



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: VISHWAJEET GUPTA

Test Submission Date: 13 - 01 - 2023

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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	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,

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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)

The origin of the concept of 'end of history' lies in the essay of Francis Fukuyama. Whereas 'end of ideology' reflects the conclusion of a dialectical process, as suggested by Marxist and idealist scholars.

'End of ideology' is the logical conclusion of the process of dialectics wherein liberalism emerged as the ultimate thesis/truth. As suggested by Hegel, this procession of 'negation of negation' leads us to the ultimate ideology and the last truth.

'End of history' is however about the war of ideas in cold war period. As suggested by Fukuyama, ~~end of~~



the collapse of erstwhile USSR established the liberal democratic order as the most acceptable way of world order. In his essay "End of history and last man", Fukuyama argues that the we are the last men who have risen above the ~~to~~ bloodbath and animal spirit. Thus making us truly human.

However, scholars like Samuel P. Huntington and ~~to~~ later, Francis Fukuyama himself have accepted that the nature of conflict has changed but a conflictual stance persists.

End of history ~~have~~ has paved way for 'Clash of Civilisations'.

Eg. Western civilisation vs Islamic civilisation.



Similarly, 'end of ideology' can also not be considered as the final truth. Scholars like Habermas and neo-marxists have argued that liberal political order is inherently antithetical to principles of capitalism. Therefore, the end of liberalism is vested in its contradictions.

Liberal scholars, however, argue that the changed & flexible nature of liberalism is capable of ~~weather~~ dealing with challenges. In this way, they try to project 'end of ideology' as an ideology in itself.



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)

The discourse on legitimacy emerged due to works of post-modernist scholars critically evaluating the meta-narratives. Neo-marxists like Habermas have uncovered the multiple ways in which state exercises control.

Habermas argued that state ensures legitimacy to ensure peace and stability in society.

Legitimacy is the acceptance of the decisions of state and trusting the process of government.

Any lack of trust and deficit of legitimacy can have ~~distrast~~ disastrous consequences on society.



- State maintains legitimacy through -
- ⇒ effective functioning of institutions.
 - ⇒ inclusive nature of decisions.
 - ⇒ timely grievance redressals.
 - ⇒ access to the authorities in power.

The concrete manifestations are -

Regular elections, Independent judiciary,
Upholding rights, RTI, Freedom of
expression, free press, etc.

Whenever there exists a lacuna in the process of functioning of government and people are negatively affected, the 'legitimacy - crisis' arises. Therefore, elections in separatist areas are focussed and highlighted. Higher voter turnout is appreciated.



However, the concept of legitimacy has been criticised for ensuring obedience from citizens. Sometimes, state employ fictional circumstances to gain legitimacy by projecting itself as the sole capable protector.

Hence, legitimacy is a contested and complicated concept but it can be reasonably said that legitimacy can be ensured through

“ inclusive legislation,
effective execution, &
independent adjudication. ”



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's theory of hegemony is a reflection of Gramsci being a 'theoretician of superstructure'. It tries to rescue Marxism from brute 'economic determinism'.

Classical Marxism, as argued by Marx, gave a very deterministic and reductionist perspective of society. Marx argues that 'base' defines the superstructure. The economic class controlling base exercises power over the 'other' class.

Gramsci however argues that economic base is not the sole aspect of society demanding change.



He establishes that state exercises control through other aspects like polity, society as well and they are equally important in fight against capitalism.

Gramsci put forward that state actually continues its supremacy by manufacturing consent. Once that fails, state turns to use of coercive instruments like police.

Therefore, it can be said that countering economic structure alone won't be the best strategy. Marxism need to establish itself as a 'counterhegemony'. The populace should be able to see the various



domains of culture, society, etc.
through which state exercises control

Hence, it is argued by scholars that
Gramscian concept of hegemony is
more of an attack on vestiges of
economism and reductionism of
Marxism than on capitalism.

The recent examples of surveillance
state, ideological state apparatus,
rise of state's interference in
human rights domain further
reinforces the ideas of Gramsci.



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 focuses on qualitative participation of people in decision making process. It values public judgements more over public opinions.

The core theme of deliberative democracy is about placing people in an environment of free speech and expression, where they are allowed to express their faculties and make quality contributions to government-affairs.

It is mainly about putting people as the locus of power and not as hollow agents of the process.



Habermas talks about the valuable insights put forward by people because they are going to be affected at the end.

Syala Benhabib emphasises on people's participation as the ~~re~~ essence of a democratic process.

The various processes employed are:

- a) Referendum - Direct reflection of majority's views
- b) Social Auditing - Ground zero report of the impacts.
- c) Citizen Charter - Making people an active participant while ensuring transparency.
- d) Recall - A remarkable instrument of check on powers of legislature.
- e) RERTI - Information for informed opinion.



Critics however have argued that the processes of deliberative democracy are cumbersome, time-consuming and do not reflect the modern realities.

It is argued that taking time out for such a lengthy process repeatedly would be economically unwise.

Further, elitist scholars argue that not all people have the necessary/ requisite level of intellect to make valuable contributions.

Nonetheless, democracy as a process is meant to be reflective of everyone's views and there can ~~be~~ not be an economic value of a person expressing views.



Que.5

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

Participatory democracy values headcount over quality. The varied, vivid the participating populace, more legitimate will be the outcome/decision. This stands in stark contrast to elitist and pluralist models valuing a segment over rest.

Pluralist model of democracy argues for 'polyarchy' i.e., power of pressure groups and lobbies to influence decisions. Later, Robert Dahl and Charles Lindblom gave the concept of 'Deformed Polyarchy' meaning that some groups have more power than other.
Eg, Corporate lobbies ~~over~~ ^{vs} others.



Elitist theory argues that power keeps rotating among lions and foxes but never really reaches the masses, irrespective of nature of society.

This concept is better structured as "Iron Law of Oligarchy" given by Robert Michel.

Whereas, participative democracy is pioneered by Rousseau. It emphasises on participation of people in the process of decision making. The more effective,

transparent and decisive the role played by participants, higher will be the legitimacy of outcome.



The participation of populace in a democracy helps in forming informed opinions and reflects the best interest of society.

However, critics have pointed out that excess emphasis on participation of people leads to degradation in the quality of decision. The trivial interests are highlighted and long term goals might suffer.

In spite of the criticism, participative democracy is still a better model than pluralist or elitist as it is inclusive and non-partisan in nature.



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)

Macpherson gave a radical conception of democracy consisting of social ownership of resources with a liberal political setup. He tried to re-establish the faith in institutions of democracy.

C.B. Macpherson argued that liberal model of democracy can not project itself as the only correct model.

- 1) Communist societies can also be considered representative if the bureaucracy opens up a little and state tries to ensure transparency.
- 2) Third world countries with a strong leadership can also be democratic



if the power of leaders have direct backing of popular support.

3. Even liberal democracies are not perfect. The developmental nature is subdued by the extractive nature of societies, fuelling inequality.

Macpherson argued for an overhaul of entire structure and not just piece-meal restructuring, including.

- (a) Legal structure becoming inclusive.
- (b) Economic structure turning towards equality or equitability of distribution.
- (c) Cultural ~~str~~ structure to ensuring rights to minority and openness to change.



This radical model of Macpherson has been criticised as ideal and utopian. Critics pointed that the democratic model suggested has ~~been~~ compared to the existing models to an ideal one. Whereas it should have been compared to existing alternatives.

Habermas has further questioned the 'legitimacy' of such a model and its acceptability in society.



Que.7

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

Representative democracy has been a historical concept emerging from social contract tradition. Locke, Mill have been champions of this model.

The basic principles of representative democracy includes:

- (a) Fundamental rights
- (b) Regular elections
- (c) Voting on basis of Universal Adult Franchise.
- (d) Equal opportunity of participation
- (e) Transparent and fair process.



These principles led to the establishment of a 'state', reflective of values enlisted and representative of people's wishes.

Further, pressure groups, Unions can also be considered as the institutions of the model.

Representative democracy is primarily about articulation of interests of people and lending them voice to raise concerns.

However, scholars like Rousseau have criticised the model & because Rousseau argues that sovereignty can not be represented.



Therefore, representative democracy is a facade. The real concerns of people will not be adequately raised unless they raise themselves.

Nonetheless, the changed nature of society and fact faced life has necessitated representative model due to paucity of time and inefficiency of the process.



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 has given the 'Discourse Analysis' to analyse and question the conventional view of power. Power need not necessarily be violent and coercive, it can provide stability as well.

Foucault has argued to question and to keep a sceptical attitude towards the meta-narratives of power. He argues that power flows through society as blood flows through a dense network of capillaries. In short,

"Power is everywhere."



Foucault has written that society exercises power in multiple ways and state is ~~it~~ not the sole preserve.

Thereby, Foucault has shifted the narrative from state to society, giving a "sociological view of power".

Foucault has traversed from juridico-legal to disciplinary to bio-power or concept of governmentality.

Foucault has been influenced from Bentham's views of "Panopticon", a book on modern prison where a single guard is able to watch over entire prison.

Similarly, state has adopted the model in society whereby everyone

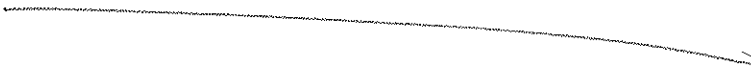


feels that they are being watched all the time.

Thus, state has understood the economy of power and capitalized on it.

Further, Foucault has tried to removed the negative connotations attached to power and argued that power provides identity and stability.

Noam Chomsky has appreciated Foucault's articulation of concept of power as well.





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