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An Institute for Civil Services

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SHIVANI

RANK - 122

POLITICAL SCIENCE

TEST - 2



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POLITICAL SCIENCE*Time Allowed: 3 Hrs.**Max. Marks: 250***Instructions to Candidate**

- There are FIVE questions. All Questions are compulsory.
- 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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1. Invigilator's Signature _____

2. Invigilator's Signature _____

Name Shivani

Mobile No. _____

Date 25 NOV, 2021Signature Shivani

Roll - 36278

REMARKS

GS SCORE

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1. Answer the following questions:

- (a) What is the concept of justice in modern political theory? How is it related to Liberty and Equality? (200 Words) (15)
- (b) Comment: "Because the society is federal, the authority must also be federal". (Laski) (200 Words) (15)
- (c) Comment on the Substantive Democracy. (250 Words) (20)

Ans(a) - Justice refers to fairness. It may be in terms of distribution of resources, a non-discriminatory approach in socio-political sphere or re-distribution of power.

John Rawls is considered as pioneer of modern political theory of Justice.

In his book: Justice as fairness, he says -

"Justice is the first virtue of social system."

Rawls has linked justice to liberty and equality. In his book - The Theory of Justice, he has tried to give a universal grand theory. The rational negotiator appears on ORIGINAL POSITION under veil of Ignorance and determine 3 principles of Justice -

Remarks

- 1) Principle of liberty - To develop talent
 2b) Principle of equality of opportunity
 2a) Difference principle - positive discrimination for disadvantaged persons.

He says that in order to ensure Just and Fair social condition, liberty of individual to develop talent and work on merit is important. But to avoid concentration of power and equitable distribution of resources - equality of opportunity to everyone is required. It helps one achieve equal access to all offices and socio-economic equality.

Justice has also been described by libertarians like Robert Nozick who only favour liberty to secure justice and give absolute right to property. Amartya Sen has given multi-dimensional view of justice in terms of developing "capacity" to enjoy liberty.

7
 Good
 Remarks

Ans(b) - Laski is positive liberal scholar who has proposed Pluralist view of sovereignty of state.

Pluralists like Laski and MacIver believe that state is not the only institution that holds power. Rather power in a society is distributed among many bodies and institutions. They favour a model of "shared sovereignty" among religious, economic, societal and political (state) functionaries.

Laski says that since ^{society} ~~state~~ is federal, state or authority also needs to be federal. Here by federal society he means that diverse aspects in terms of religion, culture, language, classes etc present in society. They all can not be guided by "one size fit all" approach and need separate laws and authorities.

Remarks

He has given multidimensional view of man. He says that since universe is multidimensional hence so is man who is its constituent unit. This multi-dimensional nature needs to be regulated by multidimensional authority.

Laski has also highlighted the importance of state -

"State is the cornerstone of social architecture".

It means that presence of multiple authority for federal society is needed but the importance of state as institution stands out among such authority. Pluralists hence are criticised for keeping as well as eating the cake.

Laski emphasises on pluralist theory by calling monistic theory as "non-sense" which needs to be thrown out of books.

7/12

Good

Ans c - Substantive democracy refers to that democracy where power lies with public in real terms and not just theoretical terms. It is best understood when compared with procedural democracy.

PROCEDURAL DEMOCRACY -

This democracy focuses on procedures in politics. The conduct of free and fair elections, right to vote, protection of rights and grievance redressal related to it - ex freedom of speech, right to life and liberty etc.

SUBSTANTIVE DEMOCRACY -

It refers to procedural aspects including of functional aspects. The procedures of democratic functioning are given importance along with the functions. Hence it is also called as FUNCTIONAL THEORY of democracy.

The democracy functions as per will of people i.e. Popular sovereignty.

People are ultimate source of power in substantive democracy. It includes participation of people in democratic process like - voting, right to contest election, dissent, associate to protest etc. Direct democracy involves ^{at} most level of public participation by recall, initiative, plebiscite or referendum.

Deliberation also forms part of substantive democracy whereby any law or order is passed after due discussion and debate among stakeholders.

In India's context, the Supreme Court upheld substantive democracy over procedural democracy in

Maneka Gandhi case, 1978 when it held the "procedure established by law" as mentioned in Article 21 is flawed. Rather it refers to "Due Process of Law" where by Right to life and liberty of citizens occur in widest sense. Citizens are basic unit in democracy, hence their rights need to be analysed on the basis of fair, just and manner.

Hence, it can be said that all substantive democracies have procedural democratic aspects imbibed in it along with functionality.

Mention about some pluralist thinkers like Laskei, etc.

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Remarks

2. Answer the following questions:

- (a) Comment: "Power flows throughout the system like blood in the capillaries of our body". (Foucault) (200 Words) (15)
- (b) Analyse the relation between natural rights and human rights. (200 Words) (15)
- (c) The concept of equality provides substance to the concept of liberty. Explain. (250 Words) (20)

Ans(a) - Michael Foucault has given "sociological view of power". He says that power flows like blood in capillaries of our body, throughout the system. He is post modernist, post-structural thinker who has delved into MICRO VIEW of power.

Under his microview of power, he says that power does not lie with any body or structure in society. Power does not originate from a single source. Rather power is multi dimensional, "power is everywhere" and power flows from multiple sources towards multiple destinations simultaneously.

Remarks

He says that a person can simultaneously be a source of power, exercising power over someone as well as under somebody else's power and influence.

He has linked Power with Knowledge. He says knowledge is power. Discourses have been constructed in order to sell stories in form of theories. These theories are nothing but will to establish power over society and achieving "governmentality".

Foucault has highlighted that society has various systems each with its unique power. BIOPOWER is one such. He highlights the need of rationality to understand Regime of Truth related to power so that exploitation can be prevented.

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Good

Remarks

Ans b) Natural as well as human rights are proposed in order to grant some fundamental rights to man/women/others just for being so.

NATURAL RIGHTS -

The rights provided by nature to living beings. It is equal for human, plants, birds or animals. It gives the basic RIGHT TO LIFE, RIGHT TO LIBERTY

RIGHT TO SELF DETERMINATION

RIGHT AGAINST EXPLOITATION.

Natural rights for humans have been advocated by scholars like John Locke and Rousseau who considered State of Nature as "State of Bliss".

HUMAN RIGHTS -

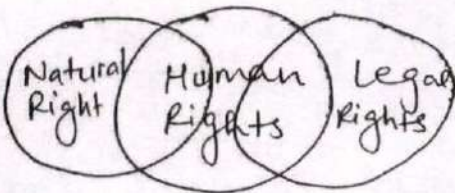
Human Rights came into vogue after world war-II. Universal Declaration of Human rights, 1948 by UN codified these rights for universal application. It is characterised by equality,

universality and are needed to survive with dignity.

RELATION BETWEEN TWO

Natural rights are ancient most while human rights are relatively new concept.

Human rights =
Natural + Legal rights



The two are inalienable for protecting life, liberty and property of humans. Human rights also include civic politico-legal rights which are not based on Natural rights.

Natural rights have been criticised by Jeremy Bentham in his book - Anarchical fallacies as "Non-sensical rights." He believes that human rights based on legal tradition only can ensure "greatest good of greatest number."

Remarks

Substantiate

it with the help of example

61
62

Ans (c) - Liberty and Equality are two contested concepts of polity which are considered complementary by some while conflictual by others.

Liberal scholars believe in focus on LIBERTY of individuals. It accepts man as "atomistic" being who need not depend on society. Classical and Neoliberals focus on freedom of man from all "external impediments".

Positive liberals have faith in state as institution to provide welfare functions and also "hinder the hinderances on liberty in terms of Mac Iver.

Socialist and Marxist scholars focus on EQUALITY as the utmost principle. They consider not only equality of opportunity but also need of equality of outcomes to

establish a just society. Marxist do not consider man different from community. They consider liberty as 'bourgeoisie concept' which leads to "Alienation" (Karl Marx).

Equality substantiating Liberty

Social liberal scholars believe that both equality and liberty are needed for proper functioning of social system.

Scholars like Amartya Sen, Jene Dreze, Joseph Stiglitz believe that Equal opportunity needs to be given to ensure liberty of all. They also favour positive discrimination in order to built CAPACITY to achieve FREEDOM.

John Rawls in his book- The Theory of Justice, has also

Remarks

talked about importance of liberty and equality substantiating and complementing each other for the establishment of just and fair social order.

He has given liberty first position in Lexical order and equal opportunity second position in order to ensure that each societal element gets fair chance to develop talent.

BR Ambedkar, in context of India, had advocated that liberty and equality are part of HOLY TRINITY which includes fraternity. Separating equality from liberty would lead to authoritarianism while liberty from equality would lead to crashing merit and innovation.

Equality thus ensures that liberty is enjoyed by all in fair just and equal manner.

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Good

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Remarks

3. Answer the following questions:

- (a) Throw light upon Neo-liberal theory of liberty? (200 Words) (15)
- (b) Communitarian criticism of Rawls's theory of justice paves the way for further refinement of the concept of justice. Do you agree? (200 Words) (15)
- (c) "Structural-functional approach to political analysis focuses more on status quoism, and less on change". Elucidate. (250 Words) (20)

Ans 3-(a) - Neo liberal theory of liberty originated as criticism of positive liberalism and welfare state model. It envisages the "Rolling Back of State" from socio-economic domain.

Neo liberal theory focuses on laissez-faire state as was prescribed by classical liberals. It restricts the state to political domain with regulatory functions also called as 'NIGHT WATCHMAN STATE'.

Its pioneers are Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher. They allowed the economy to be free again, reducing welfare functions and intervention tendencies. Washington Consensus laid down its principles.

Remarks

PHILOSOPHERS:

FA Hayek: He is considered as inspiration behind neo liberal revolution. He considers social justice as mirage and believes that welfare functions of state have limited access. He rather proposes "charity" to promote welfare.

Robert Nozick: In his book - Anarchy, State and Utopia, he considers rolling back of state as important for developing individual merit and innovation in capitalism.

Ann Rynd: She considers state should not perform welfare functions because it increases inefficiencies in society.

Neo-liberals focussed on free market, capital development, liberty over equality, absolute right to life and property.

Remarks

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Good

Ans b - Rawls tried to give a grand theory of justice which could have universal application.

Communitarian Critique:

Communitarians focus on community as important social institution. They don't consider man as atomistic being but rather "embedded self" whose actions and characters are defined by the community in which he lives.

Michael Walzer - In his book -

"Spheres of Justice", he has criticised Rawls for proposing uniformity in distribution of social goods. He says that -

- "Different goods ought to be distributed differently" -

He also highlights that universal application of any theory is against the principle of Diversity.

A community in South Asian or African region has different values than that of American society. Hence he says that there can not be one sphere of justice rather multiple spheres of justice based on norms of communities.

MICHAEL SANDEL - In his book - "Liberalism and theory of Justice" he has criticised Rawls for ignoring the importance of community in a man's life. He says that community is the source of values, morality, virtues that a person holds. Hence treating man as atomistic rather than 'embedded self' is wrong.

Communitarian critics influenced Rawls to refine his theory of justice accepting that it is largely for individualistic societies like us. Diverse communities have their own fair traditions.

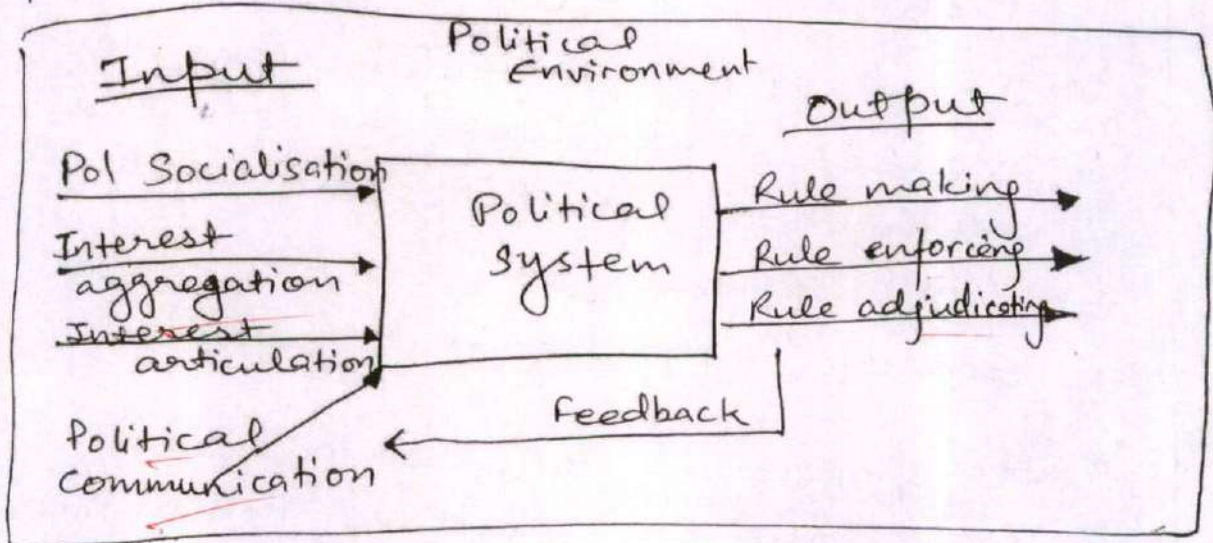
Remarks

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Good

Ans (c) - Structural functional Approach was given by Almond and Powell to refine the systems approach of David Easton.

structural functional approach focuses on multiple structures present in any political system and functions performed by them to comparative Politics approach. It distinguishes the functions into -



It thus identifies that any political system perform basic input principles by citizenry and output functions by government. There exists a

Remarks

feedback mechanism which involves function of civil society - intelligentsia, media etc.

Status quoist:

The structural functional approach to political analysis has been criticised as being status quoist. It is because:

- It fixes the structure in society and evolves the function around them.

- It gives limited functions to masses who may change the method of participation with evolving time.

Example - Panchayat Raj system.

- Its focus is on centralised functionaries rather than the decentralisation of power.

MARXIST scholars have criticised this approach of being status

quoist because -

- It tends to assume that society is democratic and liberal. Society can also be socialist or communist.
- It has failed to take into account any possibility of disruption, crisis or revolution that can change politico-social structure.
- It has not focused on community based south asian and African regions.

Though structural functional approach is criticised for being status quoist, it has evolved and refined itself from System's theory. It takes into account - multiple structure present in society, functions performed by different political system, diversity in functions which are performed by specific structures and mixed functions. This provides wide scope for this approach to evolve with time and

Remarks

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remain relevant.



Remarks

4. Answer the following questions:

- (a) Analyse the relationship of state and government? What are the most basic features of state irrespective of their origin, nature and evolution? (200 Words) (15)
- (b) Provide arguments to support the statement "Liberty and equality are inherently opposed to each other". (200 Words) (15)
- (c) What are the exclusive features of a Liberal State which differentiate it from authoritarian or totalitarian states? (250 Words) (20)

Ans 4(a) - State is the institution in which various functions are carried by government through governance process for welfare of public as per their will.

State and Government -

"State is the highest form of social institution" - Aristotle

"State originated for life of people and continued for their good life" - Aristotle.

Aristotle has given importance to state over individual. The state is imaginary institution. Its regulatory authority which not only regulates public but also safeguards state's territory and sovereignty is Government. Government

Remarks

is the authority which aids in functioning of state. It is visible and responsible component of invisible state.

Basic Features of State -

Highlight various features.

Garner says - "Politics begins and ends with state."

State, irrespective of its origin or nature has 4 components -

- Territory - It is the defined area about which a state evolves
- Population - Population forms the 'governed unit' of state.
- Government - It is 'governing institution' which performs regulatory and welfare functions.
- Sovereignty - It is decision making power of state and its authorities independent of any external or internal influence.

These are actually elements of state.

6

State is the basic unit of polity which acts as cornerstone of all social institution. It commands because it serves.

Remarks

Ans (b)- Liberty and equality are two contested concepts of polity which have been given complementarity and conflictuality based on different ideologies.

LIBERALS -

They consider liberty as utmost principle. They feel that equality brings down the merit and efficiency in system. Liberty is needed for protection of life, property and limited government.

John Locke - The father of liberalism advocates absolute right to life and property inclusive of liberty.

Liberals are against positive discrimination because it leads to inefficiency and mediocracy.

Sumner - "A drunkard ought to be in gutter."

He says that those who can't work for existence need not be compensated.

Libertarians like Robert Nozick has called for absolute freedom of man from any social, religious or cultural bonds.

Remarks

SOCIALISTS -

Socialists uphold the principle of Equality. The focus on equal distribution of resources. Their concern is that liberty is focussed in order to support capitalism as it leads to "Alienation" in terms of Karl Marx.

They not only demand equality of opportunity but also equality of outcome to ensure social justice. They criticise that - "A hungry man cannot think of liberty but food by equal accessibility and affordability."

SOCIAL LIBERALS -

They promote a coalition of liberty and equality as value for all round development of man. Joseph Stiglitz, Amartya Sen and John Rawls back it.

6 Though liberty and equality have been at cross roads traditionally, the modern conception of WELFARE STATE has brought them much closer and in sync.

Remarks

Also discuss participatory democracy

Ans (c) A liberal state concept is challenged by totalitarian state in terms of their development, policies and rights and liberties of subjects.

Exclusive Feature of liberal state:

- A liberal state epitomised by USA is one which values the rights of its citizen. The government is limited one and restricted to political sphere.

In totalitarian state, the government is all powerful. Example - Nazi state of Germany under Hitler and Italy under Mussolini.

- In a liberal state popular sovereignty is dominant while in totalitarian state leader is supreme and only his will is important.
- In a liberal state democratic functioning and deliberative processes prospers while in authoritative state, as Mussolini said - "Democracy is the luxury of rich and parliament is talking shop."

- In a liberal state principle of separation of power and checks and Balances among different organs of government is promoted to ensure that none of the organs - executive, judiciary or legislature becomes all powerful.

In a totalitarian state, the power is concentrated in the hands of one leader and few elites. There is "circulation of power" within the family only.

- In a liberal state, people ensure transparency and accountability in functioning of government. They have right to dissent and voice concern in government policies.
Example - Farmers protest in India.

In a totalitarian state any voiced raised is considered as violation of authority and punished.

Ex - Tianmen Square protest of China

Remarks

- In a liberal democracy, a system of free fair elections, independent interest groups, impartial judiciary and free media exists.

Authoritarian states usually have single dominant party and regulates the judiciary and media so that only that information reaches to public which is approved by authority. It generates "false consciousness" as feared by GRAMSCI.

- In a liberal state, usually the economic system is open and competitive while in a closed state protectionist tendencies are visible. Ex- Autarky of Hitler.

- In a liberal state, many ~~ideas~~ ideologies exist whereas opposite ideologies are suppressed in totalitarian states.

As the liberal state is progressive, developmental, welfareist and democratic in its functioning - it is most popular state in the present world.

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Remarks

5. Answer the following questions:

- (a) Distinguish between the empirical and normative conceptions of political theory? Differentiate between Political Theory and Political Thought? (200 Words) (15)
- (b) What is elite theory of democracy, how are it is true to say participatory and deliberative democracies are two sides of a coin? Examine. (200 Words) (15)
- (c) What do you understand by karel vaske's conception of 'three generation human rights'? Do you agree that Human rights are contested notion of Western and Eastern civilization, examine. (250 Words) (20)

Ans (a) - Political theory is the process of disseminating any political idea based on ideal or realist interpretations.

EMPIRICAL VS NORMATIVE:

Empirical approach to political theory is rather new largely led by Behaviouralists. The proposer - DAVID EASTON discarded normative theories as armchair theories which have not real influence. Behaviouralism rather promoted value free, specialised, variable and scientific approach to study political theory.

Normative theory were promoted by Plato and Aristotle in ancient times as they prescribed norms and ideas. It is based on prescription of ideas regarding world politics and its issues - rights, liberties, justice, equality etc.

Remarks

Normative theory has seen resurgence after post behavioural revolution. John Rawls is tallest exponent with his Theory of Justice.

Political Theory vs Political Thought -

- Political theory is given to disseminate any revolutionary idea or validate existing idea by one philosopher.
Political thought is rather backed by the community who share same views.
- Political theory has relevance within or future times while political thought is restricted to the contemporary time.
It is temporal in nature.
- Political theory is narrow in scope as it has single source of origin while political thought has wider scope.

It may be said that any present theory may shape present or future political thought and vice versa.

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Remarks

Ans b - ..

ELITE THEORY OF DEMOCRACY -

Elite theory of Democracy refers to the condition where power is shared only among elites and does not trickle down to public.

It has been proposed by PARETO in his theory of power that power lies with fox or lion and "circulation of power" takes place.

MOSCA has validated the theory by saying that governed class is always under influence of governing class.

Elitist theory was also given by C Wright Mills who analysed USA system and said that it is a democracy ruled by elites. Only few power bases are present. Robert Dahl in his analysis termed USA as fractured democracy where some interest groups like - arms, chemicals lobby and circulate power.

Remarks

In his book Political Parties, Robert Michels has given "Iron law of oligarchy" that democracy creates a false sense of participation of all rather it is participation of only oligarchy.

MacPherson has criticised elitist theory and proposed radical theory of Democracy.

Participatory and Deliberative Democracy

These two democracies are considered as two sides of same coin because • deliberation leads to participation in process

- Participation involves debates, discussions and deliberations.

In a democracy, public participation is important to ensure accountability of government. Hannah Arendt called it "zoon Politicon." It is needed to stop democracy converting to authoritarianism.

Remarks

Explain these two more comprehensively

System.

Deliberative democracy is proposed by Joshua Cohen for plurality and Habermas for "Communicative Action".

Hence both the deliberative and participatory democracy are two sides of same coin which help in maintaining Popular Sovereignty.

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Ans c - Karel Vasak's theory of three generations of human rights is to promote a division among evolution of human rights from minimum level to maximum areas.

3 generations -

I Generation - Civil - Political Rights
(Before 1940s)

This included the right to elect government, freedom of speech and expression, right to vote and access to public offices, right to dissent etc. It revolved around government structures.

II Generation - Socio - economic and Cultural Rights (1940s - 1970s)

These rights included right against exploitation, right to fair living wages, right to relax, equal wages and rights for women,

Remarks

gender justice in socio-economic context and equitable distribution of resources.

II Generation - Global Rights (1970s onwards)

These rights involve the concern for welfare of humanity as a whole. It has global context and effect and impact across countries. One country may even stand up for violation of rights in other country.

- Example -
- Refugee rights
 - Environmental concerns -
 - Right to clean air
 - Right to healthy environment
 - LGBTQ + rights

These rights help increase solidarity and fraternity in global system based on Indian value of Vasudhaiv Kutumbakam

Human Rights as Contested Notion

The western civilisation have eloved in terms of human rights to III generation while in eastern

Countries a simultaneous existence of all rights can be seen.

Example - Narmada Bachao Andolan focused on rehabilitation of people, their employment as well as less to environment.

Western countries have been accused of imposing their cultural rights on Asian countries which uphold familial & societal ties above individual. "ASIAN VALUES" have been promoted to highlight this crisis.

To tackle the concern, approach of Value Pluralism and multiculturalism has been promoted. Isaiah Berlin has called for West to understand the culture of East before dealing with human rights. The UN can act as conciliatory machine to promote human rights based on value neutrality in both east and west block.

Remarks

9 1/2

Good