

Contemporary Global Concerns — I

Democracy · Environment · Gender Justice — three borderless concerns where the collective good meets national interest, and agreed principle meets actual practice. **Revise → write a little → don't break the chain.**

PART A Democracy

I Democracy — Meaning, Definitions & Significance

Democracy (Greek **demokratia** — **demo** = people, **kratos** = power): power rests with the people, exercised directly or through elected representatives, and a wider way of life built on equality, freedom and participation. **Mahatma Gandhi** judged it by fairness to the weakest, not by the fact of elections alone.

- Direct participation is impractical at scale — modern democracies are representative; pure democracy is rare, as some groups are always excluded.
- Its effectiveness turns on active participation and the equality of all citizens.

Definitions

- **Theodore Parker**: democracy is “a government of all the people, by all the people, and for all the people.”
- **Seymour Martin Lipset**: regular constitutional opportunities to change government and choose between competing policymakers.
- **Amartya Sen**: praises democratic progress but presses for better social conditions and infrastructure for rapid growth; calls democracy the most stable form of governance.
- **Ashutosh Varshney**: a system that suppresses rights, prizes obedience over freedom and weakens executive checks contradicts democracy's core.

Significance — Democratic Peace Theory

Democracies are more peaceful externally and rarely fight one another.

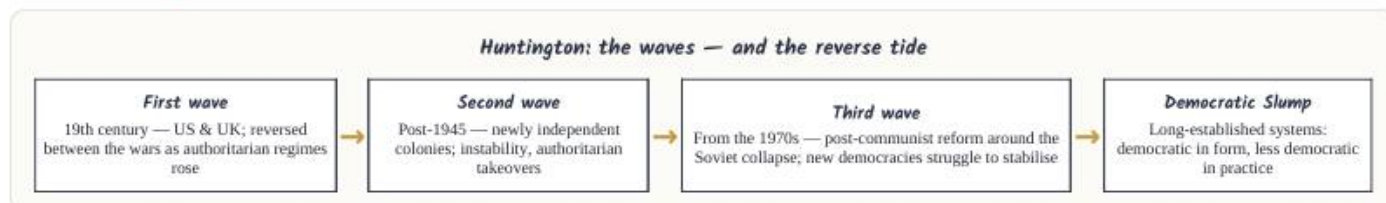
- **Immanuel Kant** (*Perpetual Peace*): a “zone of peace” among republican states — “democratic peace” and “Kantian peace” used interchangeably.
- **Michael Doyle**: autocracies are inherently militaristic and aggressive; democracies naturally peaceful.
- **Jürgen Habermas**: rational communication among people democratises society and builds consensus.

2 Types of Democracy

Type	Core idea	Example
Participatory	Decisions taken directly by those affected; limited in modern societies; values micro quality-of-life indicators alongside macroeconomic ones	Ancient Greece; Indian Gram Panchayat; Switzerland
Monarchical	Traditional ruler as constitutional head and symbol of national identity; elected government holds real power	UK, Sweden
Liberal	Representative, multi-party framework — pluralism, adult franchise, accountability of elites to the people	India

3 Waves of Democracy & the Democratic Slump

Samuel P. Huntington developed the “waves of democracy” — the spread of democratic governance in phases, each trailed by a partial **reverse wave**.



Larry Diamond names the **democratic slump** — the weakening of democracy even where it is long-established; he calls the current phase a **democratic recession**, in which elected leaders erode democratic norms through legal but illiberal means.

4 The Struggle for Democracy & Illiberal Democracy

Even where democracy is revered, its practice exposes its shortcomings.

- **Fareed Zakaria** (*The Future of Freedom*): the “paradox of democracy” — revered worldwide yet unstable in new democracies; without institutions and the rule of law, systems turn **illiberal** (people vote but lack rights and protections).
- **Robert Dahl** (*On Democracy*): democracy rests on participation, inclusiveness and equality — challenged by economic inequality and corruption; even old democracies fail at equal participation.
- **John Rawls** (*A Theory of Justice*): democracy must be just; a fair society prioritises its least advantaged, and persistent inequality erodes the democratic promise.
- **Samuel P. Huntington** (*The Clash of Civilizations*): cultural and civilisational differences complicate the spread of democracy.

- **Noam Chomsky**: broadly supported in principle, yet its practice draws heavy criticism and leaves citizens disillusioned.

“Democracy without liberalism is a danger.” — **Fareed Zakaria**

5 Democracy Promotion in Developing Countries

Can democracy be exported? The record is mixed.

- **John Locke**: government should protect individual rights; democracy as a universal value — but the assumption that societies easily adopt it ignores authoritarian and tribal legacies.
- **Samuel P. Huntington** (*The Third Wave*): democracy spreads naturally over time; outside support helps only where domestic conditions are conducive.
- **Michael Doyle** (*Liberalism and World Politics*, 1986): democratic peace rests on three supports — political culture, common moral values, ties of economic cooperation.
- Supporting frame: “complex interdependence” (**Robert Keohane & Joseph Nye**), the cobweb model (**John Burton**), transnationalism (**James Rosenau**), the Golden Arches idea (**Thomas Friedman**).
- **Amartya Sen** vs **Lee Kuan Yew**: democracy is not only a prerequisite of development but democratises development itself; sensitivity to “Asian values” and Arab exceptionalism is essential.

Unsuccessful — imposed from outside	Successful — domestically driven
US invasions of Iraq & Afghanistan (early 2000s): violence, weak governance, corruption; Taliban returned in 2021. “Democracy at gunpoint” risks reading as cultural imperialism (Arjun Appadurai).	Tunisia after the 2011 Arab Spring: active civil society and political commitment; transition led by domestic factors.

Verdict: the spread of democracy must be intrinsic and organic — feasible as facilitation, not coercion.

6 Democracy & Multiculturalism

Not inherently contradictory, but combining them means managing the tension between majority rule and minority rights.

Managing the tension

- **John Rawls** — the **veil of ignorance**: shedding personal bias in designing institutions lets individual and group rights coexist.
- **Will Kymlicka** — grant specific minority rights (language, religion) without undermining individual freedoms.
- **Brian Barry** — group-specific rights risk eroding universal equality and shared civic values.
- **Jürgen Habermas** — deliberative democracy respects difference while building consensus; **Robert Dahl** — proportional representation and decentralisation; **Arend Lijphart** — **consociational** power-sharing in divided societies.

Can democracy be multicultural?

- **Bhikhu Parekh** — democracy as “an expression of our shared humanity and the duties arising out of it,” not “a paternalist, and even an imperialist project”; multiculturalism is a feature of modern democratic life.
- **Iris Young** and **Will Kymlicka** — how institutions accommodate plural societies; **David Cameron** — condemned “segregated communities” and “hands-off tolerance.”
- **Samuel P. Huntington** and **Arthur Schlesinger Jr.** — multi-identity societies weaken democratic solidarity; **Benjamin Barber** — the democratic idea is more at home in monocultural than multicultural settings.

7 Interest Groups, Turnout, Participation & Citizenship

Interest groups

- **Samuel Finer** — pressure groups as “anonymous empires”; **Peter Odegard** — three techniques: electioneering, lobbying, propagandising.
- **Arend Lijphart** — pluralist (competitive: USA, UK) vs corporatist (cooperative: Scandinavia); corporatist groups reflect “consensus democracy.” **Jean Blondel** — communal groups undermine, promotional ones strengthen democracy.

Low voter turnout in developed countries

Explanation	Scholar / work
Rational choice — voting as cost-benefit; the “paradox of voting”	Anthony Downs (<i>An Economic Theory of Democracy</i> , 1957)
Political efficacy — the unresponsive-system feeling depresses turnout	Gabriel Almond & Sidney Verba (<i>The Civic Culture</i> , 1963)
Declining social trust and community engagement	Robert Putnam (<i>Bowling Alone</i> , 2000)
Proportional representation lifts turnout; majoritarian systems depress it	Arend Lijphart
Post-materialism — wealthier citizens disengage when parties ignore non-material issues	Ronald Inglehart (<i>The Silent Revolution</i> , 1977)
Resource model — education and income raise participation, leaving the marginalised out	Verba, Schlozman & Brady (1995)

Electoral democracy & citizenship

- **Alexis de Tocqueville** — wider participation deepens democracy; **Russell J. Dalton** — the “participation gap” (the better-off engage, the poor vote less); **Enrique Peruzzotti** — populists instrumentalise electoral legitimacy to hollow out liberal democracy.

- Citizenship = rights, responsibilities, participation, identity; deliberative democrats (**James Bohman, Amy Gutmann**) locate the most “citizenly” act in reasoning together; **Will Kymlicka & Wayne Norman** — citizenship revived strongly in the 1990s.

8 Modernisation Thesis, Indian Democracy & Liberal Principles

The modernisation thesis holds that affluence breeds stable democracy — India is the standing exception.

- **Seymour Martin Lipset** — modernisation tends to turn into democracy; **Samuel P. Huntington** — social mobilisation and economic development drive democratisation.
- **Larry Diamond & Juan Linz** (*Democracy in Developing Countries*) — economic performance aids democracy: growth matters more than static levels; it generates facilitating social change; and it creates a democracy-friendly middle class.
- **India defied the thesis** — democracy adopted amid mass poverty, low literacy and deep diversity; among the ten most populous states, only the US and India are long-established democracies. Sources of success: a tradition of participation, constitutional balancing of development and welfare, and diversity itself as the reason democracy became the only workable form.

Liberal democratic principles & Indian polity

- A strong modern liberal tradition since the 19th century — rights, separation of powers, free press, rule of law; **Dadabhai Naoroji** and **Raja Ram Mohan Roy** fought for constitutional restraint, representation and a free press.
- **One vote, one value** — the Dalit’s vote equal to the Savarna’s, women’s equal to men’s — enabling parties like the Bahujan Samaj Party; free speech (CAA, farmers’ protests) and free and fair elections deepened democratisation. The Constitution serves as a common moral compass for a divided society.

9 Global Challenges, Backsliding & Backlash

Challenge	Scholar	Point
Decline of core norms	Larry Diamond	Rule of law, peaceful transitions, rights eroded by leaders attacking media and election legitimacy (Trump, Bolsonaro)
Populism & authoritarianism	Yascha Mounk	“The people” invoked while courts, press and checks are weakened (Orbán, Erdoğan)
Polarisation	Robert Putnam	Erodes trust; gridlock (US) and unstable coalitions (Italy, Israel)
Rising inequality	Thomas Piketty	Concentrated wealth weakens democratic legitimacy
Globalisation	Benjamin Barber; Jens Bartelson	<i>Jihad vs. McWorld</i> — global integration vs local identity fuels nationalist parties; globalisation weakens state autonomy, patriotism and national identity

Backsliding & backlash — the paradox

Democratic backsliding — the removal of constraints on elected executives, weakening the rules on who may vote, run or check power. The contemporary paradox: democracy is more championed than ever, yet more democracies erode than ever.

- **Charismatic populism** — a leader claims sole power to represent “the people” and bypass institutions; backsliding is globalised through transnational networks of parties, think tanks and media, sometimes backed by autocratic states.
- **Partisan degradation** — a party fearing defeat (demographic change) or treating rivals as existential threats takes over courts, checks and the election machinery. **Steven Levitsky & Daniel Ziblatt** (*How Democracies Die*) — today democracies are dismantled not by coups but by the gradual erosion of norms by elected incumbents.
- **Recovery** — defend the professional integrity of institutional intermediaries; preserve bulwark institutions; contest subnational offices even when national institutions are lost.
- **Global State of Democracy Report**: by 2020 around 43% of democracies had declined over five years; about 70% of the world lived in non-democratic or backsliding countries; named cases included Brazil, India, the USA, Hungary, the Philippines and Poland.

Contemporary trends across the Global South

Case	Pattern	Lens
Nepal (2021)	K.P. Oli’s unilateral dissolution of Parliament; executive overreach in a fragile federal setup	Guillermo O’Donnell — delegative democracy
Sri Lanka (2020)	Twentieth Amendment centralises power in the presidency; the Rajapaksa period	Fareed Zakaria — illiberal democracy
Africa	Term-limit extensions (Liberia, Kenya, Ghana) — backsliding through legal instruments	Levitsky & Ziblatt — erosion by incumbents
Bangladesh	Electoral manipulation, media suppression, weakened opposition	“Electoral authoritarianism”

10 Democratic Interventions, Globalisation & the Democratic Deficit

Democratic interventions

- External military action to assist democratisation (Afghanistan, Iraq; post-WWII Japan and Germany). **Nils Petter Gleditsch** — after the Cold War, Western politicians used democratic peace theory to justify Balkan and Middle East interventions; the human-rights emphasis made them more palatable.
- **Criticism** — sovereignty infringement, neglect of cultural complexity, unstable semi-democracies and more armed conflict; China and North Korea read intervention as an instrument of hegemony.

Democracy & globalisation

- **Mary Kaldor** — market pressures and communication drove democratisation “from above” and nurtured civil societies “from below”; liberalisation then accelerated global integration.
- **David Held** — globalisation is the stretching and deepening of social relations across space and time; legitimate power must be freed from its exclusive tie to states and borders — national democracies need an international **cosmopolitan democracy** to survive.
- **Humane democracy** — unlike negatively conceived liberal democracy, promotes solidarity, diversity and capabilities. **Jan Aart Scholte** — “postmodern global democracy” on five principles: **transculturality**, **plural solidarities**, **transculturality**, **egalitarian redistribution** and **eco-ship**.

Democratic deficit in global governance

- **Joseph Stiglitz** — the IMF and World Bank lack accountability; opaque procedures and limited scope (climate, pandemics, poverty). **Andrew Linklater** — globalisation reshapes “the people” into post-national communities of shared problems; Western dominance leaves developing nations under-represented.

II Democracy — Key Terms

Term	Meaning & example
Illiberal Democracy	Elections held but free speech, press and opposition restricted (Hungary under Orbán)
Democratic Backsliding	Gradual weakening of democratic institutions, freedoms and rights (Poland’s judiciary under the Law and Justice Party)
Arab Exceptionalism	The idea that Arab culture, politics and history are unique — shaped by the Ottoman legacy, colonial rule and Islam (Pan-Arabism, the Arab League)
Arab Spring	The 2010 wave of protests for reform and freedoms; sparked in Tunisia by Mohamed Bouazizi’s self-immolation, toppling Ben Ali
Delegative Democracy	Guillermo O’Donnell ’s term for a form in which an elected executive, once in office, governs largely unchecked by other institutions

Assessment: democracy remains the most legitimate form of governance but is no panacea — its quality depends on responsiveness, accountability and the capacity to manage diversity and dissent (**Amartya Sen**, **Larry Diamond**). It needs both structural grounding (institutions, rule of law) and normative commitment (civil liberties, inclusion).

PART B Environment

12 Environment — Rise of the Concern & Environment as Security

Once peripheral, environmental issues now sit at the centre of world politics — the archetypal global issue, its effects crossing every border.

- **Barry Buzan** — the environment is now a central element of the security agenda; **Robyn Eckersley** — a shift from **state-centric realism** to **ecocentric cosmopolitanism**.
- Concern gained prominence with **Rachel Carson**’s *Silent Spring* (1962); since the 1980s, science has documented change driven by human development outpacing ecosystem resilience.

Environment as a security issue

- Degradation drives resource conflicts (water, diamonds, oil) in an era of scarcity; protection now covers **food, energy and economic security**.
- **Barry Buzan** & the **Copenhagen School** — climate belongs to the **securitisation** discourse: framed as an existential threat that legitimises extraordinary responses.
- **Ulrich Beck** (*Risk Society*) — climate change as a new global risk transcending borders; **manufactured risks** are politically contested and unequally distributed, disempowering the Global South (Small Island states such as the Maldives face existential threat yet lack voice).

13 Green Politics — Reformist & Radical Ecology

Conventional thought is human-centred, treating nature as a means. **John Locke** — humans are “the masters and possessors of nature.” Environmental thought instead rests on **ecology** — the web of relationships sustaining all life. The early transcendentalists — **Thoreau**, **Whitman**, **Emerson** — urged, in **O’Riordan** and **Turner**’s phrase, “a sense of responsibility for the earth” before tampering with its resources.

Reformist ecology

- Accepts “**limits to growth**”; treats damage as an externality or “social cost,” its chief ideological influence being **utilitarianism**. **Peter Singer** (1993) — animal rights, since all species have a right to avoid suffering.
- Three solutions: **market ecologism** / green capitalism (green taxes); stronger state regulation; and shifts in personal and social attitudes to consumption.

Key concept	Meaning
Green politics	Nature as an interconnected whole embracing humans, non-humans and the inanimate world
Tragedy of the commons	Threats to “common pool resources” from overpopulation, depletion, habitat loss, overfishing
Anthropocentrism	Human needs and interests are of overriding moral importance
Ecocentrism	Priority to ecological balance over human ends
Deep ecology	Rejects anthropocentrism; bio-equality, diversity, decentralisation
Shallow ecology	Harnesses ecology to human ends; sustainability and conservation

14 Radical Environmentalism

Radical theories treat capitalist modernity — its values, structures and institutions — as the root cause of degradation; many are forms of **social ecology**.

- **Murray Bookchin** — **social ecology**: problems stem from social hierarchies and unequal power; repair needs a decentralised, self-managing society (also the ground of **eco-anarchism**).
- **Eco-socialism** — capitalism's anti-ecological bias flows from private property and "commodification"; sustainability needs a socialist society.
- **Ecofeminism** — domination over women leads to domination over nature (**Carolyn Merchant**); **Val Plumwood** links the exploitation of women and of nature to patriarchal-capitalist systems.
- **Arne Naess** (1970s) — **deep ecology** demands a paradigm change: rejecting all anthropocentrism for a radical holism of interconnectedness.
- In practice — **John Muir** (Sierra Club; Hetch Hetchy), **Sunderlal Bahuguna** (Tehri Dam), **Medha Patkar** (Sardar Sarovar), Ken Saro-Wiwa (Ogoni, Nigeria).

15 North-South Divide in Environmental Politics

The debate over identifying and limiting climate change: the industrialised North (**G-8**) vs the developing South (**G-77**). Priorities have diverged since the **Stockholm Conference (1972)** — consumer needs vs basic needs, and the link between environment and rural poverty.

The North-South divide

NORTH · G-8

Goal: improve the state of the global environment · EU as "good cop" (Paris), USA as "bad cop" (resists binding cuts)

SOUTH · G-77

Goal: reform an unfair global system · equity, historical responsibility, right to develop

- **Dauvergne** — "The distinction is... about the different ultimate goals that each seeks from global environmental politics."
- **Kyoto Protocol** — split **Annex I (developed)** from **non-Annex I (developing)**, recognising 150+ years of northern industrial emissions under "**common but differentiated responsibilities**" (CBDR).
- **Indira Gandhi** — poverty is the primary polluter; **C. Raja Mohan** — the South's stance is "suboptimal" and "defensive"; **Ramachandra Guha** — "empty stomach environmentalism" vs Western "deep ecology," the South a "victim of emissions without representation."
- **Raul Prebisch** — the North should transfer 1% of GNP to the South, its prosperity being linked to southern development.
- **Tuna** — environmental scarcities add a fresh controversy to the debate: for the South, they are another lever for northern control and exploitation; for the North, an opening for cooperation.

16 India's Stand & the Global Commons

India in global negotiations

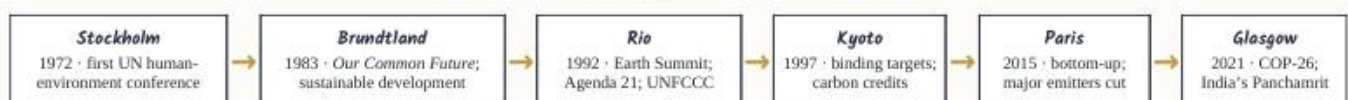
- **Shyam Saran** — India is often labelled "spoiler," "obstructionist" or "challenge" for opposing developed-country proposals; the focus should be on isolating the US, and he urges a **Citizen's Charter** on climate change.
- **Vandana Shiva** — lasting peace only when we live in balance with nature; **Ban Ki-moon** — there is no "Plan B" because there is no "Planet B."

Global commons

- **Garrett Hardin** — the "**tragedy of the commons**": shared resources degraded through overuse and diffused responsibility.
- Four commons — the **atmosphere**, the **high seas**, **Antarctica and the Southern Ocean**, and **outer space**. The Convention on Biological Diversity notes 60% of lost biodiversity can never be recovered.
- Instruments — peaking emissions and carbon neutrality via INDCs (India's **Panchamrit**); the ocean under the Paris Agreement (SDG 14); the 1.5°C ceiling; protection of Antarctic ice.

17 Institutional Efforts & the UNFCCC Road

From Stockholm to Glasgow — the institutional road



Sustainable development — Brundtland Commission (1983)

"Development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs."

- **Earth Summit, Rio (1992)** — **Agenda 21** and the **Polluter Pays Principle**; the UNFCCC built on CBDR and "historical responsibility."
- **COP16, Cancún (2010)** — the "bottom-up approach" and the **Green Climate Fund**; **Kyoto (1997)** — first UNFCCC implementation, binding targets with flexibility mechanisms.
- **INDCs (2013)** — nationally determined plans; **Paris (2015)** — landmark accord; **Clean Development Mechanism** — tradeable emission-reduction credits; **IPCC** (WMO with UNEP) — the scientific assessment; SDGs 13, 14 and 15 address the crisis.
- Limited success — collective good vs national interest, the North-South divide, US and Canada outside key commitments, and no binding enforcement.

18 USA & Paris · India's Panchamrit · SDGs

USA and the Paris Agreement

- US withdrawal initiated under Trump in 2017, finalised 2020; rejoined under Joe Biden. **Robert Falkner** — the exit undermines a consensus resting on major emitters' collective commitment.
- Domino effect** — developing states managing energy security may follow, as decarbonisation is costly; **Ban Ki-moon** — harder to raise finance, the US being the second-largest polluter; **Nicholas Stern** — integrate climate action with development for equity.

India at COP-26 — Panchamrit (five nectar elements)

Commitment	Target
Non-fossil energy capacity by 2030	500 GW
Share of energy from renewables by 2030	50%
Reduction in projected carbon emissions to 2030	One billion tonnes
Reduction in carbon intensity of the economy	Less than 45%
Net-zero emissions	By 2070

Sustainable Development Goals

- 17 goals** succeeding the MDGs after 2015 — a “blueprint” for a better, more sustainable future. **Jeffrey Sachs** — measurable progress since 2015; **Frances Stewart & Richard Wilkinson** — inequality, conflict and degradation obstruct progress. The June 2018 UN report found progress uneven and not fast enough.

19 Human Security, Non-Traditional Security & Eco-modernists vs Eco-radicals

Non-traditional security concerns threats to welfare from non-military sources — environmental, economic, food, health, cyber, energy, migration, terrorism, water (**Caballero-Anthony**, 2016). Human security is pressed by **climate change, environmental degradation and migration**.

- Food crisis** — reduced supply, rising staple prices, hunger (**Timmer**, 2010); the FSIN Global Report (2023) found around 258 million people in 58 countries in acute food insecurity in 2022; the WFP (2021) recorded nearly 9 million hunger deaths a year.
- Thomas F. Homer-Dixon** — **supply-induced, demand-induced and structural** scarcities drive the appropriation of scarce resources by elites and the ecological marginalisation of the poor, weakening states and feeding insurgency and communal violence.

Eco-modernists vs Eco-radicals

ECO-MODERNISTS

Overcome limits within techno-industrial systems · clean energy (esp. nuclear), precision farming, dense cities · steer capitalism (reformist)



ECO-RADICALS

The system itself is the problem · degrowth, commoning, local autonomy · transform class, colonial & gender hierarchies

- Jesse H. Ausubel** — the ecomodernist trinity: “Decarbonization, Dematerialization, and Land-sparing.”
- Jason W. Moore** (ecosocialist) — capitalism, not weak technology, drives the crisis; growth can continue “until the last tree is cut.”

Assessment: climate change is a multi-dimensional political concern implicating sovereignty, justice and power — **Ulrich Beck** on the unintended consequences of modernity, **Ramachandra Guha** on equity-based North–South cooperation; the task is to make climate governance as central to IR as arms control or trade.

PART C Gender Justice

20 Gender Justice — Feminism, Sex & Gender

Gender justice movements address the systemic inequalities that disadvantage women and marginalised genders, rooted in the power imbalances of structural hierarchies and cultural norms. Movements such as **#MeToo** mark its urgency.

- Central distinction — **sex** is biological; **gender** is socially created, carrying values, norms and expectations. **Internalisation** and **social conditioning** produce women as a gender.
- Feminism seeks gender justice — equality, not superiority; nobody should be disadvantaged by their sex.
- Impacts of injustice — discrimination at home and work; disproportionate suffering in war alongside exclusion from peace tables; cultural constraints on health care; the valuing of boys over girls (foeticide, infanticide).

21 Areas of Systemic Inequality

Domain	Scholar(s)	Argument
Patriarchy	Sylvia Walby; Susan Moller Okin	Family, work and the state sustain inequality; extending Rawls , traditional frameworks neglect injustice inside the family
Intersectionality	Kimberlé Crenshaw; Chandra Talpade Mohanty	Gender oppression intersects with race, class and caste; Western-centric feminism overlooks post-colonial experience
Representation	Hannah Pitkin; Anne Phillips	Descriptive and substantive representation; gender quotas and systemic reform
Economic	Sylvia Walby; Diane Elson; Nancy Fraser	The “gender regime” — capitalism and patriarchy undervalue women’s labour; globalisation deepens disparities; recognise paid and unpaid work
Violence & autonomy	Catharine MacKinnon; Judith Butler	Law normalises violence; gender performativity — rigid norms restrict bodily autonomy
Cultural hegemony	Antonio Gramsci; bell hooks	Norms reinforce inequality; media, religion and education sustain stereotypes

22 Gender in the Global Economy

- **Christine Lagarde** (IMF) — India’s GDP would be 27% higher with workforce gender parity; Turkey +22%; Japan +5%; the US +9%.
- **Reserve army of labour** — women recruited into the workforce when production must rise and shed into domestic life in downturns; the sexual division of labour serves capitalism.
- **Feminisation of work** (Asian electronics, Mexican assembly plants); **feminisation of migration** (developed-world families rely on migrant women for care); **feminisation of poverty** (poverty biased against women and female-headed households).
- **Cynthia Enloe** — a gendered lens reveals patriarchal hierarchies inside global institutions and markets.

“Gender inequality is not just an affliction of women; it harms society at large.” — **Amartya Sen**

23 Feminist Approach to IR & Gendering Security

- **Cynthia Enloe** (*Bananas, Beaches and Bases*, 2000) — asks “where are the women?” in nationalism, military bases, domestic work and diplomacy; the international system rests on assumptions that overlook women.
- **J. Ann Tickner** (*Gender in International Relations*, 1992) — critiques realism and liberalism as male-centric; reformulating **Hans Morgenthau**, argues human nature is both masculine and feminine, national interest is multidimensional, and power can be “constructive empowerment” not domination.
- Institutional response — the UN Decade for Women, gender mainstreaming, and **UNSC Resolution 1325** on women in peace and security.

Gendering security

- **Joan Tronto** — the **ethics of care**: caregiving, largely by women, is essential to a functioning society; **Nancy Fraser** — justice as **redistribution** and **recognition**; **Martha Nussbaum** — the **capabilities approach**: gender equality lets women reach their potential.
- Feminist foreign policy (first adopted by Sweden) treats women as agents of change, not merely victims.

Feminist critique of contemporary global issues

- Gendered dimensions of poverty, education gaps and health disparities; violence against women (domestic violence, harassment, trafficking) — the COVID-19 pandemic worsened intimate-partner violence, its public-health dimension studied by **Logie** and **Turan**.
- Globalisation — exploitation in supply chains (the Bangladesh garment-factory fire) and dependence on migrant third-world women; the **digital divide** (women “12% less likely than men to use the internet”). **Chandra Talpade Mohanty** — intersectional, bottom-up solidarity against the homogenised “Third World woman.” Institutional responses — UNSCR 1325, UN Women, HeForShe; the “personal is international.”

24 Gender Justice in the Global Agenda · Initiatives · Religion · Red Lipstick

Gender justice in the global political agenda

- **Wendy Harcourt** — little work links gender inequality and state fragility; promote women’s citizenship through legal reform. **Nadine Puechguirbal** — the ceasing of hostilities is not always peace for women. **Susanne Schmeidl** — build gender into conflict early-warning. **Erik Melander** — greater gender equality (women in parliament, education ratios) is associated with lower intrastate armed conflict.

Global initiatives & UN efforts

Instrument	Year	Focus
CEDAW	1979	Obliges states to end discrimination in education, work, family and health
Gender Development Index (UNDP)	1995	Gender equality in health, education and income
Beijing — Fourth UN World Conference on Women	1995	Gender equality as a human-rights issue; Beijing Platform for Action
UNSC Resolution 1325	2000	Women in peace-building and conflict resolution
UN Women · SDG 5	2010	Consolidated global effort; equality and empowerment of women and girls

Swami Vivekananda — the progress of society is tied to the condition of women.

Religion & gender equality

- Religion shapes cultural norms; women's status is tied to interpretations by predominantly male authorities. **Holm** (1994) — the severest restrictions apply during menstruation and pregnancy; roles remain differentiated and unbalanced.

Red Lipstick Movement

- Reads red lipstick as an act of agency contesting gendered policing. Lineage — suffragettes (portrayed as “shrieking sisters”) and US suffragists adopted it as emancipation (the May 1912 New York rally); in WWII — despised by Adolf Hitler — it became resilient femininity (“Fighting Red!,” Rosie the Riveter).
- Contemporary form — the 2021 Portuguese campaign, when André Ventura insulted candidate Marisa Matias over her red lipstick, sparked **#VermelhoEmBelem**: painting lips red and choosing to “fight fascism with style.” **Janet Afary & Roger Friedland** — lipstick as “female agency... anti-authoritarianism and liberal politics.”

Assessment: gender justice is both a political and ethical imperative — **Nancy Fraser** on redistribution and recognition, moving from exclusionary structures to inclusive frameworks where dignity is accessible to all.

25 Power Quotes

“Democracy is the worst form of government, except for all the others that have been tried.” — **Winston Churchill**

Democracy is “a government of all the people, by all the people, and for all the people.” — **Theodore Parker**

“Democracy without liberalism is a danger.” — **Fareed Zakaria**

The North–South divide is “about the different ultimate goals that each seeks from global environmental politics.” — **Dauvergne**

The South's stance is “empty stomach environmentalism” — a “victim of emissions without representation.” — **Ramachandra Guha**

“My environmental trinity consists of Decarbonization, Dematerialization, and Land-sparing.” — **Jesse H. Ausubel**

“Gender inequality is not just an affliction of women; it harms society at large.” — **Amartya Sen**

“Where are the women?” — **Cynthia Enloe, Bananas, Beaches and Bases**

26 Scholar Index

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27 Previous Year Questions

UPSC 2016 · 20m Examine the main problems and challenges involved in looking after environmental concerns in world politics.

UPSC 2017 · 20m The recent move of the USA to withdraw from the Paris Climate Agreement is a setback in the consensus achieved on protecting the world environment. In this context, assess the future prospects on climate control.

UPSC 2017 · 10m Give an assessment of the feminist critique of contemporary global issues.

UPSC 2018 · 15m Would you agree that the ongoing debate on international environmental politics continues to be marred by a new North–South ideological divide over historical responsibility and developmental model? Illustrate your answer with suitable examples.

UPSC 2019 · 15m Is democracy promotion in developing countries a feasible idea?

UPSC 2021 · 20m The modernisation thesis asserts that affluence breeds stable democracy. How do you explain the success of India being the world's largest democracy as an exceptional case?

UPSC 2022 · 20m How has electoral democracy augmented the participation of people in the democratic process?

UPSC 2023 · 15m Narrate the various ways in which rapid environmental degradation is posing a serious threat to human security. Illustrate your answer with suitable examples.

UPSC 2025 · 20m The world currently has been in the throes of a twin process of ‘democratic backsliding’ and ‘democratic backlash’. How would you explain this paradox?

UPSC 2025 · 10m Explain the non-traditional security threats in the context of food and environmental crises.

28 Today's Practice

Write these three before the evening, from the list above:

1. The twin process of 'democratic backsliding' and 'democratic backlash' — explain the paradox. (2025 · 20m)
2. The USA's withdrawal from the Paris Climate Agreement — assess the future prospects on climate control. (2017 · 20m)
3. The Red Lipstick Movement in the context of feminist rights. (2025 · 10m)

Model answers publish tonight on the Telegram channel [@psirbyamitpratap](#). These capsules distil the detailed material from the ForumIAS PSIR Foundation & OGP course — revise the point, then write it.

See you tomorrow with Day 38 — Contemporary Global Concerns · Part II (Terrorism · Human Rights · Nuclear Proliferation)