



**An Institute for Civil Services**

**IAS TOPPER'S**

**TEST COPY**

**SARA ASHRAF**

**RANK - 316**

**POLITICAL SCIENCE  
TEST - 5**



**www.iasscore.in**

10:55  
1:53

300

**GS SCORE**

TEST 05

117.0

## 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 Address Core Demand of the question, Quote current events, Apply various theories to explain your points.

② Add Keywords/ Scholars.

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

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

Name Sara Ashraf

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

Date \_\_\_\_\_

Signature Sara Ashraf



## SECTION-A

Attempt all questions:

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

(12.5 × 4 = 50)

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

Electoral Function of Religion portrays Identity politics. Its influence has been termed as 'Kamandal' phenomenon in politics.

Religion alongwith caste still plays a major determinant in Indian elections - as founded by research of CSDS - Lok Niti. Even though India model of secularism is a 'Political Principled Distance Model'.

The present spoils system has ensured

Remarks

Apply Various  
Theories b/w  
Socialization/  
Mobilization/  
Communication



3

6.0

GS SCORE

0  
Break  
Short Paragraphs  
Triple Takay  
Shah Bano  
Ram Mandir  
Quote  
See  
123

role of religion in electoral functions!  
The Instrumentalist approach approach it  
is the preference of elites for garnering  
votes and not a preference of people.  
However, the recent upsurge of BJP's  
'Saffron Wave' is also linked with  
increasing communalism. Some view it  
as rejection of Congress version of  
secularism and assertion of majorities.  
While, not purely linked to religion, it  
also result of rhetoric on Development.  
Religion still functions as an electoral  
matter as India is a Prismatic society.  
However, it is not sole threat to  
national integrity as identity markers  
of Indians are fluid and not permanent.

FW  
Hggp

Remarks



(b) Ideological Trends in Indian Environmentalist Movt. -

Environmental<sup>(env.)</sup> Movements<sup>(movt.)</sup> in India go back to Bishnoi Revolution of 1700s. It represents Traditional env. movts. linked with religious morality.

The Modern env. movts in India started with the Chipko Movement in Uttarakhand. It was considered an age of environmental innocence.

The ideology influencing belonged to 'Shallow Ecology' - protection of environment for its instrumental value for human needs.

Remarks



6.0

GS SCORE

write  
in terms  
Gandhian  
Marxist  
Eco-feminist

However, it is after 1990: we see  
age of professionalism but still  
driven by 'Shallow Ecology'. But  
Govt efforts to create Ministry of  
Environment and entry of professional  
Scientists (IISc) and social scientists enriched  
debates around environmentalism.

The recent efforts of tribals of Odisha  
saving its Niyangiri Hills challenging  
global giants - POSCO, Vedanta see influence  
of philosophy of Deep Ecology protect  
environment for its 'inherent worth'. It  
goes against the prevalent fire fighting  
approach.

Gov. Movts in India have challenged the  
dominant notion of Development and the  
neo-liberal ideology.

Remarks



11) The Dalits Question and the Women Mobs in India

Caste forms Indian system of social stratification. [Ambedkar] termed it 'graded hierarchy'. India with more than 200 mn Dalits sees <sup>its</sup> improved influence in politics.

Another major subaltern group - is women - as 'historically disadvantaged' as the Dalits in India. The [Sachar Committee] Report had put Dalit women at the lowest in the social hierarchy.

Women mobs in India revolve around equal status for women and demands for women empowerment.

Remarks



(6.0)

GS SCORE

political empowerment through reservation of seats for women in Parliament and highest decision-making institutions. Radical Feminism highlight the case of 'Missing Women' in power positions. Dalit women already possess ~~23%~~ reservation in Parliament and state legislature but overshadowed by their male counter-parts.

political empowerment will not single-handedly bring power to the subaltern. Economic empowerment requires better education and health facilities.

The women and Dalits in India both share 'New Imagination' and attempting to create counter-hegemony with their narratives

Remarks

Address Core Demand of the Question

Quote

Jyoti B. Phule

Savitri B. Phule

Gandhi

Towards Equality, 1927

Art 17  
SC/ST Act, 1955



(d) Green Revolution had led to improved agricultural productivity and India attaining 'food security' through use of H.V.V. seeds.

However, this short-term remedy has turned into a long-term tragedy. Creating regional inequality in the country. Farmers of Northern and Central India (Ganga Basin) have prospered leaving behind farmers of the east and north-east.

Leading to unsustainable farming—sowing of water-intensive crops and skewed MSP and salinization of soil (esp. in Punjab, Haryana and Western U.P.). Vandana Shrivastava has turned



6.5

GS SCORE

it as violence of Green Revolution.

It has further destroyed the traditional dependence between farmer and agricultural laborers owing to machinization resulting in lower agri-wages. V.K.R.V Rao suggest it has led ~~led~~ to economic benefits at substantial social costs.

further, it has led to rise of Bullock Capitalists and its entry into politics resulting in Identity-Plus Politics and India reduced to Market Model of Democracy: Elitist perspective on Power.

We need a second Green Revolution coupled with Land Reforms ensuring Green Rev. doesnot become a Counter Revolution.

Remarks.

Quote  
Economic  
Survey

Niti  
Ayog  
Reports  
on the  
Topic

Issues like  
- Naxal  
- Mao  
- Inequality  
- Caste



2. Answer the following questions:

- (a) 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)
- (b) 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)

(a) Coalition politics is a feature of parliamentary form of government. usually emerging out of hung assembly. It can be called as "power sharing arrangement" as suggested by Riker.

Coalitions politics is a result of state reorganization, Green Revolution and emergence of regional politics all leading to formation of regional parties and grassroots leadership.

Remarks



Coalition Politics have impacted working of the Constitution and political development deeply. Leaving both positive as well as negative impacts.

The negative impacts being policy paralysis and increasing instability. Eg: In, 1998. AIADMK with just one single vote caused the fall of BJP government.

Elitist Theory of Democracy have come to call political parties as "power-houses" due to their increasing political left.

Remarks

Address in terms of  
Co-operative!  
Competitive!  
Bargaining Federalism



other negative implications being increasing defections - 'aaya Ram, gaya Ram' phenomenon, politicisation of role of Speaker, horse-trading, politicisation of role of Governor.

And increasing influence of money and muscle power in elections. As a

result Indian elections have come to be 2nd most expensive globally after US elections. 2019 elections saw whopping ₹70,000 crore election expenditure (CSAS - Lok Niti).

Hence, leading to decline of parliament and adding to criminalisation of politics. 17th Lok Sabha has the highest no. of MPs - 43% with criminal cases (ADR), charged.

Remarks

Add  
Random  
and  
Irrelevant  
Points



11.3

GS SCOR

Despite the negative implications, there are positive sides too. Indian Democracy has become more representative - giving voice to sub-national concerns, more consociational, consensus-based and deliberative.

Habermas argued deliberation is the source of legitimate policy-making.

To arrest the negatives, we need Electoral Reforms - codification of MCC, reforms in Anti-Defection law. Following British practices of apolitical Speaker and German 'Constructive vote of No-Confidence'.

Sustainability of coalition politics in India would require each partner in coalition to follow the 'Coalition Dharma':

Remarks

Work on  
conceptual  
clarity



(b) Highlight reasons for lower representation of women in Parliament. What could be the recent upsurge of women's participation as voters in general elections since 1980s.

A major concern for feminist movements in India have been towards higher representation of women in Parliament leading to their political empowerment.

The 17th Lok Sabha includes the highest no. of women as MPs - 73 (ADR), leading 14% of women representatives.

Moreover, women represent high-profile portfolios - as Finance Minister, Defence Minister, External Affairs Minister.

However, the 14% is still very low considering women constitute 42% of



the population (census 2011). The reasons can be attributed to historical disadvantages as well as to the political culture of the country.

Major de-empowerment is resultant of educational backwardness and poor health and sanitation preventing fuller cognitive potential and the Dual Burden on women (working) resultant of the 'Gendered Society' running of patriarchal values.

Adding to it, today's political development is called as 'Dirty Politics' and 'not a gentleman's profession' owing to increasing criminalization of politics.

Remarks

3MB  
Mystic, Mafia,  
money, Ministry  
poor  
by TN Gesham



23% of MPs in 17th LS are charged with serious criminal charges (ADR). Plus, the increasing role of money and muscle power have prevented higher representation of women as women lack independent financial agency.

Best way forward are passing women Reservation Bill and accepting recommendations of Pam Rajput Committee.

The recent upsurge of women voters seen post 1990s can be attributed to improving education and awareness of right to vote and citizenship duties.

Also affected by women's Reservations in PRIs after the 73rd Constitutional



Improve flow in your answer

11.5

Amendment. The Ministry of Panchayati Raj studies & Research support 33% reservation for women in Parliament.

Another factor could be the popularisation of Radical Feminist Ideology as reflected in changed nomenclatures of women's organizations - eg: Saheli, Jagore (Awake), Manushi (human-like). A major concern of Radical Feminism has been higher representation of women in top-decision-making institutions.

Increasing women's participation have led to a consociational and deliberative democracy. Finally as J.S. Mill argues it is important for making men behave in the public sphere.

Remarks

Address Key points

Issue of

Lack of Internal democracy

Winnability

Security

Compare India with Other

Quota  
Global  
Local  
Examples

Odisha  
W.B.



3. Answer the following questions:

- (a) Governor has been described as the linchpin 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)

(a) Article 152 of the Constitution mandates constitution of a Governor for each state. And Article 154 makes Governor the executive Head of the state.

Governor in India owing to the Parliamentary federal government has dual responsibility - as executive Head of the state and as representative of the Centre. For the former role, he is called as 'linchpin' of the Constitutional apparatus. by the Sarkaria Commission.

Remarks



However, as a linkpin, Governor's role is not immune from criticism. Often criticised as 'agent of the Centre'.

Supreme Court puts constitutional status of President and Governor same. But possession of Discretionary powers under Article 169 makes Governor more powerful.

Several discretions are with respect to reserving a bill for President's consideration, calling majority party to form government and suggestion to impose Article 356 in the state.

Remarks



It is the misuse of the latter widely seen today. In 2019 Maharashtra, Governor's suggested for President's Rule without summoning the House and prior-information.

In 2019 in Rajasthan, Governor was accused of violating the Model Code of Conduct expressing preference for a particular party.

To arrest the abuse and misuse of power, SC in Nabam Rebia judgement put governors' suggestion on Art. 356 under judicial review for malafide intention. Moreover, SC had also directed that any discretion

Good Points



Avoid  
Random points  
write in  
proper flow

11.5

GS SCORE

should be Governors discretion and  
not Centre's discretion in its

Rajlakshmi Titik judgement.

S.R. Bommai case must further  
putting federalism as Basic Structure  
of the Constitution.

However, to ensure Governor is not  
a long arm of the Union with  
iron fist in golden gloves, more  
needs to be done - Appointing  
governors on an auto-pilot mode using  
platform of ISC under Article 263.

Further, consultation with states CM  
be made mandatory.

Governor role should be communicating  
aspirations of its people to the Centre hence  
it requires political neutrality.

Remarks

Rema

Add  
Sarkar's  
Punchhi  
VCRWC  
Law Comm  
Recomm



(b) Changing socio-economic profile of legislators and its impact on functioning of Parliament.

Parliament is the mirror of the society. Its representatives portray the nature of the society and the direction in which country is moving.

It is also an area of study for scholars of Political Sociology approach studying interface of politics and society.

Changing socio-economic profile of legislators can be mapped using different phases -



from Independence till 1967<sup>+</sup> -  
dominance of Upper Castes - esp-  
foreign University graduated Brahmins  
and numerical majority of lawyers  
ensured Constitution remains a  
"lawyers' Paradise".

Post 1967, Break-down of Congress,  
Green Revolution and result of 1st  
Democratic Upsurge, saw entry of  
OBCs (Bullock Capitalists). Entry of  
youth was ensured by rising  
anti-corruption and anti-price rise  
protests — J.P. Narayan's Lampoorne  
Kranti, Gujarat's Nav Nirman Movt  
and Sanjay Gandhi's Youth National  
Congress.

Remarks



1990s witnessing 2nd Democratic Upsurge  
saw entry of Dalits and proliferation  
of caste-based political parties. However,  
OBCs remain dominant. Entry of  
women also registered effect of women's  
reservation in 73rd Constitutional  
Amendment and subsequent political  
empowerment of women. Today, politics  
had also become a full-time  
career.

However, we also see top-sided  
developments — Increasing criminalization  
of politics — 17th LS :- 43% MPs charged  
with criminal cases while 29% charged  
of serious criminal offences (ADR).

Milan Vaishnav explains in his 'When



11.5

'Crime Pays' - politicians win not despite of but because of their criminal record. It has further led to decline of Parliament. Also, leading to nexus and 'de-skittization of Corruption' (Kaushik Basu). 2019

Elections - 2nd most expensive globally - political expenditure ₹ 79000 crore.

Women MPs also the highest with 14% (CSDs Lok Niti) and number of fresh elected increased. However, power still flows in a 'closed loop'

Despite, today caste and religion play the most dominant factor for electoral behaviour disregarding corruption and anti-incumbency.

Remarks

Write  
Prioritize  
your  
content  
rather  
irrelevant  
Points



## SECTION-B

Attempt all questions:

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

(12.5 × 4 = 50)

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

(a) Social Media is a new form of mass communication owing to digital Revolution. India with more than 570 mn Internet users and 25 crore active social media users provides promising ground for political communication.

The rising trend was witnessed in 2014 elections particularly and heightened with 2019 elections. India's demographic dividend also being a factor.

Remarks

Apply  
Theories of  
Pol. Mobilization  
Quote  
Cambridge  
Google/  
Facebook  
Case



6.0

Platforms like Twitter, Facebook and Instagram have emerged as favorites for political communication. Political Leaders like PM, President, Vice-P, Leader of Opposition all having verified accounts on social media used to communicate political messages.

It had also been used by ECI for communicating during elections - eg: reporting mal-practices facilitating participation of public. Similarly, it is majority used for political canvassing along with physical rallies.

Emergence of social media as platform for political communication has increased 'participatory' democracy in the country. It made it more 'Market Model' as a negative

Remarks

fallout



(b) Caste is Indian system of social stratification. Ambedkar had called it 'graded hierarchy'.

Caste has emerged as a major determining factor in Indian politics. Also confirmed by field surveys of CESS - Lok Niti.

Dalits with more than 200 million population and OBCs with 40% of population have emerged in 'thick of the caste'.

Numerical majority leading to autonomous politics among different castes - represented by the Two Democratic Uprage as coined by



6.0

Yogendra Yadav - First Upsurge  
when OBCs came out of INC  
and Second Upsurge when Dalits  
came out of INC. It rejects the  
philosophy of Co-option as suggested  
by leaders like Gandhi ji.

Add  
Current events  
like  
Distribution  
Ticket  
My formula  
by RJD  
Bihar election  
Log

Coupled with caste, socio-economic  
conditions of caste members also  
influenced caste politics. Ego. failure  
of BSP in Maharashtra and T.N. is  
attributed to strong social movements  
among Dalits rejecting to vote as a  
single bloc.

Influence of caste has turned democracy  
to a Market Model when analysed  
from Globalist perspective.

Remarks



(c) Study of Electoral Behaviour in India is a huge and complex task given by size and diversity. But, it is still studied by scholars of Political Sociology Approach. Also a result of Behavioral Movement in Political Science leading to field surveys, research on ground.

Mukulika Banerjee charted out an ethnographic survey of Indian electorate determining its behaviour. The findings suggest poor voters are most strategic and sophisticated voters given their dependence on



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Welfare policies and programmes.  
Confirming voters in India are  
more mature than voters in West.

It also demystifies arguments of  
[Elitist Theory of Democracy] that  
power with masses is a myth.

Other determinants of voting behaviour  
being consciousness of right to  
vote and citizenship duty but limited  
to educated Urban class. And some  
vote out of respect towards Indian  
Democracy and ECI. While some  
vote out of discontent - pressing NOTA.  
Caste still major determinant.

Despite consciousness among Indians votes  
is highlighted, 2019 Elections saw higher  
voter turn-out of 67%  
(ADR).

① Write  
theoretical  
perspective  
of political

Comm. / Soc. / Political

Both

Static

Dynamic

Quote

1st 2014

Remarks



(d) The 'Nehruvian Census' refer to the Indian model of federalism adopted after Independence.

As opposed to Presidential system supported by VHP and RSS and ML's strong sub-national govt, we adopted the 'Asymmetrical federalism'

It represents a federation with centralisation tendency. It was the solution to the need of the hour.

The Indian Constitution was made in an atmosphere of fear and violence of Partition. Alongside, different states differed in social and economic development - according to



5.5

Status of Bimaru States and  
'Special Category' of States. Hence,  
we can see the pragmatism.

Principle was reflected when Nehru  
wrote fort-nightly letters to all  
the CMs of the state discussing  
issues of national importance.

Carefully balancing the 'Parliamentary  
Axis' and the 'Federal Axis'

of Indian Polity.

It was criticised as quasi-federal  
by KC Wheare analysing from a legal-  
constitutional approach. Despite this,  
Indian asymmetrical model proved to be  
a 'demo-cratic' model. — ensuring unity  
without uniformity.

Remarks

Avoid  
Irrelevant  
&  
Random  
Points

Write  
your  
Answers  
in  
terms  
of  
Institutional  
&  
Ideological  
Approach  
of  
6 pt



6. Answer the following questions:

- (a) Despite expansion of PRIs to cover areas of rural development and economic planning, it still suffers from several limitations. Discuss. Do you think making Ministry of Panchayati Raj as a Department of Rural Development Ministry would solve the problem? Discuss. (300 Words) (25)
- (b) The coalition politics has created several problems for politics and administration like delay in decision making and implementation, erosion of ministerial responsibility etc. Suggest ways and means to ensure smooth working of coalition government. (300 Words) (25)

(PRIs)

Panchayati Raj Institutions were already contained in DPSPs under Article 48 as Gandhian Principle of Gram Swaraj. It is the 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act which made constitution of PRI mandatory at state-level.

PRIs have come to function as platforms of rural development and economic planning. Despite, it is called as a 'half-baked cake'. Due to the several limitations.

Remarks



substantive powers of PRLs are kept under voluntary provisions while compulsory provisions contain only the structure of PRLs.

Powers under PRLs stay delegated then devolved. Powers of functions of Gram Sabha aren't delineated as done under PESA Act. It is suggested to follow the subsidiarity principle while devolution of power.

Gram Sabhas also see phenomenon of Bogus Meetings and highjacking by members of upper castes. Video-recording of meetings can be a suggestion and giving audit power to members of lower castes and STs.

Remarks

Discuss  
① NITI  
Ayog  
② 2nd PR  
③ Refert  
15th F  
④ Role  
State  
F.C



Dissolution of PRI are severe limitation, without reasons / explanations. SEC is ~~not~~ an autonomous body like ECI. It is suggested to bring the SEC under CEC.

Findings of Mamchankar Iyer Committee disclose 'decentralization of corruption' and nexus among state govt. leaders, Bureaucrats and PRI leaders. ~~To~~ arrest the decline, we can follow Kerala's Ombudsman scheme.

Fully empowering PRI needs fulfilment of All 3Fs - Funds, Functions & Functionaries. Kerala's MCC can be adopted towards ending Bureaucratic apathy.



11.5

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Bringing Ministry of Panchayati Raj under Rural Development Ministry will not solve the crisis. Rather, coordination between both Ministries must be facilitated which remains missing.

Need is to move towards more digitisation and e-gov. while generating awareness among masses. Amartya Sen argues unless an issue become part of public discourse, govt. will not respond.

We need to make PRIs demand-driven rather supply-driven. For community development to take place, participation of community is must. Resources be vested with public as suggested by Nobel laureate Edviner Ostrom.

Remarks

Align and Link Govt with Core demand of the question



(b) Coalition Politics is a feature of Parliamentary Democracies when experiencing hung assemblies. [Riker] defines coalitions as "Power-sharing arrangement".

However, today Trend of coalition politics remain despite BJP winning 303 seats (17th Ls), NDA rules the centre. This being a peculiar feature of Indian democracy. [Suresh Palshikar] calls it "Surplus Coalitions".

Coalition politics with tight-distribution of seats have led to unstable govt., delay in decision-making and policy-paralysis leading to decline of parliament and phenomenon of

Remarks

Discuss Philosophy of Coalition  
 Mention Unstable life of Coalitions  
 J4k - BJP  
 999  
 MH - Shiv Sena  
 Congress



Post-Electoral Democracy - witnessed with popularity of Supreme Court, High Courts, CVC, NCB, CBI - all unelected bodies. Hence, it becomes important to arrest the Parliamentary decline.

India can follow the German Practice of Constructive vote of No-Confidence ensuring smooth functioning of Parliament. We also need to institutionalise the practice of consultative mechanisms between coalition partners facilitating intra and inter-party democracy. We can have mandatory consultative steering committees facilitating dialogue.

Remarks

Q40  
Incidents  
like

Left's  
unsupporting  
role

2008  
Civil, Nuclear  
Deal



we<sup>1</sup> also need to bring Electoral Reforms - reform of Anti-Defection Law (10th schedule) preventing "Aaya Ram, Gaya Ram". Giving more power to the Election Commission - to take suo-moto cognizance of violation of Model Code of Conduct. Further, it needs codification of MCC, and parliamentary privileges of legislators.

India can adopt the British practice of apolitical speaker, giving up party-membership upon election to the seat. Upon retirement / change in govt., speakers be provided pension accordingly. Requiring no facilitation with any political party in future.

Remarks

Avoid Irrelevant Points  
work on Concrete Subject Matter



11.5

India needs to reform the Representation of People's Act ensuring strict punishment and disqualification for candidates asking votes on caste and religious lines. We also need to reform usefulness to 'NOTA' - option of rejecting particular candidates.

Finally, we need to bring ethics into politics ensuring a corrupt-free and sustainable 'Coalition - Dharma'.

Alexis De Tocqueville puts "for democracy to succeed it should take roots in habits and hearts of people".



REMARKS

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