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SHREYA SINGHAL

RANK - 176

**POLITICAL SCIENCE
TEST - 5**



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TEST 5

**Enter number
of question**

~~Name :~~ SHREYA SINGHAL

~~Model No.~~

~~Date~~

Remarks

Roll No:-

Name _____

Roll No. - _____

Some general points are missing in your answer. Support your answer with sufficient details from your comments. Make sure to explain the important theories relevant with the question.

प्रान की संताना
दीनिर

प्रानियों के अस्ति-
तमिक में वर्णन
प्रानियों का वर्णन

① (a) Religion has always been a part and parcel of Indian politics, both in pre-independence and post-independence times.

Electoral function of religion in post Independent

India :-

2) According to Rajni Kothari, ethnic factors such as religion, caste etc. provided a basis for mobilisation of masses.

It acted as a source of common
identity and consciousness. Eg: mobilisation
of middle class Hindus under RJP.

2) Religious pressure groups performed the task of interest aggregation (Almond & Powell), ~~for~~ pressuring state to fulfil their demands. Eg: Muslim groups protested against the Shah Bano

⁽¹⁹⁹²⁾
judgement which led to enactment of

The Muslim Women (Protection of Right on ~~Marriage~~ Divorce Act) nullifying the judgement

However, religion in politics, called communalism has led India to "dangerous decades" (Selig Harrison). Since it relies on identity politics, communalism is exclusivist, anti-development and uncontrollable. Paul Brass decries the vast political machinery that goes behind the pogrom of communal riots. See not the falling of Babri Masjid in 1992 followed by Bombay riots, ⁽²⁰⁰²⁾ Gujarat riots, Muzaffarnagar riots (2013) etc show the deleterious impact of religion in Indian politics;

This Ramilla Shapoo rightly points out the need for a stronger theory of secularism to root out evil of communalism.

(b) In his book, "Unquiet Woods", Ramachandra Guha calls India a "basket case" of all environmental tragedies.

Indian environmental movements has evolved over time, in their strategy and means. R. Guha points to the three Ideological trends in Indian environmentalism:

① Crusading Gandhians - who advocate Gandhian model of khadi-ashoka economy as well as peaceful protest to highlight their concerns. Sunder Lal Bahuguna & Chandi Prasad Bhatt who led the Chipko movement in Gangetic Himalayas (1972) fall in this category.

② Better Technology advocates - who understand the importance of scientific development but propose it to be done in



A sustainable manner that does not harm the environment. This can be achieved by adoption of clean technology, renewable energy, efficient machines etc.

Eg: environmentalists at TERI.

(3) Ecological Marxists - who see critical connection behind subjugation of lower class and destruction of environment. Thus they advocate a people-led, people-owned and people-controlled development movement which can be made possible in Morris utopia or communist society.

Acc to Sunita Narayan, Indian environmental movements are based on shallow conservatism rather than deep conservatism. There is a need for New environmentalism rooted in democracy, that accept ideas without dogmas, idealism that is practical.

(c) Social Movements aim to achieve a desired social order through means of collective action.

Candidates
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The Dalit Question in India:-

Dalits constitute the most backward socio-economic class in India, historically.

With the efforts of B. R. Ambedkar, Indian constitution provided explicit provisions for prohibition of untouchability (Art 17) and affirmative actions for the upliftment of Dalits (Art 46, Art 338 etc)

However, Pratap Bhane Mehta points towards the 'New Dalit Challenge'.

Dalits are no longer satisfied by constitutional recognition or symbolic gestures but demand radical changes. Recent ~~day~~ incidents such as Bhima Koregaon conflict, protests in

Delhi over jailing of Ravidas Singh are reflection of frustration among Dalits and

points towards emergence of radical
sati leader like Chandrasekhar Azad.

Women's Movement in India :-

Pre-independence, women's movements in India were led by minority men like Ram Mohan Roy (Brahmo Samaj) and aimed at eradicating evils of Sati, child marriage, prohibition on widow remarriage etc.

Post independence, women's movement gained momentum after the 1974 Towards Equality report. It focused on women's education, end to gender violence, dowry deaths, Maitriya rape case etc. SEWA (1972) emphasised on economic empowerment while Maglis (1990) focused on legal answers.

However, as per Madhu Kishwar, women movements got divided on basis of caste, religion etc. and could not achieve anything tangible rather bizarre pieces of legislation.

1. (d) Green Revolution (1965-1980s)

was aimed at achieving self sufficiency in foodgrains, increase agricultural productivity and alleviate rural poverty.

Green Revolution, led by scientists like M.S. Swaminathan emphasised on use of high yield variety seeds, irrigation and fertilisers. It successfully accelerated agricultural growth to 3.5-4.1% pa and fulfilled the goal of self sufficiency in food. India was even able to export grains due to surplus production. Further, according to G.S. Bhalla, it increased rural incomes 4 times and created employment opportunity for large number of youth.

However, Green Revolution did not prove to be a sustainable model. It exacerbated income ~~and~~ inequalities between

large farmers (₹ 40,000/month) and
marginal & small farmers (₹ 4000-5000/month)

It led to massive usual indebtedness as it required costly inputs. This further reversed the process of land reforms with poor farmers ~~too~~ mortgaging their lands to pay off debts.

Brother Vandana Shiva in 'Violence of Green Revolution' points towards the how the capital intensive model has disrupted the ecological stability and life support systems in areas like Punjab, West UP etc.

Moreover, it led to emergence of migrant labour phenomenon which ended traditional relationship between zamindars & land labour.

Thus, as MS Swaminathan points, we need an Evergreen revolution that boosts agricultural productivity without destroying the environment.

③ (a) ~~Laws~~ Indian Constitution, adopted the office of Governor from the 1935 Government of India Act. Following the Canadian model, the Governor is appointed by the President (Union Executive)

Governor, in India has to play dual role. He not only exercises the executive power of state (Art 153) but also acts as "bridge" between Union and state.

The Governor plays critical role in coordination between Union and state executive. E.g. He has power to reserve state bills for presidential assent. This ensures uniformity in legal apparatus and upholds constitutional values.

Governor under Art 356 can also send a report to President and

recommend presidential rule in case
of breakdown of constitutional machinery
by state.

Moreover, Governor appoints
members of lower judiciary, state human
rights commission, state information
ministers commissioners etc. thus playing
key role to put constitutional apparatus
in place.

However, Governor's role has
been under much criticism owing to
non-neutrality and political interference.
Paul Briss calls Governor as 'long arms' of
the centre'.

Much of the criticism is due to
arbitrary usage of discretionary powers.

E.g.: same bill for one state is reserved
for Presidential assent while ^{passed} for ~~other~~ other.

This leads to legislative delays and policy paralysis.

Further, the use of Art 356 as "political weapon" is most confused.

There is no definitive meaning of "breakdown of constitutional machinery".

which leads to arbitrary imposition of Art 356 and suspension of elected state governments. It has led to deinstitutionalisation of democracy, seen in Punjab,

Kashmir etc. Neither the reports sent by

Governor made public nor state government is allowed to move majority at the floor

of house. Recently, in Nabaneeta Tuki case,

Supreme Court reinstated elected government in Uttarakhand pradesh (2010) for first time.

There are also incidents of Governor not following the constitutional

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With extensive
critical comments
example
use of George
Washington's
Providence
Propositions
by states
Commission
Report of
Statutory
Committee

सुनीदवारों को
हाथिर में नहीं
शिक्षा याहिए

Mandate as SLP in ~~federal~~ Rajasthan
where the Governor refused to summon
assembly session despite recommendation
of the Council of Ministers (2020). We
also see rise in interference in daily
operations and public criticism of government
by Governor (W.Bengal, 2020)

As pointed by Supreme Court in
Shamsher Singh Bahadur case, governor is
not mere an agent of centre, but an
independent "constitutional authority" at par
with President. Thus, there is urgent
need to implement recommendations of
Punjab and Sankaria committee on
appointment of governors via inter-state council
etc. It is only then, Governors can
play detached role, exercise an all-
pervasive moral influence (Gandhi, in Haryana)

3 (b) Parliament is a reflection of the Indian society. Thus, its composition and profile of legislators is key to assess the nature of our political society.

changing socio-economic profile of legislators in 17th Lok Sabha -

The ADR report points towards following trends -

1) Change in demography - more number of MPs below 40 years of age, lesser above 70 years.

2) Maturity factor - significant rise in number of MPs re-elected, decline in first timers

3) Educational profile - 75% graduates (stagnant)

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Discuss &
explain the
different
ages/ impact
of functioning
of Parliament
with respect
to recent
concerns

4) Occupation profile - Social activists
continue to dominate (40%), followed
by agriculture farmers and business
men

5) Women representation - at 14%,
highest in any Lok Sabha till now.

6) Criminalisation of politics - On an
increasing trend; rose from 34%
in 16th Lok Sabha to 43% in present
Lok Sabha.

Impact of changing profile on functioning
of Parliament :-

The trend signals slight increase
in youth entering politics, a positive
symbol for deepening of democracy. The
rise in women representation is also a
welcome trend. Though shot of 33%

representation, it would lead to greater gender inclusivity and gender diversification of parliamentary procedures.

However, the continued criminalisation of politics has made parliament a "self perpetuating" organisation. When law breakers become law makers, it does not only adversely impact the quality of legislative process but also leads to erosion of legitimacy of the institution leading to "legitimacy crisis" (Hareidas). It has led to parliamentary decline, judicial activism, ~~orational~~ rise in delegated legislation and ordinary votes.

Thus, it becomes a matter of pertinent importance that electoral reforms, combined with judicial reforms as per Dinesh Goswami, Indrajit Gupta, committee, 2nd ARC are carried out.

Zeller ~~guttmann~~
et ~~guttmann~~

5)

(a) With the advent of information and communication technology, Social media has become a prominent tool of political communication.

Given the huge popularity of Social media platforms (fb, twitter) ^(fb, twitter) among youths, it provides a cheaper and more accessible medium for parties to connect with public. There is an increasing trend ^{among} political leaders to disseminate their political agendas via Social media platforms. E.g:

NYAY scheme of INC.

Moreover, Social media platforms have emerged as popular platforms for public to discuss and debate political issues, leading to greater political awareness and consciousness among public. It is also used as medium for political fundraising.

The
disrupt
social media
the
formation
of opinion / with
social media
example
manipulation

However, social media often creates conducive situation for political manipulation. In absence of a regulator, it provides platform for circulation of fake news, propagation of hate against the opposition and manipulation of voters. The Cambridge Atlantic Scam is apt example. In India, social media falls outside the ambit of RPA 1951, resulting in huge challenge for conduct of free & fair elections. Moreover, use of social media has transformed political parties from "law makers" to "PR agencies".

Thus social media is a double edged tool. It requires progressive regulation to balance free speech as well as ensure fairness in political processes.

5) (b)

Christophe Jaffrelot believe

that caste forms the "mosaic" of Indian politics. Indians do not caste their vote but vote their caste.

Role of caste in Indian politics :-

① Basis for mobilisation of people -

provides sense of common identity.

e.g: RJD in Bihar

② Force of integration - forms basis of

coalition politics, seen in AJGAJ

coalition by Sir Chhotu Ram

③ Raise consciousness among lower

castes - E.g: coming out of OBCs
and scheduled castes from Congress in
1967 and 1991 respectively.

Rajni Kothari considers the

role of caste in Indian politics as positive and beneficial. According to him, had it not been for caste, Indian democracy would have gone the way of other third world countries.

Yogendra Yadav also calls coming out of RSS and SCG as "democratic upsurges".

However, CP Bhonsle believes that caste politics leads to communal politics in long term and hence not conducive for democracy.

Sudhir Bedi even highlights the declining role of Ashutosh Varshney. He also believes that Indian democracy has not done well between elections. Caste politics has not changed power distribution.

Nevertheless, caste remains to be an enduring factor in Indian politics.

General

Q) Indian elections see the one of
the largest turnout of voters, anywhere
in the world with an average of
more than 60%.

Candidates
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Voting Behaviour in India:-

- 1) No difference in voting for ~~the rural~~
and urban, men and women
- 2) Anti-incumbency not a major factor
- 3) Higher turnout among economically
lower classes from well off sections

Determinants of voting behaviour in India:-

Mukulika Banerjee in her Survey

'why India votes' found some
determinants of voting behaviour. High
turnout owed to people's perception ~~that~~
of

elections as "lower inversion". It gives

समीक्षार्थों को इस
प्रणाली में नहीं
सिरुता बातिए

Enter number
of question

~~Discuss the views cause explained~~
A chance to assert citizenship rights
and take "revenge". Some voters people
also vote to support a fellow caste
member as well as respect work of
Election commission.

Yogendra Yadav highlights that
voting behaviour has moved from identity
politics to identity plus politics. Voters
do not only see caste / religion but also
look for developmental agenda.

Moreover, poors are far more
strategic voters, given their huge
dependence on state. The success of
Indian democracy can be attributed to
the great common sense shown by the
Indian poors.

5) (d)

The 'Nehruvian consensus'

refers to the accommodative, inclusive and Centrist agenda followed by Indian National Congress in post Independence politics.

Nehruvian consensus was strongly rooted in democratic institutions and freedom of speech and expression. It is evident in way multi-party democracy was ensured by Nehru. It also emphasized on policy of secularism and protection of minorities to ensure cultural nationalisation. See Non Alignment.

Agenda was another feature that highlighted adherence to principle of territorial sovereignty and autonomy in its foreign policy.

- Nehruvian Onshades was also based on practical calculations. The 1st Constitutional amendment Act that brought 9th schedule to shield land reforms from judicial intervention is a reflection of pragmatism. Further, Indian model of Indian secularism as enunciates distance also shows realistic assessment. despite a proponent of socialist economy, Nehru kept DPSUs in Part IV due to economic poli situation of those times. NAM was also a pragmatic policy given the bipolarity and geo-political situation of India.

~~with different
governmental
economic
socialistic
pattern of
society
agrarian
vision of
democracy~~

(b) The 73rd amendment Act ~~introduced~~
provided constitutional recognition to
Panchayati Raj institutions (PRIs), as a
means to attain democratic decentralisation
as envisaged by Gandhi.

Part IX of the constitution
which deals with PRIs provides provisions
on devolution of functions, constitution
of Gram Sabha, state finance commission,
three tier panchayati raj body etc. However,
panchayats continue to be overstructured
and under empowered (MS Aiyar committee)

Though the act provides for a
three tier structure, it does not clearly
delineate the functions of each level. There
is also no specific functions assigned
to gram sabha as done in PESA Act.

The State election commission is not as

autonomous as the Election commission

India. Moreover, panchayats are dissolved without any specific reasons.

State finance commission lacks adequate expertise and its reports are not even tasted by the state legislature.

Moreover, none of the state has devolved all the 29 subjects of the 11th schedule to the panchayats. This results in poor financial capacity, lack of adequate powers to ensure rural development. This is further compounded by low capacity of officemates to collect taxes even for ~~as~~ sectors allocated (ESI 2017-18). This has led to emergence of parallel agencies like Special private vehicles & Ngo's who further reduce the role of elected panchayats in rural planning.

Thus despite constitutional mandate, Panchayati Raj has not been able to accelerate rural growth in India.

There is an argument that MoP Panchayati Raj should be made as a department of Mo Rural Development. This would foster greater coordination, holistic policy making and efficient utilisation of resources. Since both ministries engage in economic policy making for rural areas, it would improve policy formulation and implementation by panchayat members. Moreover, it would also enable feedback from office holders and promote bottom up planning.

However, such an action can prove a disaster for the third tier of federalism of India. The idea behind

a separate Ministry of Panchayati Raj
was to institutionalise decentralised
democracy in the country. As pointed
by MS Aiyar's committee, 2nd ARC report,
present PRI system is far from perfect.
Thus, undermining of the separate ministry
under rural development may exacerbate
the challenges faced by the PRIs rather
than solving them.

In the near future, as
suggested by MS Aiyar committee steps
such as appointment of Panchayat
Ombudsman, Model Code of conduct for
disclosure and activity mapping based
on subsidiarity principle should be done.
Rajiv Gandhi Commission recommendations
of reconstituting State Legislative Councils as
Council for PRIs and urban local bodies should
be considered.

6. (b) Ricker defines coalition as 'power sharing arrangement'. Further, according to Christophe Jaffrelot, India is a "coalition country".

Post the breakdown of Congress in 1967 and further in 1989, coalition became a common feature at state and centre respectively. Its impact on Indian politics has been more adverse than good.

Coalition politics represented "fractured verdicts", giving a huge bargaining power to smaller parties. It led to weakening of the position of PM, seen as those were not one PM but many PMs. Further, coalitions in India are "office-oriented" rather than "ideology oriented". In absence of ideological convergence,

negative coalitions came into being which dissolved as soon as it formed. The Third front is an apt example.

Coalition politics accentuated the role of caste in politics as regional parties were mostly caste based. It lead to "Mandalisation of politics", demands for reservations etc.

Further, coalition also promoted defections, strengthening role of money and muscle power. It lead to criminalisation of politics, policy paralysis and decline of the parliament. It even had adverse consequences for Indian foreign policy seen in 2008 Civil Nuclear deal with United States.

Nevertheless, given the intense political competition and huge diversity coalition politics has become an inevitable part of Indian politics.

Therefore, some recommendations to improve coalition culture.

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① Introduction of Chancellor model

as in Germany - enjoy greater powers than prime minister, key to ensure smooth government

② Constructive vote of no-confidence to prevent unstable coalitions to come to power and disruption of administration

③ Japanese model of electing PM from the lower house - ensure public representativeness

④ Institutionalise mechanism of steering committees, consultative committees convened regularly to develop broad based consensus among coalition members

उच्चीदर्शकों को एक
लाइए में नहीं
दिलना चाहिए

- ⑤ Ensuring Intra party democracy,
freedom of speech and expression as
recommended by Indrajit Gupta committee
to address grievances of coalition members
- ⑥ Electoral reforms - transparency in
electoral funding, purge of criminals
from parliament etc.

Coalition politics is a means
to make democracy more representative
and inclusive of all stakeholders. It
also results in deepening of democracy
through "democratic upsurges" (yogendra yadav)
Thus, above reforms are pertinent to
develop "coalition dharma" and prevent
democracy from turning into "Tyranny
of majority" (Tocqueville)

(b) (a) The political culture in third world countries is not strictly legal-constitutional, rather influenced by socio-economic factors. It is for this reason that F.W. Riggs call developing societies as 'prismatic societies'.

Identity politics refer to political mobilisation as well as interest aggregation on the basis of ascriptive identity of caste, politics, race etc. It is a characteristic feature of democracy like India, where politics is intertwined with social factors.

Identity politics provide a basis of mobilisation of people, by providing a sense of common consciousness.

Eg: RJD in Bihar mobilised Yadavs

Community.

Success
with cultural
Government how
it's rooted in
violent history
of Partition/
now its new/
Slavery for demo/
proselytisation/
ideologies/

उम्मीदवारों को इस
डायरिए में नहीं
लिखना चाहिए

North
east
west

Another Identity politics also act as integrative force in politics. Caste based coalitions like TJGAR and GHAM in India by leaders like Sir Chhotu Ram has altered power distribution pattern.

Moreover, politics based on identity lead to increased consciousness among lower castes. The coming out of OBCs and scheduled caste from Congress is rightly called democratic upsurge by Yogendra Yadav.

Further, as explained by Lalita Chandrasekhar in 'How solidarity works for welfare', strong regional politics in Southern states has resulted into better development indices for South as compared to North. It has increased emphasis on regional issues and challenges.

Thus scholars like Jaffrelot call it as part of India's "silent revolution".

However, identity politics has not lead to betterment of Indian politics in the long term. As explained by Ashutosh Varshney in "Battleground: India's improbable democracy", it has not resulted into any concrete change in power distribution or deepening of democracy.

Moreover, By its very nature, identity politics is based on eroding popular passions. Once passions are evoked, they become uncontrollable. It could be seen in Tamil Nationalism movement,

Thalidom movement, communal riots at Godhra, demolition of Babri Masjid (1992), Jat agitation for reservation etc.

Thus, identity politics is inclusivist in nature, anti-development and pose existential threat to democracy in the long run.

Presently, identity politics has become a feature even in western democracies. Rise in terror attacks, refugee crisis, unpredictable economic growth has ceded space to ultra-rightist parties to play identity politics. The rise in parties like Alternative for Germany, phenomenon of Brexit and America first are part of that politics.

Thus, identity politics has helped in institutionalisation of democracy in Third world countries but there is still a huge scope for it to undermine democracy itself.

8) (b) "Women are man dependent, if not his slave. They have never enjoyed the world as man's equal"

- Simone de Beauvoir

Since the inception of democracy, electoral politics ^{in India} has been dominated by men. The representation of women in parliament has stagnated at 11-12%, i.e. at disproportionate levels.

However, the 73rd and 74th amendment act acted as a catalyst of political empowerment of women in local bodies by granting reservations. More than 10 lakh women are appointed elected to local bodies, as a result. There is also a ~~rise in~~ greater voter turnout observed among females especially in states like Bihar than males. Moreover, the 17th Lok Sabha has the highest women representation of 14%. So far, there is also an increased

visibility of women politicians due to handling of plum ministerial posts like Defense, finance, foreign ministry etc.

Yet, women in Indian politics continue to be neglected at various levels and in numerous ways.

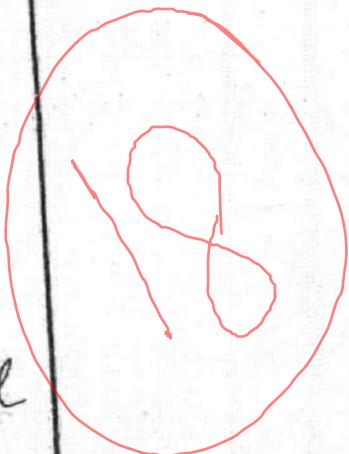
① formulation of electoral agenda - does not highlight key women centric demands such as end to sexual violence, elimination of gender wage gap, or address falling female employment labour force participation.

② legislative process - Due to lower representation of women in parliament as well as state legislatures, feminist perspective is often ignored which prevents inclusive law making.

③ Use of money and muscle power in elections - create a high entry barrier for women to contest elections, resulting to political marginalisation.

④ Lack of strong women organisations to mobilise women's demands at par with farmer's or business lobby. As pointed by Madhu Kishwar, women issues are split on caste, religion and class lines. As a result, women issues are hijacked by communal agendas
Eg: triple talaq case

⑤ Inadequate capacity and leadership skills - due to lower educational status and exposure. It is a result of entrenched patriarchy that even elected women saspanch are often only



"nominal while real power is vested in Sarpanch pati" (Sudha Pai)

Thus, feminist like Sunita Ray, Laura Keenan argue for strong affirmative action like reservation for women in parliamentary elections.

Parm Kaurji committee also strongly favours 50% reservation for women in parliament to empower women in political sphere. Ila Bhatt, of SEWA argues for economic empowerment of women and leadership development.

Thus, there is a need for serious restructuring of ^{our} electoral democracy to make it gender neutral and gender inclusive and attain goal of SDG 5.

- Diversity
with examples
of political
representatives
and opposition
to gender
bias
Women's active
participation
decision
making

