NEXT IAS

CSE (MAINS) TEST SERIES - 2023

(To be filled by candidate)

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Mobile Number : 9871392347 **Date of Examination :** 21/07/23

Exam Centre : Old Rajinder Nagar ☐ Bhopal ☐ Online ☑

Test-04	**POLITICAL SCIENCE & INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**
Dated : 15-07-2023	

Time Allowed : Three Hours | **Maximum Marks: 250**

QUESTION PAPER SPECIFIC INSTRUCTIONS

(Please read each of the following instructions carefully before attempting questions)

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. Among these THREE questions, one should be from each section.

Answers must be written in the medium authorized in the Admission certification 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.

Observations:

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SECTION A

1. **Answer the following questions in about 150 words each:** (5 × 10 = 50)

(a) To what extent has the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) effectively protected and promoted human rights in India, and what are the key issues and challenges that impede its operational efficiency? Provide an analytical discussion.

"Rights are those conditions of life without which no man can seek to be at his best"
- Laski

NHRC is a statutory body established under Paris principles an watchdog of Human Rights in India.

Under the Act, it has powers to take up issues pending before court, give recommendation to govt and take up suo-moto cognizance of cases of human rights violations.

NHRC has been instrumental in rehabilitation of chakma refugees, advocated repeal of TADA, POTA and time and again issued notices to state governments for HR violations - e.g. to Maharashtra govt in a case of accidental death of workers.

However, NHRC has been criticised

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as 'toothless tiger' by Supreme Court for its inability to give binding recommendations.

Also, NHRC lacks its own investigative team and asks states to investigate the matter. Soli Sorabji in this context called NHRC - a 'teasing illusion'.

Moreover, NHRC cannot take up issues prior to one year of occurance and also cannot take up cases against armed forces - as in case of AFSPA.

Dependance on funds, functionaries also effects its functioning.

Upendra Baxi says India's commitment to human Rights is a rhetoric than reality.

Nevertheless, NHRC played role in creating awareness about Human Rights and mainstreaming HR issues in India.

(b) Discuss the key differences in the environmental movements in India and the West. Examine how these differences shape their strategies and priorities.

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In the west environmental movements are part of new-social movements, while India they can be seen as blend of both-old and new.

According to Ramachandra Guha, environmental movements in the west are full stomach movements, while in India - these are 'empty stomach' movements.

The core concern in India is not ecology or protection of environment but the rights and livelihood of people. Chipko movement was led by women who feared loss of their livelihood, while Narmada Bachao andolan was about resettlement rights of tribals.

Sunita Narain thus calls Indian environmental movement is about 'human ecology' and she says there is

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need to hear the voices of the poor.

It also effected the priorities. In India the laws, as consequence of environmental movements brought about a role for local communities - in decision making - EIA and recognising traditional Rights - Forest Rights Act.

Also, the strategies in India, were peaceful protests led by leaders like Sunderlal Bahuguna, Medha Patkar, in the west, the strategies included - intellectual means - books, novels, movies and articles to create awareness.

Thus while environmentalism in the west is said to be 'for leisure', in India it was 'survival' (Guha).

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(c) Examine how caste, acting as a persistent political identity, influences electoral behaviour and Indian politics.

According to M.N. Srinivas, caste forms part of subconsciousness in Indians. It is said that Indian dont cast their vote, they vote their caste.

Caste has been influencing politics even before independence - congress was criticised as party of Brahmins.

Post independence, Andre Beteille said that caste became basis for social policies. Rajni Kothari argues that when secular benefits are based on identities, politicisation of caste cannot be stopped.

Christophe Jaffelot analysed how caste shapes electoral behaviour in his Indian silent Revolution. He analysed, linguistic reorganisation from caste based politics perspective. Post reorganisation castes consolidated themselves.

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Regional parties are also led by one or other dominant caste.

Yogendra Yadav explained role of caste through democratic upsurges — coming out of OBCs from congress as 1st upsurge and dalits in 1990s as second upsurge.

Rajni Kothari explains the formation of caste coalitions (majgar), dalit-muslim coalitions as impact of caste in politics.

According to Rudolph and Rudolph, caste and politics led to traditionalisation of modernity and modernisation of traditions, saying caste has traditionalised democracy.

Interplay of caste and politics has led to success of democracy in India (Rajni Kothari) and is inevitable impact of deepening and widening of democracy.

(d) Considering the complex role of ethnicity in Indian politics, where it can serve as both an obstacle and an accelerator, provide a critical analysis of its dual function.

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James Manor in his Ethnicity and Politics in India describes four form of ethnicities - race, religion, caste and language.

In poismatic society (R.W. Riggs) like India, ethnicity in politics is inevitable feature. Religion, caste, language have been shaping politics since independence.

While scholars like Kancha Ilaiya, Satish Deshpande appreciate role of ethnicity (caste) in politics as a way for development, Andre Beteille, and C.P. Bhambhari are critical of it.

Linguistic reorganisation strengthened national unity and identity. Also, caste based mobilisation helped in deepening of democracy - as Christophe Jaffelot calls it India's silent revolution.

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Emergence of SP, BSP is also seen as assertion of backward classes and dalits.

However, Ashutosh Varshney in his Battle's half won - says that caste based politics have done well below elections - there is no trickle down of power.

Also, it is seen as diverting attention from issues of social justice.

Religion in politics has led to polarisation of politics and communal conflicts. T-B Hansen in saffron wave explains rise of BJP - as a mix of political and religious phenomena.

In a multi ethnic, multi religious and pluralistic society mixing of ethnicity is natural. What is needed more of democracy, not less (Atul Kohli).

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(e) How has the political function of religion in India transformed over time?

According to sociologist T.N. Madan, secularism cannot succeed in India because of lack of secularisation. Thus, Religion has been keenly linked to politics in India.

In the initial years of independence, there was attempts to keep politics away from Religion. However, from 1980s the interaction increased.

Paul Brass, in this context analysed communal conflicts and held them as well planned organised events. There is preparatory stage, precipitation stage and explanatory stage. It leads to consolidation of votes.

Post 1990s, there was rise of religion based politics world wide. In India, as caste based politics reached

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Q.2

a dead end (with capping of reservation), religion became tool of political mobilisation.

Thomas Blom Hansen in his Saffron wave explains rise of BJP - by tapping sense of insecurity of upper caste Hindus.

Christophe Jaffelot in his Majoritarian State explains rising role of religion in recent years.

Religion, thus has become a tool for political mobilisation and also tool for advocating demands based on religion (UCC).

Value based politics and greater awareness can ensure, religion based politics do not turn into further polarisation or exclusion of minorities.

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Q.2 (a) In light of the evolving role of the Election Commission of India (ECI) as a fourth-branch institution, the recent criticisms surrounding its appointment process influenced the integrity and independence of the ECI. Discuss this in light of the recent judgement of the Supreme Court on adopting a collegium system for appointments. *(15 Marks, 200 Words)*

"India is known for three things in the world – Gandhiji, Tajmahal and elections."

– S.Y. Qureshi – in 'Undocumented wonder'.

ECI is a constitutional body (Art 324) which acts as watchdog, to ensure free and fair elections in India. over the years, its role evolved from just providing rules to innovation, reinforcing and evolving, expanding the norms and rules of conduct during election.

ECI has evolved model code of conduct, introduced EVM, VVPAT - for transparency and integrity of elections and its impartiality and non-partisanship was appreciated under the likes of T.N. Seshan.

However, ECI faced criticism and

questions on its credibility due to mode of appointment of its members - by the govt - with no role to opposition or any other branch of govt.

The actions like not allowing counting of VVPAT in all constituencies, meeting of CEC and EC with PMO, internal bickering with EC, has also led to criticism over its autonomy.

In this backdrop, Supreme court in Anoop Baranwal v/s UOI - in the landmark case provided for a collegium system for the appointment of CEC. The collegium includes PM, LOP and CJI - providing an institutional mechanism for the same.

Though the move was criticised by some as judicial activism, it has been appreciated as a step towards enhancing the autonomy and credibility

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of ECI. It will also embolden ECI to take up bold actions on reforms without being criticised as partisan.

However, issues remain - such as security of tenure of ECs, appointment of ECs, ECI still funded from govt (not charged on consolidated fund; EC has no power to ~~derecog~~ deregister political parties etc.

Nevertheless, ECI has been hailed for providing procedural certainity to the electoral democracy in India. In this light Hillary Clinton called India's election 'gold standard'.

Strengthening and enhancing the plenary powers of ECI - is thus critical for a thriving democracy in India - as democracy and elections have a ~~congenti~~ congenital relationship (S.Y. Quraishi)

(b) How has the human rights movement in independent India evolved in terms of its demands and strategies? Discuss how these developments have reflected the political, social, and economic context of India. *(15 Marks, 200 Words)*

Denying human Rights to someone is denying the very humanity.

- Nelson Mandela.

India, on its independence a rich heritage of civil rights movement. National freedom struggle was one of the largest civil Right movement. Pandit Nehru promised that there would not be any 'black laws' in India.

Human Rights movements, however, did not gather momentum till 1970s. Though the laws like AFSPA continued to exist, which were seen as challenge to human Rights.

It was since 1970s - human Rights movement emerged. JP movement was one of the largest civil Rights movement post independence. This period also saw - rise of organisations like

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PUCL, ADR, PUDR - which campaigned for human Rights.

These organisations, except for PUDR which went for protests, followed legal approach to fight for their cause. Along with activist judiciary - they enlarged scope of human rights in India - seen from PIL, progressive expansion of Art 21 etc.

Also, women movements - can also be seen as human Rights movements - especially post 1990s as they took up issues of dowry, rape, domestic violence - issues linked to rights, dignity of women.

These developments had both direct and indirect bearings on political and social, economic context of India.

The creation of NHRC was major step for institutionalising human Rights in India.

Also, cleaning of electoral system, putting check on executive powers - one some of the impacts of human Rights.

In social sphere, the realisation of manual scavenging as a human Rights issue (law in 2013) and main-streaming of women issues (Visakha guidelines, Domestic violence Act) can be seen.

In economic context, the recognition of poverty as a human dignity issue, institutionalisation of NREGA, and states attempts to social security highlight impact of human Rights.

Upendra Baxi in his State and human Rights - however held that commitment to human Rights is rhetoric than reality in India.

Yet, we see the ambit and scope of Human Rights ever expanding in India.

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(c) Analysing the disparities between Western and Indian secularism, discuss how a reimagined form of secularism, advocating a "principled distance" from religion, responds to India's unique societal and political intricacies. *(20 Marks, 250 Words)*

The term secularism was coined by George Holyoake. The idea of secularism emerged in western Europe advocating for separation of Religion from state. Machiavelli is considered as father of secularism in Europe.

While in the west the core aspects of secularism are strict separation of state and church; universal citizenship and confining religion to private sphere.

In contrast, Indian model of secularism follows principled distance instead of equi-distance, and the strict wall of separation is not found between state and Religion.

Moreover, universal citizenship remains incomplete, with uniform civil code just being directive principle. Also, Under art 29,30, Indian secularism talks about special protection of minorities

Instead of Religious neutrality, Indian model is based on sarva dharma sambhava (Religious equality) and Apart Nirpekshta (Art 14, 15, 16).

Rajeev Bhargava calls Indian model of secularism as historical and politically negotiated model in response to India's unique societal and political intricacies.

Unlike the west, India is a multicultural, multireligious state and the history of partition - shaped India's model of secularism - advocating the protection of minority.

Rajeev Bhargava points that, State and religion have only porous boundaries, and there is no overarching framework guiding secular principles in India. However, it is based on values of human dignity, human rights.

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Indian model, however has been criticised as pseudo-secular (L.K. Adwani). Also, Arun Shourie points that, in a democracy, if something cannot be extended to all, it shall not be extended to some (Art 29, 30).

Also, T.N. Madan held that, India has less chances of succeeding secularism due to lack of secularisation. Romila Thapar calls for bold model of secularism.

India has also seen, interference of religion - in politics and communal conflicts / riots - which put further strain of the model of secularism in India.

Yet, as pointed by Rajeev Bhargava, India's model seeks to address the unique challenges of India. D.E. Smith - in his analysis - states that 'minorities are the custodians of secularism in India'.

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Bhikhu Parekh also appreciates Indian constitution for adopting multicultural approaches and giving special rights to minorities.

In contemporary times, rising diversity, due to Globalisation, migration, and assertion of cultural minorities, Indian model of secularism is the need of hour for even the west.

Adoption of multicultural concept by Australia is an example of the recognition of the change required in secularism of west.

Q.4 (a) What measures should the Indian government consider to revitalise the stalled land reform policies in light of the current transitional phase of Indian agriculture, and how could these changes promote greater agricultural efficiency and social equity? *(15 Marks, 200 Words)*

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According to Maibeesh Ghatak, land reforms have not only ethical arguments, but compelling political and economic arguments in India.

Agriculture is home - source of livelihood to almost half of India's 1.4 billion population. And land reforms - in terms of regulation of ownership and concussive land titling can directly impact productivity and yield of land - traditionally which have been low in India.

Also, land is a source of sustainable income, status and key for achieving an egalitarian society and ~~achieve~~ address agrarian distress in India.

However, land reforms, after initial enthusiasm till 1970s - today remains

an unfinished agenda. Agriculture is in transitional phase- with newer challenges like- climate change, reverses from Green Revolution, increasing burden on agricultural land, impact of liberalisation and changed under WTO agreements.

The need in the field of land reforms, include identification and digitising land ownership and expediting the resolution of land disputes; promotion of FPOs for achieving economies of scale.

Moreover, a clear law on contract farming will enable farmers to collaborate with industry on fair and equitable terms to address demand - supply mismatch and better farm - industry connect.

These changes can give push to better remuneration to farmers, and

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additional employment in food processing sector and also can have multiplier effect.

Promoting e-NWR can make credit easily accessible for farmers, and also address rural distress - promoting rural-urban equity. considering the increasing feminisation of agriculture - it can also impact gender relations and achieve gender justice.

Implementation of M.S. Swaminathan committee recommendations, Ashok Dalwai suggestions to double income - focussing on Agri-research, development, education and extension - as suggested by Prof. Ashok Gulati can usher in new-dawn in Indian agriculture.

(b) What impact has the evolution of the party system in India, transitioning from one-party dominance to multi-party coalitions and subsequently returning to a dominant party system, had on political stability and the process of policy-making in the country? *(15 Marks, 200 Words)*

Political parties play key role in representative democracy (Laski). They play the role of political socialisation, interest articulation and aggregation (Gabriel almond) in the political landscape.

Party system has been continuously evolving in India. Till 1967 - to India had one party dominant system - called as congress system - by Rajni Kothari, post 1970s, we saw emergence of regional political parties - with linguistic reorganisation, green Revolution and 1st democratic upsurge (Yogendra Yadav).

Period from 1990s - 2014 had witnessed multi party coalitions - with NDA, UPA completing full terms. Ricker describes these as powersharing arrangements.

Post 2014, emergence of BJP - as single largest party, made Suhas Palshikar

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describe it as 2nd one party dominant system.

The party system at the national level had inevitable impact on both political stability and policy making in India.

Till 1970s, the political stability in congress system allowed to take bold steps- from linguistic reorganisation to state led planned economy. Green revolution happened during this period.

In coalition era, political stability was volatile- with continuous defections and changing alliances. India went for 6 elections in 1996- 1998, 1999.

It also affected policy making. According to M.P. singh, in coalition govt, there is not one PM, but multiple PMs. For member of political party, his party leader is PM.

It led to corruption, policy paralysis and even role of former PM was criticised as 'manager of coalitions'.

Emergence of BJP - as single largest party with majority - enabled to take steps such as abrogation of Art 370, bringing in Citizenship Amendment Act and now pushing for Uniform civil code.

Also, it enabled BJP to go for foreign policy approach - without inhibitions from regional parties - like in Srilanka.

However, we see reviving of coalitions in the form of new front - INDIA and joint meeting of NDA - inviting 38 parties.

Party system is thus at constant flux in India - both cause and consequence of widening and deepening democracy in India.

(c) To what extent has the Comptroller and Auditor General (CAG) of India fulfilled its envisioned role as defined by the Constituent Assembly? Analyse the challenges faced by the CAG. *(20 Marks, 250 Words)*

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In the words of Vinod Rai - in his Not just an accountant - Transparency and accountability are two ingredients for Good Governance which can be possible by proper auditing of public funds.

CAG (Art 148), is the guardian of public purse and upholds the accountability of executive in the aspect of financial administration. He is also the head of audit and accounts department in India.

In the constituent assembly, B.R. Ambedkar called- CAG as the most important office under constitution. It plays the role of auditing - the accounts of central and state govts, coordinates with PAC, among other things.

CAG, under constitution, performs three types of audits. Firstly, its

compliance audit ensuring the rules and regulations on spending finances are upheld. Then, it is financial audit looking into aspects of appropriate reportage and presentation of financial records.

Apart from above two, CAG also undertakes performance audit - checking the efficiency, effectiveness and economy in the programmes of Govt.

Over the years, CAG has been appreciated for its role, starting from indicting the then foreign minister - V.K. Menon in defence deals to Bofors scandal - it played role in unearthing irregularities. The

In recent years, it brought to fore Adarsh scam, irregularities in common - wealth games. Also, it provides review of performance - last year provided detailed analysis of safety issues of Indian Railways (2022).

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However, role of CAG is not without criticism. It is appointed by govt. without role of political opposition. Appointment of Shashikant Sharma faced criticism as he was involved in clearing defence deals earlier as secretary.

Also, delay in discussion of the reports of CAG, post portem analysis, unlike in UK, and action of CAG in Rafale case - of Reactive pricing - have been criticised.

Moreover, it was held that, CAG excessively focusses on loopholes or mistakes without taking into account practical constraints, and doesnot differentiate between bonafide and intentional mistakes.

In this context, it was suggested that CAG shall be appointed by a multimember body and there should

be timeframe in which CAG reports be discussed.

Also, Vinod Rai suggests to ensure all PPP projects are covered under ambit of CAG. Consulting PAC for appointing CAG will enhance institutional autonomy.

CAG has, thus a redefined role in post LPG era. so as to play the role effectively as envisaged by constituent assembly.

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SECTION B

5. **Answer the following questions in about 150 words each:** (5 × 10 = 50)

(a) Comment on the Nehruvian perspective of development and its contemporary relevance.

Pundit Nehru was not an economist in traditional sense. His perspective on economic development was shaped by his influence of socialism and economic model of USSR.

Nehru believed in state led planned economy, with state playing role at commanding heights of economy. It emphasised on self reliance by import substitution; focus on large scale industries.

Role of private sector was limited as a second fiddle to primary role of public sector.

Nehruvian model enabled India create industrial base and also a major technologically advanced in third world country. However, the licence, permit,

quota led to corruption, lack of innovation, and stigmatised capitalism.

Finally, 1990s saw India opening its economy and giving greater role to private sector.

In contemporary times, as India aspires for Atma Nirbharta - Nehru's idea of self reliance remains relevant. Also, in strategic sectors - like 4th IR, Semi conductors - strong indigenous industrial base is necessary.

Similarly, to ensure inclusive growth and reduce inequality active role of state too is needed - but in a changed form - from provider of goods to a facilitator.

(b) How do pressure groups in India influence politics? Discuss their role in representing the interests of marginalised communities and promoting democratic values.

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Pressure groups are associations which seek to influence politics, without directly taking part in elections or acquiring political power. Samuel Finer calls them invisible empires.

Pressure groups go for policy advocacy, creating public awareness, public mobilisation, political & lobbying for any cause. They play role of interest articulation (Gabriel Almond).

In India, in the initial phase post independence, pressure groups lacked legitimacy and respect. Myron Weiner in his 'Politics of Scarcity' describes them as junior partners of political parties. Also, there was domination of 'communal pressure groups'.

Post 1990s there is increasing role

of pressure groups as highlighted by Robert Hargrave and Stanley Kochanek. State is moving from state dominated pluralism, more stronger pressure groups.

FICCI, CII - are involved in policy advocacy, formulation in India. Also, India's decision to withdraw from RCEP was determined by pressure groups.

Also, they go for direct actions - protests, dharnas, Rastaroko - as seen in case of protests against farm laws.

They also advocate cause of marginalised. Pressure groups advocating Rights of LGBTQ, manual scavengers, tribals - put forward their concerns, use judicial route and also create awareness among public.

Pressure groups thus make democracy modernised (Rajni Kothari).

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(c) Comment: Green Revolution in India and its impact on the politics of farmers.

Green Revolution refers to rapid increase in production of foodgrains (Rice, wheat) by introduction of changed like - HYV seeds, fertilizers, irrigation, modern machines - in Agriculture in India.

Started in 1970s - in the states of Punjab, UP, Haryana - it gradually spread to other regions.

It transformed India from a ship to mouth country to a food surplus country with current production of foodgrains amounting to 315 millions.

Green Revolution however, had not only economic impact, but political-social impact as well. Rudolph & Rudolph highlight rise of Bullock capitalists'.

It also saw rise of middle class, - mainly from intermediate caste

which organised themselves as Regional political parties.

It also saw rise of rich farmers' groups - advocating and benefitting from policies like MSP, public procurement, fertilizer subsidy, irrigation subsidy.

It also increased representation of farmers in parliament and rise of farmer led organisations like - BKU, AIKS.

Recent farm protests highlight the strength and reach of farmers led pressure groups — consequence of Green Revolution.

(d) Analyse the evolution of LGBTQ+ rights in India and discuss the challenges faced by the community and the strategies for a more inclusive future.

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Idea of LGBTQ+ Rights is a relatively new phenomena in India. Earlier started by organisations like Naz foundation, social media, Globalisation led to greater awareness about their rights.

With Supreme courts landmark judgment in Naz foundation, decriminalising sec 377, the LGBTQ movement got a new momentum.

Supreme court held that, social morality cannot triumph over constitutional morality.

However, legal change is not commensurately associated with social change in attitudes, perception and understanding about LGBTQ Rights.

They continue to remain stigmatised,

facing ostracisation, isolation and unavailability of counselling services.

Also, legal gaps - like no provision for marriage yet and adoption - act as obstacle to actualisation of Right to life.

The need is to overhaul civil laws, making them gender neutral - with provision of marriage, divorce, adoption among LGBTQ and also social awareness to ensure, their Right to life is recognised in true spirit of constitutional morality.

(e) How has the socio-economic profile of Indian legislators evolved over the decades, and what factors have contributed to these changes?

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Parliament is the mirror of society. The changing profile is indicator of social change'.

Shankar and Rodrigues have analysed the changing socio-economic profile of legislators.

In 1st phase, till 1970s, it was dominated by upper cast. women, minorities, OBCs were under represented. SC, ST had fair share due to reservation.

It was dominated by lawyers, educated Indians - including among dalits.

Rural representatives, women were called as back benchers.

1970s saw, change and rise of OBCs since 1980s. Also, farmers and social workers increased. women and minorities - remain less.

Trend continued in 1990s-

with OBCs forming almost 50% in 2008. Also, educated MPs grew in no. But, also saw rise in criminalisation (43% in LS facing criminal charges).

Factors responsible for change include - rise of regional parties, assertion by OBCs, dalits (two democratic upsurges), role of Green Revolution and land reforms, increasing role of caste in politics.

The changing profile indicates both deepening & broadening of democracy, yet women representation remains a concern.

6. (a) How successful has the National Commission for Women (NCW) been in fulfilling its mandate of upholding and advocating for women's rights in India? Critically examine the NCW's efforts in promoting gender equality and addressing women's issues within the country. *(15 Marks, 200 Words)*

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According to J.S. Mill in his 'on Subjection of women' - we have eliminated all forms slavery- except slavery of women. It is so universal -that it appears natural.

In this context, NCW was established as a statutory body, on the recommendation of eye opening report 'towards Equality' released in 1974. It along with women movements led to establishment of NCW.

Under section 10(a) of the Act, NCW has following role with respect to women:-

(1) safeguarding the protections available under constitution and laws

(2) monitoring effective implementation of provisions of safeguards.

(3) Look into specific complaints against violation of women Rights.

(4) Take part in planning process in socio-economic development of women.

(5) Evaluate the progress of women in India.

Some of the success of NCW include- its role in reforming laws related to women- including Hindu Code bill and maternity benefit Act. Also, it has earlier proposed Domestic violence bill.

Apart from Legal Cell, the complaint and counselling cell of NCW is also very active. It takes up complaints on gender related issues and goes for rescue and rehabilitation.

It issues notices suomoto - as in recent case of Manipur - where two women were paraded naked. During covid-19, it opened up mechanism

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to raise complaint via whatsapp.

However, NCW has been criticised for its ineffectiveness. Depending on govt. for funds and functionaries - it is seen as platform for political patronage.

Sadhna Arya (CSWDS) criticises calling it does postmortem analysis and not proactive, citing NCW lacks members with transformative ideology. n

Also, institutional discontinuity without proper institutionalisation - prevents bringing lasting change.

Often members do not have prior experience of work in gender related issues - leading lack of understanding of gravity of problems.

Reforming NCW to suit the challenges women face in 21st century is critical to unleash nari shakti for NewIndia.

(b) How do the differences between old social movements and new social movements impact their relative success and societal impact? Analyse these differences and their implications for the effectiveness and influence of each type of movement. *(15 Marks, 200 Words)*

Social movements represent 'collective behaviour' to bring or resist a change in the society. It There are organised attempts by members of civil society to influence govt policy decisions.

Social movements can be divided into old and new on the basis of objective, nature, leadership and methods. Old social movements are dominant till 1900s in the west and post WW-II, there has been rise of New- social movements.

Old Social movements were concerned with bread and butter issues — like workers' movements. The methods included protests, and demonstrations and goal was to alter the socio-economic status quo. These can be called materialist movements in nature.

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New-social movements, according to Habermas aim to alter, socio-cultural statusquo. Women movements, environmental movements can be called new social movements.

The leadership came from middle class and methods of mobilisation included - conferences, articles, books, drama - to create awareness.

Old social movements success can be seen from, the legislations - providing equal rights, to better conditions of work and also emergence of new model of state - welfare state.

New-social movements too altered the nature of state to some extent - and legal changes - like laws to protect environment, violence against women - EIA, FRA and Domestic violence Act, POSH Act - in India.

In terms of societal impact, while

old social movement i.n the beginning created class divide and conflicts, new social movement tried to alter dominant notions of society. The attack was on structure of society that was patriarchal.

The kind of difference between old and new social movements - however it's not found in East-where they both overlap. For example, Narmada Bachao Andolan was not only to protect ecology but to fight for the rights of resettlement of tribals.

The strategies and methods - undoubtedly shape the effectiveness of social movements. According to Mary Kaldor social movements aim to fill the gap between the a) existence of global problems but absence of global platforms.

(c) Critically examine the nature of environmental movements in India. To what extent have they been able to achieve their goals, and what challenges have they encountered? *(20 Marks, 250 Words)*

Candidates must not write on this margin

Polluted skies, dead rivers, disappearing forests and displaced peasants, tribals.. are what we see 40 years after Chipko movement. Today, India is an environmental basket case

— Ramchandra Guha.

R.C. Guha traces environmental movement in India, to the Chipko movement in the central Himalayas in 1970s. It was a powerful statement against the then existing model of development.

Guha calls period upto 1970s post independence as age of ecological innocence. Post 1970s, the course of environtalism, though raised, was struggling to heard.

While political class saw it as luxury of rich, marxists described it

as bourgeoise deviations.

From 1980s environmental movements were led by both intellectuals and writers on one side; and the movements for rights by tribals, fisher-men, women in Himalays.

It was the time, which highlighted the unequal competetion for resources between the poor (fighting for subsidence) and rich (looking for profit).

Narmada Bachao Andolan, save Silent valley - belong to this period.

It also saw legislative changes — Environet Protection Act - 1986.

From 1990s, systematic analysis of root causes of ecological changes and environmental movements started.

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However, exploitation of nature continued and EIA was seen as obstacle to faster clearance of development projects.

Guha called Indian environmental movements as ~~full~~ empty stomach unlike efull stomach movement in west. Sunita Narain has highlighted that environmental movement in India is not about saving trees, it is about democracy.

She call it social ecology, not just ecology. Environmentalism in India is human centred - not nature centred.

Some of achievements of Environmental movement are - increased public awareness about environmental issues, and legislation like EIA, opposing projects - ports, dams, creating scope for greater public participation.

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However, environmental movements failed to bring radical changes.

Often the movements are led by social workers - and they lack expertise to provide alternatives. So, there is continued exploitation to 'catchup' with the western world.

Polluters, despite entering into common lines, is still not an electoral issue and the approach is postmortem, firefighting than going for proactive policy changes.

Sunita Narain calls for new environmentalism rooted in valuing public voices, making them stakeholders in decisionmaking.