



SHUBHRA RANJAN

Always Ahead

25, Pusa Road, Karol Bagh, Delhi 110005. ☎ 011 45612719

PSIR Answer Writing Module 2023

Test 4

Time Allowed: 1 Hour 30 Minutes

Max Marks: 120

Name: Shakn° Dubey

Test Submission Date: 19-08-2022

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)

The term ideology has been coined by Count de Tracy who views it as "Science of Ideas". There has been several ideologies in the realm of political science which has further led to politicisation of this term which started with Karl Marx who calls it as false consciousness while Arendt calls it as a tool of totalitarianism to justify its terror.

The concept of End of Ideology has been given by Daniel Bell according to whom in the contemporary times ideology has lost its relevance because politics has taken a backseat while economy is on forefront.

According to D. Bell's observation, be it eastern or the western societies there has been similar kind of political and administrative developments irrespective of the propagation ideologies.

they have all led to development of democratic and technocratic societies.

To quote Lipset

"The west has arrived to a consensus that there is no better way of life than liberal democratic system"

According to him the post war countries have rejected the importance or relevance of ideology because they consider that they have solved the conflict of ideologies that emerged in the backdrop of industrialisation

Hence, he shifts the focus from power politics to developmental politics. This concept of end of ideology has been criticised by several scholars like C Wright Mills according to whom "ideology is relevant because, inequality is persistent"

The theory of end of ideology couldn't appeal much to the non-west world and hence it emerged in post cold war era as the "End of



"History" debate by Fukuyama who considers that liberalism has won the ideological battle and according to him "what we are witnessing now is not the end of cold war rather the end of ideological evolution of man"

This theory of Fukuyama has been criticised by Samuel Huntington who gives cynical view of history according to which history does not end, it repeats itself and hence according to him clash of ideology is just a part which will lead to clash of civilisation

Alasdair MacIntyre calls "End of ideology" as an ideology in itself which is used by the dominant class to maintain the status quo

Post modernist thinker Lyotard calls ideologies as a discourse

because none of them tell the reality rather as used as a tool of legitimisation

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 is basically defined as the consent of the governed. It is a precondition to establish one's rule and a very important tool to maintain its continuity.

To Quote Rousseau

"Even the most powerful person cannot be strong enough until he converts his power into rights"

Therefore legitimacy is seen a tool to convert power into authority. Legitimacy is the acceptance of the authority i.e. the laws of the ruling body.

While several scholars have pointed towards the concept of legitimacy as central to power politics. Hannah Arendt is of the view that power is legitimate in itself and does not need validation.



Theory of legitimacy has been given by Max Weber as a criticism of Marxist theory of revolution which states that Capitalism calls for violent proletarian revolution which will lead to overthrow of the state

While according to Max Weber nothing as such will happen because state does not rule with naked power rather with the consent of the governed (which also includes the proletarian). Consent arises by virtue of social contract (Hobbes, Locke)

To Quote Rousseau -

"state cannot rule if the laws enforced, does not carries the 'consent'"

law represents legality and thus must reflect the consent of governed or else will lead to "crisis of governability". This can be best understood through case study of Indian Farm laws 2020 which was enacted by the



state led to widespread protests and movement leading to its withdrawal by the state.

Hence in absence of legitimacy crisis of governance can arise. The concept of "Crisis of Legitimacy" has been given by Habermas in his book "Legitimation crisis". He is critical of Welfareism adopted by capitalist state.

According to him welfare state is bound to collapse and is an unsustainable model in a long run because it is made up of two conflicting ideologies i.e. Socialism and Capitalism. Because during time of crisis the state will roll back and withdraw welfare activities leading to more resentment amongst workers.

Several perspectives and explanation has complicated the concept of legitimacy in the field of political science.



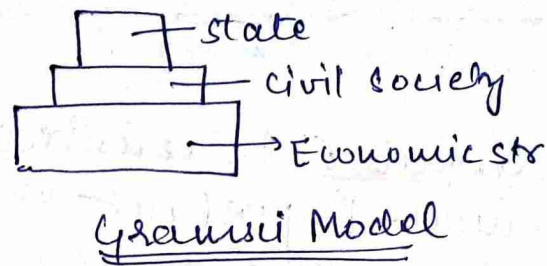
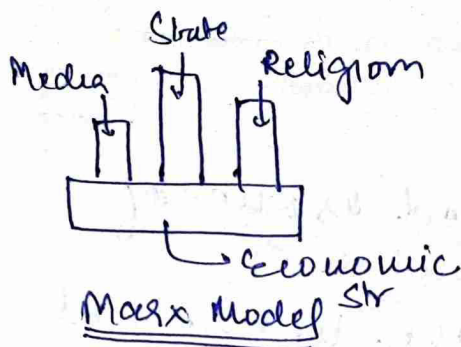
Que.3

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 considered as one of the most important scholars in Marxism after Marx. He has revised several concept of Marxism which was brought criticism in order to make it more acceptable.

Marx concept of historical materialism, inevitable proletariat revolution in advanced capitalist societies and a single violent revolution leading to overthrow of the state never manifested into reality and hence the Marxist theory was criticised as "Crude Economic determinism".

In this regard Gramsci went for alternative view of history inspired by B. Croce and hence gave "Cultural theory of Marxism" and came to be known as historian of structuralism.



According to Marx for revolution to occur the workers need to change economic structure as it forms the basic structure of society and all other superstructures are just the reflection of base. This was

reversed by the Gramsci's historical block Model according to which in order to change the basic structure, there has to be the change in entire historical block.

Gramsci emphasised on the role of civil societies which enjoy several rights and liberties giving us an impression of autonomy but actually they are a tool of the dominant class and act as first line of defence against any kind of revolution by proletariat.



by manufacturing consent or hegemony, media, civil societies like religious/educational institutions manufacture the hegemony / legitimacy in favour of bourgeoisie class in order to prevent any kind of revolution hence plays a major role in maintaining status quo.

Therefore Gramsci talks about the need to generate counter hegemony in order to break the dominance of Bourgeoisie class and ~~for~~ this he talks about two kind of war — war of position (a long protracted war) and war of manoeuvre (sudden violent revolution) in order to change economic structure

Thus Gramscian theory is not actually an attack on classical Marxism rather this theory refined Marxism to make it more acceptable Gramsci was disciple of Marx and hence it called as

"Peter who denied his master"



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)

Winston Churchill calls "democracy as the worst form of government, yet the best form until any other alternative is developed." There has been several models of democracy one of them being — deliberative democracy

Deliberative democracy can be defined as a system where laws are made as a result of rational debate which is a characteristic of open society

Deliberation is so much central to the idea of democracy that in several democratic societies we find that the most important right is — Right to freedom of speech and expression along with freedom to form association and Right to dissent from the government



Actually, we look at the term "Deliberative democracy" it is a repetition of same word twice, there is no need of denigration because the idea of deliberation is inherent in democracy and once deliberation is removed it converts into totalitarianism.

The deliberative model of democracy has been favoured by several scholars like Aristotle who considers polity as the best form of government as against philosopher king, similarly Mill, Hobbes, etc. also favoured deliberative model of democracy.

Hence this model rejects democracy as an head counting exercise rather focuses on its value or a tool of empowerment of masses.

This model rejects the Bentham's aggregative view of society and adopts the consociational model.

Therefore, democracy is not all about election rather also about the right argument

According to Josua, the most important tool is tool of argument and he gives 5 basic features of deliberative democracy, i.e., ~~Independent~~ and ongoing association of people, people must realise that the legitimacy of decision lies on deliberation, existence of non-coercive environment (i.e., people have virtues like tolerance, respect for human dignity, etc), respect for plurality and deliberation as a tool of legitimacy

Deliberative democracy favours rational argument and has constructive values as said by Amartya Sen.



Que.5

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

To Quote Abraham Lincoln -

"Democracy is by the people, for the people and of the people"

Participatory democracy is considered as the ideal model of democracy where we see direct participation of the people in governance through use of tools like - Referendum, Initiative, recall, plebiscite, etc.

Participatory democracy is also known as direct democracy which relies on the rationality of every human being giving them equal importance in the governance.

There are two schools in participatory democracy i.e. the liberal school and the "Marxist school". ~~where~~ The liberal school advocates institutional form of participatory democracy which calls for people to particip-



are in governance by occupying important position in government watchdog institutions like Panchayati Raj, National human rights commission, etc and to ensure accountability through use of tools like RTI, social audits, etc

On the other hand Marxist school gives a radical theory & talks about the Grassroot democracy, since marxism is ideology of workers hence their presence in institution is not common hence they ask workers to use street politics like, protest, social movements, etc eg:- Sahelbagh protest

This model of democracy is favoured by several scholars like Aristotle, Beaebernas, Hannah Arendt, Mill, etc while in Indian context Mk Gandhi, BR Ambedkar, JP Narayan, etc all favoured the direct model of Democracy



In contrary to the participative model of democracy is the elitist theory of democracy (Schumpeter) based on elitist theory of power which states the power lies with very small population. C Wright Mills based on his study on USA calls it a power elite (oligarchic Model)

This elitist theory has been rejected by pluralistic (Robert Dahl) who says that in the west power is not concentrated in one institution rather distribution among few like - state, civil societies, press, etc groups, etc and hence it's a polyarchy or deformed polyarchy.

While on one hand participative model includes the wide array of population elitist & pluralist model concentrate the governing power in hands of few. Macneil in his book "Legitimation crisis" mentions the importance of ideal speech condition & civic participation.



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 can be explained through two different views it, in Narrow sense as a form of government and in a broader perspective democracy is a way of life.

Advent of democracy can be understood in three waves interrupted by two reverse waves that led to establishment of Democracy as a global institution with an exception to the Arab world.

Macpherson in his "Theory of democracy: Essays in retrieval" has analysed all forms of existing models of democracy in the world and came up with three observations - that the liberalism cannot claim monopoly over democracy, western democracy is nowhere near to being ideal because it is not egalitarian society and even the communist



single party state can be democratic if there is intra party democracy

Macpherson gives two models of democracy the Classical model and the modern or contemporary model. According to the classical model democracy is seen as a means of empowerment of masses i.e. it takes the substantive view

while the modern theory takes the empirical view of democracy and views it as a procedure of coming to power or electoral method, it further is classified into elitist (Schumpeter) and pluralist (Robert Dahl) model

According to Macpherson the classical model lacks empiricism and focuses more on substantive view i.e. what is ought to be while on the other hand the modern model completely rejects substantivism and hence he



comes up with the concept of Schumpeter-Dale axis according to which both the pluralist & elitist although may have difference but have a similar

view regarding the idea of democracy i.e. a procedural theory they view it as a method of election or coming to power

In this regard Macpherson talks about the importance of liberal model of democracy with a tilt towards socialism as the best model to be adopted globally i.e. he comes up with the idea of social democracy

Macpherson's theory of democracy gives us a middle path between it from altogether a different perspective

Que.7

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

Democracy is also one of the debated concept in political science which has been given different meaning by different scholars, leading to the development of several models of democracy, one of them being the representative Democracy.

The modern times has led to the creation of nation state which is a complex entity with increase in both population and territory hence in this case it became difficult to rule via direct democracy and hence in this backdrop - Representative democracy holds significance.

Representative democracy is a system where people participate in governance through their representatives.



Hence there are two important components of Representative democracy i.e., electoral process and power of representation and hence it demands for free and fair election.

There are two models of Representative democracy i.e., the Majoritarian model which works on principle of winner takes all and is criticised because can lead to the tyranny of majority the other model is consociational model which tries to overcome the issue of tyranny of majority and hence ~~generates~~ is based on the model of proportional representation.

The consociational model ensures full and proper representation. The decision making in representative democracy is also of two types i.e. the delegate model and the enlightened model.

While the delegate model mandates the government to act according to the will of people because govt is trust and people are the trustee ~~are~~, on the other hand enlightened model allows the state to act according to its own will as it's an enlightened entity.

The basic principle of representative democracy is therefore the elections and hence ensure maximum representation ~~therefore~~ hence the basic institution of Representative democracies are - Proper election machinery to ensure free and fair election, and an independent authority to ensure maximum participation.

Democracy although has several models representative model is considered the best practicable (is m'u)

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)

Power is one of the most contested concept of political science. Power holds the same significance in realm of political science as money holds in the realm of economy.

Power is defined as the "method of imposing one's will on another person". There has been several theories of power like liberal, Marxist, elitist, pluralist, etc.

All of these have been rejected by Foucault as metanarratives. Foucault is considered as a post modernist (reject all the theories of power as metanarrative) post structuralist (goes for the micro view instead of macro view) and a scholar of critical school (who view power as a source of emancipation).

Foucault denies that power is concentrated in one institute like state (Marxist) or with capitalist (elites) etc rather gives us a view that power lies with people or the society

Hence, Foucault gives sociological view of power. To quote Foucault -

"Power is everywhere" therefore according to him power flows through the society like blood through complex network of capillaries. Power does not have any source or direction and hence is multidimensional and multidirectional

According to Foucault power is not a tool to be held instead is a strategy that operates.

Power is not always coercive instead power can be productive as it produces identity.

Power for Foucault is a discourse i.e., based on set of norms & values

In this regard, Foucault also gave his famous knowledge power connection (inspired by Nietzsche). He also mentions about disciplinary power which is used by the state as a tool of legitimacy and he also mentions about the concept of governed mentality, biopower, etc.

Therefore, Foucault views power as a tool of empowerment and not suppression. Hannah Arendt also describes power as a tool of political development of man, which arises when man comes together in a concert for a political action.

We can best describe the centrality of power by quoting HD Lasswell

"Political science is nothing but all about shaping & sharing of power."