

Politics of Representation & Participation

Day 29. Parties, pressure groups and social movements — the three channels that carry society into the state. Every scholar, typology and debate, compressed for recall. **Revise → write a little → don't break the chain.**

Questions from this unit, UPSC 2013–2025: **5 × 10-markers · 4 × 15-markers · 3 × 20-markers.**

A Political Parties & Party Systems

Harold J. Laski — there is no substitute for party government except dictatorship. Parties organise choice, recruit leaders and aggregate demand; the party is the “keystone” institution of representative democracy.

1 What a Political Party Is

Instruments of political organisation, representation and policy formulation — the bedrock of modern democratic governance.

“There is no alternative to party government, save dictatorship, in any state of modern size. Government requires leaders, leaders require not an incoherent mob behind them, but an organized following able to canalize the issues for an electorate with a free choice.” — Harold J. Laski

A party is “a body of men united for promoting by their joint endeavours the national interest upon some particular principles in which they are all agreed.” — **Edmund Burke**

- **A.H. Somjee** — parties uniquely connect citizens with policy-makers; central to representative government.
- **Zoya Hasan** — the party is a **keystone political institution** in the representative regime.

2 Functions of Political Parties

- **Direction to government** — ruling parties steer the state and guide policy.
- **Elite recruitment** — the primary mechanism for recruiting and preparing candidates for office.
- **Interest aggregation** — multiple demands transformed into manageable proposals; a filter between society and the State.
- **Point of reference & mobilisation** — help voters read politics and encourage participation.
- **Defining aspects** — organised hierarchical structure; shared ideology; the objective to govern.

3 Theories of Political Parties

Two perspectives

- **Normative (Edmund Burke)** — parties as people united by a common ideology working for the national interest.
- **Behavioural (Otto Kirchheimer)** — the primary objective is the acquisition of power; the rise of the **catch-all party** signals a decline in normative values such as ideology.

Marxist conception

- **Class representation** — parties represent class interests; only the party of the **proletariat** has legitimacy.
- **Vladimir Lenin** — the Communist Party as a **vanguard** of elite intellectuals and activists, keeping Marxism pure and leading the working class to revolution.
- **Democratic centralism** — a bottom-up structure with centralised decision-making; the party as the disciplined leadership of the proletariat.
- Under the **dictatorship of the proletariat** the party often merges with the State; other parties abolished to prevent class conflict.

Other classic readings

- **Max Weber** — modern parties as “powerhouses,” bodies of people coming together to gain power.
- **W.B. Munro** — no free democratic government without parties: they form government, offer opposition, create public opinion and serve as agents of political education and modernization.
- **Herman Finer** — parties are two-way communications binding citizens to policy-makers.

4 The Classic Theorists — Duverger, Michels, Neumann

- **Maurice Duverger** — the **electoral system shapes the party system**; parties aim to acquire or share power. Party types by organisation — **branch** (liberal), **cell** (communist), **caucus** (rightist), **militia** (fascist). Even authoritarian regimes keep parties to project a semblance of democracy.
- **Robert Michels** — the **Iron Law of Oligarchy**: party power inevitably rests with a small self-perpetuating elite, regardless of ideology (the Indian National Congress often cited for elite domination).
- **Sigmund Neumann** — parties are critical to democracy, preventing rule by an unorganised mob; **multiparty** systems promote competition and diverse interests, while **one-party** systems tend toward totalitarianism.

Duverger's Law — the electoral system shapes the party system

Single-ballot first-past-the-post	→	Two-party system power alternates between two
Proportional representation seats track vote share	→	Multi-partyism coalition, wider representation

5 Classification of Parties

Maurice Duverger (1951)

Type	Character & examples
Elitist / traditional	Not cadre-based, selective membership. European type — quality over quantity, strong central organisation, disciplined (UK Conservative, Labour). American type — less centralised, weak discipline, election- over ideology-focused, powerful local committees.
Mass parties	Built on common people's support, often from popular movements (Indian National Congress, Aam Aadmi Party). Socialist (British Labour), Communist — "democratic centralism" (Communist Party of China), Fascist — force and militia (Mussolini's National Fascist Party).
Intermediate	Features of both; indirect parties as coalitions of committees and groups (early British Labour, 1906). Parties in developing countries adopt UK, US or Soviet patterns; less organised, still evolving.

Hitchner and Levine (1964)

Type	Basis & examples
Pragmatic	Uncommitted to ideology; policy adjusts to circumstance (US Democrats and Republicans; Indian National Congress).
Doctrinal	Firmly committed to a specific ideology (socialist and communist parties; the Bharatiya Janata Party with Hindutva).
Interest	Represent specific groups, willing to compromise for leverage (Green and regional parties; Jharkhand Mukti Morcha for tribal interests).

6 Party-System Typologies

Party system

The way parties are structured within a political system — their number, relative strengths and interactions.

Scholar	Basis	Types
Duverger	Number, nature, majority composition	Single-party; dominant-party; two-party; multiparty. By nature — disciplined/rigid vs undisciplined/flexible.
Jean Blondel	Electoral strength / vote share	Two-party (two parties > 90% of vote: US, UK); two-and-a-half-party (Germany, Canada); multiparty with a predominant party; multiparty without a predominant party.
Giovanni Sartori	Adds ideological polarization; counts only relevant parties	Predominant-party; two-party; limited pluralism (moderate multiparty); extreme pluralism (polarized multiparty — unstable).

7 Types of Party Systems — Merits & Criticisms

System	Merits	Criticisms	Examples
Two-party	Stability, simplified choice, strong opposition	Limited representation, minority marginalisation, stagnation	US; historically UK
Two-and-a-half	Third party as "kingmaker" balancing stability and representation	—	Germany; Canada
Multiparty	Diverse representation, collaboration, checks on authoritarianism	Instability, slow decisions, policy inconsistency	Netherlands, Switzerland; Italy, France
One-party	Efficiency, stability, national unity	Authoritarianism, suppressed freedoms, no accountability	China, North Korea, Cuba
Dominant-party	Policy continuity, stability	Democratic deficit, weak opposition	Japan (LDP); South Africa (ANC); India (Congress 1947–1977)

Institutionalized vs de-institutionalized — institutionalised systems are stable, predictable and socially rooted (UK, Germany); de-institutionalised (inchoate) systems are volatile with weak organisations (parts of Latin America and Africa).

8 Factors Shaping Party Systems

- **Electoral systems** — majoritarian (FPTP) favour two-party systems; PR encourages multipartyism.
- **Social and cultural diversity** — diverse societies tend toward multiparty and regional/interest-based parties.
- **Constitutional structure** — federalism encourages regional parties.
- **Degree of polarization** — wide ideological distances breed instability and gridlock.
- **International influence** — globalization and bodies such as the EU affect domestic party dynamics.
- **Economic development** — less developed economies often have weakly institutionalised systems.

UPSC 2021 · 20m

Explain the impact of electoral systems and cleavages in shaping party systems with reference to developing countries.

Sartori (relevance, not count) · **Myron Weiner** and **Joseph La Palombara** (global typologies) · district magnitude · Duverger's Law · India's FPTP yielding dominance-then-coalition · a cleavage as a historically determined social line · caste, religion, language, ethnicity, class · **Riggs's** prismatic formalism.

9 Critical Appraisal & the Partyless-Democracy Debate

Strengths

- Accord with human nature; foundation of democracy — without parties a modern state faces a “chaos of individual opinions” (**Hague and Harrop**).
- Check on sudden public excitement; ease of elections.
- Opposition as a bulwark — **James Bryce**: opposition parties keep political tyranny in check, guarding against despotism and majority tyranny.

Demerits

- Bias in public opinion; unnatural divisions; simplification into yes/no choices; dominance by extremists; the spoils system (favouritism, nepotism); narrow vision; destabilisation through frequent power shifts.
- **Conservative rejection** — parties as obstacles to modernization; **George Washington** and **Thomas Jefferson** saw them as divisive.

Parties vs direct / partyless democracy

- **Samuel P. Huntington** (*Political Order in Changing Societies*) — banning parties breeds instability and authoritarianism; **strong party systems** channel mass participation; party-less systems become conservative and coup-prone.
- **Maurice Duverger** — states without healthy party systems cannot sustain engagement and risk becoming personalised cliques.
- **Utopian partyless democracy** — **M.K. Gandhi**, **M.N. Roy** and **Vinoba Bhave**; intellectually appealing but held impractical, since parties are essential for accountability.

10 The Catch-All Party & the Spoils System

Catch-all party

- **Otto Kirchheimer** coined **catch-all party** — the move from ideological loyalty toward broad appeal.
- Context — consensual post-war Western democracies (**Robert Dahl**, **Seymour Martin Lipset**; **Daniel Bell's** “post-industrial society”); a mid-1950s Milan conference declared the **end of ideology**.
- **Alan Ware** — four drivers: reduced cleavages, no new cleavages, weaker ideological pull, and parties' capacity to transform quickly. Criticism — underrated the staying power of ideologically rooted parties such as the Greens.

The spoils system

- Appointing loyal party members to office; legitimised by **Andrew Jackson** in the 1820s, peaking 1860–1880.
- The **Civil Service Act of 1883** curtailed it by basing key positions on merit.

11 Parties in Developing Societies

- **Paul Webb** — many parties become the personal property of founding leaders, passed down family lines; charisma breeds personality worship that erases accountability.
- **Elite origins** — leaders often from business or landowning classes, distant from the poor.
- **Paul Pennings** — parties educate the public in democratic values and legal responsibilities.
- **Campaign funding** — escalating costs; ruling parties in Malaysia and Taiwan built business empires while opposition struggled.
- **Bienen and Herbst** — class-based mass mobilisation is minimal in most Third World countries; “class still is not a salient cleavage in most African countries”; **religion** can become the basis of mobilisation.
- **James Sundquist** — mass media, especially television, aided the institutionalisation of parties, though episodically by the 1980s.
- **Intermediate party system** — FPTP plus social cleavages and **Riggs's** prismatic **formalism** produced intermediate parties, closer to mass than elitist (Swatantra, Janata 1977, the BJP as the new avatar of the Jana Sangh).

UPSC 2024 · 15m

Critically examine the role of political parties in sustaining and stabilising democracies in the developing societies.

Huntington (institutionalising participation) · **Robert Dahl** (polyarchy, interest aggregation) · **Larry Diamond** (competition and accountability) · weaknesses — **Richard Sandbrook** (personalism), **Joel Migdal** (“strong societies, weak states,” clientelism), **Donald Horowitz** (ethnic outbidding).

UPSC 2025 · 20m

Of late, centrist and centre-left political parties have been facing setbacks while centre-right parties have been in ascendancy the world over. Comment.

12 Participation & Identity in Developing Societies

- In the West the **rule of law** governs political inputs and outputs; in developing societies **identity** holds the key to participation, since the rule of law is not fully institutionalised.
- Lucian Pye** — non-Western political processes are communal, charismatic and loyalty-based; parties lack internal democracy and are dynastic.
- Partha Chatterjee** — post-colonial India holds two societies: **civil society** (modernised) and **political society** (survival-driven), the latter thriving on identity politics where the rule of law is weak (hawkers, slum dwellers, small businesses).
- Rajni Kothari** — **caste** as the basis of mobilisation and integration into the electoral process.
- Yogendra Yadav** — the **democratic upsurge**: rising participation of the underprivileged in search of empowerment.
- Benedict Anderson** — “imagined communities”: shared identity mobilises groups (ethnic mobilisation in Nigeria); **B.R. Ambedkar** — mobilisation of Dalits and demands for affirmative action.

UPSC 2018 · 10m How big a role does identity play in determining political participation in the developing countries? Discuss your answer with suitable illustrations.

UPSC 2020 · 10m Has the increased participation of the underprivileged in the political process of the developing societies strengthened democracy or created political chaos and conflict? Comment.

Double edge (**Huntington**) — identity politics empowers the marginalised yet can deepen division. Risk of “mobocracy” (Mandal, communal violence; **V.S. Naipaul**’s *A Million Mutinies Now*), but churn is not decay (**Riggs**’s development trap; **John Dewey** on critical habits; **Antonio Gramsci** on subaltern participation).

13 Low Voter Turnout in Democracies

- Disillusionment and apathy** — the belief that one’s vote does not matter; declining social capital (**Robert Putnam**, *Bowling Alone*).
- Institutional barriers** — complex registration, inconvenient timing, restrictive voter-ID laws hitting low-income and minority voters (**Frances Fox Piven** and **Richard Cloward**, *Why Americans Don’t Vote*).
- Voter fatigue** — frequent elections depress turnout (Switzerland; **Mark Franklin** on election frequency).
- Satisfaction with the status quo** — contentment lowers the felt need to vote (Japan; **Ronald Inglehart**’s post-materialist values).
- Crisis of legitimacy** (**Jurgen Habermas**) — corruption and unmet promises; Occupy Wall Street, Yellow Vest, Hong Kong protests. Rise of far-right candidates as resentment against the political class.
- Remedies — **Amartya Sen**’s “democracy as a good in itself”; electoral-funding reform, women’s reservation, social audit, civil-society engagement.

UPSC 2019 · 15m Explain the reasons for low voter turnout in democratic countries with suitable examples.

B Pressure Groups & Interest Groups

Modernization diversifies life conditions and produces special interest groups. Democracies give them avenues to protect or advance shared interests by influencing policy — intermediaries between government and the governed.

14 Definitions & Origins

- W.J.M. Mackenzie** — “organized groups possessing both formal structure and real common interests in so far as they influence the decisions of public bodies.”
- Samuel Finer** — “organizations trying to influence the policy of public bodies in their own chosen direction, though never themselves prepared to undertake the direct government of the country”; he calls them **invisible empires**.
- N.C. Hunt** — groups that seek to influence policy without accepting the responsibility of public office.
- J.D. Reynaud** — interest groups become **pressure groups** when they actively participate in politics and exert pressure on government.
- Hugh A. Bone** — “every group is an interest group... but not every group attempts to influence public policy”; **V.O. Key** — private organisations established to influence public policy.

Origins

Aristotle — “man is by nature a social animal.” Prominence grew after the American and French revolutions (the Abolition Society, Britain 1787; the Society for Women’s Rights, France 1866). Early political science ignored them until **Arthur F. Bentley** stressed group activity; later **David B. Truman**, **Earl Latham**, **Mackenzie**, **Finer** and **Joseph La Palombara** advanced the field.

Reynaud — from interest group to pressure group



15 Characteristics · Groups, Parties & Civil Society

Characteristics

- Non-participation in elections; influence on policy (agencies, bureaucrats, politicians); a neutral political stance (specific demands over party ideology); flexible demands; a collective approach.

Basis	Political party	Pressure group
Objective	Seek power and to govern	Influence power without governing
Scope	Broad platform	Specific issues
Methods	Contest elections, form government	Lobby, advocate, campaign
Membership	Belong to one party	May join several

Groups occasionally become parties — the **Labour Party** in Britain, the **Aam Aadmi Party** in India. Civil-society organisations pursue wider interests, not all aimed at policy (Lok Satta, Janaagraha work on reform without functioning as pressure groups); pressure groups are more power-centric.

16 Classification of Pressure Groups

Scholar	Categories (with examples)
Gabriel Almond	Institutional — tied to formal institutions (IAS/IPS associations, Indian Medical Association). Associational — formally organised, elite-close (CII, FICCI; AITUC, Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh). Non-associational — ethnicity, religion, kinship (VHP, SGPC; caste groups). Anomic — spontaneous, sometimes violent (Narmada Bachao Andolan, India Against Corruption; ULFA, JKLF).
Jean Blondel	Community groups — customary (caste groups) and institutional (veterans' associations). Associational groups — protective (trade unions, business associations) and promotional (environmental, human-rights).
Maurice Duverger	By scope — exclusive (pressure their only function) and partial (pressure when necessary). By affiliation — private and public . Pseudo-pressure groups — experts and mass media applying pressure for others.

17 Methods & Tactics

- **Lobbying** — persuading officials through direct engagement, contacts, information and advocacy; in the US, professional lobbyists, testimony at hearings and opinion mobilisation, with regulation against unethical practice.
- **Shaping public opinion** — mass media, public meetings, educational campaigns.
- **Publicity and propaganda** — disseminating information, educating policymakers.
- **Strikes and agitations** — strikes, protests, **bandhs**, **gheraos**; usually peaceful, sometimes escalating.
- In India — **electioneering** (backing aligned candidates, e.g. the RSS), lobbying and propagandizing.

18 Role, Merits & Limitations

Positive contributions

- Enhance democracy and voice; represent minorities and the disadvantaged; participation beyond voting; a link between government and the governed; policy development through expertise; public awareness.
- **Rajni Kothari** — pressure groups as agents of modernization and reservoirs of leadership; their politics is a **non-party political process**.

Critiques and challenges

- Unelected groups influencing policy may undermine elected representatives; wealthier, better-organised groups dominate, deepening political inequality; strikes can cause inconvenience or violence; narrow selfish interests can breed communalism and corruption (the Naxalite movement, 1967, West Bengal); opacity and weak accountability.
- **Balance** — excessive influence means policy capture; too little leaves government unresponsive. **P.B. Mehta** — groups express individual complexity and sustain faith amid disillusionment; **E.E. Schattschneider** — the foundation of democracy is tied to the existence and function of parties and pressure groups.

UPSC 2021 · 10m “Political parties and pressure groups are sine qua non of democracy.” Comment.

Burke, Weber (“powerhouses”), **Finer** (“invisible empires”), **Laski**, **Zoya Hasan**, **Paul Webb**, **Herman Finer**, **Munro**, **Kothari**; **Roche and Stedman** — modern democracy is everywhere marked by numerous pressure groups; behaviouralist caution — the need to revive the “movement” aspect of politics.

19 India vs the West · Developed vs Developing

Basis	India / Britain	United States
Significance	Growing but less pronounced	Often the “fourth organ of government”
Lobbying target	Cabinet and civil service	Congress and its committees
Dominant types	Caste, religion, region	Business, professional, issue-based
Foreign policy	Focus on domestic issues	Active engagement

- **Developed** — participation aided by technology; undisciplined parties (US) leave space for groups; significant foreign-policy involvement; elevated role of

the armed forces under external threat.

- **Developing** — governments fear groups may threaten national unity (ethnic, community); movements push for democracy (Myanmar's 88 Generation Students); trade unions oppose policy (Nigeria Labour Congress). Common ground — lobbying treated as legitimate, with regulation for transparency.

C Social Movements & New Social Movements

A social movement is "the organized collective behavior of a class actor struggling against its class adversary for the social control of its historicity." — **Alain Touraine**

20 Social Movement — Definitions & Origins

- **Srilatha Batliwala** — collective action in response to inequality, oppression or unmet demands; organised groups pursuing common agendas over time.
- **Turner and Killian** — loosely organised endeavours by large groups to achieve specific goals within constitutional limits; **Toch** — collective efforts to address shared problems.
- **Rajni Kothari** — movements as **non-party political processes**, autonomous and distinct from conventional structures.
- Two defining features — **collective action** and the aim to **promote or resist change**.

Origins

Lorenz von Stein introduced the term (*History of the French Social Movement*), viewing movements as dynamic forces opposing the static state. Linked to democratisation and the Industrial Revolution; early British movements against slavery and for the franchise (**Jeremy Bentham**); post-war peace and environmental movements.

Factors — **M.S.A. Rao**

M.S.A. Rao: **relative deprivation** (discontent drives change — the Naxalite movement), **structural strain** (norms clash with aspirations), **revitalization** (movements offer positive alternatives).

21 Old vs New Social Movements

Basis	Old social movements	New social movements
Emergence	Late 18th–early 19th century	Post-1950s, advanced capitalist societies
Focus	Economic issues, economic security (labour rights, minimum wage)	Non-material, post-material values — environment, human rights, quality of life, identity
Agents	Employers, workers, traders; via parties	New middle class, educated youth, self-realization
Methods	Party channels, class action	Innovative protest, decentralisation, participatory "new politics"

- **Jurgen Habermas** — the shift is a **silent revolution**, from economic security toward rights, quality of life and autonomy.
- **Rajni Kothari** — NSMs rose in the 1970s out of dissatisfaction with parliamentary democracy; elite capture pushed the marginalised toward **non-party political formations** (NGOs, women's, environmental, tribal).
- **Gail Omvedt** — NSMs offer new definitions of exploitation beyond Marxism, focusing on groups it ignored — Dalits, Shudras, women.

The "silent revolution" — the shift in collective action



22 Features of NSMs & the Debate on 'Newness'

Features

- Diverse social bases without a clear structural role (**Hegedus**); plural ideologies (**Larana, Johnston and Gusfield**); focus on symbolic and cultural identity; the personal (dress, relationships, lifestyle); non-violent tactics; decentralised, segmented structures.
- **Alan Scott** — NSMs are primarily **social** and cultural, aiming to change values rather than seize power; they operate within **civil society**, defending it against technocratic states.

The newness debate

- Critics — similar movements existed since the Industrial Revolution; thin empirical evidence; "new middle class" undefined; **Francis Fukuyama** — old liberal values remain predominant even in post-industrial societies.
- **Andre Gunder Frank and Marta Fuentes** — some concerns (ecology, universal peace) are genuinely new, but many have historical antecedents; **Ramachandra Guha** — "empty stomach" environmentalism of the South vs the "full stomach" environmentalism of the North.

the material-to-post-material shift (**Habermas**'s silent revolution); diverse base (**Hegedus**); plural ideologies; identity and the personal; non-violent, networked repertoires; civil-society location (**Alan Scott**); **Habermas** and **Claus Offe** beyond Marxist class reductionism.

23 Theories of Social Movements

Theory	Proponents	Core idea	Criticism
Collective behaviour	Smelser, Turner, Killian, Parsons	Semi-rational response to structural strain; generalised belief and mobilisation	Treats movements as abnormal; weak on causes
Resource mobilization	John McCarthy, Mayer Zald	Rational, strategic use of resources and organisation	Overlooks deeper contradictions and context
New social movement	Jurgen Habermas, Claus Offe	Products of late capitalism; autonomy, identity, anti-technocracy	Limited to post-industrial societies
Action-identity	Alain Touraine	Post-industrial conflicts are socio-cultural; technocracy the dominant class; struggle over knowledge and investment	Struggles to balance industrial and post-industrial strains

Limits of classical Marxism — economic and class-identity reductionism (**Canel**). Variations within NSM theory — **Jean Cohen and Alberto Melucci** (civil-society action), **Inglehart and Dalton** (post-materialism), **Hunt, Benford and Snow** (identity via interaction), **Melucci and Gusfield** (submerged networks).

24 Identity, Autonomy & Resistance

- Bertaux** — subjectivity is central; participants driven by moral feeling, not self-interest. **Alberto Melucci** — collective identity is constructed and negotiated through networks.
- Ron Eyerman and Andrew Jamison** — movements generate new ideas by challenging dominant assumptions: **cognitive praxis**. **Jean-Paul Sartre** — atomised individuals can rapidly become a unified group on recognising shared discontent. Marxian — the shift from **class-in-itself** to **class-for-itself**.
- Alan Scott** — three dimensions of autonomy: personal autonomy (women's liberation), its extension to the group, and the autonomy struggle to pursue goals free of interference; personal freedoms are political.
- Anthony Giddens** — actors convert resources to control their conditions; **Michael Mann** — compliance stems from a lack of means, not will; **James C. Scott** — the **hidden transcript**: subordinates critique power through rumour, song and jokes.

25 Types & Scope of Movements

By aim

- Migratory** (large-scale migration — Bangladesh to India); **reform** (partial change, thrives in democracies); **revolutionary** (overthrow the system — French, Russian); **resistance / reactionary** (push back — fundamentalist movements, the Ku Klux Klan); **alternative** (individual behaviour change). Also rigid, traditional (the Luddites) and group- vs individual-based.

By scope

- Trans-national / global** (World Social Forum); **localized** (environmental, cultural); **multi-layer** (local to international).

26 Movements, Pressure Groups & Parties

Channel	Character
Political parties	Structured, hierarchical, electoral, centralised decision-making (Michels' iron law of oligarchy)
Pressure groups	Lobby, represent specific interests, work within established systems; often extensions of market activity
Social movements	Extra-parliamentary mass struggle from below; loose, decentralised, issue-focused; broaden participation, often against market interests

Civil disobedience is a tactic within movements, not a synonym — popularised by **Henry David Thoreau**, used by **M.K. Gandhi** and **Martin Luther King Jr.**; movements reject definite political affiliation.

UPSC 2016 · 10m Comment on the decline of political parties and examine whether new social movements shall be alternative strategy for establishing link between government and society.

Alan Rosenthal (worldwide decline of representative democracy) · **Pierre Rosanvallon** ("post-representative") · empirical signs — falling turnout, shrinking membership, personalisation · movements as an alternative link (the Section 377 judgment) · net — they supplement, not substitute, parties.

UPSC 2013 Is the rise of social movements a sign of the opening up of popular space in the political process or the decline of representative politics? Examine. **Hannah Arendt** (concerted collective action) · **Habermas** (the public sphere) · **Nancy Fraser** (the counterpublic) · opening of space (Arab Spring, anti-apartheid, Chipko) vs decline of representation (**Burke, Oakeshott, Nisbet, Eric Hoffer, Christopher Lasch**).

27 Movements in India & Latin America

India

- Collective identities of caste, ethnicity, gender and region — the **Kamtapur Movement** (Rajbanshi autonomy), the **Telangana Statehood Movement**, the **Maadiga and Thudum Debba** movements (re-categorisation of SCs and STs).
- Also the Chipko Movement, Narmada Bachao Andolan, the anti-corruption movement, **Pinjra Tod** (2015), **Bekhauf Azadi** (2017), the online #MeToo movement and the Kudankulam protest.

Latin America

- Theory adapted to local conditions — control of resources, civil liberties, origins in civil society under repressive regimes, a shift to rural areas (the Chiapas/Zapatistas in Mexico); peripheral problems under global capitalism and rural identity, often ignored in Western theory.

UPSC 2022 · 15m Discuss the role of social movements in strengthening the democratic processes in developing societies.

Sidney Tarrow (the state as target) · **Charles Tilly** (high- vs low-capacity democratic states) · movements give minorities a platform · the Aam Aadmi Party from Anna Hazare's 2011 strike · Myanmar; yet movements can also work against democracy.

UPSC 2024 · 20m Discuss the major recent social movements related to the physical rights of women in various countries of the world.

women's rights to bodily safety and health; the #MeToo campaign; safe and legal abortion (**Amnesty International** in Argentina, Ireland, Poland, South Korea); WHO/UN — nearly one in three women face intimate-partner or sexual violence; the 2030 target.

UPSC 2017 · 10m Examine the LGBT (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender) movement in developed societies and how it is affecting the political participation in developing societies.

LGBT as an NSM tied to quality of life; recognition under the third generation of human rights (**Karel Vasak**); the NALSA judgment (2014); the Navtej Singh Johar case striking down Section 377; transgender candidates and widened participation.

28 NSMs in Developed vs Developing Societies

Dimension	Developing societies	Developed societies
Stage	Still focused on basic needs; little separate identity from older movements	Shifted to quality-of-life concerns; more advanced activism
Strategies	Strikes, dharnas, protests (Narmada Bachao Andolan)	Research, conferences, seminars, structured debate
Leadership	Political class or veterans of earlier movements	Highly educated, elite sections
Scope	Issues that directly affect participants	Also the global commons — climate, wildlife, others' heritage

UPSC 2019 · 15m Write an essay on 'New Social Movements' in developing countries.

not every human demand is material (Marxist reductionism cannot grasp them); youth, feminist, peace, ecological and civil-rights movements; **Habermas** reads them as protests against the size and rationality of the state; **Subrata Mukherjee and Sushila Ramaswamy** on decentralised organisation; **Manuel Castells** (networked resilience); **Nancy Fraser** (recognition and redistribution); **Vandana Shiva** and **Ramachandra Guha**; **Asef Bayat**'s caution against romanticising NSMs.

29 Criticisms & Assessment

- Criticisms of NSMs — lack of novelty; thin empirical evidence; a one-sided leftist focus; undefined terms ("new middle class"); the predominance of old liberal values (**Francis Fukuyama**).
- Yet NSMs mark a real shift — changing values, structures and identities; they challenge older, especially Marxist, theories by stressing non-material goals and new identities, and contribute to democracy by raising issues formal structures overlook.

The synthesis — three complementary channels between society and the state



Their relative weight shifts with the nature of the state — capitalist or socialist, developed or developing — and with the depth of democratisation. Parties remain indispensable for aggregating interests and forming governments; pressure groups and movements widen the space in which citizens act between elections.

30 Power Quotes

"There is no alternative to party government, save dictatorship, in any state of modern size." — **Harold J. Laski**

A party is "a body of men united for promoting by their joint endeavours the national interest upon some particular principles in which they are all agreed." — **Edmund Burke**

Pressure groups are "invisible empires" — they influence policy without accepting the responsibility of office. — **Samuel Finer**

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The move from economic security toward rights and quality of life is a "silent revolution." — **Jurgen Habermas**

"Man is by nature a social animal." — **Aristotle**

31 Scholar Index

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32 How UPSC Asks It

Question theme	Year · marks
A · Parties & Party Systems	
Identity and political participation in developing societies	2018 · 10m
Low voter turnout in democracies	2019 · 15m
Participation of the underprivileged — democracy or chaos?	2020 · 10m
Electoral systems and cleavages in shaping party systems	2021 · 20m
Parties sustaining democracy in developing societies	2024 · 15m
Centre-left setbacks and the centre-right ascendancy	2025 · 20m
B · Pressure & Interest Groups	
Parties and pressure groups as the sine qua non of democracy	2021 · 10m
C · Social Movements & NSMs	
Decline of parties — movements as an alternative link	2016 · 10m 2013 · examine
The LGBT movement and political participation	2017 · 10m
New social movements in developing countries (essay)	2019 · 15m
Social movements strengthening democracy (developing)	2022 · 15m
Women's physical-rights movements across the world	2024 · 20m

33 Today's Practice — write before the evening

1. Explain the impact of electoral systems and cleavages in shaping party systems with reference to developing countries. (UPSC 2021, 20m)
2. Critically examine the role of political parties in sustaining and stabilising democracies in the developing societies. (UPSC 2024, 15m)
3. Discuss the role of social movements in strengthening the democratic processes in developing societies. (UPSC 2022, 15m)
4. Of late, centrist and centre-left political parties have been facing setbacks while centre-right parties have been in ascendancy the world over. Comment. (UPSC 2025, 20m)

Model answers drop tonight on [@psirbyamitpratap](#). Every scholar and debate above is developed in full in your **Foundation / OGP** class notes and handouts — revise, then write. **Don't break the chain.**

See you tomorrow with Day 30 — Globalisation: Responses.