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Question No.
प्रश्न संख्या

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for practice use only
सिर्फ अभ्यास के लिए

PSIR Test-06

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1(a). John Rawls in his "Theory of Justice" in 1971 provided the notion of both affirmative action and equality in lexical order.

Affirmative action is based on "difference principle" where historically dis-advantaged sections are provided with reservation. It is through quota system, they are expected to climb the ladder in the societal setups.

Rawls provided that rich can be taxed to ensure better off for the poor, as they were lucky (rich). N. Barry termed this as "chain principle" where both rich and poor are equally important.

Whereas, equality refers to "absence of privileges".

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various notions such as equality of opportunities, outcome, resources are there. Rawls provided equality of opportunities to all the individuals in the starting to get equal chance to climb the ladder.

Dworkin provided "equality of resources" to ensure just initial distribution of resources. where as socialists want "equality of outcome" ie equal end results.

However, Robert Nozick criticised both affirmative action and equality because he termed progressive taxation is bonded labour and favoured minimal state.

Thus, to ensure justice, reservation & equality hold key value in social welfarism.

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1(b). Laski defines "rights are those conditions without which no man can seek to be at his best" ("Grammer of Politics")

Natural rights are those which existed in state of nature. Certain rights as per John Locke were in nature such as life, liberty and property (LLP).

After the social contract, these rights were protected by state as states are just~~ice~~ service government who have only delegated powers.

so, Locke wants to ensure there is no violation of natural rights that's why he provided right to revolt too.

Another basis of natural rights are "teleological basis"

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provided by Thomas Paine in his "The Rights of Man". He criticised social contract theory and provided divine rights to humans as natural rights.

However, Thomas Hobbes criticised the whole concept of natural rights because in state of nature there was no protection of life and hence there was no rights. It was State (Leviathan) that provides rights. (positive rights).

Bentham calls natural rights as nonsense upon stilts. Macintyre called only witches believes in these rights.

Yet, Natural rights became basis for human rights (UDHR).

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A (c). Hegemony and Domination are the two tools for use of power by the authority

Gramsci while analyzing why the revolution predicted by marx did not came. He in his "prison notebooks" (1929-35) writes that Capitalists are not just using domination but using hegemony. so, what's the difference?

Firstly, Domination is the naked coercive power used by state via police, army and state authorities to rule the state. While Hegemony is the power based on consent which have been manufactured (Noam Chomsky) by the organic Intellectuals.

secondly, Domination is rarely used by the state only

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when first layer of defence fails to generate hegemony. whereas, hegemony is the constant creation of civil society to generate soft power to rule.

eg: Hollywood, pop culture etc

Thirdly, Domination is resides only in the state authorities. wheres Hegemony resides in Intellectuals and society.

However, Hannah Arendt called power is not just destructive but also constructive.
(power over) (power to)

Thus, Hegemony and domination have minute differences which ensures legitimacy to rule.

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1(d). Post-modernist theory of Power is given by Foucault who gave very unconventional view of Power.

He criticised Hobbes (Power is used by state only) and Marx (Power is in the hands of Bourgeoise). Foucault called power is everywhere, it does not reside at one place. It comes and "flows throughout the system like blood in the capillaries of our body".

He called not only state exert power over us but we too exert power over them through social movements.

eg: Homosexuals against hetrosexuals.

Power are not just destructive but it is also

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constructive because "knowledge is power". Government uses power as govern-ability to keep checks on people's behaviour.

eg: Pan-opticon in prison.

It is also used as bio-power to tell how to look and what to do. He called his theory as archaeology (Genealogy) which is aimed to control the human to respect the state and be productive

However, Noam Chomsky criticised post-modernists for exaggerating the power.

Yet, Foucault's discourse & regime of truths is necessary to study meta narratives (Lyotard).

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1(e) Utilitarianism is based on theory of greatness hapiness for greatest number (GHGN). It is given by Bentham, Utilitarianism measures value of anything on the basis of pleasure and pain. It was criticised by John Pawls. Pawls brought deotdogical aspect of Immanuel Kant to criticise violation of human dignity in utilitarianism. As they considered human as means rather than end, whereas Kant has claimed no one should be means, everyone is end in itself. Pawls critique is also in line with basic structure of society because Bentham

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has quantified the human happiness. It should be based on human dignity which is the baste structure.

Pauls in his critique aimed to improve it by prouding justice. He put all under veil of ignorance in original position to deelde the primary goods. It was later on deelded to have welfare state with affirmattive action.

Thus, Pauls critique ensured that human dignity remains preserved as baste structure.

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3.(a). Equality refers to "absence of privileges". It is a loaded and contested concept with multiple variations such as equality of outcome, opportunities, resources, or capability.

Amartya Sen has given the new discourse on concept of equality in terms of capability approach. He criticised Ronald Dworkin's equality of resources theory and gave his own theory.

Sen was in support of developing capacity of individuals because it can help them to achieve the required human skill to flourish in life.

eg: He gave example of China where focused on capability development to enhance quality of labour.

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Amartya Sen criticised equality of just initial distribution of Dworkin because it led to further inequality as people differ in talents due to historical disadvantages to vulnerables.

eg: A tribal girl and a urban girl can't compete with each other by just providing equal no. of books (just distribution) because they differ in quality.

So, what is required to equal the capacity of everyone to fight with each other on positive note. It will create a greater human capital that will enhance the workforce ability and hence

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the GDP of the nation.

However, John Rawls' justice theory wanted lexical order in contrary to sen's approach. Rawls provided equal opportunity and difference principle to help those in worst off situations.

Michael walzer in his "sphere of justice" provided complex equality and there is need to block the exchanges between different spheres to reduce inequalities.

Thus, all the concept or discourses of equality has enriched the political science as a whole

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3(b). Democracy is art and science of allocation of material, economic and spiritual resources for common good (MK Gandhi).

There are various models of democracy including elitist and pluralist. Robert Dahl has given a pluralist model of democracy.

Dahl criticised the elitist model of democracy (Mosca, Pareto, Robert Michael, CW Mills) because they termed that democracy has always been in the hands of elites despite any form of country.

Dahl differs from this and provided that democracy is in the hand of

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polyarchy ie pressure groups. It is through these groups people use their power.

eg: civil services association, ABVP, BKU etc

Charles Lindblom supported the idea of Dahl by giving the concept of polyarchy again. This ensures that generally elites doesn't take day to day decisions. All the pressure groups equally exert pressure on government to make rules and regulations.

However, Robert Michael criticised Dahl's view by giving "iron law of oligarchy" which denotes power is always exercised by elites.

CB Macpherson in his

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radical democracy called Schumpter-Dahl axis which is just focus on procedural aspects and has no substantive aspect to focus on human emancipation.

It was even criticised that in USA capitalists and army pressure groups have exercised more powers than other groups. Thus, Robert Dahl realises this and updated his polyarchy into "deformed polyarchy" ie not all pressure groups are equal.

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3(c). John Rawls is a proceduralist thinker and egalitarian scholar. He calls Justice as the first virtue of social institution.

His theory came when political science was declining due to too much focus on facts. He revived political theory by his discourse of "Theory of Justice" in 1971.

The underlying assumptions of Rawls justice is based on social contract and purely procedural aspect. He put people in the original position under veil of ignorance to decide for the primary goods such as liberty, equality, rights which will eventually decide

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the secondary goods. Rawls provided 2 options to either choose liberalism or socialism to come out of worst off.

If people would have choosen liberalism, then they got to know after coming out of original position that they are poor. They will be in bad position.

Similarly, they can't even choose socialism. so the only option left is Modern liberalism using maximin principle and reflective equalibrium.

Another assumption, he took that people would choose welfare state because it provides progressive taxation

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that can help welfare schemes that can support the unlucky poor.

Third assumption, he took about lexical order where he provided 3 options in orderly manner:

(1) Equal liberty eg: Fundamental rights
(2) equality of opportunity eg: DPSPs
(3) Difference principle eg: reservation

In his difference principle, Rawls provided that equality can be deferred, if it helps the least advantageous sections. Through affirmative action such groups should be given chance to equate themselves with the richer sections

Norman Barry calls Rawls principle as "chain principle"

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because both rich and poor are equally strong in his lexical order.

Samuel Horowitz calls Rawls a truly redistributionist who puts social order at high level to help poor.

However, Amartya Sen criticises him for using abstract position and abstract individuals based on hypothesis.

SM Okin criticised for not thinking about private sphere where inequality is more

Yet, Rawls has been called by a reference point for all new scholars by Robert Nozick for entitling 'justice.

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4(a). Multiculturalism refers to coexistence of diverse cultures in the society.

Will Kymlika in his "multicultural citizenship" criticised the universal citizenship because there only consider one value as supreme and it led to unrest.

Kymlika wanted to provide multipultural citizenship to citizens based on their values and cultures. He promoted to even provide special educational institutions and special representation in the democracy.

He called for respecting their rights as they are also humans. By providing them

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differentiated citizenship government can ensure their progress as a part of development of nation.

However, Kymlicka restricted his multicultural rights to only citizens, and not to provide for migrants because they have come by choice and they should adopt.

But, Bhikhu Parekh criticised Kymlicka and he extended such rights to minorities of other countries also (migrants too). His idea is based on human dignity and every culture is good in itself and every man is product of his own culture.

He supported Indian model such as Article 29, 30

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that provides special rights to minorities. Even 5th and 6th schedule provides a basis of multicultural rights.

eg: ensuring Ganga-Jamuni Tehzeb.

However, Amartya Sen criticizes multiculturism because it can lead to ghetoization. whereas Brian Berry calls it is just a tool of minority appeasement. SM Okin denies such rights by pointing that in every society/culture, women is under patriarchy.

Recent, UK riots about muslim refugees denies such multi-culturalism rights in west too.

Thus, need to increase toleration to cohere people into unity in diversity.

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4(b). Steven Lukes defined power - political science relations. He called what money is to economies, same is power for politics.

Power is a contested concept because there are various base of power based on different political ideologies.

First, liberal ideology calls power is in the hand of people and ensured when there is laissez-faire and minimal state (Robert Nozick).

second base, socialists and marxists calls power is in the hand of capitalists who use it to exploit workers (bourgeoise)

Third base, feminists

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pointed that power is in the hands of men, as patriarchy is the basic structure of society

Hannah Arendt took every unconventional view on power as she claimed that power is 'sui-generis' and arrive when people act in concert in public sphere.

Antonio Gramsci called power lies in the civil society who have manufactured truth and use as a hegemony that seems a common sense.

Gandhi's base of power is totally decentralized. He terms power comes in the hand of people in a oceanic circle.

Elitist scholars like Mosca

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in the "ruling class" noted that power is in the hand of those who have managerial class.

Elitist - Pareto calls power circulates between elites in his "circulation of elites".

Robert Michaels gave power is in the hand of oligarchy by terming it "iron law of oligarchy".

Thus, Harold Lasswell argued that political science is nothing but shaping and sharing of power. Here various bases are there.

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4(c). Laski calls rights are those conditions without which no man can seek to be at its best.

There are various models of natural rights ie social contract (Locke), teleological (Paine), and socio-economic rights (Laski).

As natural rights are those rights which are already available to people in the state of nature. State provides this rights such as liberty, life and property.

Laski theory of rights manages to achieve individual liberty. He provides that these rights are inalienable from the individuals in any case.

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If states can't protect these rights, then people have right to resist and revolt against the government.

By using these rights, individual can enjoy their liberty to achieve basic needs such as property, education etc.

On the other side, these rights also manage to achieve social justice. As Laski promotes socio-economic rights like right to work, right to equal pay for equal works, right to cultural values. etc.

He even formed that those states which can't protect these rights are based

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on sand ie they can't stand on for longer time.

Rights also not just claims of the individuals but the duty of the citizens too.

eg: Just like Fundamental duty under Article-51A.

These duty ensures that social justice are achieved in the society by providing all the people welfare state.

eg: Directive principles of state policy (Article 35-51) aims to provide social justice in India.

However, Hobbes denies natural rights because in the state of nature, there was a "war of all against all" and there was no rights. It was

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state (Leviathan) who provides the positive rights.

Similarly, Bentham called these natural rights are terrorist languages and based upon stilts which are nonsensical.

Macintyre termed that those who believes in natural rights are like believing in unicorns and witches.

Yet, Lasski theory of rights provides a basis for state to provide liberty and justice.

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5(a). Jurgen Habermas has given the concept of "Legitimation crisis" in the content of welfare state.

He predicted that welfare state is no longer going to survive in future because it is based on two antithetical ideologies such as capitalism and socialism.

"Legitimation crisis" is an indicator of potential issues within a system because it predicts the end time of any welfare state. As it is going to face fiscal crisis due to welfare policies which is sponsored by progressive taxation of rich.

It indicates a time when rich will withdraw their support

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and government fails to provide the benefits of schemes to poor. It was called "government overload" by Anthony King.

Habermas termed it as "democratic decay" when state can't fulfill the aspiration of people and it lead to protests eg: Greece and Venezuela crisis due to welfarism, and recent protests in Argentina due to economic recession.

Therefore, Rakhir Sharma provides "feedback mechanism" as a solution to avoid legitimation crisis in his "10 successful rules".

Thus, legitimation crisis can be avoided with Independence of Judiciary and freedom of speech & expressions.

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5(b). Asian values are found in Asian continent, propounded by Malaysian president - Mahathir Mohammad

He criticised the imposition of western values on asian society. He termed it as tool of regime change as Asia has their own cultures and values.

Eg: Collectivism in Asia vs-a-vis Individualism in West

In Asia, rights and values are determined by customs and traditions. Lee Kuan Yu called western human rights - UDHR are not suitable for Asia - because Asians believe in multiculturalism (Tyagi) and value pluralism (Berlin).

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However, Amartya Sen criticises Lee Kuan Yu by saying that Asia is so diverse that there is no one value in Asia. Even India has some democratic values since the time of Akbar. (eg: Din-i-Illahi).

Lee Teng Hui (Taiwanese president) criticised China and North Korea for promoting autocratic regimes in the backdrop of Asian values.

Thus, Asian values vis western values ensures a better debate on rights - Jaffee.

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5(c). Democracy is the art and science of mobilization of resources that ensures common good.

Deliberation is key in making democracies successful. It ensures a good debate and discussion with equal participation of citizens in Public Sphere (Hannah Arendt).

Whereas, without any deliberation, it is leading towards an autocratic regimes and totalitarian states. As Hannah Arendt calls, when people enter into private sphere, they loses their critical thinking.

Another scholar - Habermas in his "Legitimation crisis" writes that to make policies

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legitimate, people should participate in communicative action in ideal "speech situation".

JS Mills "on Consideration of representative democracy" argued that freedom of speech and expression ensures real liberty. So deliberation is needed to hold democracy successful.

Joshua Cohen argued that there is only one force which is force of argument (deliberation).

Thus, deliberation ensures democracy not merely remain a form of government but respects their fellow men (Ambedkar).

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5(d). John Rawls in his "theory of Justice" took two hypothetical situation to arrive at procedural justice. It was "original position" and "veil of ignorance" to come at social contract. Significance of "veil of ignorance" is that it ensures that people are not aware about their normal life-situations ie either they are rich or poor. This ensures that they will take neutral view while choosing the primary good (liberty, equality, rights). They do not get biased. eg: if they know they are rich, then they will choose liberalism. So, it was to

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stop such business.

On the other hand, significance of original position was to ensure that everyone is at same plane and unknown about their future course.

eg: either they will fall into poor category after coming out original position or rich category.

However, Amartya Sen criticised Rawls for using abstract individuals and abstract positions (original position) as it is not the reality.

Thus, it helped to decide the ~~vrical~~ order of justice.

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5(c). Max weber defines "power as the ability of the individual to force own's will upon others".

Max weber wanted to know why the revolution predicted by marx did not come, he found the answer in legitimate power.

He gave 3 authority that uses power:

(a) Traditional authority → power is used by customs, rituals.
eg: Khap Panchayats.

(b) charismatic authority → based on personality which is short termed
eg: Nehru, Gandhi.

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(c) constitutional or rational authority

It is based on laws and regulations.

eg. Bharatiya Nyay Sanhita-2023

He claims that power can be used in any permutation and combination. But it should be always legitimate.

Power + Legitimacy = Authority

FJ Friedrich calls power which is based on reasonableness can ensure legitimacy only.

Thus, Max Weber's view ensures the way to avoid the "Legitimation crisis".

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7.(a). CB Macpherson has analysed the various models of democracy and gave his own model there after.

He studied the traditional models such as protective and developmental models which focus on protection of individuals rights and development of citizens using democracy respectively. It was totally based on substantive aspects that lacked the procedural aspects.

Whereas, he also studied the modern models such as pluralists (Robert Dahl) and Elitist (Mosca) which focus was democracy by polyarchy and elites respectively. It was purely procedural.

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CB Macpherson called both the models of democracy as "schumpter-dahl axis" because both lacked substantive aspects. At one point, he praised traditional models for having substantive aspects.

He called in western democracy, all the powers are in the hands of capitalists (99%) ie both extractive and developmental powers

So, He gave his own "Radical democracy" where both capitalists and workers would have 100% developmental powers and 0% extractive powers. He ensure that it will be an egalitarian society where creative freedom will prevail.

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He combined the both procedural and substantive aspects to provide emancipation of masses for living in democracy.

Macpherson even criticised west for taking claims for democracy, because he claims that democracy is also possible in communist country, if they follow intra-party democracy.

However, he was criticised for being idealistic, as states lacks resources to implement his model.

Thus, CB Macpherson calls for overall change in socio-economic and political sphere to realize a radical democracy.

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7.(b). Robert Nozick is a libertarian scholar who gave "entitlement theory of justice".

Nozick criticised Rawls' "theory of justice" by claiming that re-distributionist justice based on historical injustice is unfair.

Nozick provides that progressive taxation to ensure difference principle is a bonded labour.

Therefore, Nozick gave his own "theory of entitlement of justice" in which he focused on 3 things.

First, "justice of acquisition" of holdings of property: It should be based on who finds first unlike

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just initial distribution (equality of resources by assumption). It should be based on fair principles.

Second, "justice of transfer" of holdings should be based on laws and regulations, and should not be result of coercion and fear.

Third, "rectifying the injustice", Nozick claims that historical injustice complicate the straitforward situation. So, he wants to ensure that people should rectify their mistakes, if any in case of transfering or acquisition of holdings.

Furthermore, Nozick was against distribution in general case but he supported if there is scarcity of resources. eg: if there

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is only one. well for water, then it should not be monopolized and distributed among all.

Michael Walzer

criticises Nozick for not considering community. Humans are not atomistic, they live in society and embedded self. Society must be considered while deciding justice.

Thus, Nozick's justice provided a liberal view different from Rawls, Dworkin, Sen or Walzer that provided an alternate perspective.

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7(c). Liberty and equality are the two normative values in political theory. Both has emerged during French revolution and american revolution.

It was Rousseau who promoted liberty, fraternity and equality. Both seems complementary to each other.

Equality is the foundation of liberty because equality ensures all are treated without any discrimination. Aristotle in his "theory of justice" claimed that inequality is the main cause of revolution. It can be either real or imagined. But if equals are treated unequally and vice-versa then it leads to resistance.

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Therefore, equality ensures that revolution does not come and people enjoy liberty.

As per Marxists, equality is more important because it provides "equality of outcome" for every individuals.

eg: Every one will work according to their ability and get as per their need.

Even, Marx called liberty as "false consciousness" because it restricts equality. Where socialists considers equality and liberty are complementary to provide social justice and welfare.

on the contrary, Liberals consider liberty as supreme. They claims liberty is the foundation

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equality. Without liberty, there will be huge inequality and injustice in the society.

Classical liberals even termed liberty and equality as antithetical to each other ie can't exist altogether. They just promote equality of opportunities (Rawls in lexical order).

Rawls provided first to ensure equal liberty and then equality of opportunities. This proves that liberty precedes equality.

However, Isaih Berlin gave "value pluralism", where he criticised Rawls lexical order. He argued that values are immeasurable ie it can be measured. We can't put liberty is supreme or precondition to

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equality or equality is precondition to liberty.

Berlin termed that every value is unique and we can't claim which is superior or inferior. That's why tolerance is necessary and he put "tolerance" at the core of liberalism.

Thus, Laski called those who claims equality is antithetical to liberty, they have not understand the complete meaning of liberty.