Sen belonging to school of Liberal Egalitarianism, suggests for equality of capabilities. This argument adds to the debate on Affirmative Action - where, only creating a level-playing ground is not enough.

Another liberal scholar R. Dworkin calls for equality of resources - initial distribution of resources be just.

However, equality of opportunity remains central theme on equality propounded by Neo-liberalism.

Remarks

Quote three by Thomas Lloyd John Schachtel Concept

mention legal provisions like Affirmative Action & Reservation

(d) Feminist school represents a meta-ideology with several sub-schools. Hence, feminist perspective on justice is not homogenous rather diverse.

With different waves of feminism, the concept of justice has evolved. For the First wave associated with Mary Wollstonecraft demanded justice as civic-political equality. Leading to women gaining right to vote and Universal Adult Suffrage.

To assert their rights, Wollstonecraft came out with 'Vindication of Rights of women' and French 'Charter of

Remarks

Rights of Women!

The second wave of Radical feminism called into question absence of women's perspective in academic discourse - political theory & philosophy.

Further, making distinction between 'Sex' and 'Gender', it questioned the rights of women to become what she desires. Simone De Beauvoir

held 'one is not born rather becomes a woman'. They even call reproductive capabilities enforcing injustice on women.

To achieve justice, some call for intervention by State as 'Differentiated Citizenship' while others view State as Instrument of Patriarchy.

Remarks

Address Core Demand of the question

① Quot FR perspectives also

② your work Quot Points Justice theories

like Agair Rawls theory and other

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. Sen

(a) Multiculturalism has come as a response to the increasing consensus on human rights and its associated debates in USA.

As opposed to Human Rights which demand certain universal rights for all, Multiculturalism demands differently. The above conception of Human Rights is criticised as Western attempt at ideological imperialism.

Multiculturalism demands not universal but community-specific rights —

Remarks

Bhikhu Parekh suggests giving Friday as weekly-off to Muslim workforce rather than a Sunday.

Multiculturalism demands such rights - poly-ethnic rights relative to culture and tradition of minorities, rights of self-representation and rights of self-governance. It comes close to Conservative Theory of Rights and Communitarian conception of equality.

However, Multiculturalism is itself divided on whether to extend such rights to refugees or limit it to national minorities (B. Parekh vs. Will Kymlicka).

However, today, increasing interaction between communities and ensuing intolerance make multiculturalism relevant.

Remarks

① Enrich your subject matter

② Write Paper 10 is

(b) Comment on Macpherson's concept of Creative Freedom.

Macpherson's concept of Creative Freedom stems from Macpherson's analysis of power distribution in society.

The maximum developmental and extractive power with Capitalists and negligible developmental and coercive power with workers show 'Class Struggle' is not over yet.

A situation of Creative Freedom is an ideal one, where each have maximum developmental power and none have extractive/coercive power.

Remarks

6.5

Such a ~~situation~~ ~~conception~~ of Creative Freedom would lead each to develop their capabilities and hence creative freedom to do what one wishes to do. On the condition of without impinging on developmental power of others.

This conception of Creative Freedom comes parallel to Amartya Sen's conception of Freedom as 'Being' and 'Doing'.

However, Macpherson's Creative Freedom is criticised for being utopian. But, it does provide a sliver of hope and a guiding light for today's democracies.

Remarks

(c) Examine Amartya Sen's critique of Rawlsian's approach to Social Justice.

Rawls's approach to Social Justice is 'Mutually Disinterested' 'Rational Agents' coming together behind 'veil of ignorance' to formulate rational principles for distribution of resources.

Amartya Sen critiqued Rawlsian's mutually disinterested Rational Agents making Rational Choice. In response, Sen calls for Social Choice.

A social choice is real men deliberating in real situations. Sen criticised Rational Agents as

Remarks

Abstract Agents whereas, man is
an 'embedded self' / 'situated self'.

Sen criticism of Rawls brings him
closer to Communitarian theory of
justice and rights. It held, for
each community / society, conception
of right / wrong is different and
~~situation~~ situated in each's circumstances
and ~~realities~~.

Further, for Sen, only equal distribution
of resources is not enough to
secure 'welfare of all'. Hence,
he proposes making each person

Remarks

equal in capabilities. He calls his theory of social justice as 'Realisation focused' approach.

Sen / giving example of different situations of a girl & boy child in India. As she suffers relatively more deprivation than her male counter-part.

It is held that sometimes by unequal distribution of resources, we make people equal. This is equitable distribution.

Further, Sen criticises the Rawls obsession with formulating a 'Purely Procedural'

Remarks

and 'Purely Rational' theory of justice.

As for Sen 'Niti' (procedure) and 'Niyaye' (justice) are equally important.

However, Sen critique of Rawlsian theory is from Sen's point of view who belongs to a developing country like India.

whereas, for Rawls, the task was revival of normative political philosophy and bringing the debate on justice back in academic discourse.

Rawls was also saving political theory from procedure-obsessed Behaviouralism.

Hence, in the suggested goals, Rawls contribution are marked very well.

Remarks

Enrich
your
Subject-
Matter

REMARKS

GS SCO

