

POLITICAL SCIENCE

Time Allowed: 3 hr.

Max. Marks: 250

Instructions to Candidate

- There are EIGHT questions. Candidate has to attempt FIVE questions in all.
- Question no. 1 and 5 are compulsory and out of the remaining, THREE are to be attempted.
- 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 medium other than the authorized one.
- Word limit in questions, wherever specified, should be adhered to.
- Attempts of questions shall be counted in chronological 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 answer book must be clearly struck off.

1. Invigilator Signature _____

2. Invigilator Signature _____

Name K. Dinesh Kumar

Mobile No. _____

Date 21/10/2016Signature K. Dinesh Kumar

REMARKS

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1. All questions are compulsory to attempt: (125-150 Words). (12.5 × 4 = 50)

- (a) Debate on Reverse Discrimination: the latest challenge to the idea of Universal Equality.
- (b) Response of Developing and Least Developed countries towards Globalization
- (c) There exist multiple approaches for conceptualizing National Interest. Comment
- (d) Pluralist perspective on Power.

(b) Globalization in the words of Anthony Giddens has led to 'end of Geography'.
McLuhan, calls it as "Global Village"
 and Kenichi Ohamae call it as an era of
"borderless world"

But Globalization has not been uniform
 it has led to many inequalities, human right
 violations, tribal protest. Robert Falk calls
 this Globalization as Globalization from
above and not below. Hen. In the words of
Pratap Bhanu Menka, Globalization has
 benefitted 1% plutocrats and he calls it as an

Remarks

in the soft underbelly of capitalism. Hence there was a resentment from developing and LDC's. This was evident in the Battle of Seattle and Occupy Wall Street protest.

Prof Ramen Thakur, analyzed the impact of globalization on LDC's. He proved except for few countries & rest are buffers of globalization. In 1970's there are 22 LDC's but today >40 LDC's. He showed that in the last 40 years there is income stagnation in 3rd world countries.

Joseph Stiglitz has his in his article "Globalization and its discontent: A 3rd world perspective" highlighted how SAP of IMF and WB has led to imbalances in their economies. Post-colonial scholars like

Remarks

Appudurai call it as "cultural imperialism" and he shows how it was being done by his concept of mediascapes, ethnoscapes, technoscapes, financescapes etc.

There was increasing protests like Chiapas protest in Zapotista region of Mexico, Gondh tribe protest in Niyamgiri hills of Orissa,

shows the growing discontent against globalisation from developing & LDC's

③ Approaches to National Interest :

① Classical According to Henry Kissinger,

"National interest is the vital important interest among all, and as survival is the main interest of any nation". Many call

National interest as iron law of necessity

Remarks

① Classical reality: Scholars like Morgenthau equate National interest with tangible materials like military power, weapons etc. They say Self-Help is the ultimate solution.

② Neorealists: Argue like Kenneth Waltz equate NI with "security maximization" whereas Mearsheimer with "power maximization".

③ Liberals: like Woodrow Wilson, believes states believe equate NI with "absolute gains" and not "relative gains".

④ Feminist: They equate NI with "human security" (or) "women security".

⑤ Social constructivist: For them it all depends on the ideas, values and belief. Annemore has given "norm normalization" in which he reflected how the meaning

Remarks

of National interest has changed over a period of time due to varying norms.

⑥ Post Modernists : Reject the notion of hard power and its relations with National interest and highlight how soft power also plays a role.

(d) Pluralist perspective of power:-

The pluralist perspective of power believes that power is not concentrated in the hands of elites as argued by elite theorists like Pareto, Mosca, C Wright Mills and Robert Michels who gave the concept of Iron law of oligarchy.

Pluralist theory of power was given by scholars like Robert Dahl and Mepherston Charles Lindblom.

Remarks

Robert Dahl gave the concept of 'Polyarchy', by which he means that power is dispersed among various groups. He argues that in a Democracy like ~~India~~ USA there was a active role of pressure groups and hence they ~~po~~ also possess some power. ~~And~~ He argues that it is the 'best practicable form of Democracy'.

Initially he held that the all pressure groups ^{possess} ~~exert equal~~ ^{po} equal power. and later it was criticized by Lukes, who gave the '3rd dimensional of power'. In this propounded, how some groups have more power than the other groups.

Remarks

To accommodate for the Lukes criticism, Charles Lindblom, agreed that what is in practise is "deformed polyarchy". i.e the capitalist class has more power than the normal pressure groups.

- ⑨ It was conventionally believed that what it means to achieve equality is to remove differences and equalize all.
- Ex: Democracy → ^(for idea of universal equality) sought to give legal equality to everyone and dissolve the cultural differences. ~~Then~~ ^{identical} liberals solution for gender equality is removing the differences which they call is reverse discrimination.

But there are many scholars who argues that equalizing all differences amounts to reserve discrimination and hence

Remarks

what we need today is identify the differences. The following are some arguments

① Multiculturalists: They argue that cultures needs to be identified. for a special cultural rights have to be given because Will Kymlicka says minorities suffer from "unchosen burden". Hence they recommend differentiated citizenship.

② Feminists: Difference Feminists ^{reject} argues the idea of liberal feminism to remove differences as it amounts to neglect "womenhood". and Instead ^{they} ~~the~~ argues we need to celebrate the identity of women. Hence

what we need is "equalizing by differentiating". scholars like Ir Marías Young support this notion.

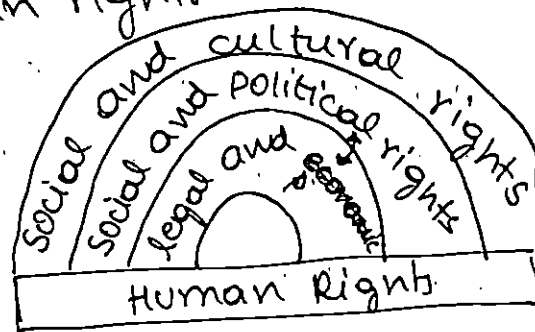
Remarks

2. Attempt all questions: (250-300 Words)

(25 × 2 = 50)

- (a) Describe the three generation of rights with special emphasis on third generation's cultural rights. Analyse the debate on the universality of human rights. What do you understand by the term 'Right to be out' in context of minority rights?
- (b) Bring out the relationship between legitimacy and authority. How is legitimacy derived from (i) service of those being governed (ii) from a free and rational public discourse? How do well meaning and appropriate institutions and procedures impact political legitimacy?

(A) The Human Rights are given to the humans ^{→ (HR)} by virtue of person being a human. It transcends territorial boundaries. The three generation of rights related to evolution of the human rights (UDHR)



1st generation rights:- There are also known as civil and ^{political} ~~economic~~ rights. Ex: Right vote, Right to participate in elections etc

2nd Generation right:- If 1st generation rights are based on the ideology of the liberalism, 2nd are based on Socialism. They call are

Remarks

social and economic equality. With Helsinki accords, ~~social and ec~~ these rights are formally incorporated into the HR.

3rd Generation right: These rights are also

called as "solidarity right" (or) "cultural

right". It was mainly the demand on the 3rd

world countries. It brought issues like

environmental degradation, development of

3rd societies multicultural societies, respecting cultural

differences etc. Many scholars like

Will Kymlicka, Bhikhu Parekh ~~to~~ endorse

these right. Will Kymlicka prescribes self

governing rights and poly ethnic rights

Bhikhu Parekh extends this even to immigrants

The relatio debate of universality of

the human rights can be analyzed in the

context of humanitarian intervention / Responsi

bility to protect

Remarks

The international community has taken a lead to solve the humanitarian crises like genocide etc by diluting the concept of sovereignty. ~~But the se~~ It was essentially derived from HR. But selection use of it became controversial. Ex: Not in Israel but in Libya.

Because of the UNQA president D'ESCO Brockmann called R2P as "Right to intervene" and "colonialism in other form".

The universality of Human Right was got
 (1) philosophical backlash from communitarians
 (2) political backlash from post colonials.

Post colonialists argue the universality of HR as "cultural imperialism" by highlighting the "ethno centrism" in HR. This was evident in the debate of "Asian Values" propounded by Lee Kuan Yew and Mohammed, which argues that the values

Remarks

eastern society are different from western and are based on solidarity, loyalty etc. Hence there shall not be universality of HR.

Communitarians argues we cannot have a universal notion of HR because the notion differs from community to community because we are all 'embedded self'.

But the debate seems to be ^{relaxed} ~~settled~~ with the signing of Bangkok declaration in which the ministers of eastern societies identified ~~the~~ HR along with Asian values. Right to be out:

one of the main criticism of the communitarians is that they dissolve the ^{and} ~~wishes of~~ identity ^{of} ~~and~~ individuals in the name of community. ^{Hence} ~~Scholars like~~ Isaiah Berlin rejected the notion of "cultural relativism" and upheld "value pluralism".

Remarks

Is Feminists are also sceptical about multicultural rights because the traditional practices of all cultures undermines women.

Hence they proposed "Right to opt" by which they mean the individual shall the right ^{not} to follow a certain tradition or ritual of the community. if ~~it~~ he feels it is more harmful without losing the identity/membership of the community. To put it otherwise it meaning identifying minimum basic rights as liberal multiculturalist like will kyndika would endorse.

(b) like all concepts legitimacy and authority are also contested in political science.

① For scholars like Max Weber, Authority is the legitimate use of power. Hence according

to him legitimacy is like beauty lies in the eyes of beholder. If we conceive legitimacy ^{power} as naked sword then authority is the scabbard that provides legitimacy to sword.

Remarks

① If command is based on motivation and consent is based on will then legitimacy
 ② If command is based on force and consent is based on fear then illegitimacy.

Hence ^{for} Weber $\text{Leg Authority} = \text{Power} + \text{Legitimacy}$

But for scholars like Author Hannah Arendt, Authority and power are incomparable. Authority reflects ^{violence} whereas power is the ability to act in consent. Hence for Arendt, Authority can never be derived from power, and she says "it utterly incapable of producing it"

② There are ^{mainly} ~~many~~ 3 theories of legitimacy

- ① Liberal theory of legitimacy
- ② A Discourse theory of legitimacy
- ③ Agonal theory of legitimacy

The notion of legitimacy derived from service of those being governed is related to liberal theory and the notion of legitimacy

Remarks

derived from free and rational public discourse is related to Discourse theory.

- a) The "Service" theory is give related the concept by Joseph Raz. He rejects the earlier notions of liberal theories based on 'social Contract'. He calls his theory as "instrumental list theory of legitimacy" (or) "non justification thesis". He argues legitimacy is derived when people act according to the "reasons that applies to them". He further gives the notion of "pre-emptive reasons" to distinguish between "effective ^{authority} legitimacy" and "non effective authority". Hence based on this notion he concludes that legitimacy is derived when the government serve the governed.

But critics argue that it is difficult to find a ~~ma~~ consensus among the varying reasons due to changing political, social, cultural variables.

Remarks

② Scholars like Habermas subscribes to 'Discourse theory of legitimacy' by which he rejects the Joseph Raz notion that political preferences are autonomous in nature. Hence he supports 'radical democracy' and 'deliberation' to shape preferences. for which he we want what he calls an 'ideal speech situation'. Hence Discourse theory is based on deriving legitimacy from respecting diverse options and deliberation. But critics like ^{Noel-O-Sullivan} ~~Noel Sullivan~~ argues it as an Utopia.

③ Beetham has given 'social scientific theory of legitimacy' in which ^{he} answered the question of how political legitimacy has evolved. and gave 3 principles to evaluate the impact of institutions and procedures on political legitimacy

① Rules shall be based on rationality

② These rational rules shall reflect the "shared values" and "beliefs"

③ There shall not be any mandatory provision that states individuals shall accept & follow a rules

Remarks

If these

3. Attempt all questions:

- (a) What are the feminist complains against the concept of participatory democracy? Participatory democracy suffers from functional and operational challenges as well. Explain with examples. (250 Words) (20 Marks)
- (b) What are the major arguments given by various ideological schools for sustaining inequality? Are liberty and equality opposed to each other or complementary to each other? (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (c) How do critical, feminist and post-Structuralist approaches view the concept of 'security'? How do the transnational companies create a problem of extra-territoriality for different governments? (200 Words) (15 Marks)

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Remarks

4. Attempt all questions: (250-300 Words)

(25 × 2 = 50)

- (a) Comment on the impact globalization is creating on human rights? How does the 'right to development' figure in this debate? Critically analyse the role played by transnational corporations played in context of human rights?
- (b) What are the moral and empirical factors surrounding the debate on global justice? What are the basic assumptions of Thomas Pogge in his theory of global justice? Describe the cosmopolitan approach to global justice.

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5. All questions are compulsory to attempt: (125-150 Words) (12.5 × 4 = 50)

- (a) What do you understand by the term 'Consociational Democracy'?
- (b) Notion of liberty in Indian political thinking
- (c) What are the different criteria's used for distribution of scarce values and resources in context of Distributive justice?
- (d) Explain the concept of Equality of Capabilities by Amartya Sen.

(d) Equality of capabilities:

This theory of equality was propounded by Amartya Sen against the Ronald Dworkin's ; Theory of resources.

He argues that distributing resources donot amount to equality because resources are of no use when they donot have capability to do something out of it.

Ex. Distributing books to a illiterate person do not serve any purpose

Hence he sought to equalite two people by improving their capabilities

Remarks

He argues poverty is not lack of resources but deprivation of capabilities. Hence he equates development with improving capabilities. He uses the term function to denote the action. Ex: Literacy is capability and reading is function.

Amartya Sen. theory includes both external diversities and internal diversities. He calls these are "capability restrictions". He gives the following

① Individual heterogeneity :: There are we need to accommodate differences among individuals like age, sex, disabilities etc

② Environmental diversities :: He argues a person living in cold area needs to spend more on heating devices hence need separate treatment

Remarks

③ social inequalities : Rich vs poor et

④ Relative inequalities → within community

Hence this is why he recommends to collect huge data to account for differences because a Dalit woman in Delhi is not same as general women in rural area!!

⑤ Equality It was one of the main central argument in the what is known as "Equality of what" debate. The

There are scholars who believe in distributive equality, there are others who reject

it -

For Ex: scholars like Scheffler reject the notion of distributive equality and subscribe for moral equality. He argues

Remarks

distributive equality is against morality

Even those scholars who argue for

distributive equality vary on principle

① Equality of opportunity → scholars like

Thomas, believe in this as by which he

means distribution of scarce values and

resources shall be based on equal opportunity

like meritocracy.

② Resources → Dworkin subscribes to this principle.

③ laws → He believes that it has to be based on 'Difference principle'

④ Capabilities : Amartya Sen subscribes to this view for the distribution of values

⑤ principle of sufficiency — some scholars

Remarks

argue it shall be based on ^{notion} principle of enough.

Hence they different criterials, ^{are} used for distribution of scarce values and resources in context of distributive justice.

(a) It is said that we are living in a world of "Democratic confusion". There are many variants like protective democracy, developmental democracy, socialist democracy, radical democracy, deliberative democracy --- It is because of these reasons it came to be called as "advechival" concept.

consociational democracy is also a type of democracy where there Democracy was established due to the association / alliance of various groups. It was one of the

Remarks

methods through which different ethnic groups / factions can be accommodated. Hence it is also known as "accomodative" model of Democracy.

We can call Federalism a variant of the consociational Democracy. But in this model the individual units have their special identity intact. & our constitutional provisions like Schedule 5 and Schedule 6 can cited as an example to that reflects the spirit of consociational Democracy.

Since the head government is an association it can anytime break away thus this model is prone to instability.

Remarks

2A

(b) We can trace the notion of liberty in Indian political thinking by & the thought of various Indian political philosophers.

(1) Grandhi, equates liberty with swaraj, by which he meant both personal liberation and political liberation. one can enjoy true liberty only when can control his deeds

(2) Aurobindo Ghosh, equates liberty with "Satchidanand" which can be achieved by performing yoga.

(3) Scholars MN Roy stress on education and reason and morality for achieving

Remarks

true liberty.

② Ambedkar talks about liberty from the perspective of Dalits. He finally gave them a call to leave hinduism to attain liberty.

The notion of liberty as envisaged in constitution is "personal liberty" which the Supreme court in its judgements has widened the scope. incorporating even due process of law today. To attain true liberty it also prescribes for affirmative action.

Remarks

6. Attempt all questions:

- (a) How do the new approaches in international relations perceive the concept of anarchy? (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (b) The 'end of ideology' debate was designed to project the supremacy of liberal democratic system in theory as well as in practice. Comment. What are the different views on power distribution among the elite theorists? Explain briefly. (250 Words) (20 Marks)
- (c) What are the major subdivisions or distinctions of the term "Balance of Power"? Why is the relationship between balance of power and stability of the international system highly contested and far from any conclusion? (200 Words) (15 Marks)

(b) The idea of "End of Ideology" was started coming in ~~the~~^{to} debates from 1960's. This was initially propounded by scholars like Seymour Lipset who called that there was universal acceptance of liberal principles like democracy. But the idea was concretely put forward by Francis Fukuyama with his end of ideology thesis in 1989 and later "end of history" in 1991 to reflect the ascendancy of democracy.

But the thesis came under pressure from various scholars.

① Seto critical liberals like McPherson end of ideology is also a theory.

Remarks

- ② Samuel P Huntington, a cultural realist highlights how Democracy was now again taking a back seat in his "waves of Democracy".
- ③ Fareed Zakaria in ~~the~~ ^{his} book Jihad vs Mekhorbat highlight ^{now} the there was a backlash against the Americanization of world and raise of identity politics.
- ④ The thesis of end of ideology was now being challenged by Multiculturalists and post colonialists.
- ⑤ The thesis now also facing challenges from Islamic fundamentalism.
- Hence the idea of end of ideology came to be known as "promotion project" to protect the supremacy of liberal democratic theory system in theory like Democratic peace thesis theory of Doyle, end of history and in practice by events like responsibility to protect, Washington crabbin.

Remarks

consensus, structural adjustment programmes

Elite theorists:

There are different schools who support the elite theory.

① Class Theory:- This was supported by Marxist scholars. who believe that society is divided into haves and have-nots. And the power is concentrated

in hands of those who own means of production.

② scholars like Pareto and Mosca has given the theory of "circulation of elites" to represent who control power. They show the changing circulation happens between fox and lion. Mosca believes power lies in the organization of parties

and is not natural.

③ scholars like Robert Michels gave the theory of "Iron law of oligarchy" to show that the power invariably concentrates in few hands.

Remarks

and they control the other

④ scholars like Ch Wright Mills has given the concept of "power elite". To know how some people owing to their position in social, political spheres control others.

These theories later came under pressure from pluralist theories like polyarchy of Robert Dahl etc.

⑤ Realists like Morganthau who believes in power politics prescribe foreign of policy options like Balance of power, Diplomacy. The idea of Balance of power (BOP) is based on the relationship between the European nations ~~in~~ during World War 1 and World War 2.

It was based on the belief that individual nations are sovereign and each want to protect its territorial integrity. It was

Remarks

an outcome of "Billiard Ball model" conception of International politics.

~~one of the~~ It was the belief that states enter into alliances (or) counter alliances to always maintain a p symmetry of power with its adversary. so that it won't attack. classical Realists believe it was a prudent policy of states and Neo-Realist believes it was natural.

one of the major subdivision of the Balance of power is Mutually assured destruction. It was given in the era of Nuclear weapons and the relations of 2 Superpowers during cold war era. It was ^{an} outcome of Deterrence "Balance of Terror". In this states develop 2nd and 3rd strike capability.

Some of the other distinctions of BOP are

① collective defence

Remarks

- ② collective security
- ③ security maximization
- ④ power maximization
- ⑤ Balancing (soft balancing / hard balancing)
- ⑥ Bandwagoning

Why relation between BOP and stability contested

① Realists believe that BOP brings automatically stability. But it forgets the fact that there can also be irrational actors Ex: A Terrorists

② Some argue it is just a theory

③ Also in the era of Nuclear weapons, that cannot really have BOP, because no weapons can balance B Nuclear weapons

④ Also we don't know whether BOP is working or not until and unless we it proves to be failed. But Karl Popper says scientific theories shall be open to falsifiable. But we cannot take a risk because stability is at stake.

Remarks

(a) Realism is the dominant school of the international politics. It has portrayed anarchy as the "timeless truth" of international politics. Realists asks to deny anarchy only when we deny Newton's law of gravity.

But the new approaches perceive this concept of anarchy in different perspectives

① Subaltern realism and peripheral realism.

Scholars like Mohammed Ayooob and Escuade believe that world is not anarchical but hierarchical.

② Post-realism: they believe that it was a social and cultural. ~~the~~ restriction of ~~to~~ Realism and hence ~~not~~ closing the debate.

③ Social constructivist: scholars like Alexander Wendt, believes that "anarchy

Remarks

is a social construction" and he says
"Anarchy is what states make of it"

(4) Gramscian School :- scholars belonging to this school like Robert Cox expose the hegemony of the dominant school powers in maintaining the status quo by portraying such a picture of anarchy. Hence for him it was a construction not reality.

(5) Feminists like Maria Mynes argues that the notion of anarchy is based on male identity as it reflects competition, conflict and egoism as against cooperation, trust of women.

(6) Post Modernists like Richard Ashley call it as "Anarchy Problematique" to highlight the theoretical exclusions and assumptions in present anarchy.

Remarks

7. Attempt all questions:

- (a) What are the intrinsic and instrumental justifications for democracy? What is the problem of democratic citizenship and how do the elite theorists and neo liberals perceive and propose to solve it? (250 Words) (20 Marks)
- (b) Collective security is a "relative utopia -one that tries to be realistic but retains elements of fantasy". Discuss. (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (c) What are the competing claims made about globalization in context of international political economy? What has been the impact of globalization on internal functioning of states in context of Democratic decision making? (200 Words) (15 Marks)

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8. Attempt all questions: (250-300 Words)

(25 × 2 = 50)

- (a) What are the four major debates on equality? Examine the relationship between equality and justice?
- (b) What are the communitarian and feminist perspectives on justice? How does Susan Moller Okin contribute to the conception of justice by introducing the paradigm of gender in it?

A. According to Ronald Dworkin, "Equality is the core concern of all political theories." For Marxists it is social equality, Feminists - Gender Equality, Multicultural - cultural equality, liberals - legal equality.

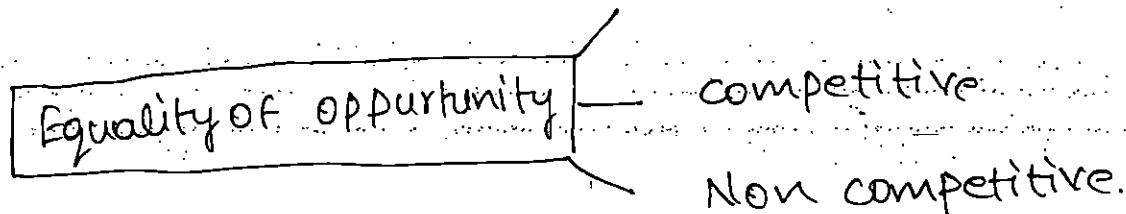
There are many notions of equality like substantial equality, procedural equality, legal equality, moral equality, Deontological equality and Teleological equality. Because of these it came to be known as "adjectival" concept.

There are mainly four debates

- ① Equality of opportunity
- ② Equality of welfare

Remarks

- ③ Equality of resources
 ④ Equality of capabilities



Ideal: They talk about an ideal situation where there is equality of opportunity in all dimensions among all people.

competitive: We can equate this meritocracy.

Non-competitive: certain things/values should be distributed on equality. Ex: Rawls primary goods etc.

objective equality

② Equality of welfare — state conscious equality.

These scholars belong to the utilitarian school whose objective is to equalize welfare irrespective of class/gender or any differences. Bentham supports this view. But this view was criticized by Ronald Dworkin and Amartya Sen.

Remarks

on the grounds it suffers from moral ambiguities.

- ③ Equality of resources: The prominent scholar of this school is Dworkin, who gave this resource equality theory in his sovereign virtue. He proposes the idea of ambition sensitive auction and endowment insensitive auction. He rejects start-gate theory and proposes idea of envy test ~~is the~~ at continuous redistribution by way of insurance.

This theory was criticized by Amartya Sen, who talks about capabilities and critics of luck egalitarians like Elizabeth who argues equality based on justice ~~luck~~ is flawed.

- ④ Equality of capabilities: It was given by Amartya Sen. He argues equality has no meaning until and unless he has capability to do. He what he wants. He gives the concept of function for him. Development is about increasing capabilities.

Remarks

He takes diversities like individual heterogeneities, environmental factors, social relationships, ^{etc} ~~climate~~ to provide for a substantial equality.

Relation between Equality and Justice

Since equality is a contested concept, the relationship seems ambiguous.

① For Rawls, equality is central, because his concept of Justice's fairness is dependent on equal distribution of liberties and inequalities shall be arranged as per 'difference principle'

② But for Feminist scholars like Susan Moller Okin, the Rawls theory is flawed as it is based on "gendered system". Hence she proposes by identifying differences

③ Robert Nozick, argued any intervention in the 3 principles of Justice that he gave in his Theory of entitlement, would lead to inequalities

Remarks

because it would mean a "change in their actual positions".

(A) For communitarians like Michael Sandel, Justice will have meaning only when we conceive humans as "embedded self" and hence equality needs differentiation.

Hence the relationship between equality and Justice changes as per the interpretation of the scholars are is apt example which reflects the "Democratic nature" of political science as Andrew Hacker would call for.

(b) The communitarian and Feminist perspectives are came in opposition to the John Rawls Theory of Justice. Rawls gave a theory of Justice which he calls as purely procedural as it is an outcome of individual preferences who are in original position i.e. behind veil of Ignorance.

He calls Justice as fairness and argues

Remarks

any inequalities shall be based on the "difference principle".

communitarians like Michael Sandel, criticize the Rawls notion that right is good prior to good, in his Book: Liberalism: The limits of justice, he opts for a notion for a notion i.e. good is prior to right. ~~He~~ He bases his argument on the conception of that humans are "embedded self" and not "atomized self" as liberals would argue.

He gives the example of "French pilot" and expedition of Israel to rescue its citizens in his Book - Justice, to highlight how people give more preference to community. The idea of Michael Sandel is also echoed by McIntyre who gave the concept of "nonrational human being" which every man derives his identity from by

Remarks

Community.

The argument of communitarians was also given by Michael Walzer, who in his Book: Spheres of Justice, argues that there can be no universal principle of Justice as "different spheres ^{need} form different goods for which different principles are required due to their different historical and cultural evolution".

The communitarian theory of Justice is based

on

- (1) Rejects state neutrality
- (2) politics of recognition
- (3) universalism (vs) particularism
- (4) Atomistic self (vs) moral individual.

The feminist theory of Justice was primarily given by "Susan Moller Okin" in her Book: Gender, Justice and Family because as

she identifies the following flaws in Rawls theory

- ① Rawls in his theory always uses words like men/he etc but not gender sensitive words like person/individual.

Remarks

② The people Rawls gives a list of things that people in original position do not know and suprisingly sex is not among them.

③ The principles of Justice do not extend to family

Because of these flaws she gives her theory based on gender and family as basic unit. she criticises how gender and family was sidelined in all the liberal theories of Justice. she argues the inequalities and injustice that exist at the level of family due to patriarchy is the reason for all inequalities. Hence it was the main concern for her.

she wanted to create a universal theory of Justice that extends to all irrespective of differences. she argues though Michael Walzer considers Sex he overcomes the gender problems in name of cultural relativism. she calls her theory as "moral human theory of Justice". Hence by exposing gender, patriarchy and gender biased nature of

Remarks

the existing theories she contributed a lot by adding feminist dimension by adding discourse of Justice.