



SHUBHRA RANJAN

Always Ahead

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PSIR Answer Writing Module 2023

Test 4

Time Allowed: 1 Hour 30 Minutes

Max Marks: 120

Name: Asha Jain

Test Submission Date: 15/Nov/22

Email Address: _____

Instructions:

1. All questions are compulsory.
2. All questions are for **15 marks** each.
3. Word limit for each question is **200 words**.
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. **Filling all the details in BLOCK LETTERS is mandatory.**

Q. No.	Marks	Q. No.	Marks
Q1		Q5	
Q2		Q6	
Q3		Q7	
Q4		Q8	
Total Marks:		Evaluator Code:	

For any issue related to PSIR Test Series, write only at testseries@shubhrranjan.com



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Overall Remarks:

Dear Student,

[illegible]



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Que.1

Differentiate between the end of ideology and the end of history. Do you think that end of ideology is itself an ideology? (200 words, 15 Marks)

End of Ideology theory was given in 1950s; in the context of Cold war. The basic assumption was that ideologies have lost relevance, in the current situation. End of history was given in 1990s after end of Cold war, where the main argument was that liberalism is the best ideology.

End of Ideology thinkers such as Daniel bell says that every economy now has adopted a similar type of dev. model and ideologies have lost its relevance. Similar views were propounded by other scholars that every economy went through similar



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Stages of development. Techno-bureaucratic model has gained importance universally. Economic dev. is main priority and precede ideological inclination of states.

End of history is more assertive in claiming that liberalism is the best system for social & eco. development. Fukuyama said that

"End of cold war not only ~~shows~~ shows end of ideological battle but end point of man's ideological evolution." This means liberalism has proven to be the best ideology.

The main differences b/w these 2 theories are that End of ideology treat Marxism as ideology & liberalism as science.



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whereas End of History treats liberalism as ideology.

Alexandre MacIntyre said that "End of ideology" is itself an ideology".

This is because it has been polemical - politically motivated concept. Liberal scholars are asserting supremacy of liberalism. CB MacPherson, Robert

Dahl and many scholars have pointed out that capitalism is still controlled by capitalism, thus ideology is not irrelevant.

Despite the fact that these ideologies are polemical, it can be said that eco. development is prime concern for countries. Eg - China, a communist nation, adopting liberalism in economy.



Que.2

"The discourse on legitimacy in political science is too complicated due to the multiple perspectives associated with the concepts". Elucidate (200 words, 15 Marks)

Legitimacy, can be simply understood as use of power with the consent of governed. But it's not easy to define legitimacy holistically due to various perspectives. Thus, it remains a contested issue.

Liberal acknowledge the need for legitimacy for proper functioning of state. Rawls, Hobbes and other social contract thinkers have based state's legitimacy in — Consent of people in the contract, Rights of individuals, Rule of law. T.H. Green said — "will not force is the basis of the state."



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Marxist criticise liberal view that State is legitimate and represent every-one's consent. They treat State as class institution, thus it doesn't have consent of workers, power is not legitimate.

Neo-Marxist differs from Marx. Gramsci held that civil society creates hegemony and manufacture consent for the State. Althusser had similar views in his concept of interpellation & ideological state apparatus.

Max Weber criticise Marx & held that State represent legitimate power.

Power + legitimacy = Authority

Authority can have different basis—

a) Traditional— customs as base.



- b) Charismatic - leader's aura
- c) Legal-Rational - eg- Bureaucracy
enjoy power based on law.

Thus, state's authority can be based on diff. basis of legitimacy.

Liberal welfare state are facing "Crisis of legitimacy" because they are based on contradictory ideas - Socialism in policy & liberalism/capitalism in economy. This has revived the discussions on legitimacy of state's power. States in Middle East & Afghanistan also have legitimacy deficit.

Legitimacy, though seems easy to grasp but there are various contradictions present in it.



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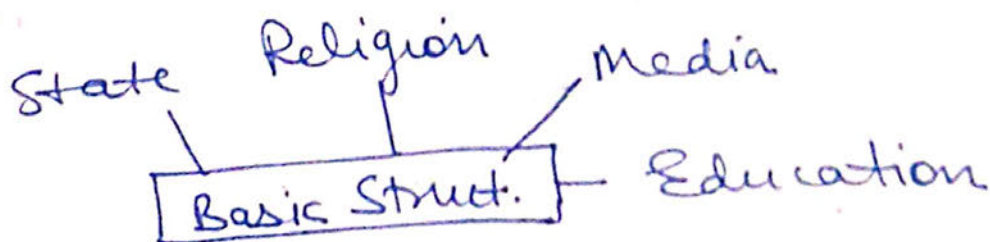
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Que.3

Gramsci's theory of hegemony should be seen as a rigorous attack on all vestiges of economism and reductionism within classical Marxism.
Comment. (200 words, 15 Marks)

Classical Marxism was attacked by various scholars as 'Economic determinism' and 'reductionism' due to its overemphasis on economic structure, determining all the superstructures. Thus, Gramsci, reformed this defect and gave theory of superstructures and hegemony. That's why he is known as Theorist of Superstructure & father of Neo Marxism.

Marx held that society's basic structure is economic, which is the sole ultimate factor, determining all other superstructures — state, religion etc.



Gramsci hold that Marx has overlooked other factors that help in sustenance of capitalism. Marx has undermined the importance of superstructures and ideas. Society is not a simple basic structure model.

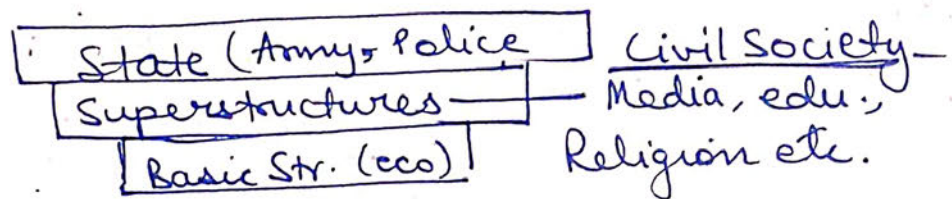


Fig - Model of Society by Gramsci.

Gramsci recognise economic factor as basic structure but showed the role played by civil society in maintaining hegemony of Capitalist State. Hegemony represent soft power which hides the true nature of state. Civil society creates / manufacture consent for state.



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People are unable to recognise true nature of State due to hegemony. Hegemony works on the minds of people and Intellectuals play a key role in manufacturing it. Thus, he suggests workers to form 'counter-hegemony'.

Similar views were expressed by Althusser who held that people are 'interpellated' in liberal society & state use 'ideological state apparatuses' to gain consent.

'Gramsci's interrogation into causes of failure of Marx's prediction, and his correction of Marx's eco-determinism, has led to protection of Marxism from attacks and also emergence of new schools within Marxism - neo-Marxism.'



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Que.4

Deliberative democracy is all about placing people closer to the affairs of government. Comment. Mention the various deliberative process and their importance. (200 words, 15 Marks)

"Common people deliberating together can arrive at better decisions, than experts working alone."

- Aristotle.

Deliberative democracy means a democratic system where deliberations by citizens and civil society, are a key part of decision making. It is based on the active participation of citizens. It's different from representative & participatory democracy in the sense it focus more on qualitative discussions and participation. It's more substantive

It's inspired from ideas of Aristotle, Rousseau (General will, direct democracy),



J.S. Mill (Freedom of Speech) and Hannah Arendt (Action = speech).

Habermas has emphasis on 'Ideal Speech condition' which is prerequisite for deliberative democracy —

- a) people are aware & informed (Rational)
- b) Conducive environment

Joshua Cohen has given 5 features of Deliberative Democracy —

- a) Deliberation — key to decision making
- b) Respect Pluralism of views
- c) Human Dignity — giving equality to everyone
- d) Deliberation as ongoing process.

From these different perspective the essence of deliberative democracy can be understood as "placing people closer to government."



Various deliberative processes include healthy discussions in parliament, referendums, debates on important issues, public opinion polls etc.

They are important to ensure accountability of government in a meaningful way. As Carole Pateman said plebiscitary democracy is bad, people should be aware & quality discussion is the key to healthy democracy. Deliberative democracy is important to prevent majoritarianism. Hannah Arendt also said active citizenry is the tool to fight Totalitarianism

Democracy, has intrinsic value bco it educate, aware and give dignity to people. This is ensured through deliberative democracy.



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Que.5

Explain the difference between participatory democracy with that of the pluralist and elitist model of democracy. (200 words, 15 Marks)

"Democracy, for me, is the system where the weakest has the equal say in the government, as the strongest"

— Gandhi ji

This ideal of Gandhi can be realised in Participatory democracy where people participate as equal citizens. Democracy has evolved and it has different school within it. Some focus on Democracy - as a way of govt. formation, Some as 'way of life'.

Pluralist and elitist model treat Democracy as a form of government, whereas Participatory democracy focus on intrinsic values of democracy for citizens.

Elitist Theory of Democracy emphasise that "Power circulates among the elites." Karl Mannheim said that power in hands of elites and circulating between them doesn't make democracy undemocratic. Anthony Downs treat Democracy - as market place, Politicians as entrepreneurs, citizens as rational consumers, voting for party which gives them maximum satisfaction.

Similarly, Pluralist theory revise elitist theory but basic assumptions remain the same — 'Power in hands of few' and 'participation of all is a mirage'. Robert Dahl said that various pressure groups exercise power in USA and power circulates among them.



C. B. MacPherson criticise 'Antony-Dahl' axis, for creating democracy as a market place and competition among elites, reducing importance of citizen's participation.

Participatory Democracy differ from these theories because it shifts focus from elites and pressure groups to citizens. Powers is in citizen's hands & their participation is key to success of Democracy. It realise the true vision of Democracy - empowerment of people.

Abraham Lincoln said "Democracy is the govt. by the people, for the people & of the people" which is ensured in Participatory Democracy.

Que.6

Macpherson's aim was not only to construct the conception of democracy but also to provide moral foundations to it. In the light of this statement Critically evaluate the relevance of Macpherson's theory of Democracy. (200 words, 15 Marks)

Democracy is viewed by different scholars from different perspectives. On one hand, scholars of Elitist and pluralist school emphasis on Democracy as a form of government where diff. elites/ groups contest for power. On other hand, scholars like C.B. MacPherson focus on substantive value of Democracy where it ensure realisation of human aspirations.

MacPherson has comprehensively studied various models of democracy & systems. He has dealt with 2 questions —

- a) Can liberalism claim monopoly over democracy?
- b) Is liberal democracy fully devoid of contradictions?



He answers the 1st question by saying that 'no' liberals can't claim monopoly. one party dominant system can be democratic if there is popular support to its program. Communist can be democratic if there is intra party democracy. Thus, he treats democracy as a system where 'people' is at the centre and their 'opinions' matter.

He also analysed liberal democratic model and criticised it. He is a liberal egalitarian, so he criticised liberal state because of inequalities present in the system.

Ideal Situation			Real		
	Extractive	Develop		Extr.	Dev.
C	99%	99%	C	0	100%
W	0-1%	0-1%	W	0	100%

In liberal democracy, Capitalist have all the developmental & extractive power. But the 'ideal way' should be none having extractive power over other. Both having developmental power to max. extent.

Scholars criticise MacPherson because he compare today's democratic models with some 'ideal type' rather than contemporary models. This 'ideal' democracy seems utopian, as held by Elitist & Pluralist — power always circulates among elites.

MacPherson says Democracy is a human aspiration, to empower citizens and give meaningful life to all. This ideal should be the goal of today's democracies.



Que.7

What are the basic principles of representative democracy and what are its basic institutions? (200 words, 15 Marks)

Representative Democracy originated in the works of John Locke, father of liberalism. It's form of democracy where people govern, through their representatives, chosen by elections. Democracy, originated in Ancient Greece, where direct democracy was practised. However, due to complexities and size of modern nation states, representative democracy seems to be most suitable & 'best Practicable'.

John Locke has given theory of Representative democracy. in his 2 treatise of government. The basic principles of Rep. Democracy are Rule of law and

Separation of Power. People elect their representatives, through periodic elections. Those who can form majority, forms the government. Majority gives explicit consent, others give tacit consent. Thus, Rep. Democracy is 'Govt. by consent'.

Another principle of Representative Dem., is limited government. People's rights limit arbitrary use of power. People can change govt. by peaceful means - elections. J. S. Mill is also a strong proponent of Democracy, who emphasised on freedom of speech in a democracy. He recommended proportional representation plural voting, to save democracy from turning majoritarian.

Various institutions of Rep. Dem. are



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Legislature - parliament, Executive to make & implement laws and independent judiciary. Elections are one of the most important institution.

Representative democracy have been criticised by various scholars like Rousseau who held "Englishmen are free, only once in 5 years". He was proponent of Direct Democracy. Similarly, marxist criticise it as "aggregative model" & procedural. Focus has shifted to Participatory & Deliberative democracy, to make democracy more substantive.

As Alfred Smith said "Alls of Democracy can be cured by more democracy".

Thus, focus should now shift on improving quality of Representative Democracy.

Que.8

The most crucial claim of Foucault about power is that we must refuse to understand in the way philosophers have dealt with it. Discuss (200 words, 15 Marks)

Foucault, is influenced by Post Modernist thinkers like Nietzsche, Derrida. His view of power is non conventional, sociological and micro-views. His thinking shows all the major features of Post modernism - where scholars question 'Knowledge system' as given by philosophers.

Post Modernist have skepticism towards grand theories, which they call as 'Metanarratives'. Acc. to them, truth is vast, complex and beyond human reasoning. Truth is manufactured. Foucault is influenced by Nietzsche view - "Will to Power". He has highlighted the 'Knowledge - Power connection' and said that no



Knowledge is free from phenomena of power.

His view is non-conventional in the sense, traditionally power is understood in Hobbesian sense. Hobbes said power lies with state (sovereign).

Foucault discard this view & said "Power is everywhere". It's not uni-directional flow but omnidirectional — coming from all sides. Everyone exercise power over the other.

"Power is flowing through society like blood in capillaries."

How power is flowing? — Foucault explain it through the concept of Discourses — well established way of telling something about something. He said that truth is a discourse,

louth which is accepted by majority
become discourse. The role of power
is to produce identities. Thus, power
is not a commodity, but strategy.
it's not coercive, rather productive.

Philosophers have narrow view about
power - as a coercive force or as a
state centric view. But, actually,
we can feel power over us, as exercised
by society through patriarchy, religion
etc. Philosopher's view represent
knowledge - Power connection.

Foucault's view is an attempt to
interrogate power exercised over people
in the form of discourses. His
perspective is critical to understand
power in a different way.