



SHUBHRA RANJAN

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Political Science & International Relations

Crash Course & Test Series - 2023

Test 1

Time Allowed: 3 Hours

Max Marks: 250

Name

SHASHWAT AMRAWAL

Test Date

11-07-2023

UPSC Roll No

0861827

Instructions:

1. There are EIGHT questions divided in TWO SECTIONS and candidate has to attempt five questions in all.
2. Question Nos. 1 and 5 are compulsory and out of the remaining, any three are to be attempted choosing at least ONE question from each section.
3. Content of the answer is more important than its length.
4. Answers must be written in the medium authorized in the admission Certificate, which must be stated clearly on the cover of the booklet in the space provided.
5. Content of the answer is more important than its length.
6. Any page or portion of the page left blank in the Question-Cum-Answer Booklet must be clearly struck off.
7. All parts of the question should be written at one place itself.
8. Write the test in exam atmosphere.
9. **Filling all the details in BLOCK LETTERS is mandatory.**

S. No.	a	b	c	d	e	Total
1						
2				X	X	
3				X	X	
4				X	X	
5						
6				X	X	
7				X	X	
8				X	X	
Grand Total						

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	Poor	Average	Good	Very Good	Excellent
Understanding of Questions					
Structure & Flow					
(a) Introduction					
(b) Conclusion					
(c) Overall					
Subject Knowledge					
Presentation					
(a) Underline					
(b) Paragraph					
(c) Overall					

Overall Remarks:

Dear Student,

All the best for next test....!!!



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Que.1 (a)

"There is no science of politics any more than there is a science of aesthetics-for the line of politics are not the lines of mathematics". (Burke)
Comment. (10 Marks)

According to Burke, political science is a master science, an architectonic idea, from which all other disciplines take its cue. It is however, contested whether politics is a scientific tradition or not.

Contemporary scholars like Lord Boyle brought science into politics arguing that "we need facts, facts and facts". This led to rise of behavioural tradition which made political science an offshoot of other sciences.

However, as Burke contends, there is no science of politics as politics in itself is a value-laden tradition. Other scholars like Alexander Cobban and

Dante Germino critique behaviouralists for killing the very fundamentals of politics.

Hence, David Easton in his address to American Political Association argues that armchair theorists perfecting techniques in ivory towers have forgotten the purpose for which these theories are to be created.

This led to a semblance of balance in use of values and science in political science. Behavioural theories of political analysis and electoral studies are contrasted with value theories of justice & liberty as propounded by Rawls and Sen.



Que.1(b)

Critically Evaluate the significance of Rawls concept of veil of ignorance. (10 Marks)

According to John Rawls, "Justice is the first virtue of any social institution just as truth is the ^{first} virtue of any system of thought. For Rawls, Justice is in two senses - fairness in spirit."

In his work Theories of Justice, John Rawls gives the universalist & rationalist conceptions of justice which he claims initiate form ideas of liberalism. He, in order to decipher such principles, put all beings in an 'original position' - where all humans are behind a veil of ignorance to determine the distribution of primary goods.

He claims that men being rational, chose to maximize their pleasure & minimize their disadvantages. On this basis, they

choose the lexical order of justice where they prioritize liberty over equality of opportunity. However, in name of democratic equality, he allows state to depart from other principles to benefit the least advantaged sections of society.

Rawlsian view of 'veil of ignorance' is critiqued by social liberals like A-Jen who argue that people choose in social conditions than rational conditions based on social choice. Communitarians like Michael Sandel critique from considering an isolated self than an embedded self. "Self is not prior to the end; but determined by the end."

"Rawls therefore modifies his theory in political liberalism" arguing applicability over only political sphere and democratic society.



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Que.1(c)

Analyse Kymlicka's theory of multicultural citizenship. (10 Marks)

Will Kymlicka in his work "Multicultural citizenship" describes Multiculturalism as a natural extension of liberalism.

Multiculturalism refers to toleration and acceptance to practices of other cultures - based on religion, ethnic or linguistic lines. Kymlicka argues that States shall grant those rights of minority

a) Political rights - cultural or ethnic rights

b) Self-governance rights

c) Special representation rights

However, he restricts the application of such rights only to national ~~minorities~~ minorities and not non-citizen as immigrants shall adapt to the emigrating

Country's culture.

Bhikhu Parekh criticises Kymlicka for not considering cultural rights of non-citizen minorities as without respecting one's culture one cannot respect the human being. He suggests equitable cultural rights to them based on equal principle.

Feminists like Brian Molloy Okin critique multiculturalism for focusing on other cultures that may have degrading practices against women. Liberals like A. Sen and Brian Barry critique it for promoting ghettoisation and mobilisation on specific identity issues.

Yet multiculturalism is an essential theory to handle the ^{emerging} challenges such as white supremacy, neo-conservatism among western societies.



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Que.1(d)

M.N Roy conceived of humanism as scientific, integral and a radically new worldview. Comment. (10 Marks)

M.N Roy is known as Father of Radical
~~the~~ Democracy. He was known for the
theories of radical humanism, freedom and
scientific rationalism.

In his work "Reason, Romanticism and
Revolution", Roy argues humanism emanates
from radical understanding of freedom. "Freedom
is the means and freedom is the end". He
argued for political, social and economic
freedom for man to realize his true human
potential. There shall be complete freedom
from religion as it suppresses man's reasoning
capabilities.

He further emphasised on scientific rationality
and reason as being foundations of knowledge.
He was inspired from Sartre who
argued that "reason is made up of

proteins." For Roy, Human brain was the basic structural form which everything else emanated. He applied his conception in two forms - critical: to remove the unnecessary models and constructive to create a world based on radical evolutionism.

In his scientific world view, he imagined a cosmopolitan union of free persons who interact through 'network of people' committed. He thus argue for state socialism, nationalization of industries combined with universalism as he himself participated in several committees.

Roy's was criticized by Rudipto Kawiraj for 'promoting heteronomy' i.e. cross utilization of ideas across spaces without logical basis.

Yet, his views were revolutionary of the time, as pointed by 'Sibnarayan Deb' who claims he pushed from feudalism to rationality. Even Nehru called him man of immense of intellectual capacity.



Que.1(e)

Critically Analyze Hannah Arendt's view on ideology. (10 Marks)

Hannah Arendt was an existential phenomenologist who is known for the power and originality of her ideas.

In her work "On Totalitarianism", Arendt argues that ideologies are constructs that are used by totalitarian to propagate their philosophy as ultimate. On this basis, they capture complete power and undertake innate violence in society.

Arendt critiques Maoism and Fascism to propagate ideology in name of rationality and justifying violence in its goals. Maoism claimed class struggle as irreconcilable giving rise to a totalitarian state in name of Stalinism. Fascism call for racial purity and justify them on scientific grounds of Racial Darwinism (Herbert Spencer)



Hence, ideology are used to depoliticise the masses, to kill their capability of critical reasoning and justify any action in this regard. Superstition ideology leads to human beings shifting from their activity of zoön politikon to animal laborans and homogeneity.

Further, in such scenario, will in society becomes faulter, normalised and baral. She goes closer to Karl Popper's critique of Marx, Hegel & Plato for committing guilt of historicism.

Arendt aims to reviv the tradition of civic republicanism and public reasoning over and above unquestionable adherence to an ideology.



Que. 3(a)

The general aim of deliberative democracy is to provide the most justifiable conception for dealing with moral disagreement in politics. Explain with reference to the views of Habermas. (20 Marks)

According to Lord Bryce, democracy refers to the rule by the people, expressing their sovereign will and majority opinion defining legislation.

The origin of democracy can be traced back to works of Hesiodotus in 5th century BC. Democracy essentially is a form of government where power of governance is vested in the citizens. However, in modern times, scholars like JS Mill have called 'deliberation' and 'freedom of speech & expression' as most important component of democracy.

Deliberative democracy essentially entails that decision-making and legislation



in a democracy shall emanate out of public reasoning, debate and deliberation.

Joshua Cohen argues that deliberative democracy allows respect for plurality of views and non-coercion in legislations. It encompasses consensus building over critical issues allowing successful resolution of disagreements in politics. Hence deliberation shall be a continuous tradition in democratic political culture.

Major push for deliberation in democratic life comes from Jürgen Habermas a neo-Marxist scholar of Frankfurt School. He espouses the 'creation of a public sphere' where well-meaning citizens participate in deliberations through 'ideal communicative action' and 'speech'



act'. For Habermas, true meaning of democracy is not proceduralism as prescribed by contemporary scholars like Schumpeter & Dahl, but substantivity and "core of it" which emanates from deliberation.

Without rational public debate, a democratic state would fall into the folds of welfarist-capital nexus, leading to the legitimation crisis. His views go closer to Nancy Fraser who argues for establishment of 'contra-sphere' as a differential domain of public participation in politics.

In recent times, Hannah Arendt and Amartya Sen give similar ideation to the importance of speech act. Hannah Arendt

in his work Human Action urges people to indulge in soon politition and come in contest to exercise real power. Amalgya Sen, in his work "An Unstable Glory" claims that lack of discourse on health in India is responsible for poor state action on the critical issue.

Habermas' idea of deliberation is more than ever critical today due to decline of legislatures around the world (Samuel Huntington) and rise of strongman leaders (Shashi Tharoor). Rejigging the necessity of deliberation is critical for democratic sustainability.

As Madhav Gadgil pointed out, "Democracy is not merely voting once in five years, but actively deliberating and participating at all levels of governance at all times."

Q.3(b)

How does feminists conceive state and its role when it comes to overcoming the subordination of women? Discuss (15 Marks)

Feminism is a philosophy that aims to raise the concern of unequal treatment meted out to women and effectuate the measures to ameliorate them. Feminists blame the state as being responsible for perpetuating the values of patriarchy.

Catherine Macinnon argues that "when she looks at the state, the state appears to be male". This is because state policies deliberately miss out the concern of women and perpetuate male domination at all levels.

Simon de Beauvoir in her work, "The second sex" claims that gender inequality are not natural but construct of the civilization, tradition and culture. It is

essentially a social construct. These paradigms creep into the state which views society and family from similar lens.

Susan Moller Okin in her work "Gender, Justice & Family" argues that it is 'not the economic structure' that is the basic structure, but 'patriarchy' which is the basic structure of society. State as an institution function as an offshoot of patriarchy.

For Okin, State creates policies antithetical to women's concerns as women have very low representation in the state. For instance, wife beating was legal in United States till 1960s. Similarly there are various loopholes in rape laws and laws on domestic violence.

To overcome this subordination, there is need of making 'personal as political'. Unfathomed realm of private life shall not be cornered around as space of family and state exclusivity. Liberals like Mary Wollstonecraft had argued right to vote & right to equitable participation in state activities. Radical scholars like Betty Friedan argue for politics of social movement to force state to agree to their demands.

In recent times, scholars like Will Marion Young have argued for 'differentiated citizenship' with state to ensure women get special privileges from state policies to overcome their social deprivations.

In contemporary times, state policy such as Triple Dalai bill, medical termination of pregnancy act and uniform civil code can be seen as such methods. organised feminist movements need to further push for same.

Que.3(c)

With reference to the Asian values debate, critically evaluate cultural relativistic perspective of human rights. (15 Marks)

Human rights are inalienable, universal and indivisible rights that are entitled to all human beings irrespective of their citizenship. They got global ratification by the passage of universal declaration of Human Rights in 1948.

Human rights are considered as the most energetic ideas of the time with global contents on its necessity. However, beyond that, they are highly contested.

Cultural relativism like Fray Boy criticise human rights over promoting a particularist and specificist value judgement. They prescribe to the western values of utmost individual liberty and



atomised human, that misses on diverse connotations associated with society and community in other cultures.

Former PM Mahatir Mohammad of Malaysia argues that human rights debate miss out on 'intrinsic nature' of Asian values. They prioritise role of social solidarity and community spirit in day-to-day public life. Utmost conception of individualism will make man an isolated self and delect him from his cultural traditions.

Enikhu paueku also ^{considering} contradict intelligency among cultures as anti-human as culture are part and parcel of human civilisation. There should be utmost

toleration to all cultures as no
culture is perfect in itself.

Furthermore, Human rights are
criticised not only for their Eurocentric and
Western bias, but an attempt of Western
powers to promote regime change and
control other sovereignty. The child of human
rights discourse - the instrument of
'responsibility to protect' was criticised for
mass-violence and regime change in Libya.

Yet, scholars from feminist school,
argue that some notions of global human
rights are imperialist to secure women's
rights. Asian values are criticised by
Brian Barry for promoting fast authoritari-
anism.

As pointed out by David Bebbin there
is need of balance among civilization to
bring consensus over ³⁰ core global values
and balance human rights with cultural diversity



Que. 5(a)

"History repeats itself, first as tragedy, second as farce". (Marx)
Comment. (10 Marks)

Karl Marx is one of the most revolutionary thinkers of 19th century. According to Marx, Marx is known for his excellent critique of capitalism and theory of historical materialism.

For Marx, the true motor of history has been change in the material conditions of life. He criticised Hegel for considering 'Idea' as truth, whereas ideas for Marx, are false consciousness.

For Marx, society are based on base structure consisting of inmate modes of production. As they change, society in part have evolved from primitive societies to slavery to feudalism and to capitalism.

He argues that History repeats itself

as with time, the changing relations of production become a jettty on existing modes of production. When the two cannot co-exist, societies are changed and new ones are created.

These are tragedy as the divergence in relations and means of production lead to inrate exploitation of one class - transending them eventually from class in itself to class for itself.

Once they are organized, they become power, as shift in basic structure (revolution) radically changes all other institutions, body. He envisages end of capitalism giving rise to socialism and subsequently a stateless society as a result.

Though criticized for monocausal explanation of history (Marx) and Economic overdetermination (Althusser), Marx successfully brings 'materialism' to center stage of political discourse.

Write a short note on 'Overlapping Consensus'. (10 Marks)

the concept of 'overlapping consensus' was given by John Rawls in his work:

"Political Liberalism" post his modification to the original "theory of justice".

Communitarians like Michael Sandel and Michael Walzer criticized Rawls for putting an atomistic nature of self and individualistic conception of community in his theory of justice - "different goods ought to be distributed differently by different mechanisms in different societies" - Sand Walzer

Accommodating the critique, Rawls modified his theory of justice to reduce them to only political sphere calling them "Political theories of justice". Further, they were to be practiced in societies with



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democratic political culture. He argued that despite different value conceptions, communities in such societies will develop overlapping consensus based on praise relation, toleration and plurality. In democratic political culture, all communities will offer each other fair terms of cooperation. This overlapping consensus will allow justice to be percolated in atleast the political sphere.

Rawlsian overlapping consensus takes him closer to multicultural theory like Shrikur Parekh who argue for "dialogue among civilisations" to agree on some common values like human dignity.



What do you understand by 'Differentiated citizenship'? (10 Marks)

The idea of differentiated citizenship means differential state powers for different classes of citizens.

The idea of differentiated citizenship is contemporary in origin argued by feminist scholars like Joi Wallington Young who claim that women being the depressed sections deserve affirmative powers and positive discrimination to enjoy the actual and equitable rights. If both men and women are extended equal rights, women will continue to remain deprived as they are the discriminated sex.

Differentiated citizenship are both of powers of affirmative action. Even Ambedkar argued for special powers.

Davids & Goliath to bring them at par with other communities. For Ambedkar, it is critical to percolate democracy from top soil to actual social and economic democracy.

However, idea of differential citizenship is contested. Liberals like Robert Nozick argue equality in entitlements as formable acquisition from one to give to others is unjust. Indian scholars like Ramchandra Guha also claim that ^{debate on} policies of redistribution shed more heat than light.

Yet differentiated citizenship are critical instruments to bring level playing field and in true sense promote justice (social, economic or political) in society. (Part III 38)



Que. 5(d)

Compare Austin's theory of Sovereignty with that of Pluralists (10 Marks)

~~Austin~~ The concept of sovereignty of state emanated from Treaty of Westphalia of 1648. It espouses monopoly of an institution (state) over violence in a territory (max. power).

theory of Austinian sovereignty was unbridled sovereign power to state to command compliance in its region. He was inspired by John Hobbes who argued his sovereignty as having the 'dominion to make laws' with complete supremacy over all non-political associations.

"For Austin, law is the command of the sovereign". of a ^{human} ~~the~~ determinate receives utmost obedience from the majority of men irrespective of like determinate, such determinate is the sovereign.

However, pluralist critique Austin
for creating absolute state giving rise to
paternalist state in inter-war period. Pluralist
like Lashli argue that "if sovereignty is
ideal, authority shall also be federal."

It would be of lasting benefit of disruption
of political science, if concept of sovereignty
is expunged out of discipline.

Maitland also argues that state is just
one of the other associations. It is both
the guardian of law and child of law -
giving rise to welfare state. Other institu-
tions like church, tradition deserve equal
compliance of humans.

However, even pluralist like Lashli
agree that state is above other institu-
tions as it is the 'keystone of social
architecture'.



Que. 5(a)

Write a short note on 'Legitimation crisis'. (10 Marks)

The legitimation crisis was given by the neo marxist scholar of Frankfurt school Jürgen Habermas.

Habermas argues that cultural scholar fail to understand how capitalism maintaining legitimacy in its favour by role of media and mythology. However, Habermas argues that the system of welfare state as having resolved the labor capital contradiction is untenable.

Habermas argues that states which are different in nature produce "separation in politics and capitalism in economics".

He supplements ~~that~~ Paul (Ralph Miliband) who argued that welfare state has



not benefited the working class.

Habermas claims that neofascist states have policies which make large election promises before elections and implement them leading to large deficits and subsequent rollback of such policies.

This leads to breakdown of legitimacy leading to a legitimation crisis.

Habermas postulates 'public sphere' and 'ideal communicative action' to address the challenge of legitimation crisis. Only through deliberation, public reasoning and debate can such crisis be resolved.



Que. 6(a)

'Equality of what'? ... This question has provided a momentum from procedural equality to a substantive notion of equality. Elaborate. (20 Marks).

According to Dworkin, equality is of 'substantive nature'. Equality refers to allocation to create a society with equitable distribution of resources, entitlements and privileges. However, it is a highly contested concept.

The theoretical origins of equality can be traced back from Aristotle who gave a proportionate theory of equality - "treating equals equally and unequals unequally". In modern times, scholars like R.H. Tawney argued for unfettered equality of opportunity in his work "Equality" (1938). Scholars like John Rawls in contractualist tradition viewed equality to a mere procedure - that is equal opportunity to hold office.



of development. Bentham argued for equality of utility where each person shall hold as much help as he seeks to; to satisfy their pleasures.

The major break to procedural theory came from Marxist scholars who argued that utmost equality based on equality of outcomes shall be socialist goal. "from each according to his ability to each according to his need". They argued for 'freedom of necessity' as true realization of equality.

The radical view of equality was critiqued by social liberals who argued that complete equality will translate into tyranny. Hence they gave a 'golden mean' of procedural equality and



Radical equality - to make concept of equality most equitable and substantive.

In recent times, John Rawls in his "Theories of Justice" gives potential answer to "Equality of what". He claims that in 'original position', minimal equal liberty and equality of opportunity shall be secured, however, in order to establish true democratic equality, state's policy shall depart from them to benefit the least advantaged section of society. For him, progressive taxation and affirmative action are critical for promoting justice in society.

R. Dworkin on other hand argues for resource egalitarianism where resources shall be justly distributed initially with a safety mechanism for insurance.

pool for womening natural disabilities and bad lucks.

Amartya Sen takes equality to its permutable substance by expounding Equality in capabilities to allow human beings to be able to realize the fruits of development.

"A school is as good as road, that takes one there," he said. For him, equality was a realization practical approach. Commentators like Michael Wyles argue for complex equality in all spheres of human life.

Recent debates on balancing freedom and equality attest the importance of 'equality' as a political concept. Rawls's idea of synthesis of liberty and equality translating into justice is way for future policy.

Que. 6(b)

Critically analyze Bhiku Parekh's criticism of Will Kymlicka's notion of multiculturalism. How feminists look at multiculturalism? (15 Marks)

Multiculturalism refers to acceptance and tolerance by state, society and people to diverse cultural specificities of other communities based on religious, ethnic or linguistic grounds. It is essentially a 'child of globalization'.

Will Kymlicka in his work "Multicultural citizenship: A liberal theory of minority rights" argue that multiculturalism is a natural extension of liberalism. To secure it, national minorities shall be granted polyethnic, self-representation and self-governance rights. However, it shall not be extended to immigrant minorities as they shall "adapt" to the

values of emigrating country.

Bhikhu Parekh conveyed Kymlicka on ground that there is no problem in respecting cultural rights of non-citizen minorities. Culture is part and parcel of a person's personality. Without respecting one's culture, one cannot respect the human being.

Hence, states shall apply harum principle in granting cultural rights and practices that do not harum mainstream culture shall be allowed. For instance, Bhikhu Parekh argues that there is no problem in allowing girls to wear headscarf in schools. Furthermore, Parekh argues that there shall be dialogue among civilisations to come to some common

human values like human dignity.

feminists like Susan Moller Okin in her work 'Gender Justice and Family' argues that other cultural practices have denigrating practices against women. For instance, Dawoodi Bohra Muslim community has practice of genital mutilation of girls in some regions. Multiculturalism can lead to acceptance to such practices.

There is therefore need of basic standards of human rights that should be adhered globally with specific protection to women. Hillary Clinton also pointed out that Human Rights are women's rights.

With rise of multiculturalism, emerging challenges like ghettoization (Ananya Sen), minoritism (Brian Barry) and sexual supremacist movements, need to be tackled. Though multiculturalism is the cause, it is the only way to tackle them also.

Que.6(c)

Explain Isaiah Berlin's two concepts of freedom with reference to his theory of value pluralism? (15 Marks)

Isaiah Berlin is a liberal scholar known for his theory of negative and positive liberty. He is also a prominent scholar of value pluralism.

Isaiah Berlin considers two types of liberty. Negative liberty generally means absence of any restraints on individual being. They are restrictions on the state to violate space of personal liberty. Negative liberty emanate from ideas of liberalism and contractualist tradition.

Positive liberty on other hand entails 'freedom' to individual to undergo self-development, these however



involve state-intervention as the 'real will' of human beings may push them towards their own degradation. Berlin rightly was proponent of negative freedom as it resembled true liberty whereas positive freedom allowed state exclusiveness in name of metaphysical abstraction of real will.

He applies his concepts of freedom to culture and values. For Berlin, the innate concept of liberalism is toleration and not liberty. There is no mutual acceptance of value monism with liberalism itself. Hence, there shall be complete toleration to values and cultures of others. For him there cannot be hierarchy of values as propounded by John Rawls in his 'Theories of Justice'.

He gives the example of a man and a married woman. It is not possible to differentiate whose life is better. Only, real value of toleration towards all cultural systems shall be practiced without value monism and value relativism.

Berlin's value of plurality goes closer to communitarian theories like Michael Sandel and Michael Walzer who argue that it is unjust to implicate one's own cultural systems on others on a gunpoint.

The recent debates on Human Rights being means of western hegemony and Eurocentrism can be tilted by adhering to Berlin's idea of value pluralism.

Though feminists criticise them for promoting discriminating cultural practices of other cultures, and liberals for promoting cultural specificity, his idea can be a major tool to promote dialogue among civilisations.

Que. 7(a)

Freedom is both the primary end and the principal means of development. In context of the given statement, discuss how Amartya Sen makes a philosophical case that freedom-centered development can create a better society and economy? (20 Marks)

Freedom, in its true essence, is described as the capacity of a person to undertake his own social and economic development.

The centrality of freedom emanates from idea of liberalism.

The contractualist tradition described freedom as end in itself. For John Locke, state came into existence for securing the natural rights of life, liberty and property. As human beings are driven by enlightened self-interest, they shall be given utmost freedom to pursue their own development.

Contemporary Neo-liberal scholars like Friedrich Hayek, Milton Friedman argue that freedom is not just an end in itself, it is also the means to an end.

They argue complete freedom - not just freedom of markets but freedom through markets.

However, scholars of welfarist school argue, that freedom in true sense is means to attain intra social & economic development. JH Green argues that

"Human consciousness postulates liberty, state. liberty involves rights, rights demand state. State removes the hindrance".

Countering the above traditions, Amartya Sen in his work "Development as Freedom" argues that freedom in its true sense is development of one's capabilities to utilise the fruits of development. Without capacities like Education, human capital and necessary public health, unlimited freedom (neoliberal school) and complete state support (labour school) is of little importance.



He gives the example of Adam Smith who considered Labor productivity as true parameter of social and economic develop-
ment. Sen argues that "all schools are
as good as the road that takes one there."

He gives the example of China where
leaders from 1990s they invested in
the well-being of labor specially in
the toio of health, education, and skills.

He prescribes the Kerala model and
Himachal model of development in this regard.

Sen distinguishes between Niti and
Nyaya. where Niti is procedural and
deontological (political rights) in nature,
Nyaya is substantial (social rights and
rights based approach). He calls Nyaya
as the realization based approach that
allows one to realize their true being.

For Sen, freedom through expansion of capabilities can best be realized in democracies as democracies have educative, institutional and institutional value. "Through democracy, forms of development have to be democratized."

Sen's view is criticized by Jagdish Bhagwati argue that actual development also takes place by entrepreneurialism, wealth creation and free markets. The private sector should exercise full freedom to pursue freedom.

Despite this, Sen's work is critical in bringing the role of human development as central of political discourse. He goes closer to Immanuel Kant's view who argued that "Humans are ends in themselves than means to an end."

Que. 7(b)

"One is not born, but rather becomes, a woman." (Simone de Beauvoir). Comment. (15 Marks)

The above statement is given by Simone de Beauvoir in her work "The Second Sex". Simone de Beauvoir argues that 'woman' is experienced thru social devaluation not out of natural disability, but out of social construct.

Beauvoir was inspired by Sartre who argued that "Existence is prior to being". For Beauvoir, the existence of a female is prior to her collective identity of being a woman.

She argues that women are provisional. The entire society treats her from the standpoint of male counterpart. She does not have her own identity, and hence



is the second sex.

She espoused that, the conditions of women are not created out of her natural distinctions or physical causation, but are result of tradition, custom and civilization. A person born as a woman is given a sexual identity by the family and gender norms are imposed on her by family for the entire life.

She criticises the role of scientific discourses created by psychoanalyst scientist Sigmund Freud who claimed that females suffer from penis envy and male from castration complex. She discourses that women's main objective is to look attractive in front of male has reduced her to a mere subjugate. For Beauvoir, a



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woman is suffering from immanence, she has to be led into transcendence.

Other scholars like Jean Mouly Pin argue that patriarchal construct and 'institution of heterogeneous family' has to be 'broken down' to create equitable atmosphere for women. Sue Mason Young argues for differentiated citizenship for women by giving them affirmative powers.

However, feminist movement is facing a major backlash from new movements such as hate movement of Andrew Tate and neo-right movement of Trump & Meloni. Post feminism is also arguing for mutual harmony in gender roles.

Yet, there is need to democratise feminism by taking it to other strata in form of post-colonial feminism and Black feminism (Bella Hooks).

Que.7(c)

"Right is prior to good". Critically examine. (15 Marks)

The above statement was given by John Rawls in his 'Theories of Justice'.

For Rawls, the deontological tradition of putting on truth and righteousness (right means) are prior to teleological argument of achieving common good (right ends).

Rawls in his theorization of concepts of justice argues that justice is the first virtue of any social institution just as truth is the first virtue of any system of thought. He calls his view on justice as universalist and rational based on theories of liberalism.

Rawls however argues, that true justice emanates from the conceptions



of human dignity. He espouses 'parity of means and procedures' as weightful means automatically lead to justice.

The categorical imperative of Kant focuses to encompass 'Right' for duty's sake even if the outcome is wrong.

He criticises utilitarian tradition for prescribing unjustified means at the aim of achieving maximum good. He claims that 'sacrificing right' for 'achieving good' goes against deliberate equilibrium of human intuitionism and moral judgement. Hence, one shall always consider Right as prior to good.

He applies the above principle in his theories of justice by creating a new

rational procedure of putting man behind veil of ignorance to determine the true principles of justice. He goes back to Is Mill in this regard, who argued that 'common good' in name of satisfying a pig or fool is of no use if Socrates is dissatisfied.

However, Robert Nozick in his work "Anarchy, State & Utopia" criticises Rawlsian conceptions on ground that Rawls sacrificed liberty for sake of equality. Communitarians like Michael Sandel & Michael Walzer criticise him for considering there being only one right leading to Communitarianism.

Yet, it can be argued that some global conception of 'Right' are necessary for global good. Human Rights are case in point.

Que.8(a)