



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: Nikita Verma

Test Submission Date: 15/10/2022

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:	

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[illegible]



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 was put forward by Francis Fukuyama at the end of Cold War in 1991. With the disintegration of former Soviet Union & the collapse of communism, it was widely believed that the Ideological struggle which divided the whole world into 2 camps from 1945 upto 1991 is now over.

Fukuyama in his book "THE END OF HISTORY AND THE LAST MAN" has propounded the victory of Liberalism over communism. Democracy, as it was believed was the final stage in the evolution of mankind.



W.W. Rostow went a step ahead in declaring the end of history since, history is the study of ideological struggle, with the collapse of communism, there is no ideology left to challenge liberalism (which now represents the end of evolution & history of mankind)

Thus, end of history can be understood as a step further in the ideological debate.

However, the above view doesn't go uncontested. Soon after, SAMUEL HUNTINGTON came up with his theory of "CLASH OF CIVILISATIONS" which clearly spells that ideological struggle has been succeeded by clash based on fundamental civilisations.



ie the Western civilisation is in
clash with Islamic civilisation.

some scholars on the
other hand believe that "end
of Ideology" is itself an
ideology that aims at establish-
ing the hegemony of Liberalism
over other prevailing ideologies.

They point to other
schools of ideology like
STRUCTURAL MARXISM by Andre
Gunter Frank, theories of
Development of underdevelopment
& the post colonial school
posing a vibrant challenge
to Liberalism.



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)

'Power' is the central concept to political science and is also a contested one. MAX WEBER in his work "Protestant Ethics & Utopia" has talked about the Legitimacy model of power.

This has been challenged later on by various schools like Marxist, Feminist, Pluralist, & structural Marxist school of power.

Legitimacy is often understood as "Authorised power." If power is to be seen as a 'naked sword', legitimate power is power in a "scabbard".

Max Weber differentiates between power & Authority. Power is the ability to achieve your goals ^{even} by compulsion.



On the other hand, authority is both the capacity to influence others as well as the right to do so.

Weber classifies legitimate authority:-

- ① Charismatic authority → depends on leaders & originates during crisis
- ② Legal Institutional authority → that is based on rules & regulation & put forth by bureaucracy.

Over time, different schools have challenged the conventional notion of power.

* Marxist school views power in terms of economic determinism i.e. ^{state} ~~capitalism~~ is a tool at the hands of bourgeoisie.

* Feminist school have criticised power to be 'too male centric' Cynthia Enloe questions "where are the women?" because when she looks at state, she finds it to be male.



- * Pluralist school theorist like Robert Dahl believes that USA is a polyarchy where power is exercised by pressure groups of farmers, doctors, traders etc.
- * Habermas belongs to the critical school of Marxism. He believes that West isn't egalitarian. Further, profit maximisation & welfare state can't go further for long as they are contradictory. Thus, revolt is bound to happen.

Power is a multidimensional concept. None of the above discourses on power can be sidelined. Therefore, a holistic understanding of all thoughts is needed.



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)

Gramsci is a theorist of super-structure. It is said that it was Gramsci who prevented Marxism to be degraded as crude economic determinism by proposing "HEGEMONY & COUNTER-HEGEMONY"

Gramsci like Young Marx was interested in emancipation of masses from the clutches of capitalism which is full of contradictions. It leads to degradation of labour, isolation of mankind, distances men from society, their family, their products & even from themselves.

Gramsci, unlike Marx believed that if capitalism is propounded by intellectuals, then Marxism needs its own intellectuals to spread "Counter-Hegemony"



"Hegemony" is to be understood as soft power. Power that captures the mind of the individual. It is a situation where the 'exploited' feels happiness in his "exploitation".
for eg It is ~~be considered~~ ~~considered~~ as socially desirable to have "fair skin" & for this companies create "fairness cream". This is a classic example of establishing hegemony.

First, you set standards/notions beliefs to suit the needs of capitalist & then promote your goods at the market level.

Gramsci believed that the superstructure consisting of "State", "Society", "church" "media" are the instruments of capitalist who work to establish their hegemony.



Therefore, we have to initiate our own revolution, we need "Middle class Intellectuals" who produce counter hegemony.

Gramsci's theory should be seen as rigorous attack on all vestiges of economism & reductionism within classical liberalism. Its practical application, as BIPIN CHANDRA writes was seen during Gandhi's struggle at its peak in 1942 when "class in itself" transformed into "class for itself"



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)

"Deliberative democracy" should be seen as people acting in concert with each other for mutual peace, progress & prosperity.

The origin of Deliberative democracy can be traced to "ARISTOTLE" who believed that man is a political animal. The best form of government is "POLITY" ie based on CIVIC REPUBLICANISM, where people come & sit together to formulate laws, execute policies & adjudicate disputes.

Even in Ancient India, Buddhist sanghas can be seen temples of deliberative democracy.

In modern times, due to the sheer growth of population & specialisation we have delegated



the deliberative functions to legislators and have come up with "MODERN REPRESENTATIVE DEMOCRACY" whose advocates include J.S. Mill.

The deliberative function, thus, saw a decline in the 20th century. But scholars like 'HANNAH ARENDT' have tried to revive the tradition of deliberative democracy through the tradition of zoon politikon & constructive view of power.

Joshua Cohen has also talked about the need of deliberative democracy for healthy democracy.

Various deliberative processes across India & abroad :-

a) Gram Sabha & Panchayati Raj institutions who at the grassroots level help strengthen the masses.

b) Social Impact Assessment & Environment Impact Assessment



which transforms citizens into stakeholders.

- c) Referendum, plebiscite which looks at people's opinion
- d) direct democracy in Switzerland which empowers people at all fronts
- e) Lok Adalats which don't follow strict judicial proceedings gives greater scope of arbitration.

Deliberative, participative & representative democracy are integral to the smooth functioning of democracy in any country.



Que.5

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

Participative democracy emphasises the participation of people in the democratic functioning of the state. As Abraham Lincoln said that democracy is a form of government "of the people, for the people & by the people."

But there are 2 schools with contrasting views :-

I] ELITIST THEORY.

Wilfred Pareto said that history of mankind is to be seen from the graveyard of democracy thus, history has always been the actions of elites. Power may have shifted from lions to foxes but it has remained with elites.

Robert Mitchels has given the Iron Law of Oligarchy which essentially believes that no matter



which form of governments exist,
power is always with the elites

R. Aron has talked about elites
as :- fractured elites & monolithic
elites. Democracy gives choices
to an individual to choose from a
set of elites but totalitarian
states are monolithic elites
ie only one ~~state~~ set of elites

Schumpeter has given the market
model of elites where democracy
is the market, rulers are the
sellers, citizens are the buyers
& each wants a best deal.

C. Wright Mills has talked about
power elites. He ~~po~~ expounds that
US has been ruled by "power-
elites" of federal politicians,
businesses etc.

II] Pluralist school emerged to
challenge C. Wright Mills elite
theory.



Robert Dahl believes that USA is a polyarchy where different pressure groups of doctors, farmers, lawyers, environment groups exist which exert their pressure on the government

ii) Neo Pluralism

Later on Robert Dahl & Charles Lindblom revised their views and believed that certain pressure groups are more powerful than the others. eg business, federal politicians etc

This brings them closer to elitist theory.

Thus, these are the two major schools which represent the different shades of reality.

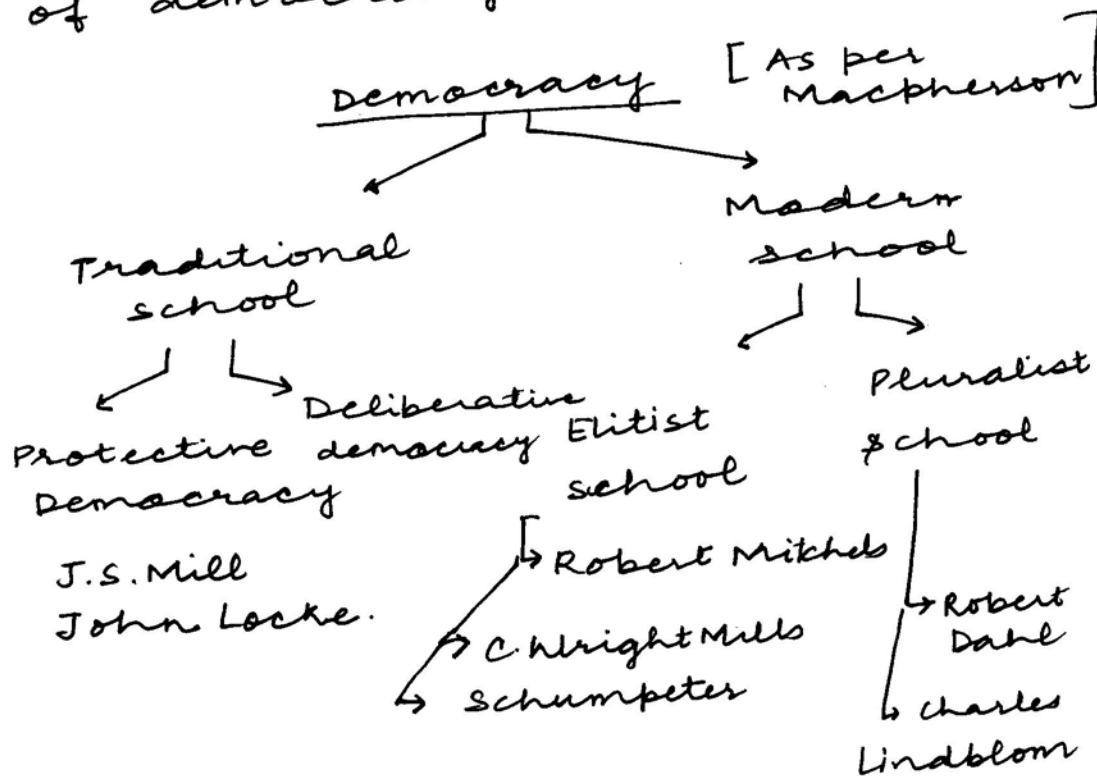


Que.6

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)

C. B. Macpherson was a positive liberal who has criticised liberalism. He believed that the West isn't egalitarian and neo liberalism has further deepened social cleavages between the rich & poor.

He has classified various schools of democracy :-





As per Macpherson,

Traditional school is essentially normative in nature. It prescribes values, & explains the importance of democracy as "what ought to be".

But he believed that the school lacks empirical evidence.

As per Macpherson,

Elitist school & Pluralist school are products of Behaviouralism based on evidences, facts, studies, & data.

But they lack the normative touch of what "ought to be" in Democracy.

Macpherson was deeply interested in explaining the conception of democracy but also to provide moral foundations to it.



He represents the "POST-BEHAVIOURISM" phase of democracy where he believes that both normative & empirical based study is needed to institutionalise democracy in the country.

Thus, his urge to strengthen masses & democracy makes his theory relevant for long times to come.

Further, extractive power (coercion) in a democracy should be nil & constructive power to masses (the maximum)



Que.7

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

Modern democracies are essentially representative democracies. eg: US, UK, USA. It is based on regular elections to elect the head of state.

* Basic principles of Representative democracy :-

① Universal Adult Franchise where all citizens irrespective of caste, color, creed are allowed to vote → ONE MAN, ONE VOTE

② Regular Elections ⇒ to elect the head of state

Presidential System

↓

US President

Parliamentary System

↓

Indian Prime Minister

③ AV Dicey's Rule of Law where there ^{are} no ex post facto laws, respect to rights & no double punishment



④ Montesquieu's separation of powers between the different organs of government i.e. Legislature, Executive & Judiciary

⑤ Representative Democracy is of two types :-

* Legal Institutional = based on state's institutions like Gram Sabha, election etc

* Radical democracy or democracy of protest eg: farmers protest

The basic institutions of Representative democracy are :-

① Legislature / Law making body :-

eg Parliament in India,
Senate in USA
Knesset in Japan

② Executive / Executing Authority
Political executive like
PM, Cabinet Ministers



- Permanent Executives like
bureaucracy

③ Judiciary / Adjudication
like SC, HC, District Courts, &
other tribunals

Representative democracy
has been institutionalised in
various parts of the world through
these modern day institutions.



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 a scholar of Post Modernism. It is essentially based on "Incredulity towards meta-narratives". Foucault has in his works like "Madness & civilisation" has talked about DISCOURSES.

Foucault believes that power is multidimensional. It is everywhere. It runs so deep inside our bodies that it acts like capillaries. It has been engrained into us so deeply that it defines who we are & how we think. Since, power is like capillary action, thus we shouldn't understand it in the manner philosophers have dealt with it.



In his concept of Archaeology [inspired by Nietzsche's Genealogy] he traces the origin of discourses.

After his analysis, he concludes that "KNOWLEDGE IS A PHENOMENA OF POWER". Thus, the accepted knowledge of a time represents the power structure.

for eg

Earlier, vaid / hakims were widely revered physicians. But, with the origin of modern science, they are no longer considered suitable. They have lost power.

Foucault has also talked about "Bio-power". He asserts that institutions like hospitals, asylums, schools etc exercise power on your body. They not only set standards for you but also reward / punish



one accordingly.

others like Nietzsche, Derrida have presented similar views against meta-narratives & the dominant way of life.

Post modernism is a wonderful gift to various disciplines that has transformed the common understanding of everyday concepts like morality & power. Thus, it is difficult to define what post modernism is, but easier to tell what it is not :-

" The power to refuse to accept the ways it has been accepted by philosophers "

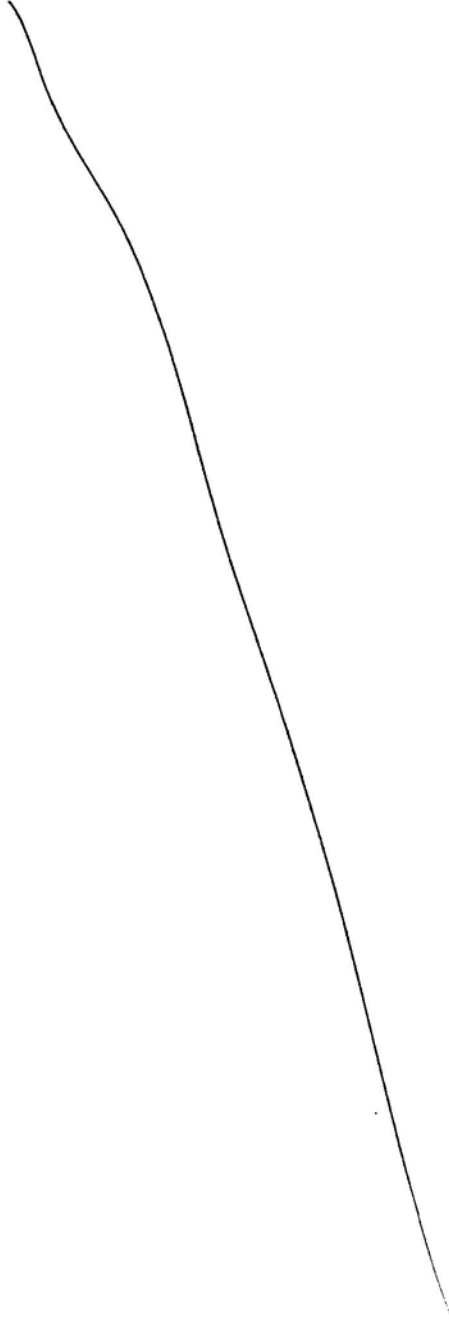


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