

## POLITICAL SCIENCE

Time Allowed: 3 hr.

Max. Marks: 250

124

### 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.

You have excellent conceptual clarity. Improve your answers by adding the aspects as mentioned in comments. Do not always rely on critical commentaries — provide a brief explanation in your own words to create content that stands out.

Name Jangam Kuldeep

Mobile No. \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_

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# REMARKS

**GS** SCORE

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## SECTION-A

Attempt all questions:

1. Answer the following questions in about 150 words each:

(10 × 5 = 50)

- Explain the difference between Power and Authority
- Discuss any two early trends in socialism.
- Discuss the grounds on which the welfare state is justified.
- What is Patriarchy and how does it affect the political behaviour of citizens?
- The idea of differentiated citizenship.

a) Power is one of the central themes of political theory. The concept of power much like other concepts remain contested.

- Power, in conventional sense has been defined by Robert Dahl. According to him, power is a relational concept. It is the ability to get things done, against one's wish.

- Concept of power has been interpreted by many thinkers in various forms. Steven Lukes has outlined three forms of power. They are

- 1) Power as relational concept
- 2) Power as agenda setting process
- 3) Power as thought changing process.

- Power as agenda setting process is given by Marxism theory, where the rules of dominant class shape the perception of power.

Remarks

- Power as thought changing process is given by Gramsci's idea of hegemony, where intellectuals create consciousness and then by hegemony.

Authority, is defined as legitimate exercise of power. Max Weber has given the concept of authority, where he says, only that power is valid, which is legitimate. Legitimacy here means consent of the governed.

6

• Authority = Power + Legitimacy.

- In his conception of Authority, Weber has given his theory of Ideal types, where 3 different types of authority are given. They are

- 1) Legal Authority - Authority backed by laws
- 2) Charismatic Authority - Authority which is based on the attractive nature of the leader, whereby people give consent to his actions
- 3) Popular Authority - Authority based consent of the governed.

It is the legitimacy which differentiates power and authority. Any power (or use of force without legitimacy) is not authority.

Mention power & authority as ability vs. right, include views of Raz, Mann, Wolf, Galbraith.

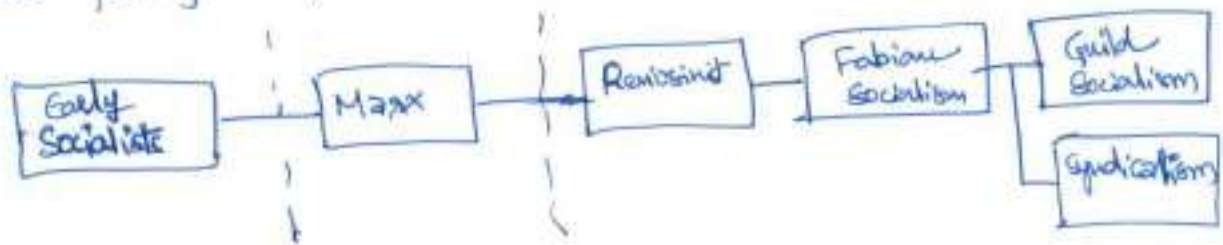
Remarks

b) Socialism, emerged during the transition of world from feudal society to industrial society. It is based on the idea that industrial society can be organised better on principles other than competition. Socialism sees cooperation as an important value for organising society.

- According to socialism, man is social and moral in nature. Man is cooperative. Society is natural and organic. More importance is given to community rather than individual.

### Evolution of Socialism

Marx was very important in the evolution of socialism. It has took form of Before Marx and After Marx.



Early Socialists - Utopian in nature.

- Major proponents are Fourier, Owens etc. They were of opinion that industrial society can be transformed without any revolution.

- They wanted to change the industrial society by appealing to conscience of the capitalists. Marx criticised them

Remarks You have to mention 2 trends in early socialism - ~~discuss~~ discuss the views of any 2 <sup>early</sup> socialists among Owen, Fourier, St. Simon.

3

and announced his socialism as scientific. He termed his thinking as scientific because

- His understanding of human nature is scientific and also he had scientific programme for bringing socialism

Fabian Socialism - Based on idea of Fabius, military General. They believed in class struggle but not revolution. Middle class was key in achieving socialism. They were proposed to generate awareness. Socialism is only possible if it becomes common sense.

- Fabian socialism is based on Laski's ideas. Nehru was also inspired this trend.
- Major proponents are G.D.H. Cole, Sydney and Beatrice Webb, G.B. Shaw, Annie Besant.

Along with these, some trends like syndicalism proposed violent route to socialism. Socialism has emerged to be major philosophy, especially where there are large number of poor, with voting rights. Socialism has been in decline since the end of cold war. However, it remains as a critique of Capitalism for its improvement

- ② Classical liberalism came under criticism because it was like a market, which did not address the inequalities. By favouring limited state, state has

neglected the large number of poor. To deal with the problems of classical liberalism, modern liberalism was formed. Modern liberalism essentially favours welfare state.

Welfare state - welfare state takes care of poor and also takes up capacity building for poor and affirmative actions.

Welfare state is justified on the grounds of

1) Positive Liberty - Liberty is capacity to do something worth doing.

- No man is said to be free until he has capacity to fulfill the law of his being

(4)

2) Based on Human dignity and moral individual nature. Man is generally Kantian individual in nature and hence there is need to treat everyone as an end in himself.

3) Hence, when state takes up affirmative actions for capacity building of poor, it shouldn't be termed as anti liberty. Instead, state is facilitating liberty, according to positive liberty concept given by T.H. Green.

Though welfare state has taken up measures, this is only to postpone the crisis, but not eliminate it. The legitimization

**Remarks** Mention principles of equality of opportunity, equitable distribution, antipolitical programmes, social insurance, from cradle to grave ideology, welfare state to prevent communism, critically

crisis is bound to emerge, according to Habermas. The only way is to roll back state, which paved way for Neoliberalism.

(d) Patriarchy remains one of the important concerns of Feminism. Patriarchy and its effects are deep rooted all over the world, in such a way that it has been widely accepted to be true and there is nothing wrong in it. Only recently, with radical feminists, patriarchy and its elimination has gained ground.

Patriarchy is the social structure where in women are treated subordinate to men. As a result of this, they are bound to discrimination, exploitation and thus

violence → Wrong framing of sentence

- SM Oken in her book Family, state and Patriarchy has highlighted that

(1) Patriarchy is deeply entrenched not only in family, but also in state.

(2) State is an institution of patriarchy.

Catherine McKinnon - 'when I see a state, state appears male to me'.

(3) Family is an institution of patriarchy. The heterosexual families generally perpetuate patriarchy, as a result of which children believe it to be natural and women are subordinate.

Remarks

Mention rules by father - men, sexual division of labour, male supremacy, liberal, radical x social feminism



male dominate - female  
elder young male dominate younger

GS SCORE

- According to Kate Millet, rather than class politics, sexual politics need to be analysed. According to her, patriarchy is the basic structure rather than economic structure. Hence, the aim is to dismantle the patriarchal structure. || Mention his patriarchal society
- Patriarchy leads to similar behaviour perpetuating into other fields. Women are treated as subordinate, confined to homes and thus no political rights. This view was propagated by Aristotle. Except for Plato and JS Mill, all thinkers have confined women to homes and deprived them of political participation.
- According to Mill, 'when women are in public sphere, men will behave themselves in a better way'.
- Patriarchy also leads to formation of laws, which perpetuate it. Only when women participate, laws can be made better. The same idea was given by Carole Pateman in her book Sexual Contract.

### e) Idea of differentiated Citizenship

Radical feminists, unlike the liberal and social feminists, redefined feminism and thus sought to define the basic values underlying it. But, the idea of women as subordinate to men persisted for long.

Remarks

- Post feminists (or) third wave feminists, were against such view. They viewed women as superior, endowed with special characteristics. They proposed that womanhood should be celebrated.

- They sought special privileges and differentiated equality, but not absolute equality.

- According to differentiated equality, By differentiating equality, we equalise differences.

- Differentiated citizenship was one such feature advocated by them. B.R. Nair, Young was the first proponent of this differentiated citizenship.

- According to it, women as citizens, should be provided with different privileges and thus their status has to be improved.

- Differentiated citizenship also favours special incentives, weighted voting etc for women for their upliftment.

Differentiated citizenship in the context of multiculturalism. Mention Kynulcha's context of experience, Parekh, group-differentiated rights, protection against homogenization, special rights, Chandran Kukathas

2. Answer the following questions:

- (a) Liberty and Equality are different faces of the same ideal. Evaluate.  
(200 Words) (15)
- (b) Critically examine the reasons for the rise of Fascism and its nature as an ideology.  
(200 Words) (15)
- (c) Discuss the basic aspects of Representative Democracy and its contemporary challenges.  
(250 Words) (20)

a) Liberty and Equality are generally seen to be of competing nature. According to Liberalism, liberalism should prioritise liberty over equality.

— Liberty, in classical sense, is the absence of any restraint. In case of such unbinded liberty, there is no equality because of purely meritocratic society. In such case equality (socioeconomic) is compromised. Hence, liberty and equality are seen to be antithetical to each other.

— Equality (socioeconomic) is the primary and core feature of socialism. According to them, people have to be made equal. Equality for them is,

- (a) Equality of Outcomes
- (b) Socio economic equality
- (c) Absolute equality.

When such absolute equality is favoured, merit is

Remarks Mention equality of opportunity, social inequality as an hindrance to enjoyment of liberty, critical commentaries are must, mention thinkers who support the views mentioned.

compromised and thus liberty is of no value for a man. Here equality is prioritised over liberty.

(8) - Positive Liberalism (or Modern liberalism) seeks to create balance between them. According to them, liberty and equality are not antithetical to each other, but are complementary.

- According to positive liberty, when state interferes to enhance capacity building for poor, it enhances equality and also facilitates liberty. State, in positive liberalism is necessary for enjoying liberty.

- Hence there is a reconciliation between the competing values of liberty and equality. So liberty and equality are considered to be different faces of same ideal. Both of them are ultimately needed for better human life and human dignity. It is in this case, positive liberalism emerged victorious to balance the contrasted values.

b) Fascism is anti ideology. Fascism is not an ideology, but hodgepodge of ideas. Only after fascist states have emerged, the ideas of fascism were framed. Ideas from different ideologies are used to justify their actions.

Remarks

### Nature of ideology

- Fascism is no truth at all, though all ideologies don't tell the truth.
- Fascism is seen as last attempt by capitalists to protect themselves. According to Laski, Fascism is the counter revolution by the capitalist class.
- Socialists see fascism as an extreme form of capitalism.
- Liberals like Karl Popper and Isaiah Berlin termed it as one of the manifestations of totalitarianism.
- Ortega Gasset in the book *Revolt of Masses*, termed it as democracy being turned into mobocracy.

### Core values of Fascism

- Unity and solidarity
- Absolute obedience to state
- Ultranationalism
- Against Rationality
- Inequality of leader and Masses
- Autarky, corporatist state
- Duties devoid of rights

### Reasons for Rise of Fascism

- Different thinkers have made different interpretations regarding rise of Fascism. Prominent among them are

Remarks

① Hannah Arendt - According to her, Fascism emerged as a response to the modernity and homogenising tendency of these rationality, science.

② Nolte has given various reasons for the rise of fascism. They are

(a) Introduction of democracy in traditional societies

(b) People are not well versed with democracy and democratic culture has not developed

(c) Economic crisis will also lead to people looking for strong leaders

(d) Wars, generally generate nationalist feeling among people, which leads to fascist leaders coming to power.

③ According to Eric Fromm, Fear of Freedom in man is necessary and reason for Fascism. When there is freedom, man is isolated and insecure. He looks for strong leaders, who can protect their lives and reduce such insecurities. Hence, these leaders elected democratically become demagogues and later turn into fascists.

Neofascist and ultraright tendencies have been on the rise, even in the west, which will hinder the

Remarks Good! Evaluate Fascism as a theory of state, discuss its merits as an ideology in more detail — explain why it rather be called a political movement/religion.

global trends of liberal democracy.

g) Democracy, is not only necessary for protection of rights, but also for human development. The developmental nature of democracy has led to establishment of democracy as a way of life.

- Democracy, in original sense, is with the participation of people. But with increased size of electorate, representative democracy has become inevitable.

- In representative democracy, the only function of people is to elect the representatives, who will then make laws on behalf of the people.

- Different models of representative democracy are

(a) Delegate Model - Bentham, Locke - According to them, representatives don't have autonomy, but should follow the people's opinions. Locke, describes this when he says state is a trust and cannot act against trustees.

(b) Enlightened Model - Edmund Burke, J.S. Mill

- They have enlightened knowledge, they have autonomy.

- Since people are not well educated about the issues at

Remarks

hand, they are electing the representative to represent them and take decisions on behalf of them.

- National assembly is for nationalist agenda, so representatives shouldn't talk about local issues.

### 10 Challenges of representative democracy

- Use of money and muscle power to get elected
- Lack of representativeness
- Defections from one party to another, disrespecting

the mandate of people.

Populist nature of rhetoric and people electing representatives without any real knowledge

- Uninformed and misinformed public
- Identity politics lead to wrong decisionmaking by the public while electing representatives
- people don't participate in the decision making process, framing of laws which affect them.

Instead of debating on desirability of direct democracy, there should be efforts to move towards it, which is inevitable.

• Mention principles of RD — popular sovereignty, political equality, political liberty,

rule by majority, democracy & alienation, participation & representation, gender & democracy, role of internet



Remarks

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Remarks

3. Answer the following questions:

- (a) Discuss the Radical Criticisms of Liberal Feminism. (200 Words) (15)
- (b) Write a critical note on Fabian socialism (200 Words) (15)
- (c) What is the concept of Justice in modern Political Theory? How is it related to Equality? (250 Words) (20)

*Remarks*

*Remarks*

Remarks

*Remarks*

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*Remarks*

Remarks

4. Answer the following questions:

- (a) Examine the Marxist approach to political analysis. (200 Words) (15)
- (b) "Liberty is the absence of restraint." Explain this statement and discuss the relation between liberty and authority. (200 Words) (15)
- (c) Critically examine the liberal and the Marxist theories of Democracy. (250 Words) (20)

Remarks

Remarks

*Remarks*

Remarks

Remarks

*Remarks*



Remarks

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*Remarks*

## SECTION-B

Attempt all questions:

5. Comment on the following into 150 words:

(10 × 5 = 50)

- Examine the agenda of New Social Movements in India.
- Bhoodan movement and its contribution to land reforms in India.
- Dalit perspective on Indian National Movement.
- India constitution is a product of evolution rather than revolution. Examine.
- Comment on the evolution of Political parties in India since Independence.

\*) New social Movements in India are emerging from the 1970s.

— Unlike social movements, New Social Movements are not against the state.

— They are taken up by civil society.

— They are not for basic necessities, but for protection of identity etc

— They are ~~multiclass~~ in nature

— New social movements have more often depended on Judiciary to bring about change

eg: ① Human rights movement in India and PIL

② LGBT rights and Navtej Singh Johar case

— New social movements are not based on traditional methods like protests etc. They use innovative and new

Remarks Mention agendas like social causes — caste, environmental causes, globalization, capitalism, colonial model of development, tribal concerns, represent marginalized sections, relation with people's

methods like literature, theatre, arts and judiciary.

- Multiclass in nature, in the sense, those who are not affected also participate in support of such aggrieved people

eg: Gay Parade, LGBT Parades where people who are not LGBT also participate to voice their support.

- 5
- Their main aim is to bring change from within the society, by dismantling the myths, destroying the stereotypes & prejudices attached to any issue.

- They are more concentrated on improvement of standards of life like privacy, individuality, choice and consent, assertion of own identity etc.

Unlike western nations, in India there is continuity between social movements and New Social Movements. There is a combination of both, which makes it a unique case.

⑥ Land reforms are based on socialist philosophy of redistributive justice. Main aim of land reforms was to reduce rural poverty and reduce such inequalities.

- Majority of land reforms in India are based on institutional

Remarks

mechanisms like laws: - Land Ceiling Act etc. However, Bhooman movement was based on Gandhian idea of appealing to the conscience of zamindars, landowners who held surplus land.

Bhooman Movement - It was started by Acharya Vinobha Bhave, on the Gandhian principles. He went around villages appealing landowners to part away with  $\frac{1}{6}$ th of their surplus land. This surplus land was to be distributed among the landless to reduce inequalities.

- Many rich farmers and surplus landowners donated land to the cause.
- Land collected was distributed to the landless. (6)

However,

- Inefficient redistribution of the collected surplus land
- Most of the land collected was infertile.
- Unavailability of records made it more difficult.
- Only in areas with communist ideology was the programme attractive and successful.

though a minimal success, it was the first peaceful and non legal form of land reforms. It was mostly based on appealing to the conscience of the landlords.

Remarks Mention how it was different from abolition of zamindari movement, mention Gramdan, Pachampali village.

c) Indian National Movement was largely driven by Indian National Congress (INC). Though there were different sections which contributed to national movement, they lacked ~~autonomy~~ autonomy. Their contribution was dwarfed by the contribution of INC led movement. One such was the Dalit perspective.

- According to them, especially Jyotiba phule, British Raj is better than postwar Raj because it relieved them from the social evils and introduced rule of law.

- According to Ambedkar, India was not a nation. The sooner we realise it, the better it is. He was against INC led movement. He supported Jinnah and opposed the Quit India Movement.

- According to him, national movement has to be on the principles of liberty, equality and fraternity. Indian national movement is not based on these because, it treated dalits as untouchables, lesser citizens.

- Another important leader was Periyar (or) EV Ramaswami Naicker. He was dissatisfied with INC and termed it as Party of Brahmins. There is no scope for other communities. Hence he held that INC led movement was not

Remarks Mention contributions of Ambedkar, Periyar in more details, important movements and key-words are missing. Mention Narayan, Guru, contn-  
slavananda, Virahananda

needed. • He was also supportive of Jinnah's demand for separate Pakistan.

From Ambedkar's stand, we can see the genuine concern who was leader of communities, who formed a majority of Indian population.

(d)

- Constituent Assembly of Indian constitution has drawn major features of Indian constitution from Government of India Act, 1935 and Independence of India Act, 1947.
- These laid the basic framework of Indian constitution.
- Indian National movement though is considered as a revolution, but it is only transfer of power, hence there is always a colonial legacy.

Indian constitution is evolution

- Within an year of declaring republic's constitution, many amendments were made.
- With changing times and challenges, preamble was changed in 1978 to explicitly state socialist and secular nature of constitution.
- Similarly constitution has been amended over time.

Remarks

to deal with socialist policies of just distribution of resources, balance between Fundamental Rights and Directive Principles.

- With Kesavanand Bharti case, 1973, the doctrine of Basic structure emerged as a bulwark to the constitution.

- Intervention of Judiciary under Judicial Review and writ jurisdiction has led to widened interpretation of basic structure, Right to life and thus emerged the due process of law.

④ - Over the time, constitution has been amended for more than 100 times, to deal with problems of the time. Hence constitution is product of evolution rather than revolution.

- Even before independence, the arrival of features of R35 act was an evolutionary process from 1773 Regulating Act to Act for Good Governance of India 1858 and Government of India Act 1909, 1919.

Hence the features of Indian constitution are arrived at, as a process of evolution.

You have to mention the significance of 1861, 1872, 1909, 1919, 1935, Simon Commission, Nedon Report, demand for Constituent Assembly, since you are being asked to show the evolution & how it was not a product of revolution → question stresses on factual chronology before

Remarks



e) Political parties are necessary for the effective functioning of representative democracy. Political parties form an important structure. They are necessary for

- 1) formation of government
- 2) formation of opposition
- 3) political participation
- 4) political education and awareness

- Party system depends on number of parties of systemic relevance rather than total number of parties existing.

- Evolution of political parties in India has been in three phases

① Phase - 1 - Congress system by Rajni Kothari

- One party dominant system by Morris Jones

- It was upto 1976, Congress remained party of consensus.

- It was a grand coalition and coopted members from various sections.

- Remaining parties were reduced to role of pressure groups

- This was especially due to

① Nehruvian consensus

② Legacy of National movement

③ Contribution of Nehru and Gandhi

## ② Phase - II - Breakdown of Congress system (1976-1989)

— with 1st demographic upsurge, land reforms, green revolution and linguistic reorganisation, regional parties came into existence

— Nehruvian consensus broke down due to

- ① Demise of Nehru
- ② Overcentralisation of power in Congress
- ③ Lack of internal democracy
- ④ Congress did not tolerate dissent in party.
- ⑤ Emergency proved to be costly.

— According to Subas Palshikhar, Nehruvian consensus only postponed opposition, but not eliminated it.

## ③ Phase - III - Regionalisation and coalition politics

— Sreedharan attributes rise of regional parties to following

- ① Daily issues more vested in state governments
- ② Delinking of national and state elections
- ③ Politicisation of social identities
- ④ Caste and communal mobilisation.

— Regional parties started playing strong role in national government.

— According to Vidhyut Chavavathi, coalition politics emerged which improved federal pairs and bargaining power of states but also increased defections, policy paralysis, Rise of money power and parliamentary disruption.

Remarks You have to mention major political parties. Explain split and merger in social & ideological context, stress on emergence of regionalism, caste-based ideologies.

6. Answer the following questions:

- (a) Satyagraha is the most important and original contributions of Mahatma Gandhi to humankind. Discuss. (200 Words) (15)
- (b) Elaborate on the main features of the Marxist perspective of Freedom struggle and bring out its limitations as well. (200 Words) (15)
- (c) Write a short note on performance and agenda of environmental movements in India. (250 Words) (20)

a) Satyagraha, according to Gandhiji is the most important method for achieving independence. Gandhiji first tested Satyagraha in South Africa.

- In India, 1917 and 1918 saw Gandhi's application of Satyagraha in Agrarian issues like Champaran and Kheda.

- According to Gandhi, If satyagraha is the method, it is to be achieved through non violence.

- Gandhi is a master strategist and master politician. He knew how to unite people using idioms and phrases. So, he coined the term satyagraha and equated it to Dharma Yuddha, where Dharma will reign supreme.

- According to Satyagraha, war is only against the evil and not evil does.

Remarks

- In Satyagraha, nonviolence doesn't depend on circumstances, rather Satyagraha is an article of faith.
- According to Gandhi, Satyagraha will lead to freedom not only in political sense, but also in moral, individual, cultural and economic sense.
- Satyagraha, like Ashoka Yuddha, will lead to victory of truth over falsehood, good over evil.
- Compared to Amabindo Ghosh's Passive Resistance, Satyagraha is more powerful. According to Gandhi, if situation arises, he will choose violence over coercion.
- Satyagraha is weapon of the strong and not of the weak, according to Gandhiji.
- It is because of this nonviolent nature of Satyagraha, it became difficult for British to retaliate. Hence Gandhiji, through his method of Satyagraha, also brought a moral victory over British.

Hence, Gandhiji's Satyagraha is most important contribution to Indian National movement from Gandhi.

Mention principles of Satyagraha — how it's

Remarks different from Passive Resistance, truth, brute, soul, love force, when it should be used, its relevance.

## b) Marxist perspective of Freedom Struggle

- Assumptions
- According to Marxists, Nationalism is an invented tradition - Benedict Anderson
  - Nationalism creates false consciousness
  - Nationalist leadership was instrument of bourgeoisie class
  - They helped the bourgeoisie class.

There were two classes

- Instrumentalist school
- Structuralist school

- Instrumentalist school was started by RP Dutt and AR Debai.
- According to them, nationalist leadership is not bourgeoisie, but they were instrument of the bourgeoisie.
- They didn't act independently.
- Marx, who studied 1857 revolt, termed it as fight among feudal classes.
- Structuralist school - this was propagated by Sunit Saxena. According to him, nationalist leadership was not against the working class. They

Remarks

even supported working class organisations.

- Nationalist leadership was not intentional in supporting the bourgeoisie class
- But their policies of establishing nationalist industries etc supported the growth of indigenous bourgeoisie.
- Hence their policies unintentionally favoured bourgeoisie.
- Other than this, they shared same assumptions with the instrumentalist school.

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- Bipin Chandra, though a marxist, was of opinion that nationalist leadership was not an instrument of bourgeoisie classes.

- According to him, Indian national movement is multiclass, inclusive and longlasting in nature. It is because of such nature, the nation is still intact despite such large diversity and huge internal, external challenges.

You have not mentioned Marxist perspective of freedom — mention theory of alienation, revolution, exploitation & what they view as freedom; mention influence of Marxism on Indian freedom struggle.

Remarks

c) Environmental movements in India is very unique considering the composition of the people. Ramachandra Guha has differentiated between environmental movements of the west and east

- In west

- They are full stomach movements

- Mostly by scientists, environmental activists

- In India

- Empty stomach movements

- Mostly by tribals, forest dwellers and poor who are dependent on forests for livelihood.

Environmental Movements and evolution, performance

① phase - I - 1970s - 'Environmental Irruence'

- In this era, the environmental activists were being termed as CEA agents.

- Environmental conservation was considered luxury of rich nations.

- There were efforts to challenge the development model, though was unsuccessful.

Remarks

- they were met with little success and the nature of development didnot consider in the environmental damage

Phase -ii - 1980s - Environmental conscience

- During this phase, the department of environment was created and later into separate ministry
- There was increased awareness due to environmental journalists like Nagesh Hegde, Shekhar Pathak and Anil Aggarwal.
- only few legislations were passed by Air Pollution Prevention Act, Environmental Protection Act 1986, National forest policy 1986 etc.

Phase -iii - From 1990s

- The era of conservation took a huge leap and thus conservation entered field of research. ICSE has established Centre of Ecological studies.
- The model of development which was followed was being questioned now.
- Environmental Activists were not branded as Old socialist Guys.
- Ministry of Environment cleared proposals for many projects, which hampered environment.

Remarks

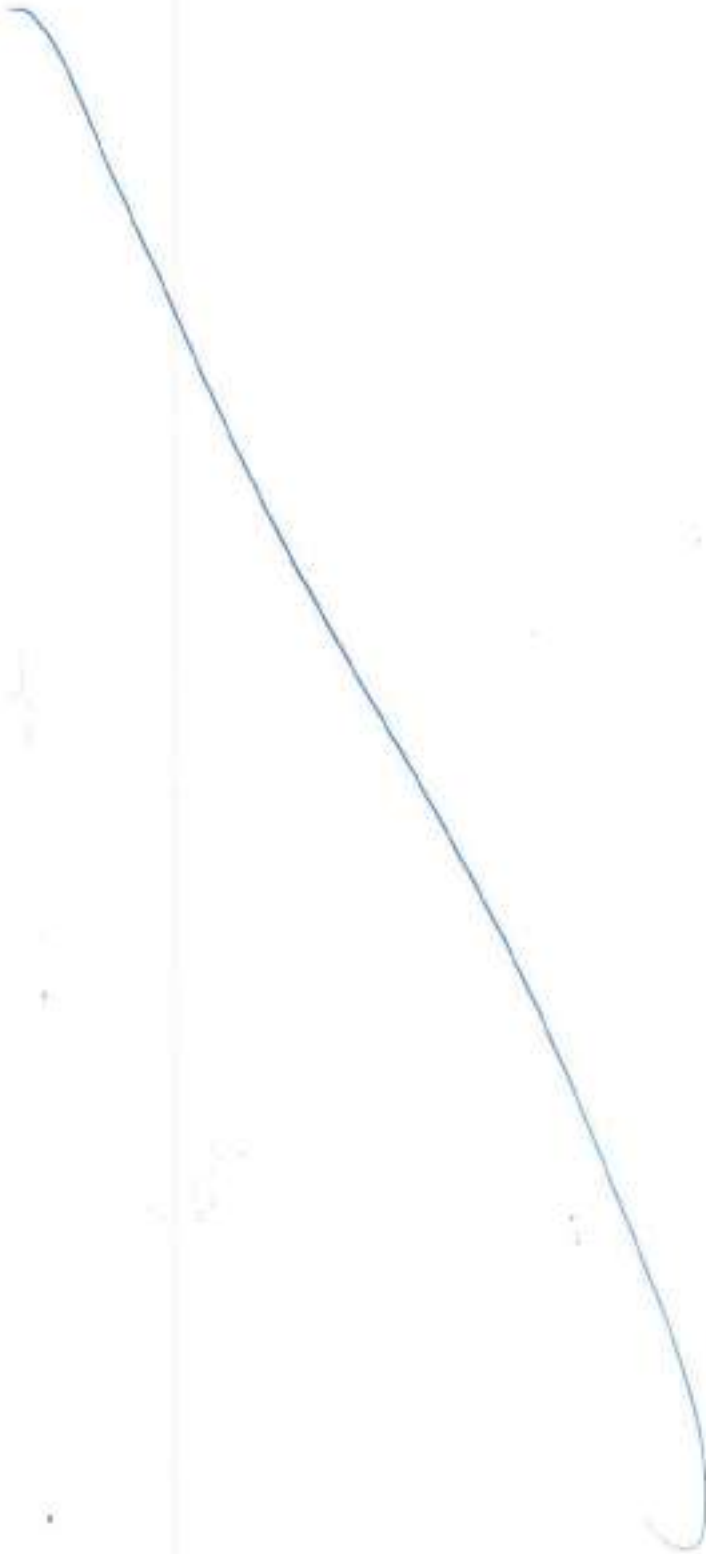


### Analysis

- According to Sunita Narain of Centre for Science and Environment (CSE), what we need is New Environmentalism
- New Environmentalism treats people as custodians of natural resources
- Democracy and development are not antithetical to each other.
- Not more passage of pieces of legislation will solve the purpose.
- There should be a change in developmental model. This is possible only when environment becomes an electoral issue.
- According to her, what matters is not just ecology, but social ecology.
- Until and unless the model of development changes, there will not be significant improvement in environmental conservation in the country.

Mention how they are grouped under NSM, criticism as middle class or elite movements, colonial model of development, environmentalism of poor, community centric approach, involvement & empowerment of marginalized section - realisation of rights.

Remarks



Remarks

7. Answer the following questions:

- (a) Comment on the nature of Coalition politics in India and its influence on the democratization of political culture? (200 Words) (15)
- (b) Critically examine the agenda and achievements of Women movement in India. (200 Words) (15)
- (c) Discuss how far the politics of regionalism and communalism have affected nation building in India. (250 Words) (20)

*Remarks*

*Remarks*

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*Remarks* .



*Remarks*

*Remarks*

8. Answer the following questions:

- (a) Examine briefly the programme and role of the extremists in the Indian National Movement. (200 Words) (15)
- (b) Critically examine the impact of political parties on democracy in India. Also, comment on the social mobilization led by political parties. (200 Words) (15)
- (c) Examine the role of caste in Indian Politics. (250 Words) (20)

(a)

Indian National Movement was initially dominated by moderates. According to them, methods to be followed are ~~petition~~ petitions, prayers, proposals. They believed British rule to be blessing in disguise and ~~that~~ British are justice loving. We need to make them aware of our problems, so that they are addressed. They also believed that India is still not a nation, but a nation in making.

— Extremists took over moderates because

- ① Moderates were unsuccessful in yielding results
- ② Moderates' actions led to discontent
- ③ Moderates did not advocate for complete freedom. They only wanted gradual reforms.

— According to them

- ① Tilak — There is constitutionalism in India. Request for constitutionalism in front of alien bureaucracy

Remarks

## discuss the demands of extremists.

is a political suicide.

- (b) Anubindo Ghosh - It is a misadventure of moderates
- (c) Nehru - Constitutionalism with constitutional government by natives is not possible

- Extremists were successful to some extent because

(1) Moderates have already laid down the nationalist consciousness

(2) It provided base for them among masses

- Anubindo Ghosh was opinion that India is always a nation, he spiritualised the theory of nationalism.

- They criticised moderates and told them not to call British rule as blessing as this would hurt the morale of masses who are working the freedom struggle

- They used peaceful and legitimate means when compared to the constitutional means of moderates.

- Swadeshi and Boycott were met with success which helped to transform freedom struggle into a mass movement.

Explain the methods of extremists, significance of Surat split, incidence of violence, govt. reaction, ideological influences.

Remarks

⑥ Political parties are significant for representative democracy. They perform the function of

- ① government formation
- ② opposition formation
- ③ political education
- ④ political participation

### Impact of political parties on democracy

- political parties helped in deepening of democracy. More people are brought into electoral processes by political parties.
- political parties have led to politicisation of caste, politics became caste ridden — Rajini Kothari
- Paul Brass has highlighted the paradoxes. He says
  - ① political parties are necessary for democracy but they lack internal democracy
  - ② political parties are organised on bureaucratic lines but work on lines of family, kinship.
- According to Rudolph and Rudolph, political parties have

led to become traditionalised because of caste based mobilisation

- According to Yogendra Yadav, the regional parties, which are caste based, have helped in democratic upsurge and thus plebiscitisation of democracy.

However

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- political parties have also led to overcentralisation of power and thus reduced role of public in decision making
  - Increased role of money and muscle power
  - political parties have long forgotten the role of nation building, they are only focused on power capture.
  - Encourages corruption, illegal and immoral behaviour
  - political parties, themselves are becoming impunity for criminals. According to Association of Democratic Reformers, 16% of MPs in 16th Lok Sabha had serious criminal charges on them.

Social mobilisation by political parties

- Earlier political parties had strong organisational structure and party cadres.
- Now, parties mostly depend on mobilisation based on Caste, religion and ethnicity etc.

**Remarks** Mention vertical mobilisation of caste, mentions names of major political parties, briefly discuss effects of Mandal Commission.

- Caste based mobilisation is more evident for the regional parties. Every regional party is a caste party.
- when one party goes for mobilisation on caste, other mobilises based on religion
- this identity politics has led to politics of passion and thus voting pattern on caste and communal lines
- led to politicisation of caste, communal riots and invocation of religion, especially, during elections.
- Important issues of welfare and development are being sidelined because of such social mobilisation.

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- Caste forms important Mosaic of Indian politics according to Christophe Jaffrelot.
- According to MN Srinivas, caste is present at subconscious level in India.

### Luis Dumont (vs) MN Srinivas Debate

- Luis Dumont was of opinion that caste is rigid system of social stratification, based on birth in India.
- According to MN Srinivas, class system is as rigid as Caste system. Caste system is not so rigid,

Remarks

due to important features like Sanskritisation of caste and dominant castes.

— Dominant castes differ in different regions. Based on numerical majority and land ownership.

(2) According to Andre Betheille,

- Huge interpersonal networks are mobilised in the name of caste.
- Appeal is made to caste loyalties
- People demand to satisfy their communities interests.

(3) Rajni Kothari

— Caste has led to politicisation of Caste and politics becoming caste ridden

— Politicisation of caste is secularisation of caste i.e., caste is important for secular benefits like education, employment.

— According to Rudolph & Rudolph, caste associations are democratic incarnation of caste. They have led to traditionalism of modernity and modernisation of tradition.

— Modernisation of tradition means secularisation of caste.

Remarks



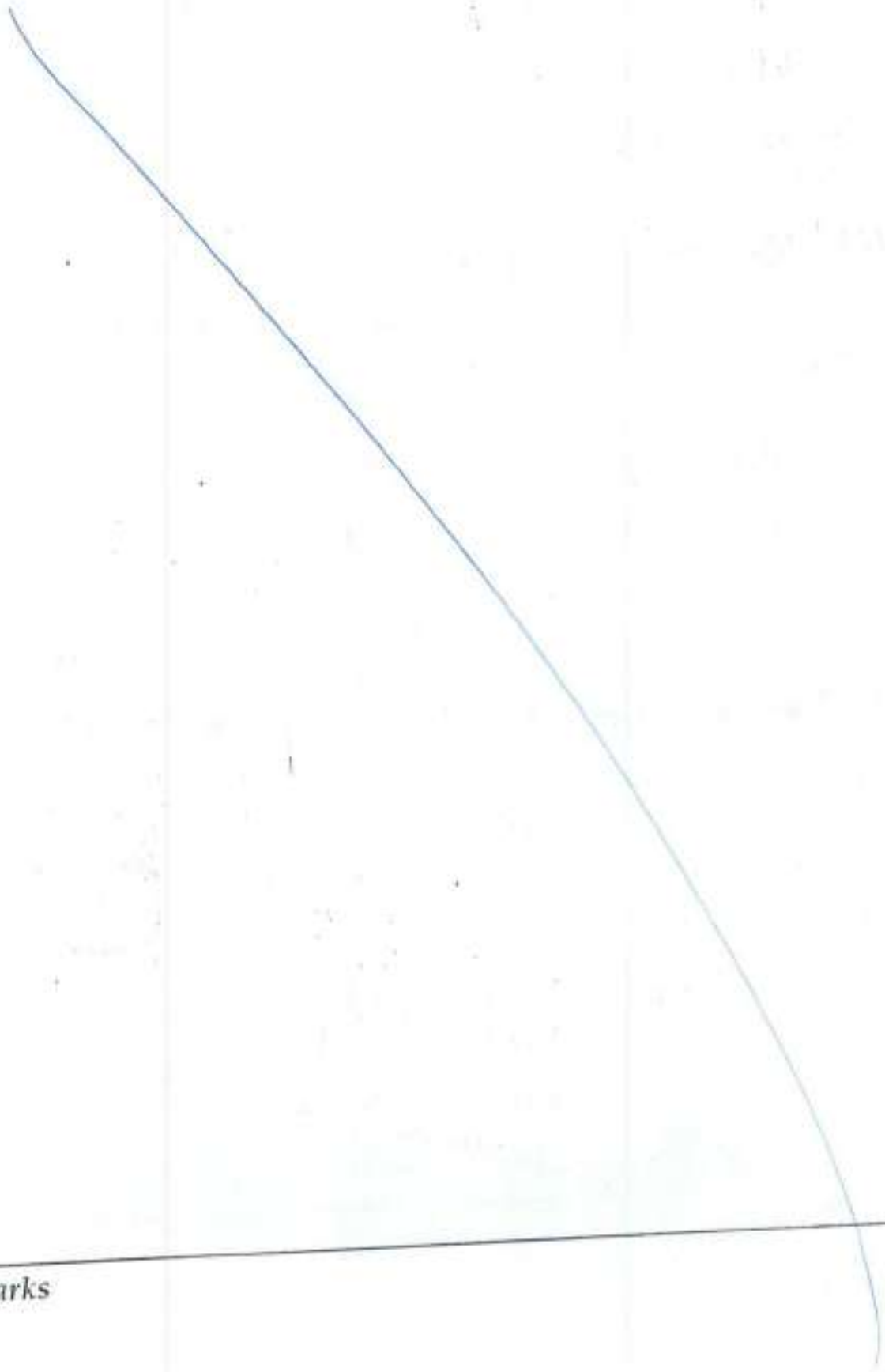
④ According to Yogendra Yadav, Green Revolution has led to democratic ~~up~~ <sup>up</sup>surge. Also, in 1990s, 2nd democratic upsurge has led to role of minorities, dalits.

— All the democratic upsurges led to deepening of democracy and caste is an important factor in such mobilisation.

⑤ Christophe Jaffield has highlighted how caste politics has led to politics of reorganisation of castes. Dominant castes who were prominent want to retain their dominant status, hence demanded separate states.

Hence, caste along with religion remains one of the most important factor of social mobilisation in India.

Answer will not be complete without reference to political parties operating on caste-based identities. Mention vertical mobilisation, effects of Mandal Commission. Discuss emergence of OBCs.



Remarks