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कृपया इस स्थान
में प्रश्न संख्या के
अतिरिक्त कुछ
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GS Score Test 4.

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Q. (6) Over the years, the 'Non-party' institutions have come to play a very crucial role in Indian politics. Comment.

Political parties play the crucial role of government/opposition formation, political socialization and education. They influence policy making at multiple levels. However recently institutions outside party system have started influencing politics.

In the opinion of Prathap Banu Mehta the institutional decay, coupled with greater consciousness of one's rights in India have resulted in this plebinal/plebianization of Indian democracy. This is particularly manifested through the activities social advocacy groups, pressure groups, NGOs etc

Such non party

Institutions have been able to keep a check on the arbitrary executive actions and create a social movement for enhanced accountability and transparency. The movement for RTI led by Kisan Shakti Sangathan is an example of this.

The present protests against farm laws by farmer associations and the subsequent repealing of them by the Government shows the influence exerted by such institutions. In the opinion of Robert Hardgrave & Stanley Kochanek

Institutions like pressure group also influence policy making.

The role played by groups such as FICCI, ICII and their influence on trade policy on government is an example of the same. Another reason

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for the growth of influence of such non party institutions is the increasing corruption issues within political parties and a belief within population that political parties are insensitive to citizens' concerns.

The solidification of other identities such as caste, gender, & ethnicity is also a basis for the growth in influence of institutions on Indian politics. The recent protests by Maratha group Jats / Gujjars associations show this increasing identity mobilization.

While the growth of such institutions is a sign of deepening of democracy, the chances for radicalization & Ghettoisation cannot be ignored. Thus what we require is enhancing the deliberative aspect of democracy and more dialogue between citizens.

6.5

Q1(b) Land reforms in India are a characteristic example of good intentions but bad implementation.

Land reforms

in India was envisaged to implement the welfare objectives of the Government of post independent India in order to establish a social order permeated by equity and avoid concentration of material resources with a few

The Good However, due

to intentions behind ~~to multiple reasons~~ the land reforms can be explained as follows;

(1) The phenomenon of excessive land holding with Zamindars, feudal landlords gave no right to land holdings to poor. Land reforms aimed at eliminating this.

(2) The philosophy of 'Land to the Tiller'

was in consonance with the implementations of directive principles of state policy - Article 39(b) and Article 39(c) of Indian Constitution

(3) Bring in ceiling on land holding and redistribution of the excessive land to tenants.

(4) Distribution of land titles to tenants and upholding tenancy rights

However due to multiple reasons of ^{the} high flying ideals ~~remained~~ ^{remained} ~~unreal~~
a half baked cake.

1) The various provisions in Constitution such as Fundamental right to land under Article 31B ~~19~~ led to long list of judicial filings before the Court.

2) Except for a few states like West Bengal & Kerala, many did not show the political will to implement the reforms due to the fear of

Impact on their traditional votebanks.

3) The various loopholes in LARR Act led to Citizens transferring the land ownership within the family to maintain the Ceiling requirements.

4) The advent of Green revolution slowly shifted the focus from land distribution to productivity enhancement.

Therefore what we require is a set of land reforms 2.0 which ^{is} not just about land re-distribution but keeping in mind the issues of Indian agriculture. The issues of land fragmentation, lack of Cooperativization, excessive irrigation should form part of new land reforms law. Grass root movements such as

Bhoodan should be encouraged. This with right political will & civil society engagement we can create a more equitable & inclusive Society.

1(c) Inherent drawbacks and weakness of Indian electoral system

Indian Electoral

System in the words of Rudolph & Rudolph displays characteristics of both western institutionalization and indigenous de-institutional practices of culture & tradition. This poses a variety of drawbacks.

Zoya Hassan

in her analysis of Indian party system points out a variety of paradoxical features. Indian party according to Hassan is office oriented and lacks connect with grassroot community. They are devoid of a grand design and often open flirt with corporates showing a ^{trend} corporatization.

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This presents a set of multitude of challenges. Terminalization of politics is ~~the~~ one of the largest impact of the same. According to ADR data, 19% of the current Lok Sabha members have impending criminal charges against it. The chances of winning with a candidate with criminal antecedents is higher than others.

The lack of autonomy with Election Commission is also another major challenge. ~~with~~ The ^{absence} lack of a separate secretariate, independent budget, and power to audit political parties renders it a boothless tiger more often than not.

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Caste, class identities have further resulted in ghettoisation of Indian electorates. While some political thinkers such as Yogendra Yadav take it a sign of democratic upsurge others like Ashutosh Varshney ^{and} ~~view it as~~ C.P. Bhambri view it as chances of increasing communalism.

The high rate of judicial pendency, to dispose off election disputes also ^{out} ~~point~~ of at the lack of transparency and accountability of Indian electoral system.

The decline of Indian parliament as pointed out by PRS legislative research where the parliament only meets for 21 hours as against 96 accounted hours is a sign of decaying Indian electoral system.

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No solution to

this problem lies at multiple levels;

- 1) Dinesh Goswami Committee recommends more disclosure on part of political parties while fielding a candidate with criminal antecedents.
- 2) Law Commission recommendations of more autonomous power to ECI on deciding election disputes and Anti-defection cases can reduce judicial pendency.
- 3) Atul Kohli suggests more dialogue and deliberation between communities can lead to informed voting patterns rather than religious identities [COS - Lokniti Survey].

Therefore the strength of Indian electoral system lies in the

democratic maturity of Indian population & Active Involvement of all stakeholders is imperative

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Q(2)(b) Determinants of Electoral behaviour in India:

Electoral behaviour in India is determined by the various socio-cultural & political factors that ~~impair~~ impact the social fabric of India. In the opinion of [Paul Brass] it displays both traditional & modern elements.

Electoral behaviour in India is largely dependent on the aspirations of people and their intentions when they go to the polling booth. Political Analysts opine Indians voters;

a) Consider voting as an exercise of their Constitutional right.

b) ~~also~~ interpret it as an opportunity to display discontent with incumbent Government.

c) as a tool of revenge.

d) as an opportunity to vote their Caste.

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and Community

Though social

movements and deliberative democratic platforms have ~~also~~ helped to rationalize their choice, a large majority of India's electorate vote on identity mobilizations.

1) ~~Chris~~ Christopher Jaffrelot in this content opines 'Indians don't ~~caste~~ their vote, but vote their caste' and it's the mosaic of Indian

politics

2) I E Sridharan in this content is of the opinion that in the ~~background~~ of growth of regional parties; people have created a dichotomy between voting in ^{state} local & central elections.

3) They vote according to the regional aspirations in one & national interests in the other.

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4) Yogendra Yadav States post the two democratic upsurges characterizing the exit of BJP and exit sections out of INC, the identity politics have moved to identity plus politics shown in voting

5) Thokniti COS Survey Shows in spite of all such development Communal ideas forms a basis of voting for a majority of people in India.

Social movements,

advocacy initiatives from pressure groups and NGOs have resulted in more informed voting choices for people in India. By & large development issues remain the core of Indian voting patterns and Good Governance. have proved to be useful in

this regard :

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2(b) Role of Pressure Group in Policy formulation.

According to

Finer / 'Pressure groups' are invisible empires

They stay outside of formal political structures, yet manage to influence policy making at multiple levels.

In India Pressure

groups gained relevance at a very late stage in the post independent time. In this context Prof.

Arund Chakravarti states that Indian Government

should have shown greater accommodative attitude towards pressure groups during the time.

However in

the past 20 years pressure groups have grown in stature and influence. The advent of

globalization and spreading of democratic ideas

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throughout the world helped to build deliberative
nature of citizens and increase their consciousness
of rights.

Many pressure
groups exert their influence on policy making
through social movements. The Baheli/Vimochan
movement by feminist pressure groups helped a
great deal in improving gender equality and policy
measures such as gender based budgeting.

The constant protests and
social mobilization by pressure groups also force
the government to rethink their policies and
bring about a change. The recent decision by
Govt to put a brakes on implementing farm laws
is an example of such influence.

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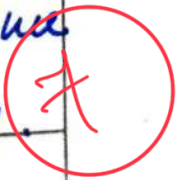
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They influence policy making by being leutenants of political parties and take up the role of consensus building and ~~transfer~~ ^{policy} influence policy framework of ruling parties. The role of [R.S.S] in pressurizing Govt to bring about change in ~~Article 370~~ is an example.

[Robert Haedgrave] and [Stanley Kochanek] States groups such as FICCI are now integral force behind shaping India's trade policy. However at the same time they also stateopine state is a major player and catalyst in deciding the extent of their influence.

Though the recent concerns of [foreign propagandas] being upheld by pressure groups is a threat, cautious regulation and encouraging deliberation can ensure pressure groups acts as [Safety Valves] of our democracy.



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Q2(c)

"Idea of cooperative federalism is a political compulsion otherwise it has structural defects. In the lights of above statement examine mechanisms of cooperative federalism."

Granville Austin

in his book "Indian Constitution: A Corner Stone of a nation" states India is a model of cooperative federalism. The harmony & synergy between state & Centre forms the heart & soul of our country's democratic ethos.

However it's

fructification in spirit has been largely a dream rather than reality. The reason for it's flawed implementation can be understood by an analysis of various constitutional & statutory mechanisms that promote federalism.

Article 249.

1) This constitutional provision empowers the Rajya Sabha to pass a resolution to enable the Parliament to legislate on State subjects.

2) ~~However~~ ^{The provision is intended to be used in} exceptional circumstances to ~~avoid~~ ^{ensure} legal continuity.
However Parliament has arbitrarily used these provisions to circumvent powers of State.

Article 263 - Interstate Councils

1) This envisages the setting up of Interstate Councils to deal with federal disputes effectively and synchronise the Centre-State relationship.

2) However off late these Councils have become ceremonious associations with no meaningful progress made to enhance federalism.

GST Councils.

1) 101st Constitutional Amendment Act

Creates GST Council to deal with issues between States & Centre or between states to deal with GST related concerns.

2) However the effective veto with Central Govt to override the ~~concern~~ objections of state make it a meaningless exercise.

Usage of Article 352, 356, 365

1) The arbitrary imposition of president's rule under Article 356/365 has made the federalism in the nation more of a namesake or political obligation.

Financial devolution under Finance Commissions

2) The unequal distribution of finances by Central Govt through tie Grants [discretionary] grants have made ~~the~~ federalism more

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asymmetrical in nature.

Other provisions

1) The recent INCT of Delhi act passed by parliament also shows the ^{tendencies of} ~~the~~ ^{absoluate} ~~absoluate~~ intention of authority over federal units.

2) List Compensation issue, passing of Article 370 abrogation are all examples of this trend.

~~State~~ The ~~Supreme Court~~ has opined Federalism is a part of basic structure in the SR Bommai case and any actions in violation of this will be deemed Unconstitutional. More

consultation of Central government with States on major policy initiatives, reenergizing zonal, interstate & GST Councils, and respect for its

autonomy will keep the nation to grow in a harmonious & syncretic fashion.

10

Q(3)(a) Discuss evolution of Coalition System in India.
how far it has impacted entire political spectrum
and political discourses.

Coalition Govts

in India is a signal of India's rising political
diversities and changing aspirations of Indian
electorate. The evolution of ~~the~~ same since
independence is ~~an~~ complicated process.

[Rajni Kothari]

describes the period between 1947-1967 as
"Congress System in India". INC was the
single largest party in India and all others were
just [parties of pressure] having no chance for
a 60t Coalition Setup.

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period of 1967 - 1980s saw the breakdown
of 'Congress system' and rise of regional
parties. Mogendra Yadav terms this as the
first democratic upsurge. and as OBCs came
out of INC sailing on tides of Green revolution.

The 1980 90's

period saw the birth of Coalition Governments in
India. The mandalization of Indian politics,
coupled with regional assertion of Dalits &
through separate parties ~~was~~ forming alliances in
India. The rise of right through [BJP] was also witnessed.

Period from

1990s saw several Coalitions at Centre and at
State aiming to pacify all regional aspirations
and development concerns was a characteristic
feature of this period.

Zia Modi

States Coalition Govt politics in India is of various paradoxical features. It is a coalition by political compulsion, sometimes aimed at keeping other parties out of power etc. This has led to positive and negative impacts.

E. Sridharan

is of the opinion Grassroot aspirations of people are better represented through Coalitions. It has aided the deepening of democracy and strengthening of the federal axis.

However the rise

in decline of parliament, increasing corruption and policy paralysis are arguments against Coalitions. Some best practices such as Constructive no vote of no-confidence as seen in France & Germany can be used to strengthen our Coalition politics.

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Q3(b) Analyse the various aspects of Social mobilization by political parties in India.

Social Mobilization is one of the most important functions of political parties and in India they carry it out in different methods;

(1) Political parties rely on mobilization based on developmental issues and rally public consensus behind the development agenda of the party. eg: The initiative of INC to moot the idea of Universal basic income is an instance of the same or the 'Garbi Harao' campaign by Indira Gandhi.

(2) In the a country like India, where nationalism is the words of Satyajit Bhattacharya - nationalism is Paul Brass

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a ~~long~~^{short} term trend and regionalism is a long term trend, identity mobilization is another aspect. Caste, Gender, language, Geography, Ethnicity are all foundations for such mobilizations.

(3) The mobilizations through junior associates of political parties is also another method adopted. ~~by~~ Foreign: Most of the Trade Unions, pressure groups are ancillary units of major political parties aimed at improving their social base.

(4) Communal polarization / Radicalism is also an extreme ~~step~~^{aspect} of social mobilization and by political parties. They instill fear in minds of people by inciting communal hatred which precipitates into communal violence. Paul Brass

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States this is a well developed machinery in India.

(5) / Social Mobilization is also practiced through the method of Co-optation by giving certain sections of society political posts on Constitutional recognition so as to gain their support. Appointing a Dalit President / Governor is one such strategy.

More often

than not, Social mobilization have helped to improve the democratic consciousness among citizens.

Political parties have to move from radicalization based strategies to one that promotes dialogue between Sections and ensure the democracy reaches every doorstep.

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Q3(c)

While allowing "Lobbying" in India will bring numerous advancement in the political system of India, but it is not without it's own pitfalls & problems. Provide arguments.

Lobbying is the process of negotiations or deliberations launched out by various interest groups or associations to influence policy making of govt. While it's a institutionalized mechanism in democracies such as USA, in India it is a fairly new concept.

Benefits of Lobbying.

1) Lobbying will provide useful insights to the government over the public interest of concerned stake holders and lead them to informed and rational decision making.

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2) It will ensure Govt is able to harness the potentials and expertise of various subject experts on legislations that require technical guidance. The Medical Termination of Pregnancy act was one such act which utilised expert opinion.

3) Government's can make use of economies of scale and understand the business positions from opinions rendered by lobbyists. It is a usual practice that representatives of organisations such as FICCI accompany Government to negotiate trade deals with foreign countries.

4) Lobbying enhances the deliberative aspect of democracy and gives Civilians to participate directly in governance process.

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However the same comes with some inherent drawbacks;

(1) Will lead to a situation of powerful associations like business groups hijacking the welfare agenda of the government signalling the growth of a deformed polyarchy as suggested by Robert Dahl

(2) Vulnerable & marginalized sections of the community often find it difficult to access the corridors of power showing a clear power asymmetry in India.

(3) Will create a situation ambient condition for growth of corruption and an unholy nexus between corporates & political parties.

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(h) makes the overall nature of the state neo-liberal in attitude and may come at the cost of compromising Substantive equality.

Therefore the ideal approach at this stage would be the strengthening of Grossroot democracy, local government institutions and promotion of social movements to ensure there is level playing field for all sections to influence policy framework of Government.

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Q 4ca Were the repercussions of Caste system in India only a product of British policies or it had far deeper roots in Indian society? Examine.

Identity based

differences are very prominent in a diverse landscape like India. Of that Caste is ~~a very~~ ^{one of} the most prominent factors that creates a hierarchy. The reasons for this growth of hierarchy is a debated topic.

Scholars of the

West like Louis Dumont believe Caste is essentially

~~embedded~~ ^{embedded} in the Society of India from historical ages. According to such scholars Indians were historically fragmented based on Caste identities

and was not a product of british actions - -

[Dr B.R Ambedkar]

In his book Annihilation of Caste maintains the view the ugly hierarchy of caste was present from the [later vedic ages]. The acts of classifying [Shudras] as untouchables or [impure] and actions from brahmins to preserve their hegemony were all present from pre-british times.

However leaders

like Gandhi believed though caste system existed in India before the penetration of untouchability and

caste based discrimination is a product of british

policies. Their act of putting one caste against another & neutrality on these discrimination post

[The 1857 revolt] paved a fertile ground for the same.

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Scholars of the

Instrumentalist School such as Ashgar Ali Engineer

is also of the same opinion. Partha Chatterjee

opines the attempt to picture Indians ^{as} traditionally
Casteist & Communal in nature is a derivative

discourse. It can also be considered as a 'orientalist'
view point in words of Edward Said. Nevertheless one

cannot refute the inferior status awarded to women
during the later Vedic ages and caste based hierarchy
which was a catalyst for growth of other philosophies
such as Buddhism. This hierarchy was accentuated
by the role of British.

7.5

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4(b) Analyse the challenges to the successful functioning of local self governing institutions after the enactment of 73rd & 74th Amendment. [15 marks].

Ans:

Local self governing institutions were given Constitutional status through 73rd & 74th Constitutional Amendment as an exercise in deepening grassroot democracy and democratic decentralization. Yet even after 30 years of implementation, it ~~is~~ remains a half baked cake.

Manishankar

Aryar Committee identifies one of the major issues with local self governments is the lack of political will of the States. As the items mentioned under 11th & 12th schedule of Indian Constitution falls under the discretion of State Government, many have stepped away from a meaningful devolution due to the

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power struggle. The Committee in this regard notes the 73rd & 74th Amendment seems like a politically negotiated settlement to pacify states.

Absence of

proper activity mapping and fund allocation from Union government violates the subsidiarity principle and renders these institutions as a toothless tiger. Thus problems persist at all three levels of funds, functions & functionaries.

Sarkaria

Commission notes that there exists caste based discrimination in Gram Sabha meetings & proper minutes of such meetings are not recorded. Women who are elected to the local bodies are often a few and the culture of pradhanpanti still prevails in many parts.

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The corruption ~~removes~~ between
bureaucrats and the government often keeps the
development programme in limbo for several years.

The lack of autonomy for District planning committees

under 2432D of Indian Constitution render ~~the~~
planning in urban areas to be ineffective Justice Rajes

Nauman in this content notes that loss due to
improper devolution of power to local bodies is
extremely concerning.

Constitution of a panchayat

Ombudsman in every state ^{too} on the basis of Kerala
model is a right step forward. Activity mapping at
all levels, setting up of State Finance Commissions to
allocate necessary funds and regular elections are
Some recommendations from Panchhi Commission.

The Commission in this regard notes that bad panchayati
Raj is worse than the earlier system.

Q4(c) - Describe the nature of new social movements in India and factors for their limited impact and success till now? [20 marks].

Ans:

Social Movements in

India picked up heat only during the late 1970s.

The ~~post~~ period from 1947 - 1967 was a time of

'grey years' as the central government was expected to

resolve all issues of citizens. However with advent of

globalization, information exchange & the rights

& development consciousness of citizens transformed into

social movements.

The term new

social movements refers to the change in the nature

of movements that ~~took~~ took place post-1990s.

What was once a movement that was led by the

Subaltern class and based on basic livelihood issues now improved its social base and increased its numerical strength. Yet their ~~social~~ impact was limited.

Nature of new social movement in India:

1) Ramchandra Guba says if old social ~~to~~ movements was fought on empty stomach & by poor people, new social movements are led by middle class and on filled stomachs.

2) Environmentalists such as Vandana Shiva, & Arundhati Roy opines new social movements are inherently Utilitarian in nature.

3) They now not only focuses on the vulnerable sections but other far problems that impact society in general such as Climate change.

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Sustainable development etc.

- 4) The nature of many subelements in the social ~~element~~ movements have acquired radical character - as for instance women movements which was development centric till 1980s acquired radical feminist character post 1990s through movements such as Sabli, Vimochana etc.
- 5) Post the 2P6r reforms, the private sector participation or endorsements of such movements have also become a characteristic feature.

Reasons for limited success.

- 1) Loss of contact with the grass root community as for ~~a~~ instance Ram Chandra Guha opines India does not have human rights movements but human rights industries led by management

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graduates who lack touch with the Common man.

2) Feminist activists such as Neena Desai &

Vsita Shaker says the ideological divisions or Caste/class divisions have impacted the unity of Social movements.

3) Many movements have been subdued by political pressure or Executive Crackdowns as they

cross the boundary of Nationalist discourse according to Jyoti Basu.

4) The involvement of foreign propaganda in India's social movement as seen in recent farmers

movement or CAA protests are also posing a threat to their success.

9.5

Therefore what we require

is enhancement of deliberations among Common Citizens, and active State Cooperation to preserve this

imperative element of democracy.

apl

Q5(a) What are the challenges being faced by the working class movement in India? How has the rise of communal politics & LPRs reforms impacted them.

Working class movement have rarely formed the core agenda of India's development politics. Though their interests are often represented by Trade Unions & other associations it has not translated into any meaningful success.

Challenges faced by working class movement

1] Trade Unions are primary representative of workers interests. However more often than not they are ^{mostly} junior partners of mainstream political parties and fail to resolve workers' concerns.

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- 2) The initial enthusiasm displayed in many national ^{workers} movements after gets dissipated soon due to the affair of political loopholes and affair of political appointments.
- 3) The lack of organized leadership and agenda setting makes the labour movements after searching for an aim.
- 4) The decline of left parties in India according to Pratul Bidwai has negatively demotivated the workers group in India.
- 5) The absence of uniform legislations and regional disparity from state to state have prevented a pan-India consolidation of labour movements.
- 6) The Covid-19 pandemic has left the working

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Class in tatters and lack of mobility during these unprecedented time have restricted an upsurge of working class interests.

Impact of Communal politics & LPG reforms:

- 1) Communal politics has divided working class movement on religious & Caste lines and created an internal disunity.
- 2) They often led to fragmentation of workers unions and absence of solidarity.
- 3) LPG reforms though resulted in economic growth, the rise in income inequalities have worsened workers movement.

OXFAM reports Top 10% of India holds 70% of India's wealth and this inequality can be addressed & brought into public attention through a consolidated workers movement.

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Q.5(b) Discuss the specific features of India's pressure group and their relation and impact on mainstream Indian politics?

Pressure groups are invisible empires according to Finer who influences policy decisions pressure groups ~~are~~ by staying away from mainstream political framework. In India pressure groups display a number of unique features;

- 1) Most the pressure groups are non associational and based on several identities such as Caste, Gender, race etc. eg: Nair Service Society, RSS etc.
- 2) They are reservoirs of future leadership and present a diverse pool of talents.
- 3) According to Robert Hardgrave & Stanley

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Kochanek, pressure groups in India are still bound by the control of state and have to stay within the boundaries of national discourse.

4) Pressure groups in India ~~are~~ often lack a grand design, loose organizations and a coherent ideology.

5) They have started becoming influential in many policy making nerve centres of the nation as now pressure groups like FICCI are an integral part of India's trade talks.

Impact on Indian politics:

1) They act as a safety valve of Indian democracy by highlighting the shortfalls of Government.

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and bringing attention to the major developmental issues.

2) They perform the role of political education and social mobilization in Indian politics.

3) They have played an instrumental role in developing rights consciousness among citizens and improving the deliberative democracy in India.

4) They act as a system of checks & balances in the democratic setup of India.

Therefore pressure

groups have played an instrumental role in deepening of democracy in India.

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Q5(c) What is the rationale & distinctive features of Regional parties in India? [20].

Regionalism is a long term trend in India according to the scholar Paul Brass. Therefore it is only natural that Regional parties enact a crucial role in India.

According to E. Sridharan the regional parties in India have the following features,

- 1) Displays a deep connect with the grassroots community and local populations.
- 2) A great understanding of local issues and concerns of the people.
- 3) They often lack a grand ideology or design

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and can be formed even on an issue
based consensus. eg: AAP.

4) ~~They~~ The leadership of these regional parties
are often leaders of the respective local community
and one represents their interests.

5) Regional parties in India are often representative
of the dominant caste in the region and puts
forward their interests eg: BSP, SP etc.

6) They may align as junior partners of
mainstream political parties to gain national
attention and tender numerical support in
parliament.

7) They also occasionally attempt to form a
third front ~~egtd~~ at Centre to present a viable
coalition against mainstream parties.

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~~However, Mishra~~

Neishnav notes the following features of regional parties have led to erosion of democracy in India.

1) Regional parties focus on Kaste Consensus and Votebank politics have led to decline of parliament.

2) It is also noted that regional parties often play a conducive role to the criminalization of Indian politics.

3) The transition of India into a noisy democracy is also a concerning feature.

Therefore though regional parties are a indirect result of

democratic upsurges in India as Yogendra

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Yudav says, their impact has been both positive & negative.

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