

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.

Name Kumari Sunita

Mobile No. _____

Date 30/07/2017Signature Sunita

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REMARKS

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Roll No. _____

SECTION A

1. Answer the following questions: (150 Words Each) (10 × 5 = 50)
- Justice as entitlement by Robert Nozick.
 - Ancient Indian political thought in comparison with Buddhist political thought.
 - Relationship of Power, Legitimacy and Authority.
 - Michel Foucault views on relationship between power and knowledge.
 - Notion of Counter hegemony by Antonio Gramsci.

(a) Justice is defined as one of the most important values of society where people can live their lives freely without discrimination. Starting from Plato to Aristotle to Rawls and Nozick, Justice has manifested itself in many forms and notions.

As per Nozick, justice can't be there if we adhere to any redistribution of resources which are acquired by just means. So, ~~is~~ he is critical of Rawls theory of distributive justice based on equality and difference principles. He believes it's not just to take property of someone and redistribute it!

Remarks

- 4
- a) Just means of acquisition
 - b) Just means of transfer
 - c) Just means of rectification

If a person gets anything through just means, it's not justice to take it from him and distribute among masses. So, Nozick believes in justice as entitlement one has by naturally. He doesn't believe in classification of goods as natural or primary. He says ~~the~~ an universal principle of justice is not possible. It varies according to situations. The 'means' of acquiring goods are as important as justice itself.

Thus, Nozick believes Justice is not about ensuring equality or for the ~~advantage~~ greatest benefit of least advantaged, he believes it should interfere with people who have been just in their approach.

Remarks

(b) Ancient Indian political thought as envisaged from various sources as Dharmashastras, Arthashastra and others mainly give some insights about how kingdoms and polity thrived in most of the Hindu kingdoms. It is

In Ancient Indian Pol. Th.

(a) It was mostly heredity monarchy but as given in Buddhist scriptures as Nigama, the sangha was a kind of democratic institution.

(b) Ancient Indian Political Thought shows how the king derives it's power from the divine and his orders were laws. whereas Buddhist Pol. Thought shows decisions were reached in the republic sangha by ~~was~~ passing resolutions with everyone's vote.

(c) Dharma and Danda were the two centres of the former whereas Dharma and not Danda of the later.

Remarks

(d) Former ~~part~~ school of thought put a restriction on who can become a king (mainly ~~to~~ Kshatriya or Brahmin) but later, i.e., Buddhist put no bar on access to the election for anybody including tribals.

(e) The Matsyanyaya shows how big fish devours the small in Ancient Indian polity, Arthashastra shows how king needs to ascertain his position by taking the weaker kings, the Buddhist political thought believed in peaceful existence of all with a kind of democratic setup.

Thus, ancient Indian Political thought and Buddhist political thought differed in their approaches to polity from the base and represented different scenarios. ~~Atgeth~~

(c) Relationship of Power, Legitimacy and Authority

Remarks

• Power was defined by Bertrand Russell "Production of desired effects". It has been defined by many scholars in different ways mostly as how one can make others do things ~~the~~ one wants.

• Legitimacy has been defined as the perception of people ~~who~~ on whom power is exercised by ~~various~~ various means as lawful, etc.

Authority = Power + Legitimacy

Now, when Power is exercised with legitimacy, it leads to authority. Authority again has been defined in different manners by scholars like Weber classifies it as Charismatic, Traditional, legal-rational.

So, the three concepts of Power, legitimacy and Authority are linked. When Power is backed by legitimacy it becomes Authority.

Remarks

Authority has its sanction in the laws, without legitimacy it's just tyranny. One example can be the bureaucratic institutions, how they exercise ~~to~~ power by the authority vested in them by legitimacy.

(d) Michel Foucault rejected the traditional notions of power as a means of individual. He believes power in modern society flows through its institutions, the various networks. ~~not the~~

→ He presents a networked society of whose institutions work as capillaries of power.

→ He believes knowledge is necessary to understand and exert power through these institutions.

Remarks

Power is no more exercised by coercion, it manifests itself in the social, political institutions of the society.

→ Foucault presents a constructive and positive view of power. He tries to find out what binds the concerted action of individuals in a society. It's the knowledge which empowers them to have various sources of power.

(c) 'Hegemony' as propounded by Antonio Gramsci was the tool of the dominant classes to present their views and beliefs to the oppressed classes as common sense by various cultural and traditional ways.

'Counter-hegemony' as he says is opposite. He talks about the same

kind of methodology⁰⁹ to be followed by the oppressed or exploited class, to counter or falsify the hegemony created by the ~~other~~ dominant class.

→ He was not of the ~~the~~ Marxian view that it's only the economic relations in the society which are the base for exploitation. He believes the cultural, social, i.e., civil society also plays a role in projecting this exploitation as common sense.

→ So, the workers, peasants, traders along with the help of this civil society should try to create the opposite set of ideas and counter the dominant class. They will help in establishing the order they want, an egalitarian one.

Thus, counter hegemony was a tool of oppressed and exploited as opposite to hegemony.

Remarks

2. Attempt all questions:

(a) The idea of multiculturalism is significant step towards deepened sense of identity but it is not without its own challenges and contradictions.

(200 Words) (15 Marks)

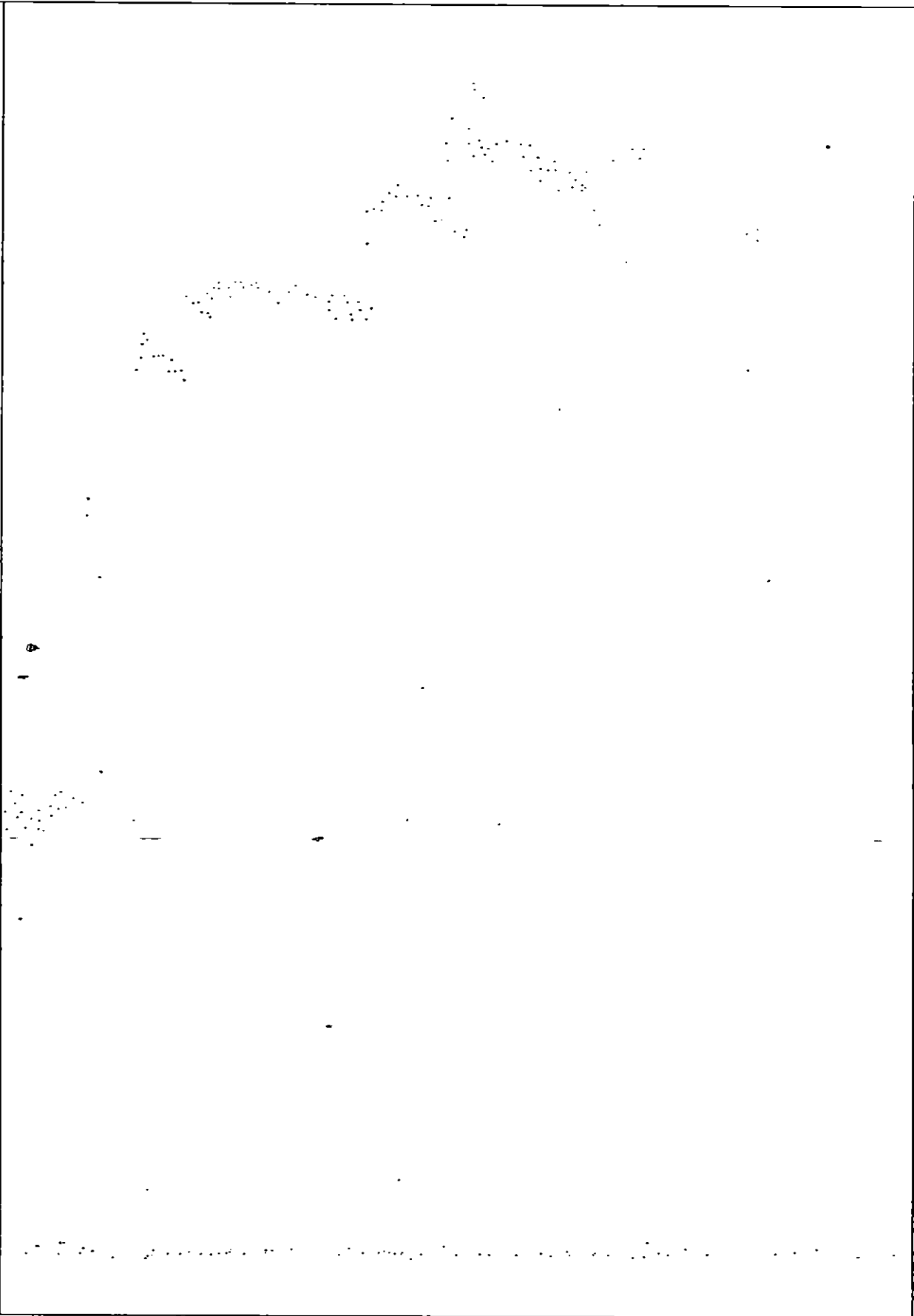
(b) A universal understanding of meaning and scope of human rights remains elusive and highly contested. Discuss.

(200 Words) (15 Marks)

(c) Analyse the relationship between emergence of Mass Society and Alienation as per view of both Marxist and Non-Marxist thinkers.

(250 Words) (20 Marks)

Remarks



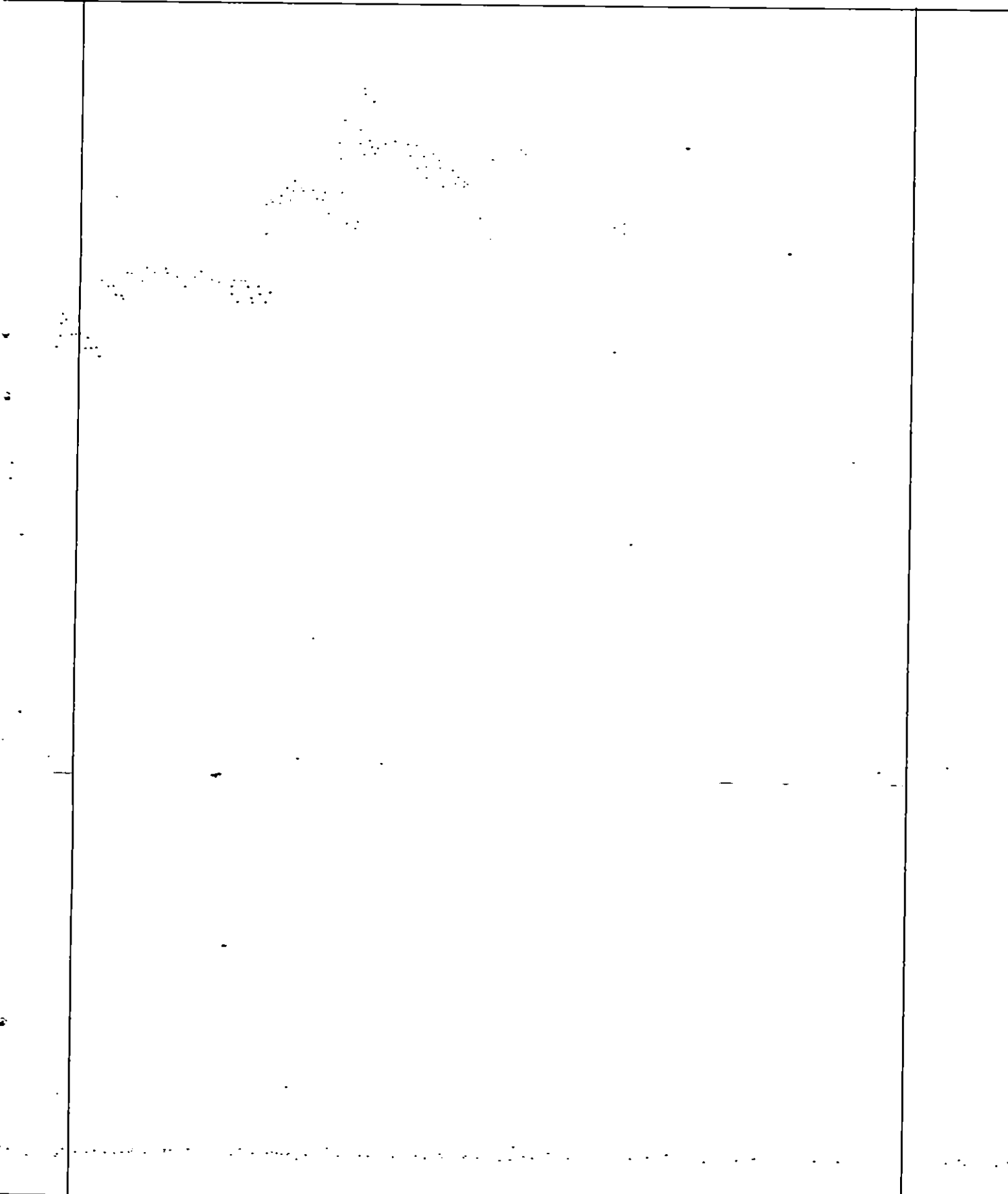
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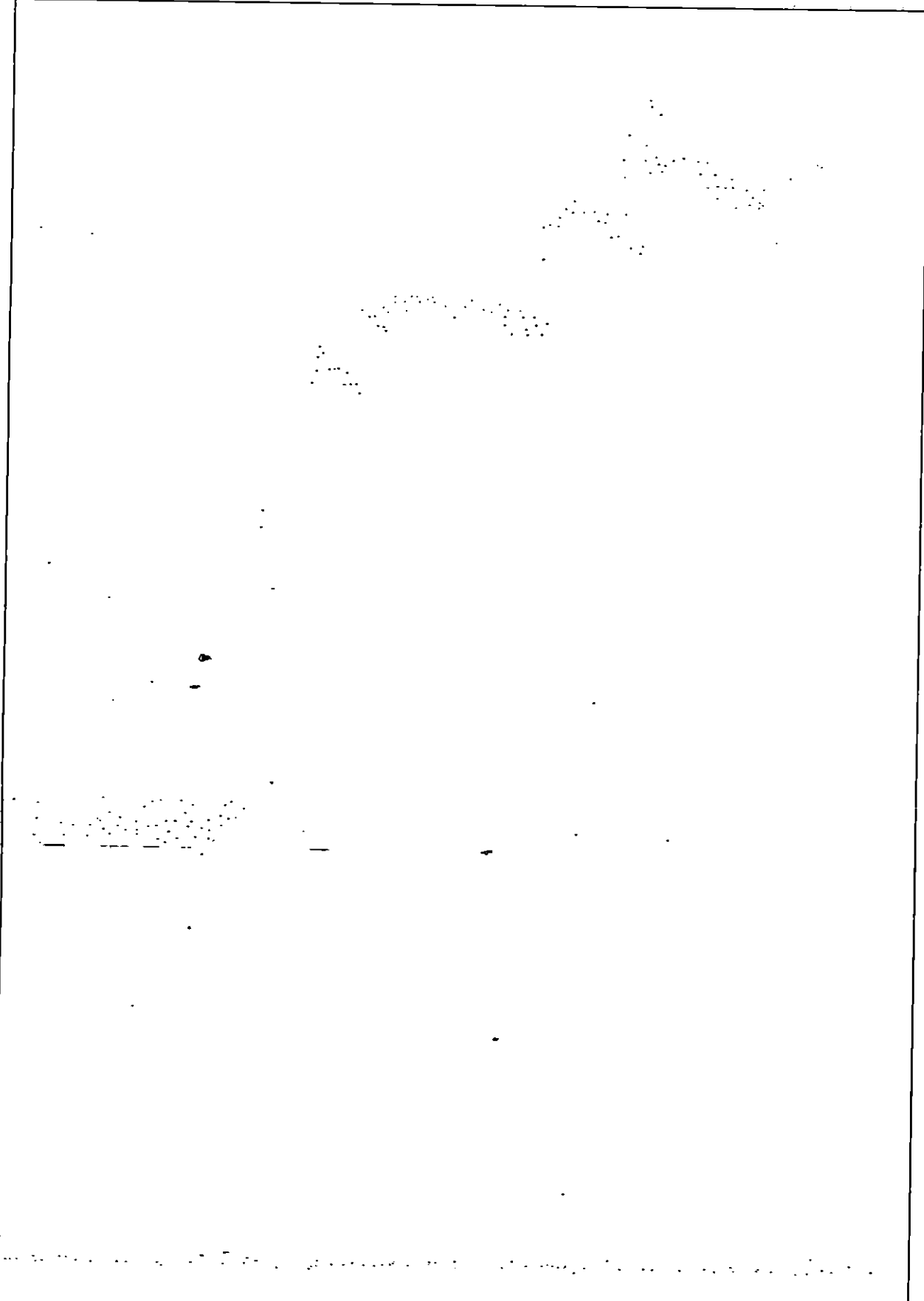
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3. Attempt all questions:

- (a) Discuss the paradigm of Gender in justice with special reference to views of key Feminist thinkers. Elaborate on the special role of Family in this context.
(200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (b) Hanna Arendt's Notion of 'Vita Contemplativa' against 'Vita Activa' hopes to reinstate the life of public and political action to apex of human goods and goals. Examine.
(200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (c) "Popper says" I believe that Plato was led, by his distrust of the common man, and by his ethical collectivism, to approve of [political] violence." How far do you think Karl Popper was justified in his criticism of Plato? Also critically analyse the Scheme of Education devised by Plato?
(250 Words) (20 Marks)

(a) 'Gender' as defined by most of the feminist thinkers is not the biological difference as is 'sex', it's a conception created by society.

Starting from Mary Wollstonecraft - a liberal feminist to Kate Millet - Radical feminist, Simone De Beauvoir - Post-Modern feminist, all have talked about Gender as created and fabricated by society have put women in a disadvantageous position.

- → Susan Moller Okin talks about 'task' role of 'Gender' and 'family' in

Remarks

realm of justice. She criticises ~~the~~ all the previous theories of Justice of liberals, marxists, communitarians and Rawls on the basis that none talks of Justice in family.

→ liberals didn't venture into the realm of family as they were satisfied of it in the public realm. Civil and political justice are their main concern. They don't talk about 'gender' or family.

→ Marxists also talk of means of production, economic and social injustice. But they believe the division of labour is just and women should be ~~rewarded~~ get equal wages in industrial work. But here again they fail to talk about the family, where total workload is on female and the work is non-paid.

→ Susan Stein also criticises Rawls

Remarks

for not taking 'sex' as one of the ~~to~~ parameters in his original position. She also criticises Rawls for not being gender sensitive and using male specific words as him/himself man instead of person. Rawls also doesn't talk of justice in family.

Susan believes justice should start from family itself. The burden of home work should be shared by both male or female or outsourced to institutions of state as creches.

Rate Millet in his book 'Sexual Politics' also talks of 'Personal is Political', i.e. how family is ^{the} starting point of engendering women and promoting injustice.

Thus feminists ~~are~~ believe. Women are not born, they are made' and this notion can be changed by ensuring justice from the family itself.

Remarks

(b) Hannah Arendt - one of the modern thinkers of ~~the 20th~~ ~~the~~ ~~the~~ have delved into realms of human actions. She believes the present notions of 'Totalitarianism' as practiced by States are not mere continuation of before, but these are new manifestations of evil who have their only sanction in terror.

→ She believes the present political arena is based on the indiscriminate use of terror rather than before where terror or violence was last resort.

→ She says human actions can be divided into three categories - labour, work and action. This tripartite division is based on the nature and goal of them.

→ The first, i.e., labour (animal labour) are the human activities which

Remarks

are essential for his existence, i.e., basic for his survival or mere animal existence. She says these don't require any application of logic are purely individualistic or private in nature.

The second work is determined by its predetermined goals. Here there is some outcome and it is in the public realm, its not merely for existence. These too are the 'Vita Activa' for human beings.

But then the third - 'Action' is the 'Vita Contemplativa' for reinstating the life of public and political. She says 'Action' is something in the public realm, it has some meaning when other see it, consider it. An action performed in private is no action at all. It is for the public good - a greater objective. Aristotelian believes 'actions' are the

Remarks

ones who distinguishes humans from animals. This 'action' is required in the political life for the apex of human goods. He believes politics is the ultimate human activity for good which can be only performed through 'action'.

Thus, Hannah Arendt's tries to reinstate the life of public and political action to apex of human goods and goals by his conception of human contemplative.

(C) Karl Popper one of critics of 'Plato' says Plato was led by his distrust of common man, and his ethical collectivism, to approve of [political] violence.

The statement can be analysed in the context of how Plato deprives all other individuals in the

Remarks

society from the right of political life by his theory of ~~division~~ ethical collectivism. Plato believes everyone has a different ~~power~~ quality - wisdom for Philosophers, valour for protectors and appetite for masses.

→ He talks of depriving the rulers or philosopher king of property and family to be able to rule impartially. He believes 'Property' as well as 'Family' can corrupt a common man. Thus, he gives idea of communism of property and wives.

But, the statement is not ~~fully~~ ^{totally} correct. Plato just tries to create an idealist society, a just society where everyone can be enabled to work according to their nature. He considers politics as the ultimate phenomena.

The Scheme of Education devised by

Remarks

Plato was one of the bestest and was highly appreciated by scholars as Sabine

→ He opened his education institute 'Academy' and trained students based on a scheme.

→ Initially everyone was given the same training and after a certain age, a common exam was conducted. Based on performance they were divided into three groups:

- (a) Best ones were given training in philosophy, art, sciences, etc.
- (b) The ones which were in middle were taught warfare etc.
- (c) The poor ones were given training of farming etc. to sustain themselves.

→ He didn't make any distinction based on birth or sex. Thus, Plato's scheme of education was egalitarian and far ahead of its times (which is also a point of criticism by his critics.) But then it was one of

Remarks

the advance education systems which created scholars like Aristotle.

4. Attempt all questions:

- (a) Discuss the eco-feminist critique of current model of development with reference to views of eminent scholars. (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (b) Communitarians are not opposed to rights as such, but they are mistrustful of multiplication of individual rights, claims beyond those that affect the good of the community. Explain. (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (c) What are the feminist complaints against the concept of participatory democracy? Participatory democracy suffers from functional and operational challenges as well. Explain with examples (250 Words) (20 Marks)

① The current model of development is being criticised by feminists on account of its ~~weak~~ exploitative and aggressive nature.

→ The feminists believe development should be in tandem with nature. It should ~~not~~ be sustainable.

→ The Radical feminists are more critical of the development on account of the aggressive and competitive nature of it.

→ Simon-de-Bouveir is of the opinion that development should have feminine character.

Remarks

- The world institutions like WTO, IMF, GATT etc. are dominated by males and so the nature of development has been so exploitative.
- Women know the importance of environment more as they have been more closer to environment owing to their nature of work. Traditionally, women have been more into agriculture and other nature related activities.
- The feminist critique argue that globalisation, indiscriminate exploitation of resources should be stopped.
- Sustainable development should be promoted and that's possible only when women are actively made an important part of it.

Remarks

(b) Communitarians were the group of scholars who have advocated the concept of community rights, the rights groups should even and not individuals. They are not against individual rights but then they don't want multiplication of it. Michael Walzer in his book "Spheres of Justice" talks of common conception of Justice. How rights should be conferred upon people as common. Common ownership of resources should be there instead of individuals.

Remarks

Michael J. Sandel, another communitarian talks of how universal principles as derived by Rawls can't be applied to all ~~spt~~ situations and societies. Many situations require a different perspective of common distribution.

Communism as a theory talks about community rights as whole whose main traces can be seen in Marx Idea of Communism. He talks of how in primitive community when means of production were owned by groups, ~~they~~ there was no exploitation.

But as people got production rights with advent of technology exploitation started leading to relation of oppressed and dominant as in

Remarks

the slave-master, feudal ~~so~~-peasant and bourgeoisie-proletariat.

So, communitarians believe in common ownership and rights, so that no one exploits the other ~~or~~ one.

- (c) Feminists like Kate Millet in his "Sexual Politics" have balked of the public-private divide. She says how politics have been considered as public phenomena but it's not. Based on this and traditional notion of Patriarchy the feminists say that democracy also doesnot grant women their share of power.
- with Mary Wollstonecraft

Remarks

- "The Vindication of Human Rights" started the 1st wave of feminism and women got civil and political rights as right to vote.

→ But the radical feminists as Kate Millet, Germaine Greer all argue how women even in participatory democracy are not able to exercise their rights.

→ In the power structure relationships of society laden with patriarchy women are confined to the domestic sphere. They are not able to participate fully in the public sphere. ~~See Kate~~

Participatory Democracy is okay for a small country but when there is a large country it becomes very difficult almost impossible to ensure participation.

Remarks

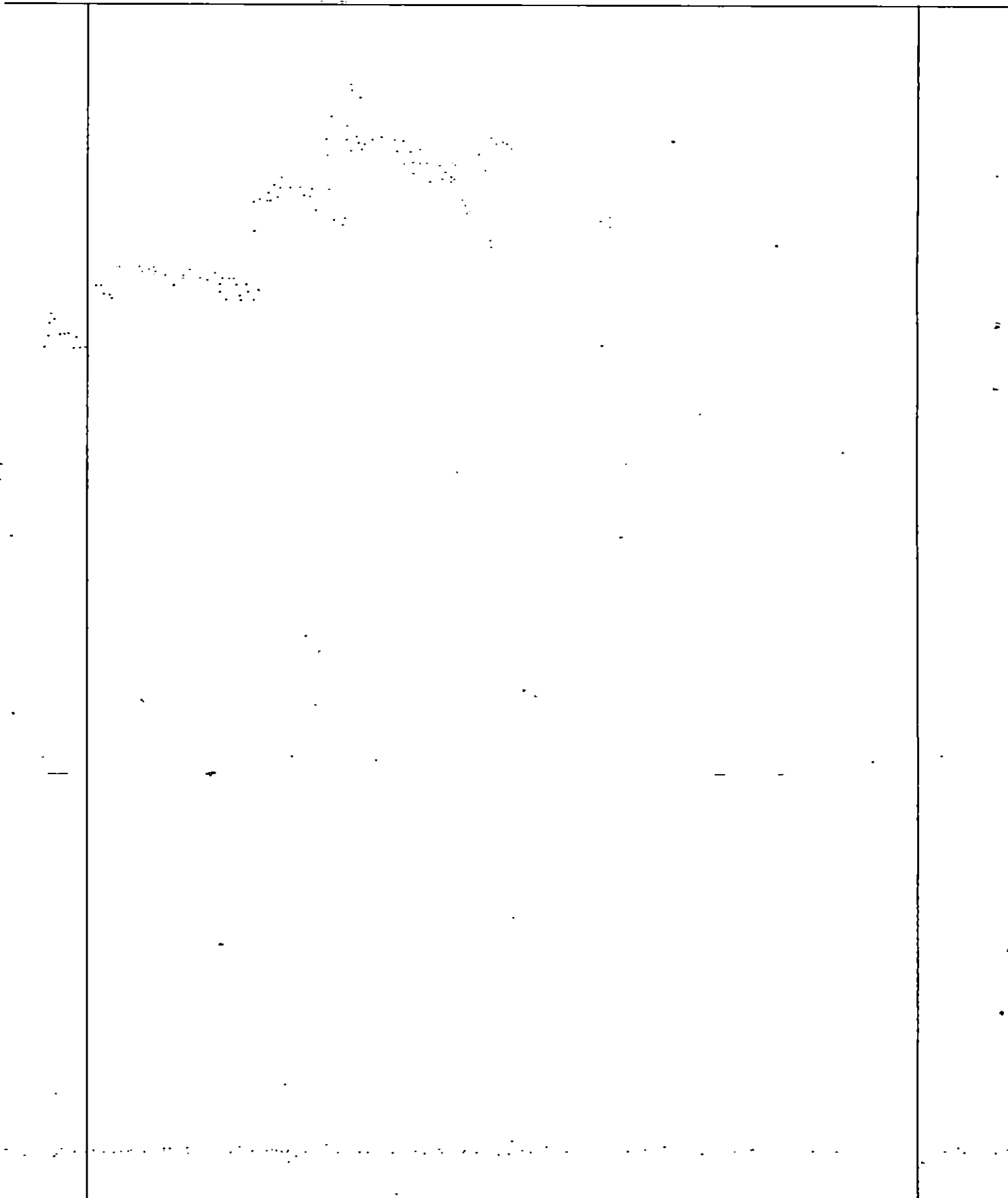
of masses.

→ Participatory democracy strives to have participation of everyone with various processes of referendum, initiative, plebiscite, recall.

→ For small population, like in Switzerland, state can arrange for the required infrastructure but in countries like India, it's next to impossible.

→ ~~It~~ Thus, participatory democracy ~~will fail to~~ suffer from operational and functional challenges in large countries. It's difficult to create consensus in the diverse masses.

Remarks



Remarqs

SECTION B

5. Answer the following questions: (150 Words (10 × 5 = 50))

- (a) Critically analyse the composition of Indian Constituent Assembly.
- (b) Methods and strategies adopted by environmental movements in India.
- (c) Analyse the idea of National Court of Appeal as a judicial reform.
- (d) Struggle between Parliament and Supreme Court on the issue of amenability of fundamental rights.
- (e) Analyze the challenges to the successful functioning of Local Self Governing institutions after the enactment of 73rd and 74th Amendment.

(a) Indian Constituent Assembly was the body formed by the indirect elections by means of single transferrable vote to frame a constitution of India.

→ It contained representatives of all sections of society and the British Provinces plus Princely states. There was a ratio of 1:1 million. 296 members were to be elected from British India and 93 from Princely states.

→ Though it contained members of all sections, it's highly criticised on the grounds that it was not elected on the basis of universal

Remarks

adult franchise - Thus, it does not represent the masses. B

→ second criticism was that the members of princely states were nominated and not even elected.

→ It was also criticised on grounds of being a body of lawyers and barristers. Very few common people were there.

→ The Constituent Assembly is also criticised for being representative of only one political party, i.e., Congress others didn't have adequate representation.

All above points were true to some extent but as Granville Austin says the Constituent Assembly was a democratic body which worked on consensus. Congress itself at that time encompassed various sections and ideologies. And the members were elected by Provincial Assemblies which were elected by people. Thus, the Constituent Assembly did represent

Remarks

India at that time.

(b) The environmental movements in India are modern phenomena mostly starting with chipko movement in 1973 in Uttarakhand. Before that environmental movements were encompassed as parts of other tribal movements.

(a) They environmental movements are associated with tribal and peasants in India - movements of deontoodden.

(b) It was people who started protesting against it - like the Bishnois in Rajasthan, Sunder Lal Bhaguna in Uttarakhand, Sarala Devi, Chandi Prasad Bhatt.

(c) Mass mobilizations, strikes, hartals, protests have been some of the important strategies used.

(d) Narmada Bachao Andolan by Medha Patkar has taken help of the social media to mobilise public opinion about the project.

Remarks

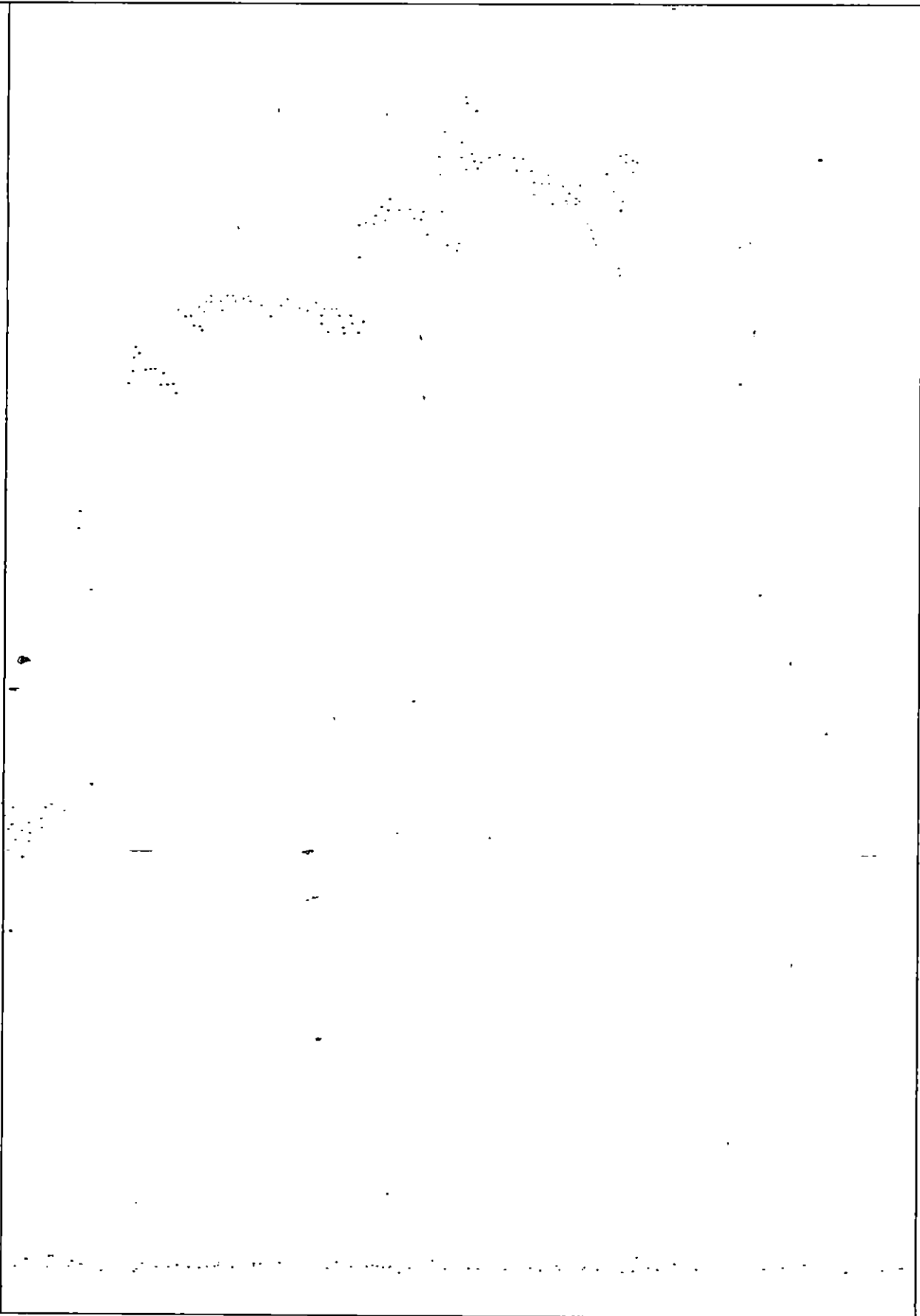
(c) Environmental movements in India are also linked to livelihood issues, resettlement issues etc.

(d) Joint Forest Management is one of the initiatives taken by Government to protect the forests by involving the communities.

Thus, environmental movements in India are mostly community linked new social movements where the ~~common~~ forest communities along with public spirited individuals have played an important role.

(e) National Court of A.

Remarks



Remarks

- (d) The founding fathers of Constitution seeing to the ^{fragile} feeble condition of Indian economy at the time of Independence put social & economic rights in Part IV (DPSP) as unjustifiable and civil & political rights in Part III as justifiable. Starting since 1952 it has been a bone of contention for Parliament in framing laws.
- In 1952, in Champak Dorairajan Case it first came into picture.
 - Then in 1967, in Golak Nath Case Supreme Court said Parliament cannot amend fundamental rights. Other cases like Shankari Prasad, Sajjan Singh also caused conflict.
 - Parliament with 24th amendment conferred to itself unchallenged amending powers.
 - In 1973, in Keshavnanda Bharti Case Court reversed it's Golak Nath verdict and said Parliament can amend anything in the Constitution till it doesnot alter the 'basic structure'

Remarks

and Judicial Review is basic structure. So, 24th amendment was invalid. Thus, to bring socio-economic reforms Parliament had to sometimes infringe on certain rights like land reforms were against Right To Property. So, time and again there was confrontation. After the Keshav Nanda Bharti Case it's clear that fundamental rights are amendable ~~with~~ till it does not alter basic structure of the Constitution.

- (e) The P.V. Narasimha Rao Govt. in 1993 brought the 73rd & 74th amendments and established the local self governing institutes uniformly in India. But even after all these years, these institutes have ^{not} been able to perform their functions fully owing to many handicaps:
- (a) 73rd & 74th amendments only provided

Remarks

the skeleton, the rest were left on states to implement as local government is a subject in state list.

(b) state Govt - are not ready to empower the local bodies and give them a share in power.

(c) Financial discrepancies play a major role in not being able to function properly in case of local bodies.

(d) Lack of manpower and resources is another major reason. Infrastructure facilities are also lacking.

(e) Despite of reservations, still at many places, caste holds a dominant place stepping the empowerment of downtrodden.

In 2013, Krishnaswamy Iyer Committee set up to see the progress also put in bad light the local bodies

- highly inefficient

- have been reduced - to Sarpanch Ra.

But despite of all these challenges,

Remarks is a welcome step in democratic decentralization and in many states as Gujarat, Maharashtra etc. has been successful.

6. Attempt all questions:

- (a) How has the changing nature of leadership in parliament affected its efficiency?
(200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (b) Describe the nature of New social movement in India and factors for their limited impact and success till now?
(200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (c) What are the challenges being faced by the working class movement in India? How has the rise of Communal Politics and LPG reforms impacted them?
(250 Words) (20 Marks)

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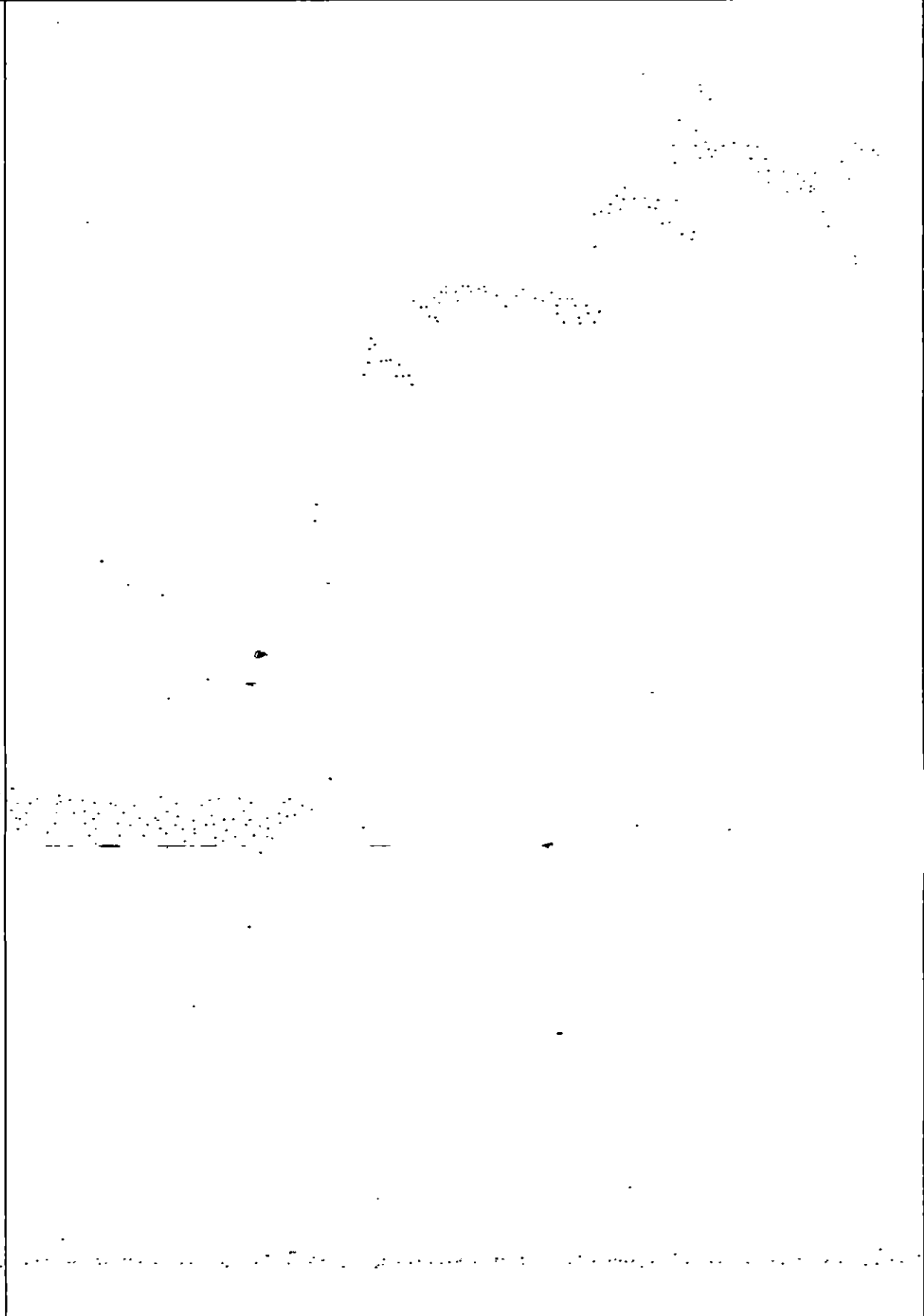
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Remarks

7. Attempt all questions:

- (a) Discuss the specific features of Indian pressure groups and their relation and impact on mainstream Indian politics? (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (b) Discuss the need of comprehensive review of the Interstate Water Dispute Resolution Mechanism. (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (c) Political parties in India face numerous challenges and issues in their functioning which are internal and external both. Discuss. (250 Words) (20 Marks)

Remarks

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Remarks

8. Attempt all questions:

- (a) What is the rationale and distinctive features of Regional Parties in India?
(200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (b) Over the years, the Election Commission has conducted a number of laudable electoral reforms to strengthen democracy and enhance the fairness of elections. Examine.
(200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (c) Discuss the evolution of Tribal movements in Post Independent India? Discuss whether we can apply the distinction between old and new social movements in Indian Context?
(250 Words) (20 Marks)

(a) Regional Parties in India were formed not only basis of some ideology but mainly on lines of regionalism, religion, caste etc. These parties have been confined to particular states and regions like Akali Dal in Punjab, BSP and SP in U.P., RJD in Bihar.

The party system in India as described by Rajni Kethari, Morris Jehnes and Myoe Weiner was one-dominant till 1967. After that started the era of regional parties and coalition politics.

The Regional Parties in India started

Remarks

as a means of representation to some identity of particular regions:

- (i) They are influenced by caste, ethnicity, religion etc.
 - (ii) They try mobilising masses on narrow demands of religion, caste etc.
 - (iii) Many a times these are result of struggle for different state formation as Jharkhand Mukti Morcha, Nagaland (NSC-M) etc.
 - (iv) They ~~don't~~ have regional problems as main agendas. They ~~also~~ are not bothered much about the national problems en whole. ~~like~~
 - (v) They are not permanent in nature. But the regional parties do represent the diverse and various factions of Indians.
- They are quite vocal in highlighting

Remarks

regional issues and problems

Thus, India now has a system of Catch-All Parties as envisaged by Rajni Kothari. Regional Parties are no doubt a sign of political empowerment of Indian masses.

(b) Election Commission, is a constitutional body which is responsible for conducting free & fair elections as per Art. 324 of Indian Constitution.

→ It was a one-member committee on its commencement but then after some years it was made a 3 member body.

→ ~~OR~~ Free and fair elections are the base and lifeline of a democracy and our Election Commission over the years have tried to ensure this via various reforms.

Remarks

- (i) Model Code of Conduct → It comes into force ~~24h~~ with announcement of elections by EC and remains valid ~~24hrs~~ after voting in the last booth. No political party or candidate are allowed to announce, inaugurate any new schemes or projects after this.
- (ii) No candidates were allowed to make any hate speeches inciting any threat to security or ~~raising~~ communal tensions.
- (iii) Representation of People Acts, 1951, 1952
- (iv) candidates are to furnish details about their assets and properties and also required to disclose any criminal cases against them. This was ~~to~~ introduced to stop criminalisation of politics, which was on a high trend.
- (v) EC has also put a ~~gap~~ cap on

Remarks

election expenditure ensuring that it's a competitive field for poor candidates.

(v) Recently, Electronic Voting Machines are being used to avoid the delays and costs being met out in election.

(vi) Electoral bonds were also being ~~made~~ introduced by the present Govt. to a limit of ₹2000 so that the source of funding can be tracked and corruption stopped.

There has been laudable reforms by Election Commission time and again to ensure free and fair elections in India.

(vii) Tribal movements started in pre-Independence era and have continued in post-Independence

Remarks

era only with the exception, that earlier it was against the colonial state ~~was~~ and now it is against the government and the developmental measures.

→ The tribal movements in India post-Independence were mostly entwined with the environmental movements as such. Like the Chipko Movement in 1973, Silent Valley in Kerala, Bishnoi's in Rajasthan. etc.

→ Tribals in post-Independent India had to bear the brunt of development mostly ~~as~~ the state never stopped encroaching on their rights. The Forests Act ~~is~~ being one of them.

→ Tribals representing only 8% of population represent 40% of the displaced people. They state took the lands on name of development but failed to rehabilitate them.

Remarks

→ Tribals in state like Jharkhand, Odisha, Chhattisgarh are the most affected as licenses are given to MNC's for mining without asking the indigenous population. The recent protest of the Gonds against Vedanta in Niyamgiri Hills is one such example.

→ Tribals are deprived of their means of livelihood, homes and mostly nature on account of development.

The tribal or environmental movements in India started as social movements but on their way - got - converted to New Social Movements like Narmada Bachao Andolan by Medha Patkar started all in its method and approach as a social movement. Strikes, protests, hartals were organised against the Sardar Sarovar Dam.

Remarks

Now, she has taken to social media to mobilise others for the cause. It's no more limited to displaced people of Sardar Sarovar Dam but has converted to environmental movement in general.

→ The World Bank stopped its grant for raising the height without a proper ground survey, thus it has attained an international nature

→ Many public spirited, individuals, actors, politicians have come forward.

Same is the case of other movements in India as well. Started from social movement of people in mining areas, now it has turned to new social mvmt - the fact of the poor plight of people in mining areas. Thus, the distinction b/w old and new social mvmt. is difficult to apply in Indian context.

Remarks