

Test 05

Time Allowed: 3 Hours

Max Marks: 250

Name

ANKITA

Test Date

26/11/2021

Email Address

UPSC Roll No

0621859

Instructions:

1. There are EIGHT questions divided in TWO SECTIONS and candidate has to attempt five questions in all.
2. Question Nos. 1 and 5 are compulsory and out of the remaining, any three are to be attempted choosing at least ONE question from each section.
3. Content of the answer is more important than its length.
4. Answers must be written in the medium authorized in the admission Certificate, which must be stated clearly on the cover of the booklet in the space provided.
5. Content of the answer is more important than its length.
6. Any page or portion of the page left blank in the Question-Cum-Answer Booklet must be clearly struck off.
7. All parts of the question should be written at one place itself.
8. Write the test in exam atmosphere.
9. **Filling all the details in BLOCK LETTERS is mandatory.**

S. No.	a	b	c	d	e	Total
1						
2				X	X	
3				X	X	
4				X	X	
5						
6				X	X	
7				X	X	
8				X	X	
Grand Total						

Poor

Average

Good

Very
Good

Excellent

1a - The Philosophical approach to studying politics is the oldest approach in Western Political Theory. Plato, in fact, back in Ancient Greece was called the 'Father of Political Philosophy'

Philosophy is the study of ideas - it is the critical examination of our beliefs to arrive at 'true knowledge'. The techniques employed are dialectics, logical reasoning, resolutive composite method etc..

The philosophical approach thus deals with the big ideas of politics like Justice, Equality,

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Liberty, Rights, Freedom and Ethics. It is normative & prescriptive as it seeks to shape the world and recognises the higher duty of political philosophers.

The philosophical approach has been criticised as removed from ground realities, "imagination of arm-chair academics", too value-biased and non-verifiable. Yet, the post-behavioural approach has recognised its importance. It has made a comeback in contemporary times with John Rawls' theory of Justice, Amartya Sen's 'Development as freedom' etc.

16 The categorisation of sex and gender as two separate concepts is a feature of "second wave feminism" (Betty Friedan, Simon De Beauvoir)

First wave feminists (Liberals & socialists) made no distinction between sex and gender. But, Simon De Beauvoir, in her work "The Second Sex" says "One is not born a woman, one becomes a woman". This implies that while sex may be biologically determined but gender is socially determined.

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Womanhood or gender is imposed socially on women through gender norms, myths propagated by mass media and "Scientists" like Sigmund Freud, De Beauvoir ^{for instance,} explodes the myth that women necessarily find fulfilment in motherhood.

This imposition of norms does not allow women to achieve transcendence, keep them in a state of immanence, caged with these norms. ~~women~~

In recent times, ~~there is~~ 3rd wave feminism and the LGBTQIA+ movement has challenged this clear cut difference between sex and gender. Sex, they say is not necessarily biologically determined.

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1c Buddhist political thought's contemporary exposition can be found in works of Kancha Illian and Shamanjay Keer. In ancient times it inspired many great monarchs like Emperor Ashoka, Prasenjit, the Pala Empire etc.

The Buddhist Political Thought is considered Republican. The king is selected by an assembly of men rather than being a hereditary monarch.

It also puts an emphasis

of an reasoned debates and discussions, rather than edicts of the king. The kingdom of Shakyas where Buddha was born and the Licchavis are considered proto-republics.

The ideal of kingship expounded by Buddhist thought focuses on Karuna - winning over by love, and welfare of the weak, needy, elderly etc. It espouses non-violence.

The reflection of Buddhist Political thought can be seen in our constitution, ~~dra~~ drafted by Dr. Ambedkar, who was hugely influenced by Buddhism.

14 John Rawls, in his work "The Theory of Justice" gives three lexical principles to create a society where justice as fairness is grounded in the inviolable dignity of every man (Kantian Tradition).

These lexical principles include maximum equal liberty to all, equal opportunity to all, and social institutions be arranged such that the advantages coming out of the first two principles can be utilised to the benefit of the worst off.

Communitarians like Michael Sandell in "Liberalism: the limits of Justice" criticised Rawls as his

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theory, privileged liberalism which might not be acceptable in all cultures. It is a Comprehensive Doctrine but Sandel argued that man is 'situated self' & 'Right is determined by good'.

In response, Rawls presented the idea of political liberalism - his lexical principles limited to the liberal political sphere, in a democratic state. He believed that such citizens can arrive at an "overlapping consensus" on political liberalism as just.

In their non-political lives, they could continue following their own principles.

1e The concept of Asian Values was formally presented for the first time at a UN conference by Singaporean President Lee Kuan Yew, and Malaysian Pm Malathir Muhammed.

The idea behind Asian Values is to counter the Western liberal push towards universalisation of liberal, democratic values, which Yew and Muhammed saw as cultural imperialism.

According to them, Asian people value order, discipline, respect and community more than

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individual liberty and democracy which can lead to disorder and chaos. They emphasised on the importance of economic rights i.e. imperative to grow rich before poor Asian countries could think about political & civil rights. Too much emphasis on the latter could stifle growth & development.

Critics, particularly Amartya Sen see Asian values as excuse for soft authoritarianism. He believes liberty, critical thought etc are also a part of ^{Asian} ~~ancient~~ culture which itself is very diverse.

Today Asian values is at the centre of geopolitical conflict between China & USA which is framed as democracy vs authoritarianism.

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instead of being allowed to study

→ forced to do higher education closer to home for "safety" reason / lack of autonomy

Adulthood

→ inheritance rights denied due to emotional blackmail, litigation.

↓
Medical access for serious ailments only (missing women at Ams)

→ male gaze, sexist comments at work, streets.

→ lack of control over money

→ burden of housework unequally shared = poor prospects at work.

Way forward

- Making women aware of their rights, & how they might be subverted & ensuring education so that they can fight for their Rights.

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2a

"A man who can live without the state is either Beast or God, but not a man" - Aristotle.

Political science is the science of states, said Ge Hel, but the role a state should play has been a matter of contest, especially within liberalism

Classical liberals, like John Locke and later, Neoliberals like Fredrich Hayek were deeply suspicious of state power. Hence, they believed a minimal state or a nightwatchman state is "just and inspiring" (Nozick)

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The state's role should be limited to protecting the "Right to Life, Liberty and Property". Its role is to ensure "negative liberty". The market should be left largely ~~unencumbered~~ unencumbered; as it is more efficient than a state.

However, a minimal state can lead to gross inequality and injustices.

Thus modern liberals and later, social liberals demanded a welfare state which would be benevolent & take care of its citizens from cradle to grave.

"Wills, not force" would be the

basis of such a state (TH Green)
Such a state ensures "positive
liberty" which is the "ability
to do things worth doing" (TH Green)

Thus, a welfare state hindere the
hindrances. Contemporary advocates
of a welfare state include John
Rawls, Amartya Sen, Ronald Dworkin.
Such a state balances liberty and
equality to ensure justice.

Future of the neoliberal state.

In the 1990s, neoliberal state was
seeing its high point - from
Reaganism to Thatcherism, to
the fall of USSR and shock therapy

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in Eastern Europe. The Washington
consensus had spread even to
post colonial states through the
IMF's structural adjustment -
programmes

However, neo liberal states led to
increase in inequality, disappearance
of the middle class, casino capitalism
(Susan Strange), climate change,
decline in public services, destruction
of democratic regimes in Africa &
Latin America.

Post 9/11 & due to COVID-19, there has been
a rethink. Budget deficits have shot up,
States have taken charge of health systems,
social security, child care etc. have
taken centre stage. PM Modi spoke of
'globalisation with a human face'. A
global minimum corporate tax is
that it being discussed.

It appears the neo liberal state is in decline
& the welfare state is back.

2b) Plato, the father of political philosophy, was concerned about the decline of his home Athens. He felt it was due to the materialistic corruption of the ruling elite. He wanted to build an ideal state with a well-educated ruling elite headed by the Philosopher King.

Though his method of selection of the elite & Philosopher King was (Theory of education) was meant to ~~redo~~ choose people of high integrity, he proposes his 'Theory of Communism' to absolutely eliminate any chances of corruption.

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According to being an "essentialist," he believed every person had an essence - a mix of reason (gold), appetite (bronze) and bravery (silver).

Thus, even the philosopher King could become corrupt due to appetite (Bronze).

He believed power and property and family are reasons for corruption. Thus, his communism entailed that the soldier class, ruling class would not own any property. Additionally, they would not have biological families.

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We can say that Plato has identified the cause of corruption & tried to "heroically remedy" it. But Plato's communism has been criticised by his student Aristotle.

For Aristotle, property is a source of stability, innovation, charity, hard work, & men of property are men of reason. He believes it is better to have ~~some~~ individual ownership and collective usage. To curb corruption, he advocated democracy - with rule of law & constitutionalism.

We can see both Plato & Aristotle's ideas ~~but~~ applied to modern democracies. candidates for elections are required to give an account of their wealth to the EC. Thus we can say, Plato is Philotopy, Philosophy is Plato.

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2c In pre-independence India, religion and politics were becoming a potent and toxic mixture especially after the Mosley-Minto reforms where separate electorates for Muslims were granted.

Politics of identity, ^(religion) is politics of passion which can lead to violence & exclusion.

To avoid it, liberal constitutionalists advocated secularisation of society and state - state should be absolutely distant & neutral from religion.

However, Mahatma Gandhi was deeply steeped in Indian society and culture, inspired by its

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tradition. His form of religious
secularism aka sardharmasadbhar
meant Harmony between different
religions through religious dialogue
and ^{mutual} understanding. ~~Instead~~ He
believed every religion has some
~~The~~ form of the truth & we can
all gain something from other
religions.

Thus according to him, instead to
ignoring religion, politics should
embrace the ethical ~~the~~ teachings
of religions. Ashish Nandy in his
"Anti-secularist manifesto" has
advocated this approach since

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the liberal approach has not prevented the marginalisation of minorities & communalisation of public sphere.

However, Sheel Bilgrami and Achint Vinayak have said in reality such an approach would only increase tensions between communities.

Ramila Thapar and Pratap Bhanu mehta have instead called ~~from~~ for a stronger form of secularism. as the 'principled distance model' has led to 'party-political secularism' (Rajeev Bhargava)

~~In a~~ Recent Pew Research has shown that different religious groups do not inter-mingle. Thus perhaps Gandhi's ideas continue to hold relevance.

13a

~~As~~ In the late 20th and 21st Century, as societies became more diverse due to immigration, globalisation and mass media, one started to witness a clash of cultures. In order to accommodate this, we can turn to John Berlin's Value Pluralism.

Berlin's value pluralism is a theory of meta-ethics. For him, values are incommensurable. Their relative importance cannot be measured. For instance, for a celibate nun, celibacy holds a certain value which cannot be explained to a non-celibate person. Both these values are important in their own respect.

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At times, it is also possible different values mean different things to different people. Eg. liberty means different things to Marxists and liberals. values are essentially contested.

Thus, according to Berlin, what is important is to recognise that "we are all each other equals, each are creators of our own meaning, we must respect each other and not impose our meanings on others." He says, in life we will face choices between ends that are equally absolute, ~~eq~~ leading us to make hard choices.

Thus, for him, tolerance is the substantive heart of liberalism.

Berlin on positive and negative liberty.

Berlin was a supporter of negative liberty. He concurred with classical liberals like John Locke, John Stuart Mill. Liberty is the hindrance of hindrances. The role of the state is to ensure protection of life, liberty and property by maintaining law and order, rule of law, constitutionalism.

State itself can amass too much power and hinder negative liberty. ~~¶~~ Thus, giving state power for ensuring "positive liberty" is a dangerous endeavour.

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Today most liberal democratic states
to ensure both positive and
negative liberty. In the Indian
constitution, positive liberty is
ensured through Art 15(1), 15(2),
etc., Art 16(2), 16(3) etc. and Part IV
(directive principle of state policy).
Negative liberty is enshrined in
Part 4 (Fundamental Rights). In
Minerva Mills, SC opined that
constitution is built on a bedrock
of balance between Part IV and Part III

3b) Karl Marx was both a great-
political philosopher and a political
mobiliser concerned with Praxis.

His goal was to get the Proletariat to
overthrow the Capitalist State.

To convince the proletariat that the
state was an instrument of bourgeoisie,
and that they were on the right-
side of history, Marx gave his
theory of materialistic interpretation
of history. He was responding to
Hegel's ^{dialectical} idealistic that ideas are
moving force of history and
state is the march of god.

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~~For~~ For Marx, matter, not idea is the moving force of history. He says, "to think, man has to live, to live man has to ^{eat} produce, to ^{eat} produce, man has to produce".

Thus production is the most important act for which man enters social relations. Thus material structures form the basic structure of society and every other structure like state, church are superstructures to maintain the economic structure.

Only by changing the material structure can workers change the system. Thus they should seize the means of production.

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Marx's historical materialism has earned him the tag of being a determinist by both marxist (Aithusser, Gramsci) and non-marxist (Weber, Popper).

Gramsci points out that the superstructure of integral state are ~~not~~ merely reflection of economic base but structures in themselves. Only a material revolution (war of manoeuvres) is not sufficient, an intellectual revolution (war of position) is needed.

Weber criticises him for failing to account for a myriad of middle classes beyond bourgeoisie & proletariats.

Marx's determinism has been blamed for the authoritarian nature of soviet & marxist communism. Thus neo-marxists focus on his ideas

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3c

"Equality is sovereign virtue"
- Ronald Dworkin.

There is great contestation on the idea of equality, both within and ~~at~~ outside liberalism, particularly because of its contested relationship with liberty.

The debate is shaped around the idea of substantive and formal equality.

Formal equality - classical liberals, like Locke, and neoliberals like NOZICK, believe in the idea of civil & political equality, and moral equality (against divine rights of kings and special

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privileges of aristocrats. They believe any further conception of equality hurts liberty, citing the authoritarian nature of communist regimes.

However, welfare oriented liberals like TH Greene, Laski, ~~Smart~~ egalitarian liberals like ~~Smart~~ Sen, and Marxists consider the above conception as "formal equality" ~~which does not~~ They believe liberty and equality are synergetic Equality can be liberty-enhancing.

For Marxists, substantive liberty is equality of outcomes. In a communism, ~~the~~ people will work as per capacity & get as per need. They will be perfectly equal with perfect freedom.

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For modern liberals & social liberals, substantive equality includes affirmative action. Rawls presents his Lexical Principles to achieve substantive equality.

Amartya Sen's & Ronald Dworkin's ideas of ~~substantive~~ substantive equality are equality of capability & equality of resources respectively.

Dworkin proposes equality of resources keeping in mind social & physical disadvantages. The allocation must pass the envy test, and only be made once, to be just.

Sen believes that what is important is to convert resources into capacity. Thus he advocates equality of capacity such that people have the capacity to live lives they value. ~~by turn~~

The debate on equality shows that politics is a borderless & bottomless sea and ideas are essentially contested.

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5a India is a very regionally diverse country. There was a fear of ~~balant~~ balkanization of India due to this diversity at the time of independence. Thus our constitution has provided the flexibility of asymmetric federalism to meet regional aspirations & accommodate regional diversity.

Asymmetrical features imply not all states/regions are treated equally.

These features include -

① 5th and 6th schedule -

Areas inhabited by scheduled Tribes and other indigenous peoples

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have different local govt. structures like District councils or Panchayats and Gram Sabhas under PESA 1996 so that their unique culture can be preserved.

② Article 371 & its clauses have special provisions for Maharashtra (Vidarbha), Saurashtra (Gujarat) etc. due to developmental backwardness; for NE states like Nagaland, Arunachal Pradesh etc. to preserve their land & customs.

③ Different union territories get different treatment. Eg. Only Delhi, Puduchery and J&K have elected assemblies but J&K and Delhi have fewer legislative powers.

We can say that constitutional flexibility has ensured the Indian Experiment has succeeded.

5b

The Supreme Court ^(SC) of India has been envisaged as a partner in India's Silent Revolution, ~~em~~ with the help of a Transformative constitution.

The role of the SC is to ensure "constitutionalism" i.e. that the words & spirit of the constitution are upheld.

To act its role as conscience keeper of the Constitution, the court uses tools like Judicial Review and Judicial Activism - as envisaged in Art 13, Art 32, Art 131, Art 136, Art 142 etc..

It employs the Preamble ("identity

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card of the constitution") and
the Directive Principles of State
Policy (Part IV) to liberally inter-
pret the constitution.

As the conscience keeper, the SC
has given the doctrine of
Basic Structure (Keshavanda
Bharati) which can be credited
with saving the constitution ^{from executive} ^{tyranny}.
Judgements like Maneka Gandhi,
Minerva Mills, Moniji Jain, Vincent
Narain, Nartej Singh Jonaar etc.
can be said to have enlarged the
rights of citizens ^{and} limited state power.

Granville Austin said our constitution
aimed to usher in a social revolution.
In this aspect, the role of SC has been
instrumental

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50 - The Indian National Movement's hegemonic discourse is that it was a national movement led by a nationalist party - the Indian National Congress - which represented the interests of all Indians alike.

This discourse has been Challenged by the Dalit Perspective given by Dr. Ambedkar, Periyar, Narayan Guru, inspired by Jyotika & Savitri Bai Phule

According to Dr. Ambedkar & Periyar, INC was a party of upper castes. After the British leave, it would make Dalits

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"skewers of wood, hewers of water."
They would lose their bargaining
power. Ambedkar asked "What have
Gandhi & INC done for the untouchables?"
Ambedkar also raised a question
mark on the status of India as
a nation. For him, nation
meant fraternity - a nation without
fraternity is like a precarious
summer sapling, liable to be
uprooted by the first gust of
hostile winds." Since Dalits
were socially segregated, he
demanded political segregation
~~as~~ through separate electorates.

Thus
Ambedkar, forced the INC to take into
account concerns of Dalits, strengthening
"social democracy" without which
political democracy would remain
the topsoil

5d) Women in India, like every where else were a suppressed class. The extent of their involvement in Indian Freedom struggle has been both criticised and apprauded.

Before Gandhi, women in INM were far and few. Annie Besant was the ^{woman} first congress president, more than 20 years of its founding.

Gandhi mobilised women by evoking the sacrificial nature of Sita-Daymanti. Women picketed liquor shops, held non-cooking days, broke bangles. They participated in large numbers in salt

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marches (Sarojini Naidu's role was notable). Gandhi's non-violent approach ~~was~~ also attracted women. However, he has been criticised for limiting women as per their traditional ~~to~~ gender roles, disregarding their autonomy.

Beyond the INC, women participated in revolutionary activities (Priti Lata Wadekar), in communist movements (Sabani Mukherjee), in the Congress Socialist Party (Usha Mehta). Tribal movements also saw women participation.

Thus while ^{women} participation was limited, it was new for women to step outside their homes in the public sphere, shoulds to shoulder with men

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5e Reasoned deliberation i.e.
communicative action in ideal
speech situation (Habermas) is
the essence of democracy. By
this metric Indian Parliament -
is in decline.

Markers of decline

- bills passed with less no deliberation
(Eg: citizenship Amendment Act)
- only 25% of bills in 17th Lok
Sabha sent to committee
- money bill route used to
bypass Rajya Sabha.
- Ordinance Raj

Causes of decline (Shankar and Rodrigues)

- increasing political competition
has led to criminalisation,
communalisation and polarisation

- of politics. Thus legislatures go through
elections to form govt → leading
to decline in their legislative
role, especially in opposition
- Anti-defection law has made
ruling party legislators a
rubber stamp
 - Partial nature of speaker's position
 - Globalisation = no debate on
economic policy
 - Complexity of laws, along with
lack of capacity & resources
with MPs.
 - Lack of responsible opposition.

Decline in parliament has to be
stemmed through reform in
anti-defection law, position of
speaker, giving opposition more
say on legislative timetable etc.

6a

Cooperatives are organisations that seek to democratise the ownership of means of production / distribution.

It is a form of bottom-up development where people come together to gain greater bargaining power in the marketplace. The origin of cooperatives can be traced to the utopian socialist Robert Owen - Father of cooperative movement.

Prominent sectors in which cooperatives exist are milk production (Amul), sugarcane, banking, housing, agriculture, fertiliser (IFFCO) etc -

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Recently, a ~~the~~ new Ministry of Cooperation was set up to build a "framework for ease of doing business, greater effectiveness and efficiency" of cooperatives. The SC also struck down these sections of ^{the} 96th constitutional amendment which encroached on the legislative domain of the states.

In India, cooperatives are inextricably linked to the political economy. Cooperatives are manned by politicians rather than ~~bureaus~~ technocrats - making cooperatives hugely politically influential. Many

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politicians started their careers in cooperatives. (eg. Sharad Pawar)

Thus state govt are deeply suspicious of the Union govt's move towards making a Ministry of Cooperation which might encroach upon their powers and influence.

Cooperatives, as seen in the Amul case, can be driven by and inclusive development economic growth & thus must be revitalised.

Pathways to revitalise cooperatives.

Foremost, the influence of political class has to be reduced by holding elections on a regular

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basis. Their dependence on
state funds have to be reduced
if they are to be depoliticised.
Professional management and
competitive engagement with
market forces is the need
of the hour.

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6b) National Commission for Women is a statutory watchdog tasked with protecting women's rights and advancing their cause for empowerment.

The record of the NCW has been mixed. On the positive side, it has contributed to the drafting of Vishakha guidelines, Domestic Violence Act 2005, POSH Act 2013 etc. It holds Parivarik Mahila Adalat. It set up a helpline for domestic violence affected women (Shadon Pandemic) during the COVID-19 lockdown. It has contributed to

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drafting the National Women's Policy. Lastly, it regularly issues notices to public figures for making derogatory statements against women.

However, many activists like Sayeeda Hamid write in the EPW that NCW is "limited both by design and its own tendencies"

It has failed to enlarge the discourse around women's autonomy, failed to stand up against violence perpetrated by the state against women (Soni Sori, Sudha Bhard way) many NCW heads themselves

have made sexist statements against women like 'victim shaming'

Reasons for NCW's limitations.

- ① Appointment - process is politicised without any qualifications necessary. This has led to a "spoils system"
- ② Lack of powers of civil court to conduct enquiry, summon witnesses, summon evidence, recommend redressal etc.
- ③ Lack of funds, capacity for research and development; vacancies.
- ④ Lack of cooperation from bureaucracies.

Dr. Ambedkar had said that - the surest sign of progress of a society is the status of its women. To ensure progress, NCW must be given a ~~constitutional~~ status at par with the NHRC.

6c Criminalisation of politics in India refers to election of those accused to criminal offences to legislatures.

Its emergence can be traced to the 1970s and 1980s when the decline of INC led to greater political competition. Criminals found it both easy and useful to get elected.

Due to lack of political will among the Legislature and executive, the Supreme Court has delivered various verdicts to ~~curb~~ curb criminalisation. These include -

① Lily Thomas case (2013) - incumbent legislatures convicted of offenses

would be ~~subject~~ disqualified without any 'grace period'

③ Lok Pradhari Judgement - Candidates to declare the assets of self, spouses and dependents - & IT dept to ~~prop~~ probe any irregularities

④ made it compulsory to declare criminal antecedents and ongoing cases in election affidavit

⑤ Fast track courts set up to try cases against incumbent MPs, MLAs

⑥ Compulsory publicity of criminal cases against candidates on websites, newspapers etc.

Yet, the % of MPs with criminal cases is increasing. In the 17th Lok Sabha, ~ 46% of MPs have

U.P.S.C.

प्रश्न संख्या
(Question No.)

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criminal cases while 26% have serious criminal cases.

Reasons

SC has been unable to outright ban those with criminal cases from contesting to respect separation of powers, leaving it to wisdom of Parliament.

In "When Crime Pays", Milan Vaishnav points out that there is both demand & supply for such candidates. They are able to fund their own campaign. In a dysfunctional state, voters perceive them as someone who can "get things done".

A slow judicial system leading to high pendency (3.5 cr) is another reason

sy Quereshi has suggested that candidates who have been charged with heinous offenses registered 6 months before election notification must be banned