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Political Science and International Relations

Paper-I

Section-A

Political Theory

Q. Write approximately 150 words on behavioural approach to Political Science.

Ans: The behavioural approach to political science emphasises on the systematic and empirical study of political behaviour. It marked a shift from focusing solely on formal institutions and legal frameworks to examining the observable actions and interactions of individuals and groups.

David Easton described behaviouralism as a method of studying political phenomena through concrete and empirical evidence, advocating for systematic analysis of political behaviour.

Robert Dahl similarly emphasized the need to analyze actual political behaviour rather than theoretical norms, focusing on how individuals behave in real political situations.

Gabriel Almond contributed significantly to this approach by highlighting the transition from analyzing formal institutions to studying the informal processes, attitudes, and behaviours shaping political outcomes.

The behavioural approach is characterised by its emphasis on **observable facts and verifiable data**, the use of quantitative methods and statistical analysis, a focus on individual and group behaviour rather than institutions, a commitment to value-free and objective research, and the integration of insights from other social sciences.

This methodology introduced scientific rigour and empirical methods to political science, transforming it into a more data-driven and systematic discipline.

Despite its significant contributions, the behavioural approach has faced criticism for potentially neglecting normative and philosophical questions critical to understanding politics comprehensively.

Q. Elucidate the meanings inherent in the term 'political' with appropriate illustrations.

Ans: The term 'political' has been differently defined by notable political theorists throughout history,

each offering distinct insights into this essential idea.

In "**Politics**," **Aristotle** asserts that the 'political' is intrinsically linked to the polis, declaring that "man is by nature a political animal," which underscores that humans instinctively form political groups for their survival and prosperity. He perceives **political engagement as the paramount expression of human collaboration** directed towards the attainment of the common good.

Max Weber, in "**Politics as a Vocation**," presents a power-centric definition, asserting that politics basically involves the endeavour to share power or to influence the allocation of power, either among states or among groups within a state. This analysis emphasises the significance of power dynamics in political engagements.

In "**The Human Condition**," **Hannah Arendt** articulates that the political sphere is characterised by human **plurality and collective action**, asserting that "politics is based on the fact of human plurality" and addresses "the coexistence and association of different men." She underscores the significance of public space and communal discourse.

Carl Schmitt controversially delineates the 'political' in "The Concept of the Political" via the friend-enemy dichotomy, asserting that "the specific political distinction to which political actions and motives can be reduced is that between friend and enemy." This definition underscores the **contentious nature of politics**.

In "**The Political System**," **David Easton** presents a systems-oriented perspective, characterising politics as the "authoritative allocation of values within a society." This analysis emphasises the manner in which political systems address needs and produce binding judgments for society.

Chantal Mouffe, in "**On the Political**," contends that the politics is fundamentally agonistic, asserting that "properly political questions always entail decisions necessitating a choice between conflicting alternatives." She underscores the significance of authentic conflict in democratic governance.

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In “**In Defence of Politics**,” **Bernard Crick** defines politics as the process of **reconciling conflicting interests** within a certain governing entity. He asserts that politics is the process through which various interests within a specific governing entity are reconciled by allocating them a share of power commensurate with their significance to the welfare and survival of the entire community.

These varied interpretations illustrate that ‘political’ includes **power dynamics, public discourse, dispute resolution, and collective decision-making**, rendering it a complex and comprehensive notion essential for comprehending human social organisation.

Theories of State

Q. Write approximately 150 words on Pluralist theory of State.

Ans: The pluralist theory of the state emerged as a critique of the elitist theory proposed by C. Wright Mills. The fundamental characteristic of pluralist theory is that the state, rather than being dominated by a singular capitalist class or elite, is governed by various interest groups.

Robert Dahl introduced the concept of the pluralist state while attacking C.W. Mills’ elitist view of power in his article ‘**Who Governs America?**’ Dahl posits that the United States is governed not by political elites like federal politicians or large capitalists, such as defence contractors, but by a multitude of interest groups, including religious organisations, corporate lobbies, and civil rights activists. He referred to his pluralist state paradigm as “Polyarchy.”

However, in his collaboration with **Charles Lindblom**, he concluded that while numerous interest groups influence policy-making decisions, business and entrepreneurial groupings are the most powerful. Dahl referred to this new concept as “**Deformed Polyarchy.**”

The pluralist model of the state closely aligns with the Marxist view of the state as a mirror of the economic base, specifically the means of production. The pluralist model of the state is regarded by its advocates as the most “practicable” kind of democracy.

Q. Marxism is a political theory of action demanding strict compliance with its core principles. Comment.

Ans: Marxism is a socio-economic and political ideology formulated by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels that opposes capitalism and promotes a classless and stateless society. Historical materialism, class conflict, and the labour theory of value are fundamental to Marxism.

Marx contended that history is propelled by material conditions and class struggles between the bourgeoisie (capitalist class) and the proletariat (working class). In “**The Communist Manifesto**,” Marx asserts, “The history of all previously existing societies is the history of class struggles.”

Fundamental tenets of Marxism encompass **historical materialism**, which asserts that material conditions and economic factors influence society and history; **class struggle**, which highlights the conflict among various social classes resulting in revolutionary transformation; and the **labour theory of value**, which claims that a commodity’s value is dictated by the quantity of socially necessary labour time expended in its production.

Need for Strict Compliance

Marxism constitutes a praxis theory, underscoring the necessity for revolutionary action to effect societal transformation. Marx emphasised this in his “**Theses on Feuerbach**” by stating, “**The philosophers have only interpreted the world, in various ways; the point is to change it,**” so highlighting the need of actual, transformative action.

Marxism promotes **revolutionary transformation** instead of incremental progress. Marx and Engels contended that the capitalist system could not be altered inside but required dismantling through **collective action**. This entails mobilising the working class, enhancing class awareness, and spearheading a revolution to create a socialist state.

Marxist praxis encompasses actual implementations, including the organisation of labour movements, the advocacy for workers’ rights via unions and strikes, and the pursuit of improved conditions and pay.

Political activism encompasses lobbying for socialist policies, engaging in elections, and shaping government policies to advantage the working class. Community organising is essential for fostering solidarity, educating individuals about class struggle, and mobilising collective action to tackle local challenges.

Historical examples include the **Russian Revolution of 1917**, where the Bolsheviks overthrew the Tsarist regime to establish a socialist state, and the **Cuban Revolution of 1959**, where Fidel Castro’s followers applied Marxist principles to overthrow Batista’s government and implement socialist reforms.

Marxism as praxis connects theory and action, and require strict compliance, seeking to transform society through coordinated collective efforts to demolish capitalism structures and establish a socialist society.

Political Science and International Relations

Paper-II

Section-A

Comparative Politics

Q. Discuss the interpretive approach to the study of comparative politics.

Ans: The interpretive approach in Comparative Politics focuses on understanding political phenomena by interpreting the meanings and experiences of individuals within political systems. This approach emphasizes the importance of cultural, historical, and social contexts in shaping political behaviour and institutions.

The interpretive approach in political science encompasses numerous fundamental elements. It frequently employs qualitative research methodologies, including interviews, ethnography, and textual analysis, to obtain profound insights into political life. This methodology aims to comprehend political occurrences within their distinct cultural and historical settings, rather than employing universal theories. It analyses the impact of political meanings, symbols, and narratives on political behaviour and institutions.

Furthermore, as per **Rod Rhodes**, it recognises the subjective essence of political experiences and the significance of individual viewpoints. According to **Colin Hay and Keith Dowding**, the interpretive method offers a comprehensive and nuanced view of political systems and behaviours by emphasising subjective and contextual elements of politics.

While the interpretive approach in Comparative Politics provides useful insights, it is not without limitations. It is mainly dependent on the subjective interpretations of researchers, which might lead to biased conclusions. Findings are frequently context- and culture-specific, making generalisation problematic. Furthermore, the qualitative methodologies used in this approach can be difficult to replicate because they rely on distinct interactions and interpretations. The technique frequently requires comprehensive and complicated analysis, which can be time-consuming and difficult to present successfully. In contrast to quantitative methodologies, the interpretive method may not be as effective at forecasting future political phenomena.

Approaches to the Study of International Relations

Q. Explain the central tenets of the World-Systems Theory.

Ans: World-Systems Theory (WST), developed by Immanuel Wallerstein in the book, *The Modern World System: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World Economy in the Sixteenth Century* (1974), views the world as a complex system in which the developed countries that control global wealth and power, exploited less developed third world countries for their resources and labour.

The central tenets of the theory divide the world into core, semi-periphery, and periphery countries, each playing distinct roles in the global economy. The Core countries comprising the Industrialized Global North exploit peripheral countries comprising the third world countries for resources and labour, maintaining dominance and wealth. The semi-periphery includes the developing countries of the world which are complicit with the global North in exploitation of poor countries.

Economic and political disparities are rooted in historical processes such as colonisation and the development of capitalism is another feature of WST.

WST emphasizes the interconnected nature of the global economy, where changes in one part of the system impact the whole. It views the global capitalist system as perpetuating inequality and influencing political and economic relationships.

Additionally, the theory recognises that countries can move between core, semi-periphery, and periphery statuses over time. These tenets provide a framework for analysing global power dynamics and economic dependencies.

In sum, WST emphasizes economic and political disparities, arguing that the global capitalist system perpetuates inequality and critiques traditional nation-state-focused analysis by highlighting the interconnectedness of global economies.

Q. Explain the various facets of the idealist approach to the study of international relations. Comment on its contemporary relevance.

Ans: The idealist approach to International Relations emphasises cooperation, morality, and international institutions over power politics and national interest. Idealism in international relations prioritises the governance of international affairs through ethical standards and the pursuit of the collective welfare. It urges states to emphasise interdependence, institutions, and democracy.

Idealists advocate for the creation and advancement of international organisations and legal frameworks to uphold peace and stability. Furthermore, idealism sees the potential to establish a more harmonious and equitable global order.

Idealism is a product of intellectual work of many scholars and personalities. **Immanuel Kant**, a philosopher, proposed the idea of “perpetual peace” through international cooperation and republican constitutions. **Woodrow Wilson**, the U.S. President, advocated for the **League of Nations** and outlined his vision for peace in his Fourteen Points. **Sir Alfred Zimmern**, a British historian, emphasised the importance of international law and institutions. **Norman Angell**, argued that economic interdependence would make war unprofitable and undesirable.

The idealist approach remains relevant in contemporary international relations, particularly in promoting global cooperation and peace. A notable example is the United Nations (UN), an international organisation founded on the principles of collective security, human rights, and international law.

The **United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC)** works to promote and protect human rights globally, reflecting idealist principles. Idealism advocates for international cooperation to address global challenges, as seen in the Paris Agreement on climate change, where countries collaborate to mitigate climate change. Idealism promotes peaceful conflict resolution through diplomacy and international law, with the **International Court of Justice (ICJ)** adjudicating disputes between states to resolve conflicts peacefully.

Idealist principles are evident in global health initiatives like the World Health Organization’s (WHO) efforts to combat pandemics and improve public health worldwide. Idealism supports international efforts to promote economic development and reduce poverty, with the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) working to eradicate poverty and reduce inequalities through sustainable development.

Finally, the contemporary relevance of idealist approach is seen in Democratic Peace Theory which posits that democracies are less likely to go to war with one another.

Contemporary Global Concerns

Q. The expansionist tendencies of the current Russian regime indicate its intentions for the realisation of a Greater Russia on the lines of the Soviet era. Comment.

Ans: Putin’s 2014 annexation of Crimea and the 2022 invasion of Ukraine exemplify an expansionist goal. These activities endorse “Greater Russia,” which seeks to incorporate Russian speaking territories. Russia asserted that the annexation of Crimea was undertaken to protect ethnic Russians and the Russian language. The 2022 invasion was described as a “special military operation” aimed at safeguarding Russian-speaking communities against a hyper-nationalist and Nazified Ukrainian government. Analogous to the Soviet Union, these endeavours aim to restore Russian dominion over former Soviet territories.

The concept of “Greater Russia” is backed by historical claims, ethnic and cultural ties, strategic importance, political motivations, and public support.

Russia has a long history with Crimea, dating back to the 18th century when it was annexed by the Russian Empire. This historical connection is often cited by the Russian government as a justification for its actions. Crimea first became part of the Russian Empire in 1768 when Catherine the Great sent her armies to occupy the region to expand her country’s influence in the East. It remained within the Soviet Union’s power until 1954, when Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev gifted Crimea to Ukraine as part of his de-Stalinization program.

Similarly, the majority of Crimea’s population is ethnically Russian, and many residents speak Russian as their primary language. The Russian government has argued that it was protecting these ethnic Russians from potential persecution. Crimea also holds significant strategic value due to its location on the Black Sea. Control over Crimea provides Russia with a warm-water port and enhances its military presence in the region.

The annexation of Crimea and the invasion of Ukraine can be seen as part of a broader strategy to reassert Russia’s influence in its near abroad and challenge Western dominance, especially NATO’s eastward expansion.

This aligns with the concept of “Greater Russia,” which seeks to expand Russian influence and control over former Soviet territories. The annexation of Crimea was highly popular among the Russian public, with many viewing it as a restoration of historical justice. This public support has bolstered the Putin regime’s legitimacy and reinforced the idea of a Greater Russian state. These arguments provide a factual basis for understanding Russia’s actions in the context of the “Greater Russia” concept.

Paper-I

PSIR Mains Exam 2023

Section A

Political Theory

Q. Comment on "Normative approach in Political Science"

Ans: The normative method in political science focuses on concepts that have inherent values, such as justice, liberty, and equality. The normative method holds great significance as it imparts a philosophical dimension to political science, distinguishing it from other disciplines rooted in pure science and bestowing it with purpose.

- Plato was the first to address a norms-based approach in his work *The Republic*, which is a significant aspect of western political heritage. He endeavors to establish healthy standards in government by presenting his notion of Justice. According to Plato, a just soul is characterized by the dominance of reason over courage and the dominance of courage over appetite. Additionally, Plato attempts to construct a standard of a just philosopher ruler who is guided by reason through his idea of the state.
- Subsequently, during the modern era, John Stuart Mill endeavored to demonstrate the significance of liberty in relation to utilitarian ideals. According to Mill, Liberty granted individuals the opportunity to cultivate and enhance their abilities.
- Following World War II, there was a decrease in the use of the normative method, while the scientific system-based approach became more prominent.
- John Rawls played a significant role in the revival of the normative approach during the modern era. Rawls' theory of Justice is founded on the principle of fairness, a notion of justice that ensures fairness for both the affluent and the impoverished. Rawls advocated for both maximum equal liberty and the principles of equality of opportunity and the difference principle, which prioritizes the needs of the least advantaged.

- Behaviorists opposed the normative approach in an effort to establish political science as a "Pure Science". Lord Bryce held that, "We need facts, facts and facts".
- However, it is important to grasp that the field of political science is extensive and intricate. The selection of approach is contingent upon the study purpose.

Q. Comment on "Decline of political theory"

Ans: Traditionally, political science was based on a philosophical, historical, and empirical approach. While the philosophical approach espoused idealism, the historical approach connected historical trends with politics, whereas the empirical approach was based on studying facts through observation.

- However, political theory based on these approaches saw a decline after World War II, and scholars from the political science discipline were not invited to conferences focusing on reconstruction and development post-World War II.
- Political science was called a dead discipline because it did not deal with contemporary issues, and historicists like Sabine and Dunning were busy writing histories of western political philosophy.
- Further, unlike sociologists, political scientists did not adopt a scientific approach, which led to the decline of political theory. Political theories were called 'armchair theories' because they had little practical relevance. Hence, scholars like Charles Merriam from Chicago were advocating behavioral, systematic, and value-free analysis to regain the credibility of the discipline. In this context, David Easton came up with a behavioral approach to political theory that featured regularity, systemization, technique, quantification, verification, integration, value neutrality, etc.

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- Although behavioralists successfully made advances in the field of electoral behavior and the study of political systems in developing countries, they were still not able to fully arrest the decline of political theory. The rise of social movements and protests in the West in the form of the Black Panther Movement, the anti-nuclear weapon movement, and the anti-Vietnam movement, and the failure of political scientists to predict them once again put a question mark over the relevance of political theory.
- Thus, David Easton, in his lecture titled 'Credo of Relevance' called for creative theories that are based on both action and relevance. Easton and later thinkers like Rawls emphasized normative issues like justice and equality and addressed the issue of the decline of political theory.

Q. 'Credo of Relevance' in post-behaviouralism advocates the importance of action science. Analyze.

Ans: David Easton formulated seven key characteristics of post-behaviouralism, which he referred to as the "credo of relevance" or "a distillation of the maximal image". Easton aimed to align the discipline with both science and society by including post-behaviorist traits, such as a focus on substance, actuality, and action-oriented research, as well as an emphasis on social value.

- **The following characteristics of post-behaviouralism advocate the importance of action-science:**
- **Substance over Technique:** In political science research, substance must come before technique. It may be good to have sophisticated tools of investigation, but the more important point was the purpose to which these tools were being applied.
- **Emphasis on Social Change:** Behaviouralism was charged with being an 'ideology of social conservatism tempered by modest incremental change'. Post-behaviouralism advocates change orientation and reform over preservation.
- **Stress on Reality:** Post-Behaviouralists felt that behavioural enquiry is abstractism and does not help the society in any way and it was the responsibility of the political scientist to reach out to the real needs of mankind.
- **Stress on Value Loaded Political Science:** According to Post-Behaviouralists values played an important role in politics and research. In the words of David Easton, "values are an integral part

of our personality and so long as we are human beings, these sets of mental preference are always with us".

- **Importance of Humans Values:** In the words of David Easton, "The intellectual's historical role has been and must to be protect human values of civilization. This is their unique task and obligation. Without this they become more technicians and mechanics for tinkering with society".
- **Emphasis on Action Oriented Research:** Post-behaviouralism wanted to emphasis on action to solve social problems. According to Post-Behaviouralists, knowledge or research should be put to work. Political scientists take action for reshaping the society and should be used as applied science. To know, as Easton points out, "is to bear the responsibility for acting and to act is to engage in reshaping society". Post-behaviouralism asked for action science in place of contemplative science, and demanded that a sense of commitment and action must permeated and coloured entire research in political science.
- **Politicisation of the Profession:** According to post-behaviouralism, if role of intellectuals was to try to determine proper goals for society and make society better, profession should be politicized.
- Therefore, credo of relevance not only focuses on action science but it also provides a detailed roadmap through stress on technique, social change, values, politicization etc., to truly transform political science into action science.

Theories of the State

Q. Eurocentrism is both the target and the motive force of the post-colonial political theory. Discuss.

Ans: Eurocentrism is a concept rooted in the idea that European culture, history, and values have historically dominated and influenced the world to the detriment of other cultures and civilizations.

- Post-colonial political theory, on the other hand, is a framework that emerged in response to the historical legacy of colonialism and imperialism, particularly in the context of European colonial expansion. In the context of post-colonial political theory, Eurocentrism is both the target and the motive force.

Eurocentrism as Target of Post-Colonial Critique

- Post-colonial political theory critically examines Eurocentrism as an ideology that has been used to justify and perpetuate the colonial enterprise.

Paper-II

PSIR Mains Exam 2023

Section A

Comparative Politics

Q. What are the crucial functions of empirical political theory in Comparative Politics?

Ans: Empirical political theory in Comparative Politics is value free, scientific, positivist approach to understanding political theory that emerged in post-IIInd World War period.

- Empirical political theory is a methodological approach that focuses on the systematic and objective observation of political phenomena. The main function of empirical political theory was to make political science a scientific discipline.
- As per empirical political theory, a political scientist should not engage in value laden judgment. Hence, one of the first crucial functions of empirical theory was to make the discipline value free. It tried to make political theory scientific and objective by including quantitative technique to the study of political theory.
- Another crucial function of empirical political theory is to focus on micro study that consist of a specific geographical area, topic etc. For instance, the study of communal riots at a particular location like Wazirabad in Delhi, taking into consideration all the mathematical modelling, and sampling, will generate quantitative data.
- The empirical study of political processes, structures, and functions forms the core of comparative politics studies. It aims to build a scientific theory of politics capable of explaining all phenomena of politics.
- Another function of Empirical political theory is data-driven nature. It relies on the collection and analysis of data to test hypotheses and theories.
- Empirical political theory strives for objectivity. It uses systematic methods to observe, describe, quantify, and analyze observable political phenomena.

- In sum, empirical political theory in Comparative Politics strives for value-free objectivity through scientific methods, micro-level analyses, data-driven inquiry, and systematic observation. It serves to construct a comprehensive understanding of political phenomena, crucial for advancing the discipline.

State in Comparative Perspective

Q. What are the difficulties faced by a political theorist in comparing the States?

Ans: Comparing different types of states, such as capitalist, socialist, advanced industrial, and developing, poses intricate challenges for political theorists. The foremost challenge lies in defining and classifying states, where conceptual ambiguity and oversimplification hinder consensus.

- Precise definitions vary based on theoretical frameworks that lead to confusion in compartmentalizing different types of states. For instance, the mixed economy model by Nehru-Mahalanobis was classified as socialist by one group of thinkers and capitalist by another.
- Additionally, measuring and comparing outcomes becomes complex due to incommensurability of diverse goals and data limitations on key indicators like poverty and human rights.
- Isolating the impact of state type adds another layer of difficulty, with endogeneity and external factors complicating causal relationships. For instance, discerning - whether economic development leads to democratization or vice versa remains challenging.
- Scholarly arguments, exemplified by Amartya Sen and Theda Skocpol, emphasize the need to consider multifaceted aspects beyond economic growth and caution against teleological narratives.

- Comparisons of "developed" and "developing" states based solely on economic wealth are criticized for overlooking internal inequalities and political differences. To address these challenges, scholars propose refined typologies, qualitative methods, and a comparative-historical approach. Scholars like Giovanni Arrighi and Peter Evans advocate for nuanced typologies considering historical variations, while qualitative methods and a comparative-historical approach offer deeper insights into the complex contexts shaping different state types.
- Thus, by acknowledging these challenges and employing sophisticated theoretical frameworks and research methods, political theorists can overcome the difficulties and engage in more meaningful and nuanced comparisons of different types of states.

Politics of Representation and Participation

Q. How does democratic politics construct citizenship?

Ans: Democratic politics serves as a crucible for the construction of citizenship, a process intricately woven with various influences that shape individuals' identities, rights, and responsibilities within a political community.

- John Rawls' liberal model, expounded in "A Theory of Justice," underscores the significance of equal rights and liberties for all citizens. Here, citizenship is conceived as the exercise of autonomy through participation in democratic processes such as voting and engagement with legal structures.
- In contrast, Hannah Arendt's model, as articulated in "The Human Condition," emphasizes active participation in public life as essential for cultivating virtuous citizens. This vision prioritizes engagement in debates, deliberations, and decision-making processes as the cornerstone of citizenship.
- Robert Putnam's work in "Bowling Alone" highlights the importance of social capital and trust in fostering citizen participation and collective action. Strong social networks and trust in institutions create conducive environments for citizens to engage meaningfully in political processes.
- Moreover, the advent of digital technologies has introduced new avenues for citizen engagement, challenging traditional notions of participation. Bennett's exploration of the digital age underscores

how online platforms enable citizens to mobilize and advocate for causes, thereby reshaping the landscape of democratic participation. For instance, citizens activism on social media #meetoo.

- However, alongside these positive dimensions, concerns persist regarding the influence of pressure groups and lobbying on democratic processes. Scholars like Mancur Olson and Schattschneider raise questions about unequal representation and the potential for powerful groups to distort policy outcomes, underscoring the complexities inherent in democratic citizenship. For example, the corporate arms lobby in the United States.
- In essence, the construction of citizenship within democratic politics is a nuanced process shaped by legal frameworks, educational systems, social interactions, technological advancements, and the activities of both individuals and groups. It is through the interplay of these factors that the concept of citizenship evolves, reflecting the dynamic nature of democracy itself.

Globalisation

Q. Critically examine the impact of Globalization on the developing countries of the world.

Ans: Globalization is defined as the increasing interdependence of economies, cultures, and populations through cross-border flows of goods, services, and information.

- Joseph Stiglitz in his work argues that globalization has the potential to bring greater opportunities for firms in less industrialized countries to tap into more and larger markets around the world. This can lead to more access to capital flows, technology, human capital, cheaper imports, and larger export markets.
- Bhagwati-Srinivasan Report on Economic Reforms - suggest that economies that globalize have higher growth rates than non-globalizers. They also discuss how developing country firms are expanding beyond manufacturing into services.
- Multinationals provide new jobs and skills, bring foreign currency to local economies, and enable the sharing of ideas and lifestyles, creating vibrant cultural diversity.
- Carol Graham in her work "Winners and Losers: Perspectives on Globalization from the Emerging Market Economies" suggests that globalization has brought substantial benefits and opportunities for upward mobility for many low-income individuals in the emerging economies.