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NEXT IAS

(To be filled by candidate)

Name : INDRARCHITHA

Rol No. : ..... Date of Exam.: .....

Mobile No. : ..... Email: .....

Exam Centre : Old Rajinder Nagar ☐ Bhopal ☐ Jaipur ☐
Mukherjee Nagar ☐ Prayagraj ☐ Online ☐

CSE (MAINS) TEST SERIES-2024

Test-06	POLITICAL SCIENCE & INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
Dated : 04-08-2024	

Time Allowed : Three Hours | Maximum Marks: 250

QUESTION PAPER SPECIFIC INSTRUCTIONS

(Please read each of the following instructions carefully before attempting questions)

There are ***EIGHT*** *questions divided in* ***Two sections*** *and printed in* ***ENGLISH.***

Candidate has to attempt ***FIVE*** *questions in all.*

Question No. 1 and 5 *are compulsory and out of the remaining, any* ***THREE*** *are to be attempted choosing at least* ***ONE*** *question from each section.*

The number of marks carried by a question/part is indicated against it.

Answers must be written in the medium authorized in the Admission. Certificate which must be stated clearly on the cover of this Question-cum- Answer (QCA) booklet in the space provided.

No marks will be given for answers written in a medium other than the authorized one.

Word limit in questions, wherever specified, should be adhered to.

Attempts of question shall be counted in sequential order, unless struck off. Attempt of a question shall be counted even if attempted partly. Any page or portion of the page left blank in the Question cum Answer (QCA) booklet must be clearly struck off.

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SECTION-A

Write the following question in about 150 words.

Q.1 (a) Affirmative action and Equality. Comment. (10 marks, 150 words)

Affirmative action is regarded as an important component in ensuring equality by the social liberals. Affirmative actions are the positive actions done by the state in ensuring equality of opportunity among all the sections of the society.

Classical liberals do not support the idea of affirmative actions, however we can derive the concept of affirmative action from Rawlsian difference principle. Dworkin in his endowment theory also spoke about compensation of brute luck, giving extra lumpsheils to those who are naturally disadvantaged.

In India we also have accepted the concept of affirmative action and it has become an integral part of Right to Equality. Affirmative actions are ensured through reservation article 15(4) 15(5), 16(4), 16(5) to the backward and the weaker sections in the society.

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Affirmative actions ensures substantive equality. that is equality of opportunity.

However the staunch critises of affirmative action are the Neo-liberals, who argue that state tries to enhance its power in the name of affirmative action. Hayek in his book Road to serfdom calls Planning as road to serfdom. State should have limited functions, Robert Nozick also was against the against of affirmative action

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However the contemporary world as pointed by Joseph ~~Stiglet~~ Stiglet in his recent book "Economics and Good society" spoke about state intervention in order to enhance the lives of individuals.

Only affirmative action can ensure there is shift from Equality of all to Equality of opportunity

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Q.1 (b) Idea of natural rights in western political thoughts. (10 marks, 150 words)

Rights have been a central concept in political thought. The debate on the origin of rights is a long contested issue. Natural rights theory speaks about the inalienable rights that are available to an individual

The beginning of Natural rights theory in its evolution can be traced back by How Thomas Hobbes who has denied the existence of Natural right. "liberty is where law is silent". Only in existence of state can one enjoy rights, in state of nature Only Might is right. So doesn't support the idea of Natural rights.

On John Locke we can see the beginning of natural rights. For him rights precede the society. Humans inherently have few right they are right to life, liberty and property and they cannot be taken away by the state.

Natural rights theory postulates positive theory of rights. They are inalienable, Non-transfecable

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and hence cannot be restricted.

Positive liberals like Laski have taken the same position with respect to rights "Rights are those conditions which without which no human can live his best"

The critics of the Natural theory rights are the ones belonging to legal theory of rights. who believe that humans only enjoy rights in the presence of state. Few proponents of this theory are Max Webber, Thomas Hobbes.

The extension of natural rights in the contemporary world is the existence of Universal Human Rights. Rights inherent to humans for being born as humans. State They are minimum basic rights which the state must provide.

Indian constitution have also adopted these in terms of fundamental rights and guaranteed them through article 32 and Basic structure doctrine

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Q.1 (c) Explain Gramsci's Distinction Between Hegemony and Domination.
(10 marks, 150 words)

Antonio Gramsci in his book 'Prison Notes' have ~~provided~~ described about the importance of Hegemony in ruling or controlling people. As a neo-Marxist thinker, Gramsci elaborated on the superstructure as an independent structure.

Hegemony is the exercise of power which is legitimate and acceptable to the people. Hegemony is the rule upon the people through ideology. Hegemony according to Gramsci limits the boundaries of common sense. Hegemony is non-coercive hence one will not witness much resistance to Hegemony as well.

Hegemony is build by the intellectuals or members of the civil society. Once an idea becomes appealing to the masses it becomes hegemony. Gramsci believes that there two set of revolutions that is necessary 1. War of ideas/ position 2) war of Movement.

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War of position is about building hegemony. State runs on the basis of hegemony and counter hegemony. The ideas of the majority is regarded as hegemony and minorities as counter hegemony. Ex: Heterosexuality as Hegemony and Homosexuality is counter hegemony.

Domination is sheer use of force, which may or may not be legitimate, the acceptance of domination is out of fear. Hegemony uses softpower whereas Domination uses hard power - economic and military power. Domination may not be valuable idea in the long term only hegemony is sustainable in long term.

The idea of consumerism and capitalism across the world is through the hegemony of America. The rule of North Korea is through domination.

Both hegemony and domination are facets of power. Gramsci was ardent propogater of use of Hegemony.

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Q.1 (d) Examine the postmodernist theory of power in the contemporary world. (10 marks, 150 words)

Power is the architectonic idea in political thought. According to Max Webber "Power is the ability to force one's will upon others behaviour". What money is to economics, power is to politics.

Postmodernist understanding of power differed from classical understanding of power. The main proponents of post modernist are Foucault, Derrida Nietzsche

Foucault's theory of power:

Power is not concentrated like the elitist have described it be. Power flows through the ~~out~~ society like the blood in the capillaries.

There is a Knowledge power connection in the, No theory is devoid of power. Foucault has done micro analysis of the concept of power. Macro analysis of power is that power is exercised in a society however micro analysis of power is that it is exercised by individuals.

Power in the state is exercised through discourses.

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Whereto wherever we go we carry those discourses. Hence we are both subjects and objects of power. State rules through the help of these discources. The discourse of Normal and abnormal, helpsthe state in homogenisation.

Any power has resistance, Hence state rules through the use of discipline, where people believe that the exercise of power upon them is for their own good, Hence they use self restrain. Foucault in his book "Discipline and Power" has shown the importance of discipline in 'Governamentality' through the example of a Penopticon.

The dissepation of power is seen in contemporary world through every 'tweet', or every post. The recent incident of how students exercised their power to outst the government in power is an example of how power is flows through the society.

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Q.1 (c) Rawls's critique of utilitarianism is in line with his concept of the basic structure of society. (10 marks, 150 words)

The idea of utilitarianism is centered around the 'Greatest Good of the Greatest number-principle' which assumes that individuals are also guided by pain and pleasure and they form the sole decision making authority.

However this idea of Utilitarianism given by Jeremy Benthan is criticised by Rawls. On the basis of understanding of the society.

For utilitarianism ~~Basic~~ structure of society where individuals are selfish guided by only their interests. Policies in the state are decided by the majority in the society.

However for Rawls - he believes in the rationality of the individual, ~~also~~ Rawls has given the difference principle to compensate for the disadvantages faced by the poorer section as "society is only as strong as their weekest link" Hence need to make them better off as well.

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Utilitarianism has a crude justification caused for the inequalities on the basis of satisfying the needs of majority.

Utilitarianism has been criticised as pig's philosophy as it as animalistic to assume that humans lack reason in the society. Rawls believes that state society will choose MAXIMIN principle behind the veil of ignorance - which manages both liberty and dignity

Liberal economies on the basis of utilitarian principles have led to drastic inequalities in the society, with no trickle down effect re-emphasing the needs of Rawlsian understanding of the society.

Rawls ideas with regard to Basic structure have revived the idea philosophical understanding of political thought and built the foundation for Neo-Kantian idealism.

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Q.3 (a) Discuss how the capability approach reshapes our understanding of equality.
(15 marks, 200 words)

Equality is one of the most important idea among the discussions upon normative political concepts. Dworkin regarded equality as first virtue.

- The concept of equality has various understandings through out the western political thought to contemporary time.
  - Plato - Equality of Opportunity
  - Aristotle - proportionate equality
  - Marx - Equality of freedom
  - John Rawls - Equality of Opportunity
  - Amartya Sen - Equality of outcomes through capability approach.

Capability approach of Equality is given by Amartya Sen. He believes inspite of giving equal opportunities people may not benefit equally due to difference in their capabilities. For example giving cycle to a person who knows how to cycle and another who do not know how to cycle. They will not benefit equally due to lack of capability.

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Merely providing with opportunities will not result into equality without providing them with capabilities

Amartya Sen theory can be said as realisation approach. Ability to turn resources into functionality

Martha Nussambam has given 10 basic capabilities.

Amartya Sen's capability approach is a framework to decide the type of equality we want to achieve - it says that social arrangements must be judged on amount of freedom people have to promote as achieve what they value.

Capability theory doesn't emphasis on commodities or the pleasure one derive derives from them, it stresses on opportunities to make use of them to achieve well being.

The scope of the approach is quite vast, that is what constitutes factors that can effect people's capabilities. under These include social, political, economic, gender, discrimination of all types, disabilities, environmental conditions, psychological factors. In this sense it can be categorised as human development model.

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Although capability approach was a full fledged model. Communitarians had criticised this model as well. Equality is not just about ensuring equality of opportunities or outcomes but safeguarding individuals from ~~and~~ discrimination. Michael Walzer's idea of complex equality rightly pointed at blocking exchanges from other spheres in order to stop the undue advantages ~~due to it~~ from it.

Eg:- Capability approaches can be reflected in trying to achieve the SDGs throughout the world by empowering individuals with basic minimum standards and giving them the freedom (functionality) to do well in activity of their choice.

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(b) Examine Robert Dahal's views on democracy. (15 marks, 200 words)

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Robert Dahal's view of democracy is a pluralistic view of democracy which was a attack upon the Elitist view of democracy which showed that democracy as a rule of few / power is centered in the hands of few individuals.

~~Robert Dahal has~~ Winston Churchill is ~~it~~ called democracy as the worst possible form of government but it is the best, till some alternative is available.

Robert Dahl has given his view of democracy in the book "Who governs". According to him power in democracy is although is controlled by the politically prevelged and economically powerful, no ruling or permanent elite was able to dominate the political process.

According to him common people take part in both electoris process and group processes. Their type of democracy R. Dahal named as Polyarchy, in which there are number of centers of power such as business class, industrialist, farmers etc.

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Concept of Polyarchy in democracy such a political system where all relid and active groups in different stages of policy formulation have the capacity to say their matters. Rule is done by minority groups system of rule by multiple minority groups may have been device is to prevent majority from exercising political power.

Robert Dahl later reformulated his theory and said that although many minority groups exists the capitalist or industrialist dominate in USA and it becomes a "deformed polyarchy" power tilted towards few groups.

Robert Dahl's view of democracy is also true in current times in few countries. For exam instance in Pakistan although many minority groups have stakes in the ruling, the power rests with the army. Pakistan although has elections may be considered as democracy.

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Critics Criticism of Pluralist like Robert Dahl is countered by the idea of Participatory democracy - in terms of Ram Rajya of Gandhiji, Town Politicos - Hannah Arendt the idea of Civic Republicanism of Mill. They believe that Democracy only where people exercise people is true democracy.

The idea of Substantive democracy is also at peril in pluralistic idea of democracy. Amartya Sen believes that democracy doesn't just have has ~~of~~ instrinsic and educative value as well. So pluralistic idea of democracy cannot be promoted.

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Q.3 (c) Critically comment on underlying assumptions of Rawls' theory justice.
(20 marks, 250 words)

John Rawls regards justice as the first virtue, just as truth is the primary value in an ethical context for him justice is the primary value.
He has given his idea of justice in the book "Theory of Justice -1971".

Rawls provides for a procedural theory of justice and hence he assumes that his theory of justice would be more acceptable. Rawls theory of theory has it so belongs to the social contract tradition encompassing three important components.

1) Original position
2) Veil of Ignorance
3) The contract.

Original position :

Original position is pre-contract, where are all individuals who are considered to be rational negotiate.

They

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They are put behind a veil of ignorance - where they do not have the knowledge about their position in the actual society. They only have the knowledge about economic, psychological aspects of the society.

In such a situation according to Rawls people will adhere to the principle of "MAXIMUM", where they try to minimise their disadvantages and maximise their advantages. The ideal scenario would be maximum liberty. However they balance it out with dignity.

They come up with lexical order of rights which is
1. Maximum Equal liberty
2. Equality of opportunity
3. Difference Principle.

The difference principle is accepted by the people as it provides them with the safety and protection from the poor and for poor it promotes equality. And social contract is accepted because it is a result of just procedure.

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John Rawls is criticised by ~~the~~ Many Communitarians and there are general criticism as well:

1) Rawls builds his idea of justice on the basis of an abstract idea of Original position

2) Utilitarians do not ~~a~~ augur with the idea of Rawls that individuals would compromise on their needs for others.

3) Feminist like Carol Gilligan criticise rawls for his importance given to value of justice He alternatively proposes Ethics of Care which is the most important idea.

4) Isaiah Berlin gives the idea of Value Pluralism instead of value monism given by John Rawls in his theory of justice. Value

5) Mahatir Mohammed and Lee Kuan Yew gives the ideas of Asian Values, which is centered around the communitarian view of society against the atomistic view of society provided in the theory of justice Rawls

6) He was criticised for the rigid lexical order of ~~value~~ values.

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His harshest criticism came from communitarians who criticised the assumptions of atomistic man, they said that man is a 'situational self'. this conception of right and wrong are shaped by the community. Hence they propagated the idea of differentiated citizenship as well (William Kymlicka and Bhikhu Parekh)

Rawls ended up limiting his theory of justice to just the Political sphere in his second book "Political Liberalism'.

However Rawl's theory of justice can be considered as most complete theory as well as comprehensive theory. His assumptions have helped him to establish a procedural theory and his attempt towards Universalist theory of justice

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SECTION-B

Write the following question in about 150 words.

Q.5 (a) Write a short note on- "Legitimation Crisis" as an indicator of potential issues within a political system. **(10 marks, 150 words)**

The theorist who has written extensively about legitimation crisis is Habermas. Legitimacy is the crisis of power which is lawful and acceptable, when such power is questioned it leads to legitimacy crises.

Legitimacy crisis was given in the backdrop of the welfare state. If welfare state is able to solve the contradictions of the capitalist society. The contradictions are between labour and capitalist. They are capitalist in ~~political~~ economic structure and socialist in ~~eco~~ political structure. Hence they will not be able to solve the contradictions ~~permanently~~ they will keep recurring.

Government borrows from capitalist ~~to~~ during elections and provide populist and pro poor measures when they come into power. However this cannot continue for long, ~~industrio~~

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benefits resulting into fissle between what state is expected to do and what the state actually does.

In such a situation the legitimacy of the state is into crisis. Citizens go against the state in extreme conditions. It can be seen in the form of Civil disobedience to the recent protests in Bangladesh and Srilanka.

Once Government/state do not ful fill public mandate their legitimacy is questioned and ~~their~~ legitimacy crisis may be witnessed more often in a democracy rather than in an authoritarian state.

The reasons for legitimacy crisis could be manifold - illegitimate/authoritarian use of power, not giving fundamental rights to citizens, instability in the political parties as seen in Nepal, failure of the ruling party to maintain economic stability.

Hence it can be said the legitimacy crisis is an indicator of political issues.

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Q.5 (b) Short note - Asian Value Debate. (10 marks, 150 words)

Asian values against Univer as a concept is given by Lee Kuan Yew. Asian Values is based on the idea that the fundamentals of Eastern society is distinctively varied from the West.

Western society is based on ideas of consumerism, individualism, liberty and freedom. However Eastern society is based on communitarianism, tolerance, peace and stability.

Hence the Universalistic principles of the West cannot be applied to the East. ~~Asian~~ Values Lee Kuan Yew argued about unsuitability of human Rights and democracy to Eastern countries because ~~the~~ of the inherent Asian Values which might clash with the western concepts of democracy.

Asian values are reflections in Indian Political thought as well. Be it the Buddhist Political thought in terms of idea of

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peace or Vasudeva kutumbakam idea provided in the vedas.

Indian foreign policy is also reflection of the Asian values - in terms of SAGAR policy, Non-Alignment. and.

Amartya sen however criticised Lee Kuan Yew for portraying that all the Asian countries share uniform values. He argues believes democracy culture existed in the ancient India in sabhas and samitis, ~~Buddhist~~ and we have elected shuto as Lichhavi as

Asian values may emphasis upon the differences in the eastern and western values overemphasis upon him may dilute the diversity in the East.

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Q.5 (c) Significance of deliberation in making democracies successful. (10 marks, 150 words)

According to Amartya Sen democracy as a universal value it has intrinsic and eductive value as well. Democracy over the years have taken various forms. However it is widely accepted that deliberation and debate forms an essential component of democracies.

Deliberative democracies strengthens democracy as it leads to wide participation as well as policies with consideration of multi party views. For ~~Aristotle~~ citizenship means participation in the affairs of the state. Mill and Hannah Arendt have actively ~~advocated~~ advocated for deliberation in the democracy.

According to Mill Freedom of Speech and expression shouldn't be curtailed as truth might emerge from any where. For Hannah Arendt 'Zoon Politicon' is the most important action. In Macpherson's own model as well he has emphasised upon participative participation of people in decision making

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can make even an authoritarian governed democratic.

India's example as a successful democracy can be taken as example. Free and fair elections which was one aspect of political deliberation, free existence of civil societies and Freedom of speech and expression in constitution strengthened the democracy in India. However it was threathened when deliberations were restricted during Emergency, however India managed to emerge out of it continues as a largest democracy due to deliberations and debates be it in parliament or outside.

The second reverse way of democracy wiped out those democracy which couldn't establish the democratic culture in terms of participation, debate and discussions in political functioning.

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Q.5 (d) Discuss the significance of the veil of ignorance and original position in Rawls's theory justice. (10 marks, 150 word

Rawls theory of justice is given in his work "Theory of Justice". Written in 1971. where it gives & declares justice as an transcendental value.

Rawls belonged to the social contract tradition hence he has given a procedural theory of justice. His theory is based on a thought experiment which involves 'Original position and veil of ignorance'.

ORIGINAL POSITION:

→ Original position is equivalence of state of Nature. Before the existence of state, how people lived.

→ In original position individuals were to decide upon the distribution of the primary goods - liberty, equality etc.

Upon primary goods distribution the secondary goods would be determined.

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Original position allows individuals to think with utmost rationality.

Veil of ignorance:

Individuals are deciding or negotiating behind a veil of ignorance. As they do not known their positioning in the society. So this allows them make decisions as well off persons and worse off place.

This thought experiment enables individuals to willingly accept and accomodate the difference principle.

This shifts their view from just thinking about one particular group.

As decisions resulting through this experiment would be more formidable and acceptable to all.

Original position and veil of ignorance plays a key role in ~~seeing~~ cancelling out the advantages and disadvantages of the well off and worse off and progressing as a powerful society.

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Q.5 (c) Weberian view of Power. (10 marks, 150 word

Max Webber defined power as the ability to influence or make other accept the will of ~~power~~ others.

Weber has described extensively about power. It has discussed three main sources of powers.

1) Traditional authority :

Traditional authority is where power is derived from traditional actors like ~~thumb~~, traditions such as customs. Ex: Authority of Queen of England

2) Charismatic authority :

On the basis of the personality. People follow Ex: Gandhiji, Martin Luther King

3) Legal/Institutional - On the basis of rules and regulations power is derived.

Power ~~sou~~ Webber has also given the Theory on bureaucracy (legal rational) authority and exercise of its power.

Webber is criticised by Feminist and Post Modernist view of Bureaucracy.

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According to Post Modernist power cannot be concentrated according to Foucault it is circulating in the society like the blood in capillaries.

Nietzsche also gives Knowledge and Power connection, contd...

Q: Power exercised in the society according to Webber is through use of two or more components of the sources of power. For example a Nelson Mandela while he was President of South Africa he ruled through Legal ~~institutional~~ and ~~Rational~~ charismatic authority.

Weberian theory of power is more descriptive rather than what ought to be. Webberian theory of power may not suitable for Post-Colonial state where there is distortion of power.

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Q.6 (a) Discuss the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. (15 marks, 200 words)

Universal Declaration of Human Rights are published in the UN charter through 2 document for ensuring the civil and po International Covenant for Civil and Political and the International Covenant for socio, economic and cultural rights.

It is an agreement International document adopted by United Nations General Assembly that ensures the basic rights and freedom inherent for an individual to survive. Although it is non-binding countries have adopted it in their constitutions. like India has made Human Rights as a part of their Fundamental Rights (Part III) of the constitution providing legal enforcement to these rights.

Importance of Human Rights:

1) Minimum rights that should be conferred on an individual for his existence and survival. Laski "Rights are those conditions without which no human can be at his best"

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2) Principle of Universality as it is adopted at the United Nations General assembly

3) Non-implementation of Human Rights or Violation of Human Rights is seen as failure of a state.

Theories of Human Rights:

* Human Rights can be traced back from the theory of Natural Rights. These rights existed even before the state existed, hence state cannot take away these rights they can only protect these rights.

Locke John Locke was one of the biggest exponent of Natural rights

We can also trace it back to General will of Rousseau.

Components of Universal Declaration of Human Rights:

→ It consists of Civil and Political rights such Equality before law, Liberty, Right to life. Right to seek justice

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Socio-Economic and cultural rights such as Right to work and have a family, Right to property, Right to freedom of thought, conscious and religion

Criticism of Human Rights:

Thinkers like Lee Kuan Yew have criticised for Universal imposition of the Human Rights.

Lee Kuan Yew has given the Asian Values against the ~~the~~ which may not be complimentary to the ~~them~~ all the components of Human Rights.

Communitarians also believe states to free to decide which rights they want to give privacy depending upon culture, economic, socio-political considerations. Which will lead to Value pluralism (Isaiah Berlin).

However Human Rights still remain the Bulwarks to protect the dignity of an individual.

There is international backlash when Human Rights are violated.

In current times of War - Human Rights becomes utmost important concept.

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Q.6 (b) Explain how deliberative democracy reflects both- collective will as well personal freedom. (15 marks, 200 words)

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Deliberative democracy as one of the most substantive form of democracy. Deliberative democracy means where the decisions are taken through debate and dilouge.

Exponents of deliberative democracy include J. S. Mill through his work of Representative democracy. He was ~~advent~~ of gave impetus to the idea of Freedom of Speech and Expression. Even a mad men should be allowed to speak.

another important contribution was made by ~~Dsocial Berlin~~ Hannah Arendt in her theory of action stated that only when an individual participate in political activities he (Zoon-politicon) he is utilising his full capabilities.

Deliberative democracy reflects the collective will of the people. The decisions made are after debate and, discussions and consultations. For example while ~~implem~~ passing a bill in the Indian parliament first it is discussed on the

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floor of the parliament, it is discussed by the committees (experts), it is circulated for public opinion after this process when this passed by majority it becomes an act. Hence reflecting collective will.

Deliberative democracy reflects personal freedom as deliberation can happen only when there is freedom of speech and Expression. Mill says that if all but one says a different thing even that opinion should be heard.

Joshua Cohen has given 5 features of deliberative democracy:

1) Independent & on-going association of people
2) Deliberation only formula to make policies
3) Non-coercive environment
4) Respect pluralism of values
5) Deliberation is source of legitimacy.

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Theory of deliberative democracy is critiqued by direct democracy proponents like Gandhiji who has given the "Ram Rajya Concept".

Grassroot level democracy would help better in dealing with issues of the people.

We can also witness the deterioration of deliberative democracy in the existing democracies due to various reasons. In India the role of parliament is declining - 16th Lok sabha functioned only for 55 days. Increased disruptions instead of debates have been causing impediments in the functioning of the parliament.

Although direct democracy is most ideal but is Utopian. Hence it is essential to strengthen the mechanisms and institutions of deliberative democracy.

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Q.6 (c) Power is resorted when the authority fails to get legitimacy in society. In light of this statement, discuss the relation among Power, authority and legitimacy.

(20 marks, 250 words)

It is a Power is the most fundamental concept in Intern Political science. What money is to economics. Power is to politics. Other concepts such as authority, legitimacy are interrelated to the concept of power.

Authority is when power is exercised by or backed by legal/institutions provisions.

Legitimacy is when power exercised by an individual/group is acceptable to the persons upon whom the power is exercised.

Power can be understood in the sense of soft power or hard power. Hard power is use of military/, strength/force or the economic power. Soft power is the use of influence, ideological manipulation.

Power is resorted to when authority fails to get legitimacy in the society:

Here if Power is use of force or the use of

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based power as done when an authority (person in power) fails to get acceptance & or obedience. For example In the recent protests in Congo when there was public outcry against the government, government (authority) understood that it his legitimacy was declining. Hence government had to use force in terms of Army, Police in order to control the mob.

Relationship between Power, Legitimacy and authority can be understood through the following diagram.

POWER (force) —legal→ Authority (Power + Legal support) —+people→ legitimacy (Power + Legal support + acceptance of people).

Power can be exercised by anyone, it may just not be limited to people having the authority or not. Power can be exercised for both legitimate and illegitimate purposes.

A person who is has authority has the option to exercise power, or he can choose not to use power sometimes. However the

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use of power by the authority may not always be legitimate. Misuse of power by the authority for personal gains can result into illegitimate use of power as well.

When there is legitimacy usually the power is used by an authority for the public good.

When there is legitimacy crisis there could be indiscriminate use of power.

It should be seen that despite the differences all the three requires two parties one who exercises it and two upon whom it is exercised. All the three can be used as disciplinary force upon people as well.

It can be seen in a democracy the complementarities of the power, the authority and legitimacy. Only power and authority can lead to resistance among the people against power. Only authority and legitimacy could lead to may

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not help state in fulfilling its goals. Only legitimacy and power could lead to voluntary use of power. Hence the co-existence of all the three is necessary especially in a democracy.

Along with this idea of legitimacy can be utilised used for long lasting nature of power, authority and legitimacy.

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Q.8 (a) Discuss the features of representative democracy. What challenges are facing contemporary democracies? (15 marks, 200 words)

Representative democracy is a limited and indirect form of democracy where the representatives of the people are elected for carrying out of the functioning of the state. It is most widely practised and most practical form of democracy.

Representative democracy's exponent were J.S. Mill, Rousseau theory of General Will can be understood as representative democracy. Locke's 2 treatises of Government in the second agreement where Civil society elects a government to rule the state is a form of representative government as well.

Features of representative democracy:

1) Eg: Universal Adult Franchise - Political equality exist - where everyone is given a equal chance to be part of the government or elect the government.

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2) Free and Fair Elections and Regular and timely elections:
Ensuring the right representation of the people

3) Freedom of Speech and Expression:
so that people can express their dissent and issues with the government

4) Existence of a civil society - which bridges the gap between the government and people.

5) Limited power and Independent Judiciary
to ensure checks and balances on the powers of the state

CHALLENGES FACED BY Contemporary democracies:

1) Political instabilities - Govs Represented Governments are unable to get create mandate sometimes even when they get clear mandate unable to retain power. Nepal in the last 13 years have seen 16 governments

2) Influence of other actors in functioning of the state. In Pakistan it is the army. In USA Corporate groups

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3) Populist policies in order to win the elections rather than policies meant for the welfare of the people. Supreme Court in a case has pointed the ill effects of freebies on the democracy.

4) Lack of proper representation of all the sections of the society. In Indian Parliament currently 14% of women represent 50% of the population.

How do Representative democracies can be strengthened?

1) Providing better representation of all the sections of the society. India has passed 1/3rd reservation for women in Parliament and state legislatures.

2) Increased role of civil societies and participation of the people. To ensure governments are held accountable.

3) Ensuring that government do not become authoritarian and usurp the rights of individuals as well. Independent Judiciary is required.

Representative democracy was the solution in diverse and populated country like India. But need to make it truely representative and truely democratic.

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For Rawls, to what extent democratic equality is crucial for justice? Analyze.
(15 marks, 200 words)

Rawls John Rawls is an American political philosopher of the liberal tradition. His theory of justice as fairness envisions a society of citizens having equal basic rights and co-operating among themselves for an egalitarian economic system.

Rawls through his social contract arrives with the help of original position and Veil of Ignorance arrives at 3 principles of Justice which are:

1) Maximum equal liberty
2) Equality of Opportunity
3) Difference principle.

His first two principles that is maximum equal liberty and Equality of Opportunity combinely indicate towards democratic equality.

Since Rawls belonged to the tradition of liberalism democratic equality was one of the important pre-conditions for Rawls.

The democratic equality in Rawls theory is arrived at through the original position behind the veil of ignorance.

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Democratic equality is arrived at through the principle of 'MAXIMIN' principle. It becomes acceptable to all as they do not want both the worse off and better off to have undue advantage or disadvantages

However his democratic equality is not equality in negative sense which is absolute equality. He forwarded the concept of positive equality through the difference principle. This positive discrimination becomes acceptable to people as it is a result of fair procedure

Even in democracies like in India we follow the democratic equality concept provided by Rawls which is equality of all and equal protection of all. India supports the difference principle through the affirmative actions.

However democratic equality for Rawls was just an means to end. His end was establishing Universalistic concept of justice

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which was agreeable and acceptable to all. Hence he used the democratic equality. It is however not absolute equality as well. He has made provisions for practical discrimination in his theory.

He has been under criticism for his value neutrality towards the idea of justice. Feminist theorist like Carol Gilligan have given the concept of Ethics of Care as justice was a masculinist idea. Communitarians also criticised him for attempting to establish a universalistic idea of justice.

However Rawls idea of justice have strengthened the importance and idea of justice in political philosophy.

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Q.8 (c) Comment on: "Power flows throughout the system like blood in the capillaries of our body." (Foucault) (20 marks, 250 words)

Laswell and Kaplan said that "Political science is the study and of the shaping and sharing of power. Study of power has been a central concept in Political science. The interpretations about it have also transformed over the years. The above quote is on post modernist view of power given by Foucault.

Evolution of idea of power:

Earliest idea of power can be found in books of Thucydides, Kautilya's Arthashastra

→ In the western philosophy it re-emerges through Machiavelli in his book Prince

→ Hobbes talks about 'Might becomes right in state of Nature and state becoming all powerful in Leviathan

→ In contemporary times it is spoken Hannah Arendt followed by Foucault.

Foucault's concept of Power:

Michael Foucault was a French postmodernist hugely influential in shaping understanding of power. Foucault provides micro analysis

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of power a major shift from earlier macro analysis - how society/organisations exercise power.

Foucault believes that power is not centered but it is dispersed. Power is everywhere and comes from everywhere. It is like flows through the system like blood in the capillaries. Power circulates in the society through discourses. So carry the discourses. Hence we are both agents and carrier of powers.

Foucault also emphasises on Knowledge power connection. No theory/knowledge is purely free from power. This idea of his is influenced by Nietzsche. Power cannot be exercised without grounding it in power.

He breaks the conventional understanding of power that, power is only coherse but it is also productive. Power produces identity, hence we are subjects and objects of power. Means we are discourses. We are built by them. Individuals carry these discourses and hence power with them wherever they go.

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In this way it can be said that power flows throughout the society.

Another interpretation of power flowing through the society can be understood through concept of discipline explained in his book "Discipline and Punish".

Discipline is also form of power but on whomever it is exercised feel that it is in their interest however it is in the interest of those who govern. Discipline produces governmentality, restricts the way we think and way we behave which makes it easier to rule.

In disciplinary society we subject ourselves to our own gaze we monitor ourselves. So power is circulating within the capabilities as discipline as well.

This understanding of power however can be contradicted by the modern day governments where there is centralisation of power. We see the emergence of Power elites (C. Wright Mills) and circulation of elites (Pareto)

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not just in necessary democracy but also
matured democracies as well.

Power is as diffused in the society as
stated by foucault but people may not possess
real control over their power. Their power is
exercised in line with rules and regulations of
the state. Hence it may not be real power at all.
It is ~~re~~ state but in deformed manner
exercising power.

NEXT IAS

The Post Modernist were successful in
putting forward an positive view of power and
New thinking upon the exercise and utilisation
of powers.

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