

## 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.

120

Content & Understanding have improved but articulation & Structuring can be still worked on  
 Good performance overall

Name Matthews M

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

Date \_\_\_\_\_

Signature [Signature]

1. Invigilator's Signature \_\_\_\_\_

2. Invigilator's Signature [Signature]

# REMARKS

**GS SCORE**

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## SECTION - A

1. a) Explain the difference between Power and authority.

Power was defined by Hans J. Morganthau, as 'Man's control over the minds and actions of other men'. It is qualitatively different from 'Authority'.

Authority is 'Power' mixed with legitimacy. If power is the ability to demand obedience, authority is the 'right' to do so. Authority is at the root of a command to which obedience is rendered without coercion.

Max Weber views power as a naked sword, and authority as the sword in its scabbard. Authority is intrinsically linked to the idea of obligation and duty. Weber gives different ideal types of authority based on its sources like traditional authority, charismatic authority and legal-rational authority.

Need to elaborate more on the types



However, both power and authority are interlinked. Power is rarely exercised in the absence of authority and authority always implies some form of power to enforce it.

This view has been disputed by scholars like Foucault and Hannah Arendt. For Foucault, Power is capillary and is a productive force. Arendt views power as an attribute of the people, while authority belongs to the state. S

b) Discuss any two early trends in socialism

Socialism is a broad school of thought which emerged as a reaction to the evils of capitalism and Western individualism. Two early trends were 'Utopian/Idealist Socialism' and 'Evolutionary Socialism'.

Utopian socialism was seen in the works of Proudhon, Robert Owen, Fourier and Saint Simon. They based it on ethics and morality. Proudhon declared

Follow on news  
Include  
Raj  
as well

That 'Property is theft' because it is stealing from the workers who are the legitimate owners of labour. Owen wanted to make work pleasurable, and eliminate its alienating and impersonal character.

Evolutionary socialism of Eduard Bernstein decried the strategy of violence ~~to~~ to redistribute property. Instead he advocated the 'Parliamentary Road' because the workers were already in the majority. Alienation and spontaneous revolution as <sup>imagined</sup> by Marx will not take place as wages and conditions of labour were evolving.

However, both schools were criticised by Marx and classical Marxists. They were incongruous and lacked a specific program to capture means of production. They ignored their revolutionary potential. Despite this, they inspired later thinkers like Fabian Society, Nehru, Nasser and others.

Good  
Content  
Elaboration  
You can  
also  
elaborate  
on  
Notion of  
Fabian Socialism





c) Discuss the grounds on which the welfare state is justified.

Classical liberalism called for a minimal state, which seemed to be a 'nightwatchman' [Locke]. However its evils, led to a school of positive liberals like Hobson, Hobhouse, Tawney, Laski, etc to defend the 'Welfare state'.

Welfare state is justified because under the classical minimal state, equality became a slave to liberty. It was the liberty of the strong and the few. As Tawney wrote "Freedom for the rich is death to the many". The weak were exploited under the capitalist system.

Welfare state is critical to ~~try~~ ensure an equal playing field. As Laski said, the state must create "An equal start, not just an open road" because natural inequalities will prevent individuals from achieving their best self.

They are inspired by Mill

Good scholarly  
elaboration

But you  
also need to

elaborate on the  
features of

features of  
welfare

state which  
make it a

better  
alternative

to the night  
watchman  
state

5



who justified 'big government' to ensure the full <sup>moral</sup> development of all ~~the~~. However it has its critics. Nozick in 'Anarchy, States & Utopia' says it violates Kantian ethics if state engages in redistribution. Individuals are unequal ~~and~~ in skills and are 'self-owners'. Lord Acton warned 'welfare state' is a recipe for authoritarianism. Marx criticised it as disguising class conflict and delaying revolution.

(68)  
d) What is patriarchy and how does it affect the political behaviour of citizens?

Patriarchy is a central concept of radical feminist theory and has been defined as both a structure and an ideology. Patriarchy is a social structure which maintains man's domination over the minds and lives of women and children. <sup>(Gerda Lerner)</sup> ~~Patris~~ Patriarchy is also an ideology which claims the ~~superior~~ natural superiority of men based on biological differences [Kate Millet]



Patrilarchy determines political behaviours in multiple ways.

Women are forced to work the 'Second Shift' [Maria Mies] which creates a 'Double burden' of domestic labour and economic life. It leaves little time for political activity.

Women are subjected to economic and social power of men even when they engage in politics. Phenomena of 'Sarpanch pati' is a clear indication.

Family is the realm of political socialisation and creation of values. This creates a Patrilarchy creates a vicious cycle which ensures the subordination of women.

State is seen as a patrilarchal institution run by men, for men. It creates a condition for women as reserve army of cheap labour & 'public dependence'.

Thus, Patrilarchy is multidimensional and affects women in varying degrees.

You have emphasized too much on the economic aspect. I need to elaborate on how Patrilarchy impacts the political behaviour of women in developed & developing nations.

4



e) The idea of differentiated citizenship.

Differentiated citizenship is a key component of ~~multicultural~~ multiculturalist theory of rights which claim liberalism and its ideal of political equality are inadequate for protecting minority rights.

Will Kymlicka claims that mere toleration of cultural differences fall short of meaningful equality. Rather, differences must be appreciated and publicly affirmed. Differentiated citizenship is essential for this which would ensure

- ① ~~Self~~ Representation rights
- ② Poly ethnic rights
- ③ Self governance rights with autonomy.

Charles Taylor defends it because culture is an 'irreducible social good' and liberal theory propagates the wrong

'atomist' view of man and society.

Bhikhu Parekh also justifies it on the ground that liberalism fails to give an impartial framework of rights to minorities and tries to assimilate ~~in~~ all cultural differences in a 'melting pot' model.

However cosmopolitans have criticised it for ignoring the hybridising nature of culture.

Jeremy Waldron argues it will negate the ability of cultures to adapt and evolve.

Also include  
the views of

Chandran

5

of cultures

Add

what are the biggest  
counter arguments to the  
idea? liberal critique

to be  
a friend



2. a) Liberty and Equality are different faces of the same value ideal. Evaluate.

Liberty implies absence of restrictions and Equality is defined as the absence of discrimination. Both as Relationships between the two are complementary, and is a subject of a longstanding debate.

Equality is a pre-condition of liberty because liberty of the few cannot be claimed as a universal ideal. John Rawls in 'Justice as Fairness' declares that 'Equal basic liberties' in access to social primary goods like wealth and dignity, must be assured to all.

An overemphasis on liberty would mean 'freedom of the strong and unfreedom of the weak' [Tawney]. Liberty can be universalised only if 'Fair equality of opportunity' and

'Equality of conditions' is reached.

Conditions in capitalist societies have shown that liberty in the absence of ~~to~~ equality could mean 'freedom to starve'. Liberty gains its moral credentials in its ability to ensure the development of human personality. For this, social and economic equality are essential factors.

However, it has been criticised as well.

Dworkin in 'Sovereign Virtue' warns that pushing Equality to the level of 'equality of outcome' would mean 'slavery of the talented'. It would become a 'philosophy of poverty'.

Isaiah Berlin in 'Two Concepts of Liberty' argue that 'If one cannot swim like a whale or fly like an eagle', it is not a lack of liberty because humans are naturally unequal. Liberty ~~of the~~ ensures the progress of mankind and if state tries to 'Equalise' it, it would amount to social engineering.

7

Good quoting of scholars  
But basically you have to explain the debate b/w Negative liberals who believe that both values are contradictory & Positive liberals who believe both values are complementary



b) Critically examine the reasons for the rise of Fascism and its nature as an ideology

Fascism rose in the inter-war period from ~~1910~~ 1920 till 1945, best seen in Italian Fascism of Mussolini and Nazism of Hitler.

Various factors contributed to the rise of fascism.

Ebenstein opines that it arose because of 'extremism of the centre', or the middle classes. They were dissatisfied by the poor living conditions and ineffective parliament.

Dysfunction between democracy and development made politics lose its legitimacy, paving way for charismatic leaders like Hitler who promised strong leadership.

Economic factors like the 'Great Depression of 1929' made life difficult for the youth and

Why Left  
Democracy  
become  
dysfunctional

Need to add more contents from books

common men. They flocked to the paramilitaries which promised a stipend and public work.

~~Ideological backing was provided to Fascism in~~

### FASCISM AS AN IDEOLOGY:

Fascism is unique in that it has 'anti character'. It is defined by what it opposes, eg: Anti liberalism, anticommunism, etc.

Its ideologic motivation was not revolution, but a 'counter-revolution'. It fed on the fear of the people of a Communist takeover.

It drew ideological sustenance from Rousseau, Sorel, Hegel, etc who glorified the state. Gentile claimed "Everything for the state, nothing against the state."

It used the "creative powers of MYTH" and drew the idea of VOLK, or an organically unified national community.

As Laski concluded, Fascism is an "ill-assorted rag-bag of ideas" which are assembled to mobilise political power.

Good content

elaboration

Also comment on its

aggressive & adventurist nature

9



c) Discuss the basic aspects of Representative democracy and its contemporary challenges. (250 words)

Representative democracy is considered as the most popular form of government in contemporary times. It aims to combine the legitimacy of direct democracy and practicality of 'rule by the few'.

Despite varying in content and form across countries, ~~various~~ its basic aspects can be identified.

It envisages a cadre of leaders who represent ~~their~~ an area or ideology. The sovereignty is ultimately vested with the people through the mechanisms of universal suffrage and regular frequent elections to public offices.

Leaders work around political parties which are organised on common principles with the ultimate goal of capturing

What  
are the  
Basic  
Principles  
of  
RD?

political power. It puts forward a manifesto of objectives to attract voters.

Representative democracy is safeguarded by a series of institutions. An Election Commission to ensure fair elections and an independent judiciary to safeguard rights are mandatory. legal and constitutional safeguards are present, which may be written (like in USA) or unwritten (like in Britain).

Legislature and public space is characterised by a tolerance of Pluralism and Rule of Law to prevent abuse of power.

### Contemporary Challenges:

Jürgen Habermas, Seyla Benhabib and Amy Gutman champion 'deliberative democracy' which emphasises on deliberation, discourse and debate. Persuasion is the basis of political power and ~~is~~ improves qualitative and 'substantive' democracy.



Michael Sandel and Hannah Arendt and others ~~also~~ call for 'Participatory democracy' or 'strong Democracy' in the tradition of Rousseau. Direct and open engagement of all citizens is considered necessary for 'sensus communis' or community sense.

Robert Dahl and Lindblom consider present democracies as 'deformed polyarchies' due to the disproportionate power enjoyed by corporates & group imbalances.

Despite these challenges, ~~representative~~ no practical alternatives have been implemented so far.

~~Deliberative or Participatory Democracy are not challenges~~

~~Instead the contemporary challenges are Alienation, Social media, Rising identity & polarization, Religious conflicts~~

~~Need to revisit the entire topic from hals~~

(6)

## SECTION-B

5. a) Examine the agenda of New Social Movements in India.

Traditional social movements were struggles for political and legal rights led by trade unions and other groups. New Social Movements are movements of the middle classes, intelligentsia and oppressed sections which fight for social-cultural and economic rights.

*life quality issues*  
Paul Brass ~~also~~ opines that "New social Movements" emphasised their 'non-political' nature, instead preferring to turn into lobbies and pressure groups. It seems to have a conscious attempt to avoid the corruption and loss of legitimacy through ~~non~~ political compulsions.

They are no longer characterised by prepolitical social backwardness. It ~~is~~ has an effective organisational structure and links

(9) *your answer is general elaboration on NSM which is India specific analysis*



with national leaders.

It is characterised by class collaboration rather than antagonism. ~~The~~ Nivedita Menon points to the 'cross fertilisation' between different streams, like between Women and Dalit movement.

They are mostly directed against the state. Judiciary is seen as an equal player to the legislature, in transforming the society.

Thus, New Social Movement in India are diverse in its agenda.

b) Bhoodan movement and its contribution to land reforms in India.

Bhoodan movement was a Gandhian idea given practical shape by Vinoba Bhave. It aimed to effect land reforms without relying on the coercive mechanisms of the state.

It depended on change of heart of landowners and voluntary transfer of land. Bhoodan aimed to prevent class antagonism and develop community harmony.

CONTRIBUTION TO LAND REFORMS:

Bhoodan ~~did~~ succeeded in

Need to provide some factual information regarding the start & end of the movement

collecting a significant quantity of land in Telengana and Andhra regions.

However its practical achievements were meagre. In most areas, landowners were not willing to part with land. Even when they did so, the land given were either

- 1) under dispute
- 2) unproductive land
- 3) under long tenancy.

Despite this, Bhoodan's significance is in that, it created a positive atmosphere for state led land reforms through abolition of intermediaries, land ceilings, tenancy regulation and cooperativisation.

It increased the awareness of tenants to their legitimate rights and increased organisational links.

Thus, Bhoodan was unique in its goals and content with far reaching consequences.



c) Dalit perspective on Indian National Movement.

'Dalit perspective' aims to give an alternative subaltern analyses to the National movement. It was inspired by leaders like Ambedkar, Jyotiba Phule, Sri Narayan Guru, Periyar, etc.

Bhikhu Parekh points out that the mainstream national movement led by the INC demanded political and social equality with the British, but denied the same to the lower castes of the Hindu society.

Gandhiji never took the question of ~~caste~~ <sup>dalits</sup> to a political level beyond a moral/religious level. Dilip Menon criticises Gandhiji's call ~~obsession~~ <sup>for</sup> cleanliness, vegetarianism and non-alcoholism as his obsession with purity and pollution.

Other leaders like Nehru took a liberal Modernisation perspective.

Vague  
You had to  
specifically  
elaborate on  
the issue of  
Hindutva,  
Phule,  
Nai-loch,  
N. Hanu  
etc

which saw caste as a vestige of underdevelopment which will fade away with democracy.

Condition of Dalits were qualitatively different because of low ritual status, powerlessness and appalling poverty [T K Doren] This was ignored by the quest of nation building by the mainstream leaders.

Thus, Dalit perspective is a meaningful critique on disjointedness of India's political struggle and social struggle.

d) Indian constitution is a product of evolution rather than revolution  
Examine.

Indian constitution was not a disjunction between the past and present, but rather, was the connecting tissue between the two, unlike American or French constitutions.

It was a product of evolution. As Subash Kashyap wrote in 'Our Constitution', 'Seventy five percent of Indian constitution was directly inspired by the 1935 Act'. It aimed to establish political



continuity, in adopting similar governance structures, like multiple tiered federation, three lists of legislative subjects, emergency powers, etc.

It aimed at social status quo without any radical transformation of social relations. It ~~aimed~~ worked to protect India's diversity through cultural rights and allay minority fears of 'tyranny of the majority' through fundamental rights section.

However, as Partha Chatterjee points out, Indian constitution was not only about 'discovering' a India but also 'inventing' a new India. It had ~~radical~~ revolutionary elements like ensuring universal adult suffrage, including women. It guaranteed social equality abolishing untouchability. It denied religion any legitimate place, by declaring secularism. Directive Principles were aimed at wholesome transformation of Indian economy. (2)

Thus, the Constitution has both evolutionary and revolutionary elements.

wrong!  
 Instead you had to elaborate the vision of Indian Constitution was formed. — 137  
 Institutional reform  
 social struggle & value  
 inspired by freedom struggle  
 instead of violent Revolution



e) Comment on the evolution of Political Parties in India since independence-

As the Indian nation has evolved, so has its political parties. It has changed in its ideology, structure, objectives and methods.

From 1952 to 1967, Parties were characterised by the Congress System [Rajni Kothari]. Congress led a single party system and other parties were 'parties of pressure'. It aimed to utilize the diverse strands within the Congress in pushing their viewpoints. Leaders were national in stature and ideological loyalty was strict.

From 1967 to 1991, ~~was~~ Parties was characterised by 'Bipolarization of state party systems' [E. Sridharan]. Ideological differences were watered down, while caste and religious lines were drawn. Regional leadership emerged on basis of identity and local issues. Congress split in 1971, and gave



rise to second tier leaders, who did not enjoy the legitimacy of previous leaders.

1991 to 2014 was a period of 'Second Democratic Upsurge' [Y. Yadav] which saw the rise of Dalits as a political force and hitherto unpoliticised sections.

The transformation resulted in parties becoming less democratic internally [Zoya Hassan]. Most parties were vehicles for personalities. Corruption, instability, and communalisation increased, with very little ideological differences. Yet it has led to a 'deepening of democracy'.

Need more in-depth political analysis  
Also show evolution of political parties & how impacted nature of India  
political parties democracy & discourse in

(4)

6. a) Satyagraha is the most important and original contributions of Gandhi to humankind. Discuss

'Satyagraha' means a 'desire for truth'. It was both an ethic and a strategy propounded by Gandhiji.

As an ethic / ideal, it represented a quest for ~~justice~~. Satyagraha was about breaking unjust laws and championing the oppressed. It is often translated as 'passive resistance' which was rejected by Gandhiji. He believed Satyagraha to be a 'weapon of the strong' and an 'active resistance' to all forms of tyranny.

It Satyagraha aims to  
↳ Hate the sin, but not the sinner  
Satyagrahi was not to hate Englishmen, but only the despot

What is exact difference between the two concepts



colonial government. It

It was an instrument of love. ~~It~~ Satyagrah aims to bring a 'change of heart' in the oppressor, by showing him the error of his ways.

As Bipan Chandra pointed out in 'Struggle for Independence', 'Satyagrah' was a strategy as well. It aimed at waging a Gramscian 'war of position' against the British by demolishing the twin ideological pillars -

- 1) That British rule was benevolent and were the Mai-Baap of the people.
- 2) That British were invincible.

'Satyagrah' eroded colonial hegemony and legitimacy. This brought leaders like Roosevelt and Chiang Kai Shek to stop British repression during World War II.

Thus, Satyagrah was a powerful weapon crafted by Gandhiji, which was later adopted by Martin Luther King and Nelson Mandela

what are the various manifestations / methods?  
Components?

Also elaborate on the limitations / weaknesses of the methods

8/11/9

b) Elaborate on the main features of Marxist perspective of freedom struggle and bring out its limitations

Marxist perspective of freedom struggle aimed to give an economic interpretation of reality using theoretical Marxist tools like Historical Materialism and Class War.

R. Palme Dutt in 'India Today' views the mainstream national movement as ~~an~~ led by the national bourgeoisie and capitalist class. Even left leaders like Nehru and Bose were considered sympathisers.

Marxist perspective analyses Gandhi's principles like 'change of heart' and 'voluntary renunciation' of untouchability as his concern for the landed classes. He never took salt question beyond a moral question into a political movement

not very relevant



to safeguard economic and social status quo.

National freedom struggle was seen as a competition by 'elites' to grab power. With independence, they inherited the colonial state infrastructure, essentially retaining its oppressive form.

Its limitation was in its economic determinist approach and reductionism. It failed to see that the primary contradiction was between the colonial government and Indian national movement. As Bipan Chandra pointed out, Marxist analysis fails to see the internal contradictions in the Indian society in the form of caste and religious cleavages. *Write more on this*

Yet, in its use by leaders like M N Roy, it helped lay the foundation of leftist orientation of leaders like Nehru which continued even after Independence.

*Need to include more of lot of scholars*  
*— Those who are from the tradition & those who had commented upon the tradition*

2) Write a short note on performance and agenda of environmental movements in India. (250 words)

India has witnessed a host of environmental movements with varying vision, ideology and methods. It is unique, in comparison to those of movements of Europe and America.)

### PERFORMANCE & AGENDA

Indian environmental movement envisions an enlarged view of politics and economics. It goes beyond protecting forest rights and symbolises awareness for a right to live with dignity and development.

Based on the <sup>AGENDA</sup> ~~motivations~~ of the participants, Gadgil and Guha classifies them into:

- ① Rejection of materialism and call for moral restraint or overuse. It is led by Gandhians
- ② Marxist view of changing unjust



social order. They criticise the colonial patterns of administration adopted by the post colonial state.

- ③ Scientific view advocating reconstruction using technology and mitigation.
- ④ Spontaneous efforts of local communities to protect local forests.

As Ghyansham Shah points out in 'Social Movements', it has taken three popular forms

- ① Forest based Movement, as seen in Chipko and Appiko movements. It is led by
- ② Anti-Dam movement, as seen in Silent Valley and Narmada Bachao Andolan.
- ③ Anti-Pollution movement, seen in Delhi, Ganga and Yamuna, Kerala endosulphan victims, etc.

### PERFORMANCE :

R. Guha points out in 'Unquiet Woods' that environmental movements have different 'public' and 'private' faces. eg: Chipko movement's public face is that of environmental movement, but its 'private face' is that of peasants.



fighting against the state for livelihood.

Gail Omvedt ~~do~~ believes them to be 'pre-movements' because they don't identify themselves in theoretical pigeonholes. ~~like~~ There is 'cross fertilization' of struggles. For example recent Duyamgiri and Bababudan hills anti-mining movements were partly religious and partly livelihood oriented.

The state response is often inconsistent, with it supporting 'development' in initial phases, while withdrawing if movement gains adequate support. Judiciary is considered the new champion of ecology.

Thus, environmental movement does not constitute a homogeneous strand as can be called 'varieties of environmentalism'

[Guha]

Also include news of Sanku Narayan  
Analyse their Response of political support weakened state support  
extent of weakened state support  
has impacts near success rate

(10)



7. a) Comment on the nature of Coalition politics in India and its influence on democratization of political culture?

Coalition politics marked its entry in 1991 with the end of the One Party Dominance phase from 1952 to 1967, and became a kingmaker from 1991 till 2018.

### NATURE

Nature of coalition politics have varied with time and the parties involved. It gave

It gave rise to 'Bipolarization' of Party system, which involved two poles - UPA and NDA.

UPA consisted of ~~the~~ the Congress party at the core, supported by regional party allies like the DMK, Kerala Congress, etc. NDA had BJP at the core with allies like Shiv Sena.

Ideological homogeneity was not considered a factor. The prime concern was ~~the~~ realpolitik calculations. For example Congress with secular credentials allied with

You should write more on the evolution of Coalition Politics

the Muslim League.

Though a common minimum program was envisaged, it led to political instability, which E. Sridharan calls a 'crisis in governability'.

### DEMOCRATIZATION:

Its positive impact was in 'deepening of democracy' [Y. Yadav]. ~~As~~ Hitherto unrepresented groups like Dalits became a major factor in political calculations. Minorities became a potent electorate.

Regional concerns could no longer be ignored. For example, Tamil concerns of Sri Lankan LTTE groups put India's dealing with Sri Lankan government on hold.

As Sudipta Kaviray pointed out, this led to a 'democracy of castes' replacing hierarchy.

Thus, coalition politics certainly deepened democracy even though it came at the cost of effective governance.

You need to provide both appreciative & critical arguments with examples

(8)

Include news  
Tanya  
How



b) Critically examine the agenda and achievements of women movement in India -

Rather than three historic waves, women movement in India is characterised by numerous small undulating waves.

### AGENDA

It has varied over the years

1) Nationalist phase: It was driven by Gandhian movements, ideals and methods. Satyagrahas were held for ANTI ALCOHOLISM which continued even after Independence.

2) PATRIARCHY: Kamla Viswesvaran argues Indian feminists had 'thematic' areas where they agreed with western feminists and 'problematic' areas where they disagreed. Patriarchy was undisputed, as seen in customs like patrilocality and patrilineality etc.

3) ANTI-DOWRY agitation was sparked after 2001 census, which showed a sharp decline in child sex ratio in states like Haryana, pointing to unwanted girls and female infanticide.



4) LIVELIHOOD & WAGES : It has taken environmental forms like Chipko movement where women campaigned for ~~the~~ protecting livelihood.

5) SECURITY : Mathura and Nabkaya rape cases sparked national movement, which exposed insensitivity of state apparatus and police.

ACHIEVEMENTS :

- With the UN decade of women from 1975 to 85, it has sparked legislative and institutional measures for women's welfare.

Vishaka ga  
- Judiciary has emerged as a champion for women as observed by Nivedita Menon in 'Elusory woman'. Recent Sabarwal case, Vishaka guidelines, Shabano, Shakaya Bano case, etc shows judiciary-led women's rights.

However, in India, Gender-Identity interface is powerful. It is easier to mobilise women in terms of caste or religion than feminism as seen in the failure of Uniform Civil Code or Muslim Women's Bill.

9

*your sub war is good but lacks the information lacks a lot of data on movement started. Also men from some of the functions of it*



c) Discuss how far politics of regionalism and communalism have affected nation building in India (250)

Selig Harrison declared, in 1950s that regionalism and ~~secessionism~~ communalism were the greatest threats to infant India. Both have complex relations with the project of nation-building.

### REGIONALISM

Atul Kohli writes that regional movements follow an 'inverted U' curve pattern in lifespan. It was found in regions

- ① Tamil / Dravidian movement
- ② Kashmir
- ③ Punjab
- ④ Nagas and North East
- ⑤ Shiv Sena and Maharashtra.

As Paul Brass observed, religion, tribe, caste and ethnicity created 'parallel local structures' giving legitimacy to regional movements.

JVP and Dhar committee were opposed to local patriotism, fearing

centrifugal pressures on infant India.

However, Fazl Ali committee declared, regionalism is not antithetical to nationalism and India State Reorganisation and creation of new states have reduced its importance.

## COMMUNALISM

As Ayesha Jalal wrote in 'Encyclopedia of Nationalism', Indian historically constructed national identity, denied, opposed and delegitimated local nationalisms based on religion, caste or region.

However, due to the Partition and mega diverse character of Indian polity, communalism has emerged as a constant threat.

Minority Communalism is often justified in terms of religious and cultural rights. Any interference in personal laws were opposed by fundamentalist forces which favour communalism. <sup>by Muslim Women's Bill</sup> On the other hand, Majority Communalism in form of Hindutva has emerged on the



basis of Golwarkar's and Savarkar's ideas. It is driven by claims of appeasement of minorities and claim an organically unified national community. It has taken forms of cow protection as well as hyper religious nationalism as seen in slogans of 'Jai Hind' and 'Jai Sri Ram'.

On final analysis, as Byron Chandra concluded, today communalism poses the biggest threat to nation building. Regional sentiments have been largely coopted into the national discourse and federation-building structure.

~~Add  
 what we  
 he reasons for  
 continued  
 both? presence of  
 interlinkage between  
 two?~~

10/11  
 11/11

