

# **G|SCORE**

**An Institute for Civil Services**

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## **IAS TOPPER'S**

## **TEST COPY**

## **GOLDI GUPTA**

**AIR - 181  
(CSE 2022)**

## **POLITICAL SCIENCE**



**8448496262**



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35

## POLITICAL SCIENCE

Time Allowed: 3 hr.

Max. Marks: 250

### Instructions to Candidate

- There are EIGHT questions. Candidate has to attempt FIVE questions in all.
- Question no. 1 and 5 are compulsory and out of the remaining, THREE are to be attempted.
- Answers must be written in the medium authorized in the Admission certificate which must be stated clearly on the cover of this Question-cum-Answer (QCA) booklet in the space provided. No marks will be given for answers written in medium other than the authorized one.
- Word limit in questions, wherever specified, should be adhered to.
- Attempts of questions shall be counted in chronological order. Unless struck off, attempt of a question shall be counted even if attempted partly. Any page or portion of the page left blank in the answer book must be clearly struck off.

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

2. Invigilator's Signature \_\_\_\_\_

Name Goldi Gupta

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

Date \_\_\_\_\_

Signature Goldi

Relevant details

## SECTION-A

3 Roll No.

Attempt all questions:

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

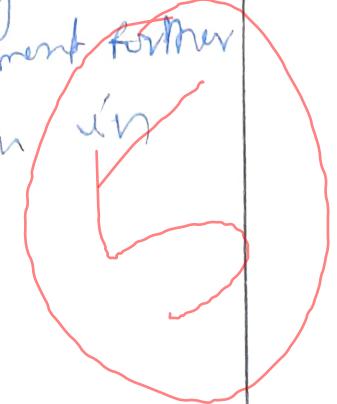
 $(12.5 \times 4 = 50)$ 

- (a) Electoral Function of Religion in Post Independent India. Discuss.
- (b) Ideological Trends in Indian Environmentalist movement.
- (c) The Dalit question and the women's movement in India. Examine.
- (d) Green Revolution: Short term remedy and long-term tragedy

① Politics of religion comes under the politics of identity in political analysis

In post-independent India, universal adult franchise was the basis of political mobilization. However, due to senior commitment to ~~the~~ of early leadership prevented the rise of religious politics.

In the post-1967 democratic upsurge, religion started becoming an important part of electoral discourse. In 1980s, rise of caste became the basis of the rise of politics of religion. In the 1980s, rise of BJP and double appeasement policy of Rajiv Gandhi led Congress government further complemented the rise of religion in electoral arena.



However, Christopher Jefferiot argues that if it is only in the 1990s in the backdrop of rise of 2M-market and Mandal, that we see the rising centrality of Third-M in Mandir in Indian politics. Since then it has become the idiom of Indian politics.

In a recent study of electoral behaviour in India, Abhijit Mukherji and Thomas Piketty argue that the electoral politics in India is played around the cleavage of sectarian religious and cultural conflict rather than on the basis of developmental performance of the encumbent political party.

encountered political party.  
Evidently religion has become a  
political mobilization  
force in the contemporary world.  
Recent rise of AIMIM affirms this  
trend.  
Religious parties  
of Islam  
Remarks

According to Environment movement, it emerged in the backdrop of India's unrestrained developmental process that resulted in the deterioration of general environment.

Ramchandra Guha first enumerates at least five ideological strands in Indian environmentalism. They are as following:

- (i) Ecological marxists: This strand believes that environment exploitation is the result of unrestrained capitalist development process that benefits only the rich and poor suffer due to ill effects of polluted environment.
- (ii) Cruising Gandhians: This strand of the environmental movement sees the evil of industrialisation as responsible for destruction of ecology and environment.
- (iii) Wilderness enthusiasts: This strand sees current development process as interfering with the natural environment which is causing the wilderness of nature.

④ Professional management: A large chunk of environmentalism is guided by the professional non-governmental organisations who see the promotion of environmental conservation as their goal for better human lives.

⑤ Deep ecologists: This strand of environmental movement sees the anthropocentric worldviews as responsible for the continuous degradation of environment. They call for treating nature as equal and as an end in itself.

~~In addition to these trends, new environmentalism has emerged as a new trend which calls for democracy in the treatment of nature.~~

~~These movements for certain groups with common interests have emerged in recent years.~~

~~Emergence of movements for certain groups with common interests have emerged in recent years.~~

Women's movement in India developed during the Indian freedom movement and continued to focus on the cause of women in the post-independence era as well.

In the 1980s and 1990s, the dalit democratic upsurge also infiltrated the women's movement and since then the 'identity politics' on the basis of caste has engulfed the women's movement.

In India, various new organisations such as Dalit mobile Advisor March and literacy organisations such as Mawchi, Saheli etc. started opposing the 'Brahminism' of women's movement and gave call to democratize women's movement. They also gave call to celebrate the day of burning of mansmotti by Ambedkar as the 'Day of liberation'.

In the political sense the dalit question figured prominently in the

demand for the reservations for women  
in parliament and state assembly.  
The issue of 'Quota within Quota' has  
the distinct mark of dalit politics in  
women's movement. Dalit women argue that  
inequalities between dalit and upper caste  
women should be taken into account  
~~while deciding the agenda. They~~  
~~Code for diversity without divisiveness.~~

~~the right of~~  
~~standpoint~~  
~~feminist~~  
~~this~~  
~~new relative~~  
~~mainstream~~

Green revolution refers to the technological revolution of food grain production in India due to the use of hybrid seeds mostly after 1970s.

Green revolution brought many benefits for the country in the short term. It resulted in the sufficiency of food grains availability in the country and thus promoted food sovereignty and food security from western countries. Over time, green revolution polarized political speaking, green revolution polarized the agrarian class enough susbs to organize politically in the form of new political parties. According to Christopher Jeffcott, green revolution was the major reason for the rise of DBS in the 1990s. Rudolph and Rudolph term it the 'rise of bullock-cart capitalists' in Indian politics.

Despite the rising productivity and deepening of democracy, green revolution left multiple adverse effects on Indian

The disparities between the small and marginal farmers and big farmers in areas of Haryana and Punjab. This is still visible in terms of support and opposition to recent farm bills or P

Similarly it have had large scale adverse impacts on the ecology and soil properties and resulted in salinization of soil and water stress in these reasons. These adverse effects are the driving factors of current agrarian stress in India.

~~The various issues~~ Evidently there revolution while providing short-term gains left long term problems for the country -

~~Corruption /~~ ~~Problems in~~

~~Remarks in~~

Answer the following questions:

Q1. How did political development due to working of coalition politics have had deep influence on the course of constitutional development and working of constitutional agencies. In this regard, Discuss the impact of Coalition politics on the working of the constitution. (300 Words) (25)

Q2. It highlights the reason for the Lower Representation of women in Parliament. What could be the reasons for the recent upsurge of women's participation as voters in general elections since 90s? (300 Words) (25)

According to Riker, Coalition governments are the inevitable off result of parliamentary democracy in diverse countries. In India, coalition politics showed itself in the post-congress system period.

In the first coalition government at centre came up in 1977 against the despotic leadership of Indira Gandhi in the Congress party. It became commonplace in the 1990s due to the regionalization of polities and two democratic upsurges among OBCs and dalits.

Coalition politics have had a significant impact on the working of constitution in Indian polity. According to Prof. M.P. Singh, Indian polity is a unique blend of federalism, parliamentary politics and coalition politics even though the

relation between parliamentary axis and the federal axis underwent important change, now federal axis became the dominant characteristic of polity. It was evident from rising say of states in areas such as foreign policy, fiscal distribution and planning.

Another trend is pointed out by Prof. Visayut Chakrabarty who argues that during the era of coalitions, the institution of prime minister lost much of its power to cabinet. In the coalition governments prime minister became a nominal figure and cabinet ministers wielded significant power as per the party influence in coalitions.

Rudolph and Rudolph point out that the era of coalitions resulted in increased scope for the discretion of president as evident from the actions of president K.R. Narayanan and APJ Abdul Kalam. Institutions such as Election Commission gained

significant importance during this period under the leadership of T.W. Stevens and later M.S. Will.

Judiciary also ventured into the path of activism due to the policy paralysis caused by fractured governments and continued political instability caused by defections. In this period judiciary assumed regulatory role over agencies such as CBI (Gyan Nathwala case).

Another effect of coalition culture in India was the rise of two adverse trends. firstly the criminalisation of politics and secondly the entrenchment of defection culture i.e. Gya Ram Gaya Ram in the political system.

~~This it is evident that coalition politics significantly impacted the functioning and outcome of elections with changes in the composition of government often being the catalyst for the formation of coalitions and the formation of new parties to shape India's political landscape.~~

(B)

In the recently concluded Lok Sabha elections women candidates who constituted 14.4% of the total winning members of the parliament in India. This has brought into focus the question of inadequate representation and participation of women in politics. Multiple reasons account for the same. Firstly, historically women representation was low in parliament. In the first Lok Sabha only 4.4% members were women. This trend continued till 1990s. Secondly, the patriarchal mindsets in Indian households prevent the meaningful participation of women in the electoral politics. Thirdly, electoral politics in India since 1970s have been dominated by criminal elements as registered in the book titled "When crime pays" by Milan Vaishnav. Criminalisation of politics continues to be a major reason for low women participation in politics. In the current Lok Sabha, more than 33% members have criminal background.

Remarks

Remarks

fourthly lack of awareness and lower literacy rates among women became a major impediment in the way of their effective participation in politics.

In addition to these factors, the lack of any institutionalized support for women's participation in politics has hindered the productive participation of women in politics.

Since 1990s, women's representation in politics and parliament is increasing steadily. It has increased from 5.4% in 1990 to 14.4% in 2019. Multiple reasons account for rising ~~decreasing~~ participation of women in politics.

firstly the affirmative action policies envisaged in the local government by the 73rd constitutional amendment Act has promoted the participation of women in local government. This has resulted in growing awareness about politics and rising pool of political leadership among women that can be utilized by political

Parties at the central and state level.  
Secondly, the post-1990 period saw  
Judicial activism and civil society activism  
that promoted women participation and  
discouraged 'crimino' element from  
participating in politics i.e. The Lily  
Thejas case.  
electoral reforms and  
constitutional reforms.

pass up  
Theresa Rose:  
Thirdly the electoral reforms and  
greater push for internal democracy  
in the parties by the Elections  
commission was ~~the~~ aimed at  
membership of women.

~~in growing~~ in ~~with~~ ~~politic~~ ~~of~~ ~~debate~~ ~~creati~~  
~~in politic~~ ~~of~~ ~~parties~~ ~~given greater~~  
~~in politic~~ ~~of~~ ~~technology~~ ~~more~~ ~~and~~  
~~in politic~~ ~~of~~ ~~media~~ ~~participation~~  
~~in politic~~ ~~of~~ ~~women's~~ ~~participation~~  
~~in politic~~ ~~of~~ ~~for~~ ~~representation~~ ~~in~~ ~~politics~~  
~~in politic~~ ~~of~~ ~~for~~ ~~but~~ ~~treating~~ ~~in~~ ~~politics~~  
~~in politic~~ ~~of~~ ~~for~~ ~~reservatio~~ ~~in~~ ~~politics~~  
~~in politic~~ ~~of~~ ~~for~~ ~~total~~ ~~but~~ ~~treat~~ ~~in~~ ~~politics~~  
~~in politic~~ ~~of~~ ~~for~~ ~~surge~~ ~~in~~ ~~politics~~  
~~in politic~~ ~~of~~ ~~for~~ ~~expansion~~ ~~in~~ ~~politics~~

3. Answer the following questions:

- (a) Governor has been described as the lynchpin of the constitutional apparatus of the State having key role in Union-State relations. Examine. (300 Words) (25)
- (b) Changing socio-economic profile of Legislators and its impact on functioning of Parliament. (300 Words) (25)

Ans

Ques  
Ans Article 153 of the Constitution of India provides for the institution of Governor in each state. Governor has been envisaged as the head of executive at state level and the agent of federal polity.

Role of Governor in federal polity is that firstly it represents the union in the state and secondly as a head of state at provincial level, it signifies the separate existence of the provincial tier in federal polity.

~~Govt. performs legislative, executive and judicial functions. All powers become legislative only after the assent of the Governor. However, all executive actions are taken in this name. Governor also acts as a tribunal while deciding the~~

Remarks

disqualification cases of the members of assembly.

In the context of union-state relations, Governor uses his discretion to make sure that the actions of the state are in accordance with the federal scheme of constitution. Governor can reserve a bill for the assent of president under article 200 if he believes the interests of union are involved.

Similarly, Governor assumes significant role in the circumstance of president's rule. It can be promulgated only after the report of Governor that the administration of state is not being carried out in accordance with constitution.

Due to this dual role, the institution of governor has been criticised time and again by various stakeholders. It is criticised by the state governments for working as agent of central government and using discretion of reserving bills.

Remarks

for presidential assent on the basis of political considerations. In Raghavan vs. Hangobika case, the supreme court held that governor working on discretion on the direction of centre goes against the constitutional scheme.

Governors have also been criticized for unsubstantiated partisan reports for the imposition of presidential rule under Article 356. In L.R. Bommai case (1992) the supreme court held that ~~a mere~~ maladministration and corruption can not be sufficient warrant for the promulgation of article 356.

In addition to these problems, other bones of contention between states and union are the appointment ~~coffers~~ of governor, lack of securty or tenure and role of governor during hung assemblies.

In Shamsher Singh Case, it is held that governor and president are nominal executive and should work as per the advice of council of ministers only.

(B)

The socio-economic profile of the parliament has been changing since the first Lok Sabha elections. In the first Lok Sabha lawyers constituted the majority of the members; while in the present Lok Sabha farmers constitute the largest group of members.

In the recent decades the profile of membership has been changing significantly. ~~for the social and caste composition of~~ The Lok Sabha have changed from the favour of upper classes in first Lok Sabha to the dominance of OBCs by 2004. In the 2004 Lok Sabha, OBCs constituted 22% of members while upper caste members constituted 40% of the membership.

In the recent Lok Sabha election Brahmins constitute the major caste group while OBC representation has stagnated around 20%.

In terms of class composition, the profile of members is showing the dominance of capital with more than 70% members having assets

Remarks:

In the tune of millions and billions.  
Educational profile of President Loksabha has seen the dip in number of graduates in comparison to the previous Lok Sabha.

Criminal profile of the Lok Sabha shows trend of criminalisation of politics.

Rising TNA Lok Sabha have 2x more criminals than the last Lok Sabha.

Gender profile of the Lok Sabha did not see much fluctuation between 1980-1990, the share of women MPs remained stagnant at 5% around. However post 1990s the number of women MPs has been rising. In this Lok Sabha 14.4% of MPs are women as compared to 11% in last Lok Sabha.

Impact on functioning of parliament

It is resulting in the growing street politics in parliament. Criminalization of politics is causing the deterioration of the level of debates. Rising number of women MPs in parliament have resulted in greater visibility of

gender agenda in the agenda of working of parliament.

Rising capitalist interest in the parliament is own their own legislator of changing the parliament profile of.

However the recent farmers protest against farmer bills show that changing farmer composition of the parliament has not meant greater representation of their voices.

~~This may not be visible. Thus any form of impact effect may not be direct. The 16th & 17th Dr Parliament may not be functioning of political currency. Our explanation with examples of explain f~~

## SECTION-B

Attempt all questions:  
Answer the following questions in about 150 words each:

5. Social media as a political communication platform. Discuss. (12.5 × 4 = 50)
- (a) Caste as the determining factor in Indian politics. Comment.
  - (b) Discuss Voting behaviour and Determinants of voting Behaviour in India.
  - (c) The 'Nehruvian Consensus' was mix of principle and pragmatism. Substantiate with examples

(a) Social media has emerged as a popular medium of expression in the recent years. It has become the dominant mode of Government - people communication. Growing importance of social media is due to its last mile reach and speed of communication. This has also resulted in social media becoming the arena of politics. It is evident from the rising profile of social media as election campaigning medium. All major political party announce their views on various significant issues to influence the electorate in their favour.

Social media has also given new forms to the politics of resistance.

Various new social movements are rising in social media only for example the anti-discriminatory black lives matter movement or the #metoo movement that gave new lease of life to the cause of gender justice.

The notinmyname protest over minority rights and dalit rights is another manifestation of how the social media has dominated the political communication in the recent times.

However it also brings peculiar challenges like confrontation of many due to prevailing digital divide and rising political attempts to control social media.

~~Social media  
at the service  
of power  
or manipulation~~

Remarks

(B) Caste is the basis of social stratification in Indian politics. And as a popular medium of public mobilization it has come to dominate the totality of Indian politics.

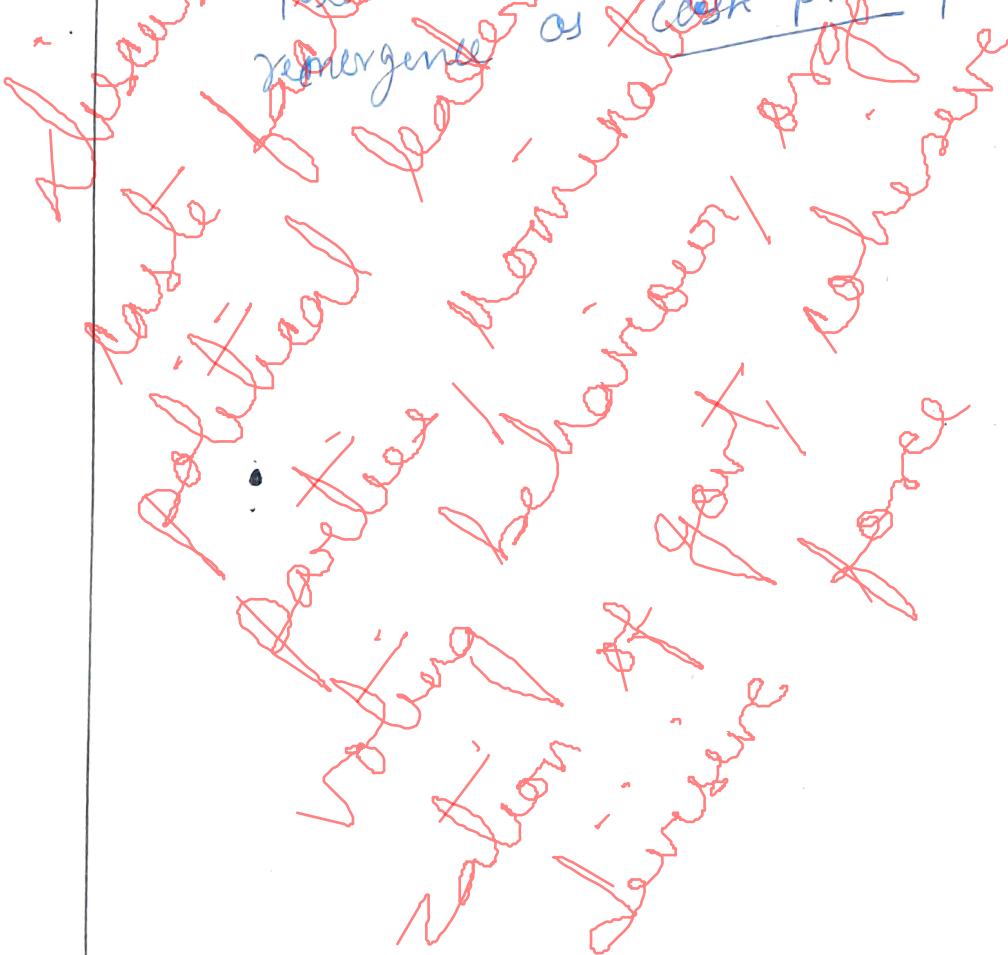
According to Rajni Kothari, politics as a competitive enterprise calls for mobilisation of people around various cleavages like inequality, injustice, lack of development etc. Caste provided an overriding mechanism for large scale mobilisation of people. This has also resulted in the ~~masses~~ mobilisation of caste.

Yogendra Yadav and Sikhs pointed out that the caste politics and democratic upsurge of OBCs and dalits as the reason for the decline of Congress system and rise of regional parties.

Christopher Jeffreys argued that the linguistic organization entrenched the caste politics in India as it was guided by the interest of dominant castes like Reddys and Lingayats.

Since 1990s the politics of India has witnessed the rise of economic pressure groups and thus the influence of caste groups started declining. In the recent Lok Sabha elections, it was said that the politics of development has overshadowed the politics of caste.

The argument is refuted by scholars like Yogendra Yadav who argue rather than the elimination of caste politics, current politics shows its resurgence as caste plus politics.



voting behaviour refers to the choices of electorates and the underlying explanations for the same. The study of electoral behaviour in politics was pioneered by behavioural revolution in political science. It seeks to explain "why people choose, what they chose in the political marketplace".

### Determinants of voting behaviour:

Sociologists scholars believe that identify issues including caste, religion and ethnicity shape the voting behaviour of Indian public. Rajni Kothari in his book "Caste and Politics in India" shows how caste became the mosaic of Indian polity. Caste based seat distribution and caste based parties are the evidence of caste in determining electoral behaviour in India. It is famously said that "people in India do not cast their votes, they vote their caste".

Similarly Christopher Jeffreys shows in his 'Saffron wave' that policies of

mandal and Kamandal (Religion) shapes the political behaviour of Indian electorates. Ashutosh Varshney argue that the economic patronage and distribution of basic goods have shaped the voting behaviour of Indian people since 2010. It became more visible after the back to back victory of BJP in 2014 and 2019.

In the recent years political campaign based on social media outreach has also impacted the political behaviour shown by Indian public.

Evidently electoral behaviour can not be explained by single factor, it is the result of the collision between various issues at the same time.

~~Electoral behaviour is determined by various factors at the same time.~~

Remarks

(D) Nehruvian Consensus refers to the blend of social, economic and political programs that were envisaged during the post-independence years of Indian polity. Nehruvian Consensus was based on following features:

- (i) strong central government in the political sphere balancing the interest of freedom, social upliftment and national unity.
- (ii) centralised planning led by the Planning Commission for the development of economy.
- (iii) mixed economy model populated by large public sector and developing private sector for the provision of basic public goods.
- (iv) secularism and democratic basis of society as the basis of social development.
- (v) Non-alignment, strategic autonomy and ~~independent~~ leadership of third world in the foreign policy arena to pursue the goals enshrined in Article 51 of the constitution.

These policies were based on both the normative considerations and the empirical necessities of the Republic while showing the normative preference for centralised socialist model also showed the necessity of promoting equitable growth and pursuing the agenda of poverty orientation.

Similarly, non-alignment while being guided by the values of peace and non-violence, was also guided by the considerations of protecting fragile borders and pursuing independent foreign policy. Secularism in society while being guided by the liberal influence on his personality was also appropriate that just emerged from the ~~war~~ communal violence of partition.

~~Political~~ ~~Religious~~ ~~National~~ ~~Secular~~ ~~Non-~~ ~~aligned~~ ~~Left~~ ~~Right~~ ~~Challenges~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~country~~

The Nehruvian consensus was a robust mix of idealism and pragmatism appropriate for the prevailing challenges in the country.

Remarks

Answer the following questions:

- (a) India's policies towards fiscal federalism favours the power structure to be tilted towards the centre. Comment. (300 Words) (25)
- (b) Discuss the various types of states control over PRIs in India. Also give suggestions to make decentralized governance more effective, responsive, and accountable. (300 Words) (25)

Fiscal federalism focuses on the question of distribution of financial resources and burdens between the two tiers in the federal polity.

In the Indian federal scheme, centre has been entrusted with disproportionate share of resources due to its special responsibilities related to national security, national development and foreign relations.

Answer the following questions:

- (a) What do you understand by the term Identity Politics? Discuss its positive impact on democracies like India. (300 Words) (25)
- (b) Even though, women are participating in electoral politics in India, there are several qualitative ways in which they are politically excluded. Comment. (300 Words) (25)

(a) Identity politics refers to the phenomenon of issues like language, caste, religion taking central stage in politics. Identity politics is usually contrasted with the politics of development to show the proximity to long identity as against the concern for economic patronage or, development opportunities created by the political regime.

In India identity politics emerged in the immediate aftermath of independence when the linguistic constituencies in the southern states started demanding the linguistic reorganization of state. Within few years of the beginning of electoral politics the concern of caste identity took over the politics of India.

Maya Chakraborty points out that the ethnicity based movements in North-East and the resultant politics was the reason of second federal reorganization of the country when the state of Assam

Remarks

was divided into sister North East states.

In his book "Caste and Politics in India" Rajni Kothari points out that identity politics based on caste was the major factor of early consolidation of democracy in India. Western Thinkers like Heribert Seelig believed that 1950-60s were the dangerous decades for Indian democracy, it could have dissolved under the pressure of diversity. However it continues to survive. Rajni Kothari argued that identity politics allowed the addressing of various conflictive cleavages in Indian democracy thus strengthened it.

Rudolph and Rudolph argue that identity politics based on language and resultant linguistic reorganization was the result of dominant caste elite pushing for recognition. It created elite-consensus for democracy in India and that was beneficial for deepening of democracy.

Maya Chakrabarty argues that the ethnicity politics and its accommodation through various means resulted in the preservation of unity and

integrity of India. By addressing these weaknesses of Indian polity politics contributed significantly to development of democracy in India. However it has also resulted in some adverse effects such as subversion or development of ~~concern~~<sup>of poor</sup>; ~~and~~<sup>vote-bank</sup> rise of ~~communal~~<sup>elements</sup> and political parties in India.

rise of  
politics in  
India  
disrupts  
communal  
feelings  
political  
parties  
heighten  
necessarily  
may  
present

(B) Women are becoming the active participants in politics in India. In the national movements, women participated actively in opposing the colonial enslavement of the country.

In the post-independence period, Universal adult franchise and regime of equal fundamental rights was envisaged to provide equal avenues for women's participation in India. However, the participation of women in electoral politics remained limited. It was evident from more 4% representation of women in parliament in 1950, which remained stagnant to 5% until 1990s.

In the 1990s, 73rd amendment provided reserved seats for women in the panchayati raj institutions. This has resulted in their increased participation in local politics and has also spilled over to the national and state politics as evident from the continuously rising representation of women in

parliament which has resulted to 14.4% in the 2019 Lok Sabha elections.

Rising literacy, increasing economic autonomy and rising civil society activity has furthered the cause of women's active participation in politics.

However ~~despite~~, the level of participation is still limited as compared to their male counterparts. Various factors are responsible for this. Qualitative participation in politics. While women are at the forefront of voting, women issues do not form the agenda of electoral politics in India.

Although, Panne妖ti Ray has provided institutionalized support for women's participation, the phenomenon of gapsachi pati has ensured that women continue to be excluded from the corridors of power. ~~As~~

The number of women MP is rising but this has not meant that they have more power, it has not translated into more ministerial berths for women.

These trends in women's participation in politics are the result of factors like deep rooted patriarchy that prevents them from participating as independent agents. Lack of awareness, bureaucratization and criminalisation are the other reasons for limited activity.

Promoting women's education, capacity building and electoral reforms are the necessary first steps that must be taken to promote the participation of women in politics.

participation / women  
with disabilities / some  
underprivileged / best  
dogged / for years  
active participation /  
empowerment / female

## Remarks