

Semester-II

Course Code: POLS 203

Indian Politics II: Political Processes

Objectives: The course will make the students alert about different approaches for the study of political science. They will get the knowledge of historical legacies in reference to pre-colonial and colonial state in India along with nationalist imagination. They will have clear understanding of different developmental policies, welfare programs and their social and economic implications. The students will develop the clear understanding of political processes of Indian politics.

Outcome: The student will acquire the ability of critically assessing and analyzing theoretical perspectives to study Indian politics. They will be enabled to critically examine and understand the traditional, historical and contemporary political issues.

UNIT-I

1. Approaches to the Study of Political Processes: Legal-Institutional, Sociological and Political Economy
2. Historical Legacies: Pre-Colonial and Colonial
3. State in India: Nationalist Imagination

UNIT-II

1. Politics of Identity: Caste and Tribe
2. Politics of Language and Region
3. Gender and Politics: Women Movement

UNIT-III

1. Agrarian Development Policy
2. New Economic Policy: Social and Economic Implications
3. State and Welfare: MNREGA, JNNURM

UNIT-IV

1. Electoral Politics: Participation, Contestation, Representation
2. Ideology and Social Basis of Political Parties: Congress and BJP
3. Ideology and Social Basic of State Parties: SAD and National Conference

Suggested Readings:

- Almond, G.A. and Coleman, G.B. (eds.), *The Politics of the Developing Areas*, New Jersey: Princeton, 1970.
- Almond, G.A. and Powell, G.B., *Comparative Politics*, New Delhi, 1972.
- Caren, Neal, “Political Process Theory”, *Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology*, 2004.
- Castels, F.G., *Pressure groups and Political Culture*, New York: Routledge Kegan Paul 1967.
- Eckstein, Marry, *Pressure Group Politics Stanford*, California: Stanford University Press, 1960.
- Kothari, Rajni, *Politics in India*, Boston: Little Brown, 1970.
- Palmer, Norman D., *The Indian Political System*, London: Allen Surwin, 1961.
- Park, Richard L., *and Modern Political System: Asia*, New Jersey: Engle Wood Cliffs, Prentice Hall, 1963.
- Singh, Richa, *New Citizens Activism in India*, Centre for Democracy and Social Action, 2014.
- Vermani, R.C., *Theories of Democracy*, New Delhi: Gitanjali Publishing House, 2002.

UNIT-1

Lesson 1

Approaches to the Study of Political Processes: Legal-Institutional, Sociological and Political Economy

Structure

- 1.0 Introduction
- 1.1 Learning Objectives
- 1.2 Historical Overview
- 1.3 Characteristics of Institutional Approach
- 1.4 Critically Evaluation
- 1.5 Summary
- 1.6 Glossary
- 1.7 Answers to self-check exercises
- 1.8 Suggested Reading
- 1.9 Terminal questions

1.0 Introduction

The institutional approach is closely related to legal approach, yet it is different. Significantly this approach does not solely bank on other disciplines like philosophy history or law for understanding politics. Amongst the traditional approaches, it alone gives independent identity to the systematic study of the politics. Traditionally, politics has been defined as the study of the state and government. Government itself is an institution, and its various organs such as Parliament (legislative, executive, and judiciary), Supreme Court and Legislative Assembly etc. may also be recognized as institutions. Political parties which exit independently are also institutions in their own way.. There are lots of institutions in society, such as family, schools, or church. A student of politics will be interested only in those institutions which have a direct bearing on politics.

In short, an institution is a set of offices and agencies granted in a hierarchy, where each office and agency has certain functions and powers. Each office or agency is manned by person with definite status and role; other persons also expect them to perform this role. Upholders of the institutional approach proceed to study the organizations and functioning of government, its various organs, political parties, and other institutions affecting politics. Before we begin with the discussion on the institutional approach, it is important to emphasize what institutions mean. A consistent and organized pattern of behaviour or activities established by custom or law can broadly be called an

institution. Therefore, an institution means not only bodies like Parliament and Judiciary but also customs and or any other patterned behavior of the society. You might be aware of the fact that marriage is an institution in a sociological study. The disciplinary variations in the definition of the term 'institution' should not be surprising. It can, therefore, be argued that political science as a discipline is the study of institutions. This tradition is not new at all and goes as back as to Aristotle. The primary concern of the approach can broadly be understood as to how the institutions nurture the society, subjects or citizens for a better life. Aristotle compared as many as 158 constitutions to understand the normative question which institutions work better. Machiavelli, for example, postulated advice to the institution of the prince so that there shall be proper control of the subjects. Even when Hobbes was writing 'Leviathan' he was concerned by the English civil war and therefore propagated for strong institutions. This list of thinkers who were concerned with institutions is non-exhaustive and need not be elaborated here, but it is essential to keep in mind that many thinkers since the beginning were concerned with the institutions in one way or the other. However, the institutional approach as a method became the mainstream much later with its leading proponents Carl Friedrich, James Bryce, A. L. Lowell, Herman Finer and Samuel Finer. Jean Blondel argued in this regard that James Bryce and Lowell are true founders of comparative politics as a distinct branch of study within the political discipline due to their prominent contribution to the field in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Bryce is known for his contributions in the American Commonwealth and Modern Democracies. In his work Modern Democracies, he tried to understand the workings of legislature and its decline. Lowell studied France, Switzerland, Germany, etc., separately and sought to conduct a comparative study of the referendum and its impact. His well-known works include Government and Parties in Continental Europe and Public Opinion and Popular Government. Although scholars before them undertook the study of institutions, Bryce and Lowell argued that such studies were incomplete and did not offer a nuanced argument. They stressed that it is not only essential to study the theoretical bases of the government, but it is equally important to highlight the practices of the government, which was missing in the earlier accounts of the institutional approach. They argued that a researcher must focus both on facts and theoretical arguments for a better understanding of the political system and better comparison.

They suggested using both qualitative and quantitative methods in the collection of data. The institutional approach was one of the main pillars of the political science discipline till the first half of the twentieth century. Many scholars tried to understand various institutions. For example, Woodrow Wilson, former President of the United States of America, compared governments of the USA and Europe and pointed to what the American government could learn from European governments. The institutional approach also has certain specific characteristics that help us to understand the approach in details. The institutional approach to comparative political analysis is a comparative study of institutions. The nature (comparative) and subject matter (institutions) of study are the evident. If, one were to study the relative significance of the upper houses in parliamentary democracies, one

would study the upper houses in several parliamentary democracies (the Rajya Sabha in India and the House of Lords in United Kingdom) and assess their relative significance in each case. One could then, on the basis of this comparative study of such institutions, arrive at conclusions and explanations pertaining to their relevance or even utility in parliamentary democracies e.g. the constitution of upper houses of parliament lacks representative character or the hereditary character of upper houses erodes the democratic character of legislatures. One could also, for example, look at the upper houses of parliaments to study the historical contexts which shape the evolution of a particular upper house. One could, for example, examine the contexts (social and economic) of the evolution of the two houses of Parliament in United Kingdom to see why the House of Lords retained a hereditary status. One could also then understand the contexts in which the current initiatives and its hereditary character emerged. For a long time, comparative political analysis was associated primarily with a comparative study of institutions. Comparative political analysis may in fact be said to have begun with a study of institutions. Thus, if, one was to trace the evolution of comparative politics as a discipline of study, one can see the study of institutions as marking the hint where the comparative. Among the ancient thinkers Aristotle is an important contributor to this approach while the modern thinkers include James Bryce, Bentley, Walter Bagehot, Harold Laski, etc.

Legal Approach: Legal approach stands for an attempt to understand politics in terms of law. It focuses its attention on the legal and constitutional framework in which different organs of government have to function, inquiries into their respective legal position, their powers and the procedure which makes their actions legally valid. For instance, legal approach to Indian politics will proceed to analyze legal implications of various provisions of the Indian Constitution, duly documented by the decisions of the Supreme Court of India as well as by the opinions of legal luminaries, procedure of formation and legal position of the two Houses of the Indian Parliament and State legislatures, procedure of election or appointment, powers and position of the President, Prime Minister, Governors, Chief Ministers, Central and State Cabinets, etc., role and powers of the Supreme Court of India and High Courts, full legal implications of the federal set up, position of Fundamental Rights and Directive Principles of State Policy, etc. Similarly, legal approach to international politics will largely tend to analyze it in terms of the requirements of international law. Moreover, all political processes to become effective and stable must culminate in legal provisions whether it is an independence movement in a colonized country or an agitation for civil rights or certain concessions for any sections of society. Besides, the study of constitutional law and international law, etc. in spite of its limited use in understanding politics, continues to play a pivotal role in the social and political life of almost every country. Legal approach regards state as the creator and enforcer of law and deals with legal institutions, and processes. Its advocates include Cicero, Jean Bodin, Thomas Hobbes, Jeremy Bentham, John Austin, Dicey and Sir Henry Maine.

1.1 Learning Objectives: After going through this lesson students will be able to:

1. To understand the legal-Institutional approach
2. To understand the relevance and use of the institutional approach
3. To know about the drawbacks of the institutional approach
4. To study the characteristics of institutional approach

1.2 The Institutional Approach: A Historical Overview

The study of institutions has a long history beginning perhaps with the philosophical explorations of the ideal state in Plato's Republic. In this section, we shall attempt an overview of the manner in which the institutional approach has evolved historically. We shall also, because we are primarily concerned with studying the approach within the field of comparative political analysis, concern ourselves especially with the historical moment at which the institutional approach assumed a comparative character. Perhaps the oldest comparative study of governments was made by Aristotle who studied 158 constitutions and practices in Greek city-states. Contrasting them with politics in the so called 'barbarian' states, Aristotle made a typology of governments distinguishing between monarchies, oligarchies, and democracy and between these 'ideal' governments and their 'perverted' forms.

The study of comparative politics at this stage was marked by what may be called an interrelation between facts and values. At this stage of its origins, a study of institutions did not attempt to analyze the theory and practice of government as emphasized by James Bryce in the late nineteenth century, to which we will come later in the course of this section. There was instead an overwhelming desire to explore 'ideal' states and forms of governments. In other words there was more emphasis on speculations like questions about what ought to be, rather than an analysis seeking explanations of what is or what actually existed. With Machiavelli ('The Prince') in the sixteenth century and Montesquieu ('The Spirit of Laws') in the middle of the eighteenth century, the emphasis on empirical details and facts about existing state of affairs came to be established. Montesquieu was, however, followed mainly by constitutional lawyers, whose vocation determined that they concentrate more on the contents i.e., the theoretical (legal-constitutional) framework of governments rather than the manner in which these frameworks unfolded in practice. Tocqueville, in many ways, was the forbearer of the study of 'theory and practice' of governments, which became the essence of the institutional approach in comparative political analysis in later years made another significant contribution to the development of this element of the institutional approach. In his study of the British Cabinet draw important points of comparison with the American Executive. It was, however, Bryce, Lowell and Ostrogorski, who in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, made important contributions to comparative study of institutions and by implication to the evolution of comparative governments as a distinct branch of study.

1.3 Characteristics of Institutional Approach

1. **Legalism:** The institutional approach gave law central place in a comparison of various institutions. Even in the example of Wilson mentioned above, we can notice the prominence of law through his emphasis on types of government. The prominence of law can broadly be attributed to the fact that the law constitutes the basis of political life and affect the behaviour of citizens in a significant way. Despite its centrality in the approach, scholars differ in their explanation of the relationship between law and society. Guy Peters (1999) holds that the study of law as the basis of political knowledge achieved its height in the Prussian State and thereafter in Germany.
2. **Structuralism:** For the scholars of the institutional approach, the structure determined the behaviour. Therefore, major institutional features, the ideal types of government- Parliamentary or Presidential, various models of parliamentary government, and presidential governments were extensively researched. The structures studied in this approach tended to be formal and constitutional. The assumption made by the researcher by the study of structures is that one could predict the behaviour of the system by identifying the salient aspects of the structure.
3. **Holism:** The researcher using the institutional approach tended to compare whole systems. the facts to understand the political system and predict future behaviour, rallied for separation of fact from the norm, and engaged in understanding what is instead of the normative question of what ought to be. Further, holistic research of the approach, which has many advantages, makes it difficult not only to generalize but also compare. Macridis (1960) was right in this regard when he pointed out that comparative politics is more descriptive than comparative. To elaborate a little more on this, if we suppose research on the political system of India and England, we try to understand the political system through a holistic approach and study the formal institutions. This method describes the respective political systems rather than comparing them.
4. **Associated to Government Institution:** Institutional approach is associated to government institutions like parliament, judiciary and other constitutional bodies etc. in terms of their way of functioning, their settings and composition and their functions are analyzed under this approach too. It is also concerned with studying institutions of government and the nature of distribution of power, constitutions, and legal-formal institutions of government.
5. **Philosophical, Historical or Ethnocentrism:** There are some other characteristic or feature of this institutional approach, like: ethnocentrism, philosophical and historical characteristics. The major works which are seen as representing the institutional approach in comparative politics have concerned themselves only with government and institutions in western countries through its different variations.

Self-Check Exercise

- 1) Tradition approach gives stress on which element?
- 2) Who firstly used Institutional and comparative approach?
- 3) What is the focus of Institutional approaches?

1.4 Critical Evaluation of Institutional Approach

It is interesting that criticisms of the institutional approach in comparative political analysis have come in successive waves, in the early part of the twentieth century and then again in the nineteen fifties. There has been after each wave of criticism a surge of the approach in a replenished form. Before the study of institutions acquired a comparative character (however limited) at the turn of the century, the approach was criticized on following basis: a) with its preoccupation with the institutions, it neglected the individual; hence during the ascendancy of this approach, the study of voting behavior and political attitude of individual was left to sociologist. b) Being concerned with the established institutions alone, it neglected the role of violence or the threat of violence, political movements and agitation, war and revolution etc. and neglected the role of various informal groups and process in shaping politics. c) It is largely prescriptive and normative; d) Concerned only with irregularities and regularities without looking for relationships') Configurative and non-comparative focusing on individual countries f) Ethnocentric as it concentrated on western and European democracies g) Descriptive as it focused on formal (constitutional and governmental) structure h) Historical without being analytical i) It is not possible to understand the ideas of the past ages in terms of the contemporary ideas and concepts. j) It is failed to develop new political synthesis and is living parasitically on the century old ideas. k) It neglected the role of various informal groups and process in shaping politics. Contributors within this framework were so absorbed with the study of institutions that differences in cultural settings and ideological frameworks were completely ignored while comparing, say, the upper chambers of the UK, USA, and USSR methodologically they were accused as being partial incomplete and theoretically, it was said they missed the substance of political life. We saw, however, that with Bryce and his contemporaries the nature and content of the institutional approach underwent a significant change, acquiring in a limited way a comparative character, and attempting to combine theoretical contexts. In the nineteen fifties the institutional approach as it developed with Bryce, Lowell and Ostrogorski, came again under increasing criticism by political scientists like David Easton and Roy Macridis. In his work *The Political System* (1953), David Easton made a strong attack against Bryce's approach calling it 'mere factualism'. This approach, alleged Easton, had influenced American Political Science, in the direction of what he called 'hyper factualism'. While admitting that, Bryce did not neglect 'theories', the latter's (Bryce's) aversion to making explanatory or theoretical models, had led, asserted Easton, to a surfeit of facts and consequently to 'a theoretical malnutrition'. (You will study in another unit about 'system building' as the basis of Easton's 'systems approach' to studying political phenomena. It will not, therefore, be

difficult to understand why Easton felt that Bryce's approach had misdirected American Political Science onto a wrong path.) Jean Blondel, however, defends the institutional approach from criticisms like those of Easton, and directed towards the so called 'factualism'. Blondel would argue first, that the charge of 'surfeit of facts' was misplaced because there were in fact very few facts available to political scientists for a comprehensive political analysis. In reality very little was known about the structures and activities of major institutions of most countries, particularly about the communist countries and countries of the so called Third World. The need for collecting more facts thus could not be neglected. This became all the more important given the fact that more often than not governments tended to hide facts rather than transmit them. Secondly, the devaluation of the utility of facts regarding institutions and legal arrangements, by the supporters of a more global or systemic approach was, to Blondel, entirely misconstrued. Institutions and the legal framework within which they functioned formed a significant part of the entire framework in which a political phenomenon could be studied. Facts about the former thus had to be compared to facts about other aspects of the political life to avoid a partial study. Facts were in any case needed for any effective analysis. No reasoning could be done without having 'facts' or 'data'. This coupled with the point that facts were difficult to acquire made them integral to the study of political analysis. In 1955 Roy Macridis pointed out the need for a 'reorientation' in the comparative study of government. He emphasized that in its existing form comparative study has been 'comparative in name only'. Macridis described the orientation of institutional approach as 'non-comparative', 'parochial', 'static' and 'monographic'. A good proportion of work was moreover, he asserted, 'essentially descriptive'. This was because the analysis was historical or legalistic and therefore 'rather narrow'. It was however, realized in the 1950s, and continued to be the concern, that there remained actually a paucity of fact from which valid generalizations could be made. There was thus, asserts Blondel, a 'surfeit of models' rather than a 'surfeit of facts'. Blondel emphasized that building models without grounding them in facts would result in misinformation. This misinformation, given that facts about some countries were harder to come by, was likely to affect and at times reinforce preconceptions about the countries. Thus, while writing about Latin American Legislatures in 1971, W. H. Agor remarked that there was a tendency to assert that legislatures in that part of the world were very weak. Statements such as these, he said, were based on 'extremely impressionistic evidence' that is, in the absence of 'facts' consciously collected for the purposes of the study. Thus, the need for collecting and devising ways of collecting facts was stressed emphatically by followers of the institutional approach. The criticisms were, however, followed by works which had a more comparative focus and included non-western countries. Further, there was also an attempt to undertake studies comparing structures not determined by legal-constitutional frameworks e.g., G. Sartori's work on Parties and Party Systems (1976) which included in its scope in a limited way.

1.5 Summary The institutional approach in its various forms has been an important constituent of comparative political process. The study of institutions of governance was at the core of political analysis be it the explorations of the ideal state of Plato's Republic or the typology of States proposed

by Aristotle in his Politics. In the classical and early modern forms, the institutional approach was more philosophical and speculative, concerned with ideal typical states and prescribing the norms of ideal governance. With Montesquieu and his successors, the preoccupation of the approach with legal-institutional frameworks or structures of democracies became entrenched. The belief in institutions of liberal constitutional democracies, however, did not translate into a study of the way the structures of governance functioned. Often, at least until the end of the nineteenth century, the intricacies of the legal-institutional structures or the theoretical framework of governance continued to seize the attention of political scientists and legal experts. So far, thus the approach could be said to have been characterized by a preoccupation with constitutions and legal-formal institutions of government and normative values of liberal democracy. This approach was also propagated by colonial regimes to popularize European liberal values in the erstwhile colonies. The works of the institutionalists were also extremely relevant to the elite's efforts in institution building in various countries. It was, however, only by the late nineteenth and early twentieth century that scholars like Bryce, Lowell and Ostrogorski broke new grounds in the study of institutions by combining the study of the theoretical-legal-institutional framework with facts about their functioning and giving the study a comparative favour by including into their works the study of institutions in other countries. Thus, the approach, by the first quarter of the twentieth century, could be said to have acquired a limited comparative character. In the 53 nineteen fifties, however, the approach came under attack from system theorists Institutional Approach like Easton and Macridis. The latter criticized the approach for over emphasizing facts, lacking theoretical formulations which could be applied generally to institutions in other countries and lacking a comparative character. These theorists on their part preferred to build holistic or global models or systems which could explain the functioning of institutions in countries all over the world. An important criticism leveled against the practitioners of the institutional approach was their western centric approach. The lack of tools to understand the institutions in other countries of the developing and the communist worlds resulted in a temporary waning of the influence of this approach. It resurfaced, however, in the nineteen eighties, in a form which while retaining its emphasis on facts, did not shy away from making generalized theoretical statements. The new institutionalism uses a variety of methodological approaches to understanding how norms, rules, cultures, and structures constrain and influence individuals within a political institution.

1.6 Glossary:

1. **Institution:** An institution is a social structure in which people cooperate and which influences the behavior of people and the way they live.
2. **Political Process:** the process of the formulation and administration of public policy usually by interaction between social groups and political institutions or between political leadership and public opinion.

3. **Approach:** basically, an approach is the way of looking at a political phenomenon and the explaining it, or an approach consists of criteria of selection criteria employed in seeking the problem.

1.7 Answer to Self-Check Exercises

- 1). Value
- 2) Aristotle
- 3) Prescriptive and normative focus on formal structure of government

1.8 Suggested Readings

- Goodin and Klingeman, H. (eds). (1996). A New Handbook of Political Science, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Gauba, O.P. (2014). An Introduction to Political Theory, New Delhi: Mayur Books.
- Biswal, T. (2013). Comparative Politics: Institutions and Process, New Delhi: Trinity Publication.

1.9 Terminal questions:

1. Explain the meaning of Legal-Institutional approach.
2. Critically examine the Institutional approach in detail.
3. Delineate the historical overview of Institutional approach.
4. Explain the characteristics and utility of Institutional Approach.

Lesson-2

Meaning, Nature, and Scope of Sociological Approach

Structure

- 1.0 Introduction
- 1.1 Learning objectives
- 1.2 Evolution of approach
- 1.3 Themes of Sociological approach
- 1.4 Importance of Sociological Approach
- 1.5 Nature
- 1.6 Scope
- 1.7 Summary
- 1.8 Glossary
- 1.9 Answer to self-check exercise
- 1.10 Suggested readings
- 2.11 Terminal Questions

2.0 Introduction

Sociological approach is also known as political sociological and is the study of relationship between societies, and politics. Its supporters believe that politics can be studied only in relation to the society as its purpose is to serve the society. Politics, therefore, must have knowledge of society. It emerged from sociology as a subfield within it. Sociological approach is an interdisciplinary approach as it is linked with sociology and many other approaches. This approach believes that social political behavior, political relationship, and political institutions are affected by social factors like: crime, divorce, harassment, and murder. Thus, these social factors give inputs to government and legislators to make policies. After ‘Second World War, and from there it is applied in the political science or comparative politics. Sociological study focuses not on the norms and values of the society but the way they actual function in actual realities. The study is based on the observations, findings, and evidences without bias following certain rules that can be checked upon by others.

2.1 Learning objectives:

After this chapter students will be able to learn:

1. To know about sociological approach.

2. To understand its relevance to society.
3. To study scope and nature of sociological approach.
4. To study themes of sociological approach.

2.2 Evolution of the Approach:

This chapter will explore the theoretical foundations of sociology's founding fathers, and then survey modern applications of these theories as they relate to the developing world. In many respects, sociological explanations and behavioral phenomena are as deterministic as the explanations of Rostowian developmentalists or the Marxian theorists. However, while these two approaches present economically driven grand theories, the sociologists tend to provide a more holistic and comprehensive approach. In many ways, sociological explanations subsume many of the economic and cultural factors that other theorists have posited as central. The essence of this approach is perhaps best summed up by Cyril E. Black, one of its modern contributors. He explains: sociologists have made great progress in analyzing the social structures that form the basis for all human action, and the ways in which the wide variety of structures created by the different peoples of the world perform the functions essential to social cohesion and development. The Founding Fathers Comte, Durkheim, and Weber are regarded as the founders of modern sociology too. Their theoretical framework, however, has influenced scholars far beyond this field, including political scientists, anthropologists, methodologists, and even organizational theorists.

2.3 Theme of Sociological Approach:

It includes study of human behavior including the political behavior, group behavior, and attitude of group culture, society.

1. **Political culture:** political culture composes the attitude, belief, emotions, orientation, and values that people or society has toward the concerned political system and its political issues.
2. **Society:** society is another important theme of sociological approach and various aspects of society like: institution, organization, government, and people are analyzed under this approach.
3. **Institutions:** society is composed of individuals who further form institutions and which are also part of the society. These institutions (legislations, executive and judiciary) play an important role in molding or influencing the character, attitude, attitude and behavior of individuals which are the part of society.
4. **Groups:** individuals form not only society but also group based on a network of official relationships or interests. From comparative politics perspective there are various groups formed on the basis of professions. The groups are also studied in this approach.

2.4 Importance of Sociological Approach:

Sociology because of its bearing upon many of the problems of the present world has assumed such a great importance that it is considered to be the best approach to all the social sciences. Giddings have rightly pointed out, 'Sociology tells us how to become what we want to be.' Importance of its studies lies in the following ways: Sociological approach studies society in a scientific way: Scientific knowledge about human society is needed in order to achieve progress in various fields. Sociological approach focuses on the human beings as part of society: Man as a social animal, why he lives in a group, communities, and societies; and their inter-relationship. This approach laid emphasis on the society and by using this approach, ambiguity between individual and state relationship can be rectified. Sociological Approach enables the development of the individuals: Sociology studies social institutions- home, family; school, educations, etc. and their role in the development of the individual, and under this approach critically examines the factors of individual and society's development as well. Sociological approach leads to a better social life: Knowledge of society, social groups, social institutions, associations, their functions etc. helps us to lead an effective social life. Sociology is of great importance in the solution of social problems: It is the task of sociology to study the social problems through the methods of scientific research and to find out solution to them. It helps Governments to implement their schemes effectively.

Sociological approach study behavior of individuals: Aberrations in human behaviour like crime, unemployment, etc. are treated as social problems. The criminals are now treated as human beings suffering from mental deficiencies and efforts are accordingly made to rehabilitate them as useful members of the society. Sociological approach enriches human culture: this approach has given us training to have rational approach to questions concerning oneself, one's religion, customs, morals, and institutions and enables man to have better understanding both of him and his culture.

2.5 Nature

Sociological approach seeks to understand the process of interaction between government and society, decision-making authorities and conflicting social forces and interests. It is the study of interactions and linkages between politics and society; between the political system and its social, economic, and cultural environment. It is concerned with problems regarding the management of conflict, the articulation of interest and issues, and political integration and organization. The focal point in all these concerns is the interdependence of the interplay of socio-cultural, economic, and political elements. The perspective of sociological approach is distinguished from that of institutionalism and behaviouralism. The institutionalists have been concerned primarily with institutional types of political organization, and their study has been characterized by legality and formality. The behaviouralists have focused on the individual actor in the political arena; and their central concern has been the psychological trait namely: motives, attitudes, perception, and the role of individuals. The task of political sociologists is to study the political process of interactions between society and its decision-makers, and between decision-making institutions and social forces.

Sociological approach provides a new vista in political analysis. Yet, it is closely linked with the issues which have been raised in political philosophy. Political philosophy, as we know, has a rich and long tradition of political thought that began with the ancient Indian and Greek philosophers, and has amply followed since Machiavelli, who made a bold departure from Greek ideal is medieval scholasticism. It was Karl. The works of Marx, which emphasized the role of capitalist mode of production and Marx imaginable were important for the development of sociology. The early Marxist contribution to sociology included the works of Karl Kautsky on the French Revolution; Mehring's analysis of art, literature, and intellectual history; and Grunberg's early studies on agrarian history and labour movements. It is important to note that Marxist studies of society also developed independent of universities as it was intimately related to political movements and party organizations.

In the decades, following the death of Marx, sociology was gaining ground as an academic discipline, and the critics of Marxism had an important role to play in its development. The most notable critics were Max Weber and Emile Durkheim. Weber's work on capitalism, the State, and methodological writings were largely directed against historical materialism. In the later works of Durkheim, an attempt was made to distinguish the social functions of religion from the explanation provided by historical materialism. Given the inevitability of political role in society, a body of thinkers from Aristotle to Tocqueville has rightly emphasized the point that instead of deploring the evils of human nature or social circumstances, it is more prudent and worthwhile to accept the given and improve it for the good of man and society. It is wiser to face and manage it so as to achieve reconciliation and accommodation.

Conflict, though apparently an evil is a condition of freedom, as it prevents the concentration of power. This kind of political realism recognizes the necessity and utility of the political management of conflict through compromise and adjustment among various social forces and interests. Political sociology is an understanding of the sources and the social bases of conflict as well as the process of management of conflict.

Self-Check Exercise

- 1) Political Sociology is related to what type of study?
- 2) Which theory of Marx laid the Foundation for the sociology of politics?
- 3) Political Sociology as a distinct subject emerged which year?
- 4) According to Weber, in the Modern western societies what are the bases of political authority?

2.6 Scope of Sociological Approach:

The broad aim of sociological approach is to study and examine the interactions between social and political structures. The determination of the boundaries of what is social and political, however, raises some questions. The relevant question in delineating the scope of sociological

approach is that of the kinds of groups which form part of the study of the discipline of political sociology. Some scholars believe that politics depends on some settled order created by the State. Hence, the State is political, and is the subject matter of political sociology not the groups.

Two groups of scholars have discussed the scope of sociological approach in two different ways. According to Greer and Orleans, political sociology is concerned with the structure of the State, the nature and condition of legitimacy, and nature of the monopoly of force and its use by the State, as well as the nature of the sub-units and the relation with the State. They treat political sociology in terms of consensus and legitimacy, participation and representation, and the relationship between economic development and political change. By implication, whatever is related to the State is alone held as the subject matter of political sociology. And reflect a broader view of the picture and suggests that political sociology or sociological approach is concerned with the causes, patterns and consequences of the distribution and process of power and authority in all social systems. Among social systems, he includes small groups and families, educational and religious groups, as well as governmental and political institutions.

Lipset and Bendix suggest a more representative catalogue of topics when they describe the main areas of interest to sociological approach as voting behaviour, concentration of economic power and political decision-making, ideologies of political movement and interest groups, political parties, voluntary associations, the problems of oligarchy and psychological correlates of political behaviour, and the problem of bureaucracy. To Dowse and Hughes, one area of substantive concern for the political sociologist is the problem of social order and political obedience.

Richard G. Braungart has pointed out that sociological approach is concerned with the dynamic association among and between three things, namely:

- 1) The social origin of politics and the structure of political process
- 2) The effects of politics on the surrounding society and culture Political sociology should include four areas, which are as follows:
 - a) Political structures (social class/caste, elite, interest groups, bureaucracy, political parties, and factions)
 - b) Political life (electoral process, political communication, opinion formation)
 - c) Political leadership (bases, types and operation of community power structure)
 - d) Political development (concept and indices of its measurement, its social bases and prerequisite and its relationship to social change and modernization).

To illustrate, It can be pointed out that, on one hand, sociologists focus the on the sub-areas of the social system, and political scientists concentrate on the study of law, local, state and national

governments, comparative government, political systems, public administration and international relations. On the other hand, political sociologists or sociological approach ought to be concerned with topics of social stratification and political power, socio-economic systems political regimes, interest groups, political parties, bureaucracy, political socialization, electoral behaviour, social movements and political mobilization. A significant concern of sociological approach is the analysis of socio-political factors in economic development.

2.7 Summary

As we have cited in this chapter that Sociological approach is associated to individual and society. On the other hand, this approach is used to study the relations between individual and society. According to this approach social political behavior, political relationship and political institutions are affected by social factors like: crime, divorce, harassment, and murder. Thus, these social factors give inputs to government and legislators to make policies. August Comte, Durkheim, and Weber are regarded as the renowned exponent of sociological approach. After 'Second World War, and from there it is applied in the political science or comparative. Scope of this approach is stretched to formation of nation state, society, relations of individuals within a social set up and etc. this approach is conducive in respect to resolving social problems and enlightenment of individual development.

2.8 Glossary:

1. **Society:** A society is a group of individuals involved in persistent social interaction, or a large social group sharing the same spatial or social territory.
2. **Sociology:** a social science that studies human societies, their interactions, and the processes that preserve and change them is called sociology.
3. **Behaviour:** Behaviour represents the interaction between individuals and their external changes.

2.9 Answer to self-check Exercises

- 1). Politics and Society
- 2) Economic Determinism
- 3) 1950s
- 4) Rational-Legal Authority

Suggested Readings

- Goodin and Klingeman, H. (eds). (1996). A New Handbook of Political Science, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

- Gauba, O.P. (2014). An Introduction to Political Theory, New Delhi: Mayur Books.
- Biswal, T. (2013). Comparative Politics: Institutions and Process, New Delhi: Trinity Publication

2.10 Terminal Questions:

1. Explain meaning, evolution, and themes of sociological approach.
2. Write a note on significance of sociological approach. 3. Explain nature and scope of sociological approach.

Lesson-3

Political Economy Approach

Structure

- 3.0 Introduction
- 3.1 Learning objectives
- 3.2 Definitions
- 3.3 Evolution of the approach
- 3.4 Scope
- 3.5 Summary
- 3.6 Glossary
- 3.7 Answer to self-check exercise
- 3.8 Suggesting books
- 3.9 Terminal questions

3.0 Introduction

Political economy approach the word today is a complex mix of the issues of one sided and unilateral growth with the rich getting richer and the poor getting poorer getting poorer and the many topics from possibility of a nuclear arms race to suffrage rights being granted to women in middle-eastern countries Basically Political Economy was more concerned about study of relation of production in the countries born out of the new capitalist order. And later on, it was replicated by the economics as a branch of social science dealing with the functioning of the economy, mainly using fundamental tools and techniques. The present condition of the study of Political Economy is concerned to study or understanding social and political phenomena, whereby economics and politics are not seen as separate domain. In the context of India Political Economy approach is used to understand the socio- political background of the society. Furthermore, this approach is also used to study about the various aspects or base of the society.

3.1 Learning objectives: After this chapter students will be able to learn or understand

1. To understand political economy.
2. To study about its scope and a utility.
3. To know about the evolution of political economy approach.

3.3 Definitions of Political Economy Approach:

Political economy, according to Friedrich Engels “studies the laws which govern the production and exchange of the material means of subsistence.

The Soviet economic theorist and historian Isaak Illich Rubin suggested the definition of political economy as follows “Political economy deals with human working activities, and also deals with production relations who are established among people in the process of production”.

3.4 Evolution of the Concept:

Originally, political economy meant the study of the conditions under which production or consumption within limited parameters was organized in the society. The phase of political economy first approached in France in 1615 with the well-known book written by Antonie Montchreton ‘Trade De Economic Politique’. Except this, Adam Smith, David Ricardo, and Karl Marx have also contributed to this approach and were known as the exponent of the approach and they have made it an independent approach. Political economy refers to a specific way of understanding social and political phenomena whereby, economics and politics are not seen as separate domains. It is based on a relationship between the two assumptions, which constitute important explanatory and analytical frameworks within which social and political phenomena can be studied. Having said this, it is important to point out that, whereas the concept of political economy points at a relationship, there is no single meaning which can be attributed to this concept. The concept depends on the theoretical and ideological traditions, and is further divided into liberal or Marxist blocks, within which economics and politics themselves are understood. Interestingly, the appearance of economics and politics as separate domains is itself a modern phenomenon. From the time of Aristotle till the middle Ages, the concept of economics as a self-regulating or separate sphere was unknown. The word ‘economy’ dates back to Aristotle and signified in Greek ‘the art of Approaches in household management’. Basically, the concept has been derived from the Greek word ‘Oikos’ meaning a ‘house’, and ‘Nomos’ meaning ‘law’. As the political evolution takes place in the Greece, followed the sequence: household-village-city and state, the study of the management of the household came under the study of ‘politics’, and Aristotle has considered economics in the very first book of the Politics. Among the classical political economist, Adam Smith considered political economy as ‘a branch of the science of a statesman or legislator’. World’s first professorship in Political Economy was established in the University of Vienna in 1763. In 1805 Thomas Malthus became first English professor of political economy. Later on the term Political Economy was generally replaced by the term Economics, used by those who seek to place the study of economy upon mathematical and arithmetic bases, rather than the structural relationship of production and consumption. As far as the Marxist position is concerned, Marx (1818-1883) himself, generally, spoke not only about ‘political economy’ as such but of the ‘critique of political economy,’ where the expression was used mainly with reference to the classical writers. Marx never defined political economy, but Engels did so in his works. In terms of their

definitions, political economy is not the study of prices or of scarce resources, it is rather, a study of culture seeking answers to the questions, why the productive forces of society develop within a particular social form? Why the economic process unfolds within the context of business enterprise? Why industrialization takes the form of capitalist development? Political economy, in short, asks how the working activity of people is regulated in a specific, historical form of economy. In the years after decolonization set in, the understanding of relationships between nations, and specific political and social phenomena, was informed by various approaches, viz., institution, political sociology and political economy. These were geared primarily towards examining the manner in which social values were transmitted and also the structures through which resources were distributed. All these would eventually form the bases or standards along with different countries, and cultures could be classified on a hierarchical scale of development, and could actually be seen as moving along a trajectory of development and change. Several theories were advanced as frameworks within which this change could be understood. Among these one was the modernization theory, which emerged in the historical context of the end of Japanese and European empires and the beginning of the cold war.

Modern Development of Approach: From 14th to 17th century mercantilism dominated the political economic understanding of activities of the state. It emphasized that state should promote military power to enhance its economic power or vice versa this theme is followed by the liberal theory political economy that focused on laissez fair. This theory had been modified by welfare state theorist who advocated for the positive side of the state in order to bring welfare for the people in this episode arrival of Marxist theory was consider landmark in order to comprehend the economic dimension of any social and political phenomena. Hence, we can draw the political economy approach into two parts: Liberal political Economy and Marxist Political Economy.

Liberal Political Economy: John Locke and Adam Smith are the two pillars of early liberal along with David Richardo and Malthus who shaped the early liberal political economy. John lock tried labour to private property and wealth. He argued that production is the consequences of the individual labour effort to satisfy human needs. The liberals believed that private property should be protected and the production of wealth is based on the incentives to work as the right to property is entitled to the individuals. Adam Smith in classical work ‘Inquiry into the nature and cause of wealth of Nations’, provided major themes of political economy. David Richardo in ‘Principle of Political Economy and Taxation’ criticizes the Smithian political economy and offered refinements to it. He advocated the accumulation of capital as the basis for economic explanation. He argued that restriction on private investment should be eliminated and the government should not intervene in the economy and this understanding of political economy fostered the idea of laissez-faire. Among other classical liberals, Thomas Malthus in ‘Principle of political economy’ and Jeremy Bentham are important people who contributed to political economy. Malthus contribute a theory of population to the concept, argued that population reproduces faster than food production so that unless population growth is checked, the masses would face starvation and death. Thus, government should not aid the poor for

such action, because it drains wealth and income from the higher sections of the society. Liberal theories of political economy would include developmental or modernization theories, which were the dominant theories during the 1950s and 1960s. These theories were based on the experience of western liberal capitalist societies.

Marxist Political Economy: Marx had an excellent understanding of political economy not only for the contemporary society but also of the past for the future. His work with Frederick Engels 'Manifesto of Communist Party' start with a specter is haunting Europe- the specter of communism and the history of all hitherto existing society is the history of 'class struggle'. The analysis of historical society by Marx was complete political analysis of history. To understand Marxist political economy, it is necessary to understand the mode of production, forces of production, means of production and relations of production as base and base and superstructure. Marx was the first thinker who founded the idea of scientific socialism and argued that 'matter' (economy) is the essence of the universe and all social institutions are the manifestations of changing economic condition. According to Marxist theory Political Economy, any political and political phenomena can be understood in terms of 'Base and 'Superstructure' consist of the mode of production while superstructure is represented by its legal and political structure, religion ,moral social practices, literature art ,culture, and so on. Mode of Production has two components: force of production and relations of production. Forces of production cannot be remaining static because it is very dynamic in nature; they have inherent tendency of development in the direction of achieving the perfect society. It has two components: means of production (toils and equipment, technology etc.) and labour power human knowledge etc. This theory also includes other Marxist theories like Dependency theory and World System theory in relation to study of political process.

Self-Check Exercise

1. Who coin the term Political Economy?
2. What are the three types of political economy?

3.5 Scope of Political Economy Approach:

Due to its diverse use in Political Science, it has wider scope and which are mentioned below :

1. **Economic Sphere:** basically, this sphere is absolutely or majorly ruled by the political and economic approach, because economics focuses on market by leaving the political governments, state, institutions, and legal or formal framework as given without any manipulation. In addition to this, other economic matters and economic relations in the society also come under this approach.
2. **Use in Sociology:** basically, Sociology studies the effect of person's involvement in society as a member of group. Many scholar to know about relation between society and individual especially economic relations, often go through this approach.

3. **Political Science:** it focuses on the interactions between institutions and individuals, the way in which former shapes the policies and plans and the latter change institutional framework, there is a need of political approach to study the relations between them.
4. **Anthropology:** Generally, it is associated to study of human science or humanity in scientific way. As far as political economy approach is concerned to anthropology, it studies relationship between the world of capitalist system and local culture.
5. **Ecology, environment, and culture:** ecology has directly to deal with or go through the political economy approach, because human activity has the greatest effect upon the environment. Thus, environment issues and economics activity of individual seems interconnected with each other, and to study this nexus political economic approach is necessary. Its central concern is the environmental suitability for human activity. Except it, political economy approach is also used in their cultural studies of social classes, gender, and labour etc.
6. **International politics:** political economy approach is very widely used in international politics and in respect to global issues. To knows about the relationship between two countries in contemporary politics especially in respect to economic affairs. Trade and bilateral relations between two countries can be studied by this approach.

3.6 Summary

Pointing to the global divide between the rich and the poor in both developed and developing countries, the fact that growth and income levels are not necessarily an indication of an increase in the standard of living and there are many other factors responsible for that. This chapter discusses the political economy of development and some of the important political economy theories of development and its applicability in India and world. Income cannot be made the only Development factor which seems to be the result of monopolization of development issues by economics especially as it evolved in the rich countries. The Income approach basically serves as the process of capital accumulation under the control of big corporate based in the rich countries. This chapter also shows that how political economy approaches is applied in various fields to determine relations between man and society. By definition and in its essential logic the concern of the political economy of development is to determine men position by economic relation. Political Economic requires that in addition to the state and the market, it should address the entire range of civil society institutions. It should not focus exclusively on the state, market, or NGOs. The chapter also shows the limitations of capital accumulation and Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) inflows as a means of growth. The Liberalization, Privatization and Globalization (LPG) package suggested by the IMF and World Bank for bailing poor and weak economies out of their crises resulted in a big retreat of the state and disenchantment. A political economy approach cannot stand for a development paradigm which restricts people's free choices, and simultaneously avoid predetermined universal pattern of development approach.

3.7 Glossary

Political: is associated to governance, or the conduct of government concerned with the making of policy for public welfare and upliftment.

Economics: is the social science that studies the production, distribution, and consumption of goods and services. **Evolution:** Evolution is the process by which the physical characteristics of types of creatures change over time, new types of creatures develop, and others disappear.

3.8 Answer to self-check Exercise

- 1) Adam Smith is generally the father of economic and father of the political economy
- 2) Capitalism, socialism, communism

3.9 Suggested Readings:

- Krishna, R. (2018). Comparative Government and Politics, New Delhi: K.K Publication.
- Kaur, G.P. & Sehgal, S. (2012). Dynamics of International Relations: moving from International to Global Theory and issues. New Delhi: Atlantic Publication.
- Biswal, T. (2013). Comparative Politics: Institutions and Process, New Delhi: Trinity Publication.

3.10. Terminal Questions:

1. Explain meaning and definition of political economy approach.
2. Describe the scope of political economy approach.
3. Write a note on evolution process of political economy.

Lesson-4

Historical legacies: Pre- and Post-colonial Structure

Structure

- 4.0 Introduction
- 4.1 Definition of colonialism
- 4.2 Learning Objectives
- 4.3 Evolution of colonialism
- 4.4 Causes of colonialism
- 4.5 Phases of colonialism in India
- 4.6 Types of colonialism
- 4.7 Characteristics of colonialism
- 4.8 Impact of colonialism from Indian and Western point of view
- 4.9 Summary
- 4.10 Glossary
- 4.11. Answer to self-check exercise
- 4.11 Exercises
- 4.12 Suggested Readings
- 4.13 Terminal Questions

4.0 Introduction:

Colonialism and imperialism are often used interchangeably. The word colonialism comes from the Roman 'Colonia' which meant 'farm' or settlement and referred to Romans who settled in other land but still retained their citizenship.

Colonialism and imperialism dates back to around 1550 BC, when ancient Greece, Rome, Egypt and ancient Phoenicia started extending their boundaries and control to adjacent and non-contiguous territories. Using their superior military power, these ancient civilization established colonies that made use of skill and resources of the people and through this, they conquered to further expand their empire. Another side, Colonialism implies domination of people's life and culture. The main goal of colonialism is extraction of economic benefits from the colony. Colonialism results in control over life of natives in political, economic, cultural and social spheres. It is more subtle whereas Imperialism is more formal and aggressive. First phase of the modern colonialism began in

the 15th century during the age of exploration, looking for new trading routes and civilization beyond Europe, Portuguese explorer conquered the North African territory of Ceuta in 1419, creating an empire that would endure until 1919 as the longest colonial empire. Later on, Spanish explorer Christopher Columbus in 1492 sailed searching for a western route to China and India. During 17th century colonialism started flourishing with the establishment of the French and Dutch overseas empire and likewise British also entered in the squad.

4.1 Definitions of Colonialism

According to Oxford English Dictionary “A settlement in a new country, a body of people who settle in a new locality, forming a new community subject to or connected with their parent state; the community so formed, consisting of the original settlers, as long as the connection with the parent state is kept up”.

Chase-Dune “The direct organization of formal political-military control over peripheral areas by the core states”

Chase-Dune “A colonial empire in which one of the core states within an interstate system exercises formal political domination over territories abroad”.

International Encyclopedia of Social Science “colonialism is the establishment and maintenance for an extended time of rule over an alien people that is separate and subordinates to the ruling power. Colonialism has now come to be identified with rule over people of different inhabiting race separated by salt water from imperial center”.

4. 2 Learning Objectives

After going through this lesson, the students will be able to understand

- To understand the meaning of colonialism and its evolution;
- To know different types of colonialism;
- To know about legacies of colonialism in India;
- To understand impacts of colonialism on India;
- To know understand various characteristics of colonialism;

4.3 Evolution of colonialism in India

No aspects of the gradual expansion of British occupation of India deserve attention. The experiences gained by the British in one region of India were either extended or modified in other regions, and this, learning through practice made them quite powerful in dealing with the problems of a large colony like India. The changes in British society demanded a different approach to satisfy the interests of emerging social groups in Britain. The essence of British colonial policies in India

was determined by the dynamics of society which witnessed many changes in Britain. The modern British society progressed through stages like mercantile capitalism to industrial capitalism and from competitive industrial capitalism to monopoly industrial capitalism. The interests of mercantile British capitalism lay in trade with India, the interests of industrial capitalism were on the other hand, market oriented in which, the Indian colony was to provide raw material and buy manufactured goods from Britain. Thus, social and economic changes in Britain directly influenced British colonial policies in India.

The British East India Company got a legal charter for trade from the British crown in 1600, and shortly thereafter this trading company started conquering India. The conquests began in 1757 with the defeat of the Nawab of Bengal by Robert Clive. The East India Company ruled India for a century i.e., from the decisive Battle of Plessey in 1757 to 1857 when India fought a war of Independence. The British defeated the Indians in this war and in 1858 Queen Victoria assumed the responsibility to rule over India. The rule of East India Company ended and the British Parliament directly became responsible for the governance of India and this continued till 1947.

4.4 Causes of Colonialism

Discovery of New Lands and Trade Routes: since the discovery of new route and new lands on earth, most of the western powers started to rush over there to open up new avenues and destinations for their domestic market to sustain it.

- **Economic Consideration:** The countries like England, France, Spain, and Portugal established their colonies primarily for the economic benefits. These countries wanted to find new market for their manufacturing powerhouse. They have also penetrated in Asia, Africa, and Latin America to find new sources of raw materials to strengthen their economies. Except it, in the Western Hemisphere, the European colonization involved the emigration of large numbers of settlers, soldiers and administrators' intent on owning land and exploiting the relatively pristine landscape.
- **Mercantilism:** The policy of Mercantilism was based on the premise that the economic development of the mother country (Metropolis) was most important and the colonies should be governed in such a way that they lead to the benefit of the mother country. Most of the colonies were used as a source of raw material for mother countries and were treated as instrumental for the colonizer.
- **European Rivalry:** The exploration and colonization were started by Spain and Portugal. Gradually, other countries like France and England also entered the race. Acquiring new colonies became a thing of national pride. Moreover, due to various economic benefits of colonization, a stage of 'competitive colonialism' started among the European powers.

- **To Spread Christianity:** During the Age of Discovery; the Catholic Church started a major effort to spread Christianity in the New World by converting indigenous peoples. As such, the establishment of Christian missions went simultaneously with the colonizing efforts of European powers such as Spain, France, and Portugal. In the Indian context, still, we can see presence of several Christian churches in the remote and Tribal regions of the country. These were established to convert Tribal and Dalit into Christianity by giving them allurements in the form of money and other material things.
- **Push Factors:** The enclosure movement, taking land out of cultivation and converting it into pastureland for sheep, was creating a surplus population. Sheep rising, more profitable than traditional agriculture, required fewer labourers. The new lands in America gave these unemployed a place to work.

4.5 Types of Colonialism

Historians have classified four different types of colonialism that have been practiced throughout the ages. They are as follows:

Settler Colonialism: This involves immigration on a grand scale, with political, religious and economic factors being prime motivators. The outcome is that any local existing population will be largely replaced. The colony in question will be exploited for mainly agricultural purposes. The erstwhile colonies of Australia, United States of America and Canada are examples of settler colonialism.

Exploitation Colonialism: Exploitation colonialism focuses on the exploitation of natural resources and the local population as cheap labour that benefits the mother country economically. An example of this is the use of local labour in India and South East Asia where the indigenous population was used as slave labour to cultivate cash crops such as tea and rubber.

Surrogate Colonialism: Surrogate colonialism involves a settlement project supported by a colonial power, in which most of the settlers do not come from the same ethnic group as the ruling power. South Africa and Rhodesia (Modern-Day Zimbabwe and Zambia) were examples of Surrogate Colonialism, where large numbers of British settlers became the dominant group despite being in minority as compared to the local indigenous population.

Internal Colonialism: It is a notion of uneven or even discriminative power structure between different areas of a state. This is demonstrated in the way control and exploitation may pass from whites from the colonizing country to a white immigrant population within a newly independent country. To know about the general pattern of the History optional in the UPSC Mains Exam, the UPSC History Syllabus page will be of immense use.

4.6 Phases of Colonialism in India

The first stage (1757-1813) represents the mercantile phase:

This 'mercantilist' phase was marked by direct plunder and the East India Company's monopoly trade functioning through the investment of surplus revenues in the purchase of Indian finished goods for export to England and Europe. During the mercantile phase the aim of all activity was to accumulate wealth. In order to pursue a favourable trade, the British company started aggressive policies in India. The government passed the Regulating Act and the Pitt's India Act to gain more and the direct control over the affairs of the company. The company officials transferred their fortunes acquired in India to England. The financial bleeding of India started with the British gaining hegemony over Indian territories. New revenue settlements were imposed upon the agrarian structure. They fought several wars, crushed many princely States, and brought them under the colonial authority. Soon the mercantile phase came to an end.

Second stage (1813-1860) represents the free trade phase: By the dawn of the 19th century, the British became an industrial power following Industrial Revolution in England. It needed raw material to feed its industries. The emerging capitalist class found the Company a stumbling block for its market. During this period, India was converted rapidly into a market for British textiles and a great source for raw materials. Traditional handicrafts were thrown out of gear. The Company's monopoly in India was bitterly attacked by the British industrial community. Thus, the need for raw material and markets for the British manufactured goods resulted in the formulation of free trade policy towards India.

The special feature of this policy was that it was a one way traffic wherein British goods entered India virtually free while Indian products entering Britain faced high tariffs. The protective policy towards British trade was thoroughly guarded, leaving India-made products to face stiff competition. The revenue and expenditure policies of the Britishers were also exploitative in nature. Huge expenditure (expenditure on army, pensions, and salaries of Englishmen, etc.) incurred by the British imperial power had been borne by Indians by paying high doses of taxes.

Third stage (1860 Onwards) Represents the Finance Capital phase

During this phase, finance-imperialism began to entrench itself through the managing agency firms, export-import firms, exchange banks, and some export of capital. Britain, of course, kept India as her most important colony where British capital could hope to maintain a haven. For her survival, Britain decided to make massive investments in various fields (rail, road, postal system, irrigation, European banking system, and a limited field of education, etc.) in India by plundering Indian capital. It is said that 'railway construction' laid the foundation for a new stage of colonial exploitation. With the opening up of the country, private capitalist investment from Britain came to India. But unfortunately, such British investment was not meant for India's industrial development. The basic motive behind such investment was the commercial penetration of India, its exploitation as a source of raw materials

and markets for British manufactures. This was, in fact, one of the principal contradictions of imperialism-colonialism in India. Britain's supremacy in the world economy for nearly 200 years lay in the utter neglect and plunder of her most important colony India. India's economic life was redirected towards servicing the interests of British imperial power. Internal needs of the country were of no concern to the lone colonizer of the world.

4.7 Characteristics of Colonialism in India

India in the pre-colonial period had a stable economy. Self-sufficient agriculture, flourishing trade, and rich handicraft industries - these were some of the features of the Indian economy. Let us look at them separately.

Agricultural Economy: Agriculture operations were carried on in India by subsistence farmers, organized in small village communities. Most of the villages in pre-colonial India were more or less a self-sufficient economic unit and its business contacts with the outside world were limited to payment of land revenue (generally in kind) and the purchase of a few necessary things from the town nearby. The farmer raised only those crops which he needed for his own use and shared the same with the village artisan who supplied him with simple manufacture that he needed for his domestic consumption. Means of communication were of a primitive type. Therefore, trade in agricultural produce, was somewhat limited. The farmer usually raised enough produce to feed himself and the non-agricultural members of the village community. If his crop yielded more than the consumption needs, due to favourable climatic conditions, he stored that surplus for use in the lean years. Storage of food grains was a common practice among the pre-colonial agriculturists and constituted, under these conditions, the only remedy against famines. This pattern of agriculture continued throughout the medieval times. However, towards the end of the 18th century the village communities began to break up, under pressure from new forces which imparted dynamism to the Indian rural economy. This happened mainly because of two factors.

- (1) The changes in the property relations brought by the introduction of new forms of land tenure which Pre-Colonial and Colonial India you will study a little later in this unit.
- (2) The development of an active export trade in agricultural produce of India. The contact with the West through the establishment of the British rule was responsible for both these developments.

Trade Economy: In spite of the fact that the Indian villages were largely self-sufficient units and the means of communication were primitive, India enjoyed extensive trade both within the country and with other countries of Asia and Europe. A balance of the imports and exports was maintained. The items imported into India were pearls, wool, dates, dry fruits and rosewater from the Persian Gulf; coffee, gold, drugs and honey from Arabia; tea, sugar and silk from China; gold, musk and woolen cloth; metals like copper, iron and lead, and paper from Europe. The main items

exported from India were cotton textiles. Besides cotton textiles which were famous the world over, India also exported raw silk, indigo, opium, rice, wheat, sugar, pepper and other spices, precious stones and drugs. The major features of Indian trade in pre-colonial times were (i) favourable balance of trade and (ii) a foreign trade most suitable to the level of manufacturing in India. A favourable balance of trade meant an excess of exports over imports i.e. India exported more than it needed to import. Since the economy was on the whole self-sufficient in handicrafts and agricultural products, India did not need foreign imports on a large scale and continued to enjoy a healthy trade. Secondly, India's foreign trade suited its requirements very well. In other words, the commodity pattern, so important to any country's foreign trade, was in India's favour. India exported the items it specialized in; and imported the ones it needed. One major change that occurred in India's foreign trade from pre-colonial to colonial times was in its commodity pattern. Although India continued to have an export surplus, the pattern of foreign trade turned upside down. For instance, from the exporter of cotton textiles India was converted into an importer of cotton textiles, thereby ruining India's rich traditional handicrafts.

Handicraft Industries: As discussed above India was a land of extensive manufactures. Indian artisans were famous for their skills in the world. In fact the reason for India's favourable foreign trade was its excellence in indigenous production. India indulged in a large-scale manufacture of cotton and silk fabrics, sugar, jute, dyestuffs, mineral and metallic products like arms, metal wares and oil. Towns like Dacca in Bengal; Patna in Bihar; Surat and Ahmadabad in Gujarat; Jaunpur, Varanasi, Lucknow and Agra in Uttar Pradesh and Multan and Lahore in the Punjab; Masulipatnam and Visakhapatnam in Andhra; and Coimbatore and Madurai in Madras were flourishing centers of textile industry. Kashmir specialized in woollen manufactures. Maharashtra, Andhra and Bengal were prominent centers of ship building industry. India's ships were bought by many European companies for India towards the end of the 18th century which was undoubtedly one of the main centuries of world trade and industry. The status of India was completely destroyed under colonial times. Its beginnings can be traced to the after-math of the industrial Revolution in England. The machine-made cloth of England began to replace the indigenous manufactures. India's artisans were forced out of production. It was Emergence of Modern India, which led to the decline of India's traditional centers of economic activity like Lucknow, Ahmadabad, Multan and Madras so on.

Small scale industries: another characteristic of Indian economy in colonial period was that it was a backward and rural economy. A large part of the population of India was engaged in small scale industries. These small-scale industries consisted of leather belt manufacturing industries, small toys industries, pottery industries and shoes industries. Due to the absence of industrialization and technology in Asia and India, these industries were major source of earning for people. But over the time these industries were replaced by the large-scale industries which were conducted by machinery and technology.

4.8 Impact of the Colonial Rule from Indian View Point

As against this, The Indian nationalist scholars put forward a different hypothesis. Dadabhai Naoroji, Romesh Chandra Dutt in the 19th century and Rajni Palme Dutt in the 20th century represented the Indian nationalist perspective. The question they raised was that why did the British East India Company gradually get involved Pre-Colonial and in local wars of conquest? Why did the British Queen in 1858 take up the direct Colonial India responsibility of ruling over India till 1947? How was it that the East India Company which came to India with a trading capital of £ 68,000, went on to make fortunes? If the Indian economy was really stagnant, how did it sustain the East India Company and its expenditure? Two important aspects of British colonial rule over India highlighted by the nationalists were the 'drain theory' and the theory of 'de-industrialization'.

The Drain Theory The drain theory, as formulated by the nationalists, referred to the process by which, a significant part of India's national wealth, was being exported to England for which India got no economic returns. In other words, India was made to pay an indirect, tribute to the English nation. Needless to say, this drain of India's wealth to England, in the form of salaries to British officers posted in India, home charges and the profits made on the British capital invested in India, benefited England and diminished the sources for investment in India.

Arniya Bagchi observes: "Since after acquiring dominion over India, the East India Company and private traders could appropriate Indian goods or tribute or profits without really paying for them. Britain did not any longer have to send bullion to India to balance her accounts. Instead, bullion was now sent out from India either to China or to Britain". Bagchi's estimate is that 'external drain' from Bengal constituted about 3 to 4 per cent of the gross domestic material product. If expenditure on wars of the East India Company is added in this period, Bagchi maintains "that at least 5 to 6 per cent of resources of the ruled land were siphoned off from any possibility of an elementary principle of economic development is that surplus is generated for investment but if the surplus is siphoned off from a colony to the colonizers, the colony gets underdeveloped. This was the impact of external drain on the economy of India under British colonial rule starting with Bengal after the battle of Plassey External drain however was only one element of British exploitation of India, linked with other sources of exploitation like heavy taxation and an unfavorable trade. The British benefited immensely from the plunder and exploitation of India. Lord Curzon wrote: "India is the pivot of our Empire". If the Empire loses any other part of its Dominion we can survive, but if we lose India the sun of our Empire will have The Company obtained Diwani or civil administration rights of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa in 1765 and this opened new opportunities for plunder by the Company. The land revenue because of Diwani rights were remitted by the Company to England. This monopoly of plunder and exploitation by the Company continued till the end of eighteenth century when England moved from mercantile capitalism to industrial revolution and the emerging industrial capitalists in Britain started demanding the end of Company rule in India.

De-Industrialization Emergence of Modern India Besides the external drain theory, the nationalists argued that British rule led to the de-industrialization of India. India was an exporter of cotton manufacture and this was how the Company started its trade but gradually India became an importer of cotton manufacture and thus Indian artisans, craftsmen and important trading centers collapsed and whatever manufacturing activity existed was destroyed under the impact of imports of cotton manufacture almost exclusively from Britain. For more than seventy-five years up to 1913, India remained the major importer of cotton goods from Britain, often taking more than forty per cent of the British exports. Thus, the industrialization of India was accompanied by the decline and destruction of Indian cotton manufacturer. As a result, India witnessed, from the early 19th century onwards, a steady decline in population dependent on indigenous industries and a consequent over burdening of agriculture. Its political ramifications have been summed up by Sumit Sarkar: “The sufferings of artisans have to be kept in mind as a significant factor in the understanding of many movements of our period: both in the way in which deindustrialization stimulated patriotic sentiments among intellectuals alike in the Moderate, Extremist and Gandhian eras, as well as more directly, in occasional urban and rural explosions of various types”. ‘The decay of Dacca, Surat, Murshidabad and many other flourishing towns’ bears testimony to de-industrialization of India. Sir Charles Trevelyan observed in 1840: “The population of the town of Dacca has fallen from 1,50,000 to 30,000 or 40,000 and the jungle and malaria are fast encroaching upon the town Dacca, which was the Manchester of India, has fallen off from a very flourishing town to a very poor and small one; the distress there has been very great indeed”.

Self- Check Questions

1. The British introduced free trade. What did it mean?
2. In which Indian coasts was a vibrant sea trade to the Gulf and Red Sea ports operated through the main pre-colonial ports?

Impact of Colonialism from Western View Point

Political Unity: What has been the impact of British rule over India? It must be clearly stated that sharp differences have always existed, and continue to persist, among the Indian nationalists and the Western Scholars in their evaluation. According to many western writers, the British rule provided political unity and stability of governance to India. It has been maintained by the Western scholars that the British rescued India from chaos and provided political stability. As “Despite a Hindu tradition of imperial expansion, at no time in Indian history over any large region did a stable political unit survive for more than a century or a century-and-a half. There was nothing that compares with the imperial chronologies of Rome, Egypt, or China. A crucial consequence is that no tradition of continuous administrative institutions and no persistent bureaucracy ever developed”. Indian

political unity was a myth, an abstract concept which was concretized into a reality by the British rulers. In the absence of political unity, the eighteenth-century India had very low levels of “commerce and capital accumulation” and its implication was that the British rule in India had to deal with a very low level of economy.

Non-technical Economy India was economically very attractive and profitable for the British. The western writers have suggested that the history of India revealed a very low level of agricultural productivity because it was based on a ‘non-animal powered agriculture’. According to many western historians, the absence of any Emergence of Modern India worthwhile technology kept a large portion of India as a ‘virgin land as late as 1800’. Tobacco, potato and peanut cultivation was introduced by the British in India. Third, according to them, India could not claim any great achievements in manufacturing because it lacked technology. Although India had some excellent craftsmen and produced textiles and a few other manufactured goods but they were the result of hard work and not of any developed technology. The evidence for this view-point is gathered from the seventeenth century records of the English which point out the inelasticity of textile productivity in India.

Poverty and Backward Economy: The Indian subcontinent was a region in which per capita income was relatively low in the centuries before 1800. Given the lack of political stability, low agricultural and non-agricultural productivity, and insignificant commerce no other conclusion is supportable”. European travelers or British factory records are accepted that India was underdeveloped when the British gradually conquered it, then the implication is that the British conquest of India was beneficial for the economy, society and polity of this country. In history whenever two societies interact, the advanced and well-organized society succeeds in establishing its control over the less advanced society and at the same time the less advanced society gains from the technology and organization of the advanced society. This is the basic premise of the western writers who view the British colonial rule as a rule of advanced society over an underdeveloped society. In the process, the underdeveloped society like India achieved benefits from the British rule and they are enumerated by the Western scholars: The British provided political unity and stability to India. The British developed a system of roads and rail transport which had a positive impact on the economic development of India. The British developed irrigation and other public works which facilitated the growth of agriculture, commerce and manufacturing activities in India. To sum up, the Western writers have made two points regarding the impact of British rule over India. First, on the eve of colonial expansion, the British found a highly underdeveloped India with low productivity in agriculture, very low per capita income and absence of any developed technology or tools for manufacturing. Second, the benevolent policies of the British helped in the establishment of political unity, a system of governance and it laid the foundations of economic.

4.9 Summary

The British rule in India came to an end on 15th August 1947. For decades Indian nationalists had resisted the British colonial power and tried to counter its hegemony. Nationalists used certain ideological and cultural markers to develop the conception of the Indian nation. The British contended that India was not a nation and would never become one because its people were divided along caste and community lines. The retreat of colonial power was only a partial success as the Imperial power succeeded in dividing the subcontinent according to its own design. The partition also ensured that the institutional patterns created by the colonial power remained intact. The transfer of power to the Congress and Muslim League in two parts of the subcontinent also silenced the radical voices and discourses regarding the post-colonial political scenario. Although, India under Congress opted for a democratic and secular political set-up, the new polity suited the interests of a new ruling bloc of capitalists. Gradually, the conservative social change that ends the colonial rule was introduced from 'above', abandoning earlier mass-mobilization forms, state - Establishment which also shaped the destiny of the Indian people.

4.10 Glossary:

1. **Colonialism:** is a practice or policy of control by one people or power over other people or areas, often by establishing colonies and generally with the aim of economic dominance.
2. **Trade:** is basically an exchange, voluntary in nature between two parties in requirement of each other's resources like goods and services.
3. **Rule:** an accepted principle or instruction that states the way things are or should be done, and tells you what you are allowed or not allowed to do.

4.11 Answer to self-check questions

- 1) Finished goods from Indian manufacturer were taxed in Britain
- 2) Surat on Gujarat coast

4.12 Suggested readings:

- Basu, R. (2012). International Politics: Concepts, Theories and Issues, New Delhi: Sage Publications Pvt. Ltd.
- Loomba, A. (2005). Colonialism/ Post colonialism, New York: Rutledge Publications.
- Bandhopadhyay, S. (2005). Decolonization in South Asia: Meaning of
- Freedom in Post- Independence. Hyderabad: Oriental Blackswan.
- Young, J. C R. (2016). Post Colonialism: An Historical Introduction, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

- Baylis, S. et.al (2014). The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations, London: Oxford University Press.

4.13 Terminal questions

1. Explain the meaning and Types of the Colonialism.
2. Describe the Characteristics of India's Economy during Pre-Colonial Period.
3. Describe the impact of colonialism on Indian economy from Indian and Western point of View.
4. Explain meaning, definition, and various phases of colonialism in Indian context.

Lesson -5

State in India: Nationalist Imagination

Structure

- 5.0 Introduction
- 5.1 Learning Objectives
- 5.2. Different approaches for understanding the nature of the Indian State
- 5.3. Nationalist Imagination
- 5.4 Different Strands of Indian Nationalist Imagination
- 5.5 Nation-State Theory
- 5.6. Summary
- 5.7. Glossary
- 5.8 Answer of Self Check Questions
- 5.9. Suggested Readings
- 5.10 Termination Questions

5.0 Introduction

In the preamble of Indian constitution there has been described that what the nature of state in India is. It explains that the Indian state is a Sovereign, Socialist Secular Democratic Republic of India which rests on different normative principles, for instance, Justice, Liberty, Equality and Fraternity through it has acquired its different forms of normative identity that is, Socialist-Liberal democratic state, Well-fare State in the continuity. Further, 'State' is the most commonly used term in politics. Up to the first half of twentieth century, political science was concerned with the study of the phenomenon of the state in its varied aspects and relationship, as distinct from family, tribe, and nation and from all private associations and groups. As Garner put it, political science begins and ends with the state'. Gettle, Gilchrist etc. have also been the representatives of such a school of political thought. Etymologically, a state is organized machinery for the making and carrying out of political decisions and for the enforcement of the laws and rules of a government. According to Garner, 'the state, as a concept of political science and public law is a community of persons more or less numerous, permanently occupying a definite portion of territory control and possessing an organized government to which the great body, of inhabitants render habitual obedience. According to this definition, population, fixed territory, government, and sovereignty are the essential elements of the state. Different from society, government, association and the nations, the state is considered a

distinct institution. The state is a central player in the modern drama of development, and nowhere is it more important than in the development of the third world. Its successes, its failures and its distortions cannot be fully appreciated without a proper understanding of the trajectories of state formation. To understand how states are formed and how they have come to be what they are, we must think historically, about them, and look beyond the formal structures to their social and political specifications. Modern state may be classified into two broad forms-liberal democratic and totalitarian. While the former stands on the foundation of democracy signifying residence of power in the hands of the people and its utilization by their chosen representatives; the latter is antithetic of the former where political power is in the hands of a group of power-hungry politicians or a junta of military oligarchs who strive to sever legitimacy of their rule by means of force and fraud'. Another variety popularly known by the name of 'welfare state' has emerged. The concept welfare state has been devised to meet the challenge of the totalitarian state. Various attempts have been made to understand the politics of India through different perspectives.

5.1 Learning Objectives

After this chapter students will be able to understand:

- To understand the nature of Indian states
- To understand and analyses the various theories of nationalism
- To understand the various approaches of Indian nationalism
- Different approaches for understanding the nature of the Indian State

5.2 Approach is a way of looking to something that how a person or researcher perceives the nature or which aspect or side of the state over he or she is developing his or her own perspective. Regarding Indian state there is no rational view to approaching the nature of the state in a diagnostic manner. But principally two or three approaches interpret the nature of the Indian State.

Liberal Approach

The liberal approach stressed on institution and processes as the key to understanding the state and political power. It recognizes the need for development and social change. To study the nature of any particular state, it is necessary to analyze the relation between state, power, and social classes and the purpose of the state.

The liberal democratic form stands on the foundation of democracy. It sees the state as a democratic state where rule of the people is implemented with freedom of speech and expression, free and periodic elections, a responsible and accountable government, independent judiciary, rule of law etc. Through rule of law, it prevents chaos and anarchy in the society which restricts absolute freedom but creates freedom within the law for all citizens. This approach emphasized the primacy and independence of political processes. This is evident from the writings of Rajni Kothari, S.

Rudolph and F. Frankel. Liberal scholars have stressed the need of acceptance of the centrality of state as an autonomous actors or relative autonomy, where state has to play a highly Interventionist developmental role. Further rule of one party in India i.e., Congress party's dominance for nearly four decades had helped to strengthen the political base for the emergence of a strong state. It emerged as Independent from colonial rule under Indian national Congress which transformed itself into a ruling party and acquired the characteristic of an accommodating party. Political scientists like Rajni Kothari, Norman Palmer and Morris Jones have subscribed to the Liberal modernist perspective. Rajni Kothari commented on Indian model as a society of 'dominant political center' which is characterized by plural identities. He considered the existence of pluralist tolerance and a genius for integration as the important factors for the successful establishment of Democracy in India. Morris Jones focus was on the working of political institutions and processes to understand the nature of state in India. He gave the importance to Democratic institutions in bringing the transformation at different levels. He stressed on the "capability of political institutions in bringing about economic and social change". (1) It was assumed that "with a liberal democratic constitutional system and universal suffrage, the Indian political system would gradually develop its own processes of democratic decision- making, rational administration, and modern citizenship". (2) This combination of "democratic ideology, economic development, distributive justice provided a unique opportunity of transforming a traditionally apolitical society in which the state became the central instrument and politics the principal agent of transformation. (3) This shows the optimistic picture of political institutions and democratic processes. The liberal critique of the Indian state can be read in the writings of Rajni Kothari, Atul Kohli, The Rudolphs, Gunnar Myrdal. Gunnar Myrdal criticized the inability of the state to enforce public policies to eradicate poverty or to enforce laws and dubbed the institutional model of the Indian state as "soft state". According to Myrdal, the Indian state was soft as it had no power to rectify institutions that stood in the way of reform and development. As a result, it could not tackle the institution of caste directly, take measures of effective land reform, eradicate corruption, or enforce ideas of development effectively through the people. One consequence of this softness has been the growth of left-wing extremism, which Manmohan Singh called the "gravest internal threat" to the country's security. Myrdal's 'hard state' would have been able to tackle Naxalism which has gravely affected the nation. The liberal approach focuses on institutions and processes to understand state and political power in India. The state is considered the central instrument of social progress and principal agent of transformation. According to the Rudolphs, there are two groups characterized in the Indian state, one being the 'owners of production' and the other being the 'labourer' group. They analysed the state as a mediator between these two conflicting groups, and in doing so, must remain autonomous in order to maintain structural unity of the state. The role of the state would hence be the "third actor". The Rudolphs believe in the Indian state as a weak –strong state. It is strong because of large basic industries, ideology of secularism Democracy, Socialism and mixed economy that has minimized conflicts. It is weak because of caste class conflicts, religious fundamentalism and communalism, rising levels of political mobilization etc.

Marxist Approach

Then there is Marxist approach where political economy is the vital factor. State is the most important vehicle of economic development. It ascribes a partisan role to the state in the ongoing class struggle between the ruling class and the ruled. Marxist would have described the Indian state responsible for constituting a social order which maintains hegemony of capital over labour and seeks to reproduce this relationship. This was the main intellectual counterpoint of western political thought, beginning with Plato and Aristotle. This considered the state essential to the maintenance of order and civilization. Marxist argued that the state emerged historically along with the division of society into a ruling class that enjoyed leisure and privilege, while the mass of people was limited to make a living and were exploited as slaves and proletarians in the overall evolution of society from the ancient period to the modern one. Later Marx was convinced that the state could be abolished when the proletariat had won the class struggle, something that he believed was inevitable. Communist party of India describes India as a national bourgeoisie state which has the possibility of moving peacefully towards socialism by following a non-capitalist path of development. The Indian capitalist class is today, after more than five decades of post-independence, a class which has expanded and undergone some important changes. At the time of independence itself, there was a big bourgeoisie, which dominated this class as a whole. But the outlook of this big bourgeoisie has undergone a significant change. It was the big bourgeoisie which spelt out the type of capitalist development that was undertaken in India from the 1950s: (a) a class which understood the international situation and its own base in Indian society. It needed the Indian State to accumulate capital and develop capitalism. The State capitalism, which the Indian ruling classes sponsored, played a two-fold role. It enabled the development of capitalism within a constrained framework. A model of capitalist development without a thoroughgoing agrarian revolution, which necessitated a compromise with landlordism and the development of agrarian capitalism from above relying on landlords and the rich peasants. (b) The subordinate position of the Indian bourgeoisie vis a vis world capitalism required the organic link with foreign finance capital and reliance on this imperialist capital to advance the path of capitalist development. (c) Such a capitalist development could have a relative degree of autonomy in a situation where there was the existence of the Soviet Union and a socialist bloc; the bourgeois-landlord classes in India could utilize the conflicts between the two blocs and maneuver to strengthen its own position to a limited extent. Academic Marxist like A.R. Desai called India a capitalist state. (4) A “bourgeoisie constitution” as he named the Indian constitution, argued that initially inclusion of right to property in the constitution was to give the right to income through ownership which resulted in social inequalities. Further Indian Planning based on mixed economy accepted a class structure based on private ownership as the basis for economic development. He said the tilt of mixed economy is towards private sector. On the same lines, C.P. Bhambari has highlighted the conflict within the ruling classes and a relative weakening of the state. Hamza Alvi has argued that India as a post-colonial state had relative economy in mediating the competing interests of the ruling classes. There

exist some specific conditions which helped the state to play an autonomous role in post-colonial states. He contends that there is no class based politics in India and there are multi- class parties like Congress, the weakness of indigenous propertied class allows the Indian state a great measure of relative autonomy. On the same lines another scholar Partha Chatterjee says that there has been a coalition of dominant classes since independence. The power was shared with landed elites to exercise control over the state. A Marxist understanding of the Indian state shows the class character of the state, serving the dominant classes and using coercive means to safeguard their socio- economic structure, if need be.

Gandhian Approach

Gandhian approach to study the nature of state is based on the concept of Swaraj. It means absence of alien rule and establishment of self- Government. He considered state a necessary evil and supported Thoreau's dictum that "that Government is the best which governs the least". It says that Government is best when interference with people's liberties and rights is minimum. In Gandhi's assessment, the state (Western type) was the symbol of violence in concentrated form. In order to ensure allegiance from the citizens the state (which means its authority) applies coercion or violent measures mercilessly. Once he said, "the individual has a soul but the state is a soulless machine, the state can never be weaned away from violence to which it owes its existence". In other words, Gandhi treated both state and violence or coercion synonymous. He further says that there is a state but not violence or coercion in any form cannot be imagined. He gathered experience in South Africa that more and more power to the state meant more and more violence or greater amount of coercion. In the name of the maintenance of law and order the South Africa's white government acquired enormous power and this led to the ruthless administration, exploitation and curtailment of individuals' liberty.

He once said that a political organisation based on violence would never receive his approval. Rather, he is always afraid of such an organisation. What he felt about the Western state system is quite explicit in a comment which he made, "I look upon an increase in the power of the state with greatest fear, because although while apparently doing good by minimizing exploitation, it does the greatest harm to mankind by destroying individuality which is at the root of progress". From the above analysis it is absolutely clear that Gandhi rejected the state of Western model on the ground that it represented violence or coercion. Now the question is why did he oppose violence so much? The modern state, according to Gandhi, was about to destroy individuality—that individual freedom and spontaneous urge to work. Secondly, the individualism is the root cause of progress. Gandhi believed that nothing could be done by applying coercion. Again, the individual cannot be forced to do any work against his will or spontaneous desire. To put it in other words, according to Gandhi the progress of the society can be achieved through the functions which the individuals perform willingly. But Gandhi appears to us as more aggressive. Under any circumstances the individual's freedom

cannot be sacrificed. Gandhi's love for individual's freedom ranks him with the great anarchist philosophers the central idea is that to Gandhi state is an undesirable political organisation because of its close connection with violence. Gandhi's Swaraj means Government by the consent and participation of the people. For him direct democracy is impossible in a large country like India. After independence the constitution makers of India adopted some features of Gandhian state. Some of these are stress on egalitarian Society, untouchability, and special care towards the weaker sections of society. In fact they wanted to establish decentralization of power through Panchayat Raj system all over India. Further he justified the existence of state in terms of the functions it performs, so long as and to the extent it performs the functions which lead to the good, welfare and upliftment of all human beings.

5.3 Nationalist Imagination

In India nationalist imagination can be derived from the anti-colonial freedom struggle was based on anti-colonial spirit and common history of all. During freedom struggle there were different strands of ideological front struggling against British Empire in India in this series prominent were moderate-nationalists, radical-nationalists socio-liberal, Gandhian and Subaltern etc. who have coined their own interpretations and conceptions of nationalism or nationalist imagination. Thus, before viewing the various views on Indian nationalist imagination needed to explain about the 'Nation', 'State', and 'Nationalism' in holistic manner as below: -

Nation:

Many of the controversies surrounding the phenomenon of nationalism can be traced back to rival views about what constitutes a nation. So widely accepted is the idea of the nation that its distinctive features are seldom examined or questioned; the nation is simply taken for granted. Nevertheless, confusion abounds. The term 'nation' tends to be used with little precision, and is often used interchangeably with terms such as state, country, ethnic group and race. The United Nations, for instance, is clearly misnamed, as it is an organization of states, not one of national populations. What, then, are the characteristic features of the nation? What distinguishes a nation from any other social group or other sources of collective identity? The difficulty of defining the term 'nation' springs from the fact that all nations comprise a mixture of objective and subjective features, a blend of cultural and political characteristics. In objective terms, nations are cultural entities: groups of people, who speak the same language, have the same religion, are bound by a shared past, and so on. Such factors undoubtedly shape the politics of nationalism. The nationalism of the Quebecois in Canada, for instance, is based largely on language differences between French-speaking Quebec and the predominantly English-speaking rest of Canada. Nationalist tensions in India invariably arise from religious divisions, examples being the struggle of Sikhs in Punjab for a separate homeland (Khalistan), and the campaign by Muslims in Kashmir for the incorporation of Kashmir into Pakistan. Nevertheless, it is impossible to define a nation using objective factors

alone. All nations encompass a measure of cultural, ethnic and racial diversity. The Swiss nation has proved to be enduring and viable despite the use of three major languages (French, German and Italian), as well as a variety of local dialects. Divisions between Catholics and Protestants that have given rise to rival nationalisms in Northern Ireland have been largely irrelevant in mainland UK, and of only marginal significance in countries such as Germany. This emphasizes the fact that, ultimately, nations can only be defined subjectively by their members. In the final analysis, the nation is a psycho-political construct. What sets a nation apart from any other group or collectivity is that its members regard themselves as a nation. What does this mean? A nation, in this sense, perceives itself to be a distinctive political community. This is what distinguishes a nation from an ethnic group. An ethnic group undoubtedly possesses a communal identity and a sense of cultural pride, but, unlike a nation, it lacks collective political aspirations. These aspirations have traditionally taken the form of the quest for, or the desire to maintain, political independence or statehood. On a more modest level, however, they may consist of a desire to achieve a measure of autonomy, perhaps as part of a federation or confederation of states. The complexity does not end there, however. Nationalism is a difficult political phenomenon, partly because various nationalist traditions view the concept of a nation in different ways. Two contrasting concepts have been particularly influential. One portrays the nation as primarily a cultural community, and emphasizes the importance of ethnic ties and loyalties. The other sees it essentially as a political community, and highlights the significance of civil bonds and allegiances. These rival views not only offer alternative accounts of the origins of nations, but have also been linked to very different forms of nationalism.

State:

The term 'state' has been used to refer to a bewildering range of things: a collection of institutions, a territorial unit, a philosophical idea, an instrument of coercion or oppression, and so on. This confusion stems, in part, from the fact that the state has been understood in three very different ways, from an idealist perspective, a functionalist perspective and an organizational perspective. The idealist approach to the state is most clearly reflected in the writings of G. W. F. Hegel. Hegel identified three 'moments' of social existence: the family, civil society, and the state. Within the family, he argued, a 'particular altruism' operates that encourages people to set aside their own interests for the good of their children or elderly relatives. In contrast, civil society was seen as a sphere of 'universal egoism' in which individuals place their own interests before those of others. Hegel conceived of the state as an ethical community underpinned by mutual sympathy - 'universal altruism'. The drawback of idealism, however, is that it fosters an uncritical reverence for the state and, by defining the state in ethical terms, fails to distinguish clearly between institutions that are part of the state and those that are outside the state. Functionalist approaches to the state focus on the role or purpose of state institutions. The central function of the state is invariably seen as the maintenance of social order (see p. 389), the state being defined as that set of institutions that uphold order and deliver social stability. Such an approach has, for example, been adopted by modern Marxists, who

have been inclined to see the state as a mechanism through which class conflict is ameliorated to ensure the long-term survival of the capitalist system. The weakness of the functionalist view of the state, however, is that it tends to associate any institution that maintains order (such as the family, mass media, trade unions and the church) with the state itself. This is why, unless there is a statement to the contrary, an organizational approach to the definition of the state (see below) is adopted throughout this book. The organizational view defines the state as the apparatus of government in its broadest sense: that is, as that set of institutions that are recognizably 'public' in that they are responsible for the collective organization of social existence and are funded at the public's expense. The virtue of this definition is that it distinguishes clearly between the state and civil society. The state comprises the various institutions of government: the bureaucracy, the military, the police, the courts, the social security system and so on; it can be identified with the entire 'body politic'. The organizational approach allows us to talk about 'rolling forward' or 'rolling back' the state, in the sense of expanding or contracting the responsibilities of the state, and enlarging or diminishing its institutional machinery.

- Government is the means through which the authority of the state is brought into operation. In making and implementing state policy, government is 'the brains' of the state, and it perpetuates the state's existence.
- The state exercises impersonal authority. The personnel of state bodies are recruited and trained in a bureaucratic manner and is (usually) expected to be politically neutral, enabling state bodies to resist the ideological enthusiasms of the government of the day.
- The state, in theory at least, represents the permanent interests of society: that is, the common good or general will. Government, on the other hand, represents the partisan sympathies of those who happen to be in power at a particular time.

Nationalism:

Nationalism refers to a kind of awakening or feeling of awareness among a group of people who belong from a same ethnicity, race, and culture etc. it is a feeling of belongingness by whom, who share common subjective and objective values to constitute or form a nation-state. Nationalism as a doctrine is associated with the nation, not with the state. If we were to try to define nationalism, that definition would be something like this: it's an ideology that basically has the identity of a (ethnic) group of people, which ideology does not imply state boundaries and applies to all those who are embodied in the group or national identity. The nationalism can also be defined as a movement or feeling that has, at its core, an ideology, i. e. the identity of a nation. For many nationalists, nationalism is a natural feeling that is born at birth. All theorists of nationalism agree (and even the modernists) that the basis of every nation is the ethnic homogeneity. But the problem arises when one begins to search for the core of that homogeneity. How did that connection come about, and are those

values and traditions that make that nation different from others, both blood-biological, linguistic-cultural and economic? The biggest differences in the modern interpretation of nationalism are: is it a natural sense of belonging to a group, which arose through endogamy, nepotism and natural reproduction among its members; a sense of belonging to a group with the same historical myths, collective memory and traditions; or anything but a modern and political economic phenomenon, and when interpreted it must not be viewed from a cultural, sentimental or historical point of view. It takes time and extensive research to answer all these questions. What is important is that it should be shown to all young generations that using blood and gender, as well as the glorious historical past of their people, as well as culture and traditions, they succeed in transmitting them in the process of creating national doctrines, and thereby open up not only cultural and historical issues but also territorial issues with the neighboring nations

5.4 Different Strands of Indian Nationalist Imagination

It's evident that beginning of Indian nationalism has to be taken from latter half of the 19th century as a result of various factors like western education, socio-religious reforms, British policies and so on. In 1885, the Indian National Congress was formed which played an imperative role in India's freedom movement. Thus, further it has been explained about those various strands of nationalist imagination over it is premised.

Religious-Cultural Nationalist Imagination

At the core of such type of nationalist imagination there is the interlink age of religious-cultural values to awake or assert the spirit or conscious of nationalism. Swami Vivekananda gave the foundation of spiritual nationalism through reawakened and generated self-pride and self-confidence in each and every Indian. He said Religion is the soul of Indian nationalism. The Indian people pay less importance to political and economic independence but more importance to religious freedom (Mohanti, 1997, p.135). Sri Aurobindo Ghosh was the most formidable representative of Indian culture and civilization. He was the prophet of 'spiritual nationalism' quite new and unique in the history. For the first time he added a 'spiritual identity' to the already existing geographical identity of India. For him nation is the manifestation of God. Nationalism is a religion gifted by God. He also defined nationalism as a religion describing it as a divine mother.

Moderate Nationalists

The time period from 1885 to 1905 can be called the 'Moderate Phase'. The leaders of this phase are called moderates. Prominent moderate leaders were Dadabhai Naoroji, Womesh Chandra Bonnerjee, G Subramania Iyer, Gopal Krishna Gokhle, Sir Surendranath Banerjee etc. these were the people who believed in British justice and were loyal to them. During this period there were not a clear cut or stringent expression of nationalism or Nationalist imagination in India because moderate

nationalists were the leaders who believed in peaceful and constitutional methods to demand and to fulfill those demands. They usually trusted in the use of Prayer, Petition and Protest. It aimed only at getting political rights and self-government under the British dominion.

Radical Nationalists

In 1907 Indian National Congress (INC), split into two factions called moderate nationalist and radicals. And reason or cause behind the incident was disagreements by those radical Congress leaders who were not satisfied with the methods of moderates like Prayer, Petition and Protest to convince the British-rule to fulfil demands of the Indian people at large. They were in the support of radical methods (for instance, boycott, and promoting the production of necessary goods in India) to oppose the rule of the British in India to introduce Home Rule by the Indian people to govern themselves. In this strand leading faces were Lala Lajpat Rai, Bipin Chandra Pal and Bal Ganga Dhar Tilak called as Lal-Bal-Pal. This strand of nationalism has sparked the fire of nationalist imagination among the Indian nationals at the nascent level. It further resulted in evolving many more radical and aggressive cult-oriented leaders to insert the nationalist imagination among the Indians in which prominent were Subhash Chandra Bose, Bhagat Singh etc.

Socio-liberal Nationalists

In this strand of nationalism key faces were those who have gotten education from England and other parts of the western world. In the category prominent leaders were Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru, Acharya Narendra Dev, C. Raja Gopala Chariya, Dr. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan and others. And the idea of nationalist imagination was premised on socio-liberal notion of the state-nation. The leaders were influenced from the socialist wave and the liberal values of the western world to engineer the idea of India as a nation-state or state-nation. After gaining the independence from British-rule constitution builders have invented the idea of free India on these values to make it reality through the modern-state on the Indian soil.

Gandhian Nationalism

Gandhian imagination of nationalism was quite different from the western idea of nationalism. It was based on Gandhi's principle of 'Swaraj' which means self-rule; it starts from the individual to the whole idea of self-rule at large. Gandhi gave it the content of an integral revolution that encompasses all spheres of life: "At the individual level Swaraj is vitally connected with the capacity for dispassionate self-assessment, ceaseless self-purification and growing self-reliance". In political sense the dogma of swaraj was to give Indians the actual meaning of self-rule and to empower people. Political expression talks about the execution of democracy in its true form right from the basic level, where there is a public representative at every stage. It is also about the whole development of a nation where everyone is treated equally. Thus, Swaraj is the supremacy of the people based on real moral authority.

Subaltern Nationalism

Subaltern view of nationalism is based on suppressed or downtrodden section of society where it talks about the upliftment and democratic disbursement of due national resources to the backward people of a country. It constitutes the idea of nationalist imagination around the principles of social justice and democratic rights to the backward and suppressed or downtrodden people of nations where they can attain just share of their holdings in the modern idea of nation-state or state-nation. The prominent advocates of subaltern imagination of nationalism are Jyotiba Phule, Periyar E. V. Ramaswami, Bhim Rao Ramji Ambedkar etc.

There are two theories that describe the nation building process.

5.5 Nation-State Theory

Introduction:

The nation-state theory was developed in European society and known as Europe centric paradigm. According to this theory a nation is a large body of people united by common descent, history, language, ethnicity, race, culture, or language, inhabiting a particular country or territory. A nation state is a state in which a great majority shares the same culture and is conscious of it. The nation state is an ideal in which cultural boundaries match up with political boundaries (UNESCO) According to one definition, “a nation state is a sovereign state of which most of its subjects are united also by factors which defined a nation such as language or common descent. Paleri, Prabhakaran (2014).

Basis of Nation-State Theory:

In nation-state, the first word nation is kept (in place of adjectives) and the second word state behind (in place of nouns) where in defining the nation and nationality the basis of birth, common species, language, ethnicity, religion, geography, races, culture etc. plays the decisive role. This recognition of the European paradigm, within Europe on the basis of language, religious denomination, cultural identity, etc. many “nations” was identified. It must have been comfortable for them in the environment of that time: Whose UK? of the British. Who’s France? of the French. Who’s Germany? of the German. Italy, Holland, Denmark, Finland, Russia, Spain, others, the same paradigm has played a decisive role Adhikari NM and Upadhya GS (2017).

Consequences:

According to this theory, the nation and nationality is determining on the basis of common races, ethnicity, language, religion, cultural identity, geographical identity etc. Therefore, people other than the main streamline of nation determination may demand another nation and there may arise the conflict in the country. In 1947, British India divided into two independent nation India and Pakistan on the basis of religions. Later on, in 1971 Pakistan again divided into Pakistan and

Bangladesh on the basis of language. Therefore, this theory give rise to the unending conflict in the country in the name of common races, ethnicity, language, religion, cultural identity, geographical identity.

Examples of Nation State:

When a nation of people has an independent State of their own it is often called a nation-state. The Kurds are a nation without a State, but France, Germany, and Japan are examples of nation-states (Thapa, 2020).

5.7 State-Nation Theory:

Introduction:

The nation-state theory was developed in Nepalese Society and known as Nepal centric paradigm. According to this theory a definite geographical boundary with geopolitical legitimacy state is a nation that is independent, sovereign and where mutual coordination of diverse species, castes, languages, cultures, sects, communities, geographical areas collective determine the “nationality” Adhikari NM and Upadhya GS (2017). Since in State-Nation, the word “nation” is in place of the noun, its theorem is “nation” and the word “state” in place of the adjective which refers to the qualities, characteristics, nature of the “nation”. That’s why the main element in “State - Nation” is Nation. Here the definition of “nation” is determined from the point of view of state Therefore, in the “state-nation” nation is taken as ends whereas state is means.

Basis of State-Nation Theory:

In theorization of “state nation”, nation is mainly based in the Vedic concept. “State nation” has been established through the coordination of all of shared geographical, historical, philosophical, fundamentals of Vedic, Buddhist, Jain, Kirati, Bon etc. which are the original indigenous system of Nepal. Geographical boundary with geopolitical legitimacy state is a nation that is free, independent, sovereign and where mutual coordination of diverse species, castes, languages, cultures, sects, communities, geographical areas collective determine the “nationality” Adhikari NM and Upadhya GS (2017).

Consequences:

When the nation is defining on the basis of the State-nation theory, the nation is more stable. According to this, geographical boundary with geopolitical legitimacy state is a nation that is free, independent sovereign and where mutual coordination of diverse species, castes, languages, cultures, sects, communities, geographical areas collective determines the “nationality”. There gives rise mutual understanding, coordination among different races, cultures, language, ethnicity etc. which ultimately develop a strong feeling of unity among diversity.

Examples of State-Nation:

The best example of state-nation is Nepal, India and USA which were formed on the basis of state-nation theory and from the coordination of diverse species, castes, ethnicity, languages, cultures, sects, communities, geographical areas (Thapa, 2020).

Self-Check Exercise

- 1) Who coined the term nationalism?
- 2) Who is the father of nationalism studies?
- 3) The word 'Nation' is derived from which language?

5.8 Summary

It is evident that there are so many theories to explain the notion of Nation, State and Nationalism by various thinkers in a theoretical and detailed way. But in this chapter, we have gone through basics of the mentioned concepts where we have explained about the nature of Indian State through different approaches and nation, state and nationalist imagination by different nationalist views in an introductory manner.

5.9 Glossary:

Nationalism: the desire of a group of people who share the same race, culture, language etc. to form an independent country.

Cultural Nationalism: is nationalism in which the nation is defined by a shared culture and a common language, rather than on the concepts of common ancestry or race.

Nation-state: a sovereign state of which most of the citizens or subjects are united also by factors which define a nation, such as language or common descent.

5.10 Answer to self-Check Exercise

- 1) Johan Gottfried Herder
- 2) Anthony D. Smith
- 3) Latin

5.11 Suggested Readings

- Heywood, A. (2015). Politics. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Mohanti, D. K. (1997). Indian Political Tradition: From Manu to Ambedkar. Anmol Publications, New Delhi, India.

- Thapa, I. (2020). Nation-State and State-Nation theory of Nation Building. Public Administration Campus, Tribhuvan University, Nepal.
- Seth, S. (1999). Rewriting Histories of Nationalism: The Politics of “Moderate Nationalism” in India, 1870-1905. *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 104, No. 1, pp.95-116.
- Zoya H. (eds.) (2002). *Politics and the State in India*, Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Bhambhari, C. P. (1988). *Politics in India (1947-87)* New Delhi: Vikas Publications.
- Kothari, R. (1970). *Politics in India* Delhi: Orient Longman.
- Chatterjee, R. (ed.) (1997). *State and Politics in India*, Delhi: OUP.

5.12 Terminal Questions

1. Discuss the nature of Indian State and how the theory of nation-state working?
2. Discuss on Gandhian approach in Indian State.
3. What do you understand the concept of State imagination in multilingual, multi-ethnic, multi religious, multi-language country?

Unit II

Lesson- 6

Politics of Identity: Caste and Tribe

Structure

- 6.0 Introduction
- 6.1 learning Objectives
- 6.2 Dimensions of Identity politics in India
- 6.3 Politics of Caste in India
- 6.4 Relationship between caste and class in India
- 6.5 Politics of tribe in India Meaning and Feature
- 6.6 Indian tribe and politics
- 6.7 Constitutional politics for Tribe
- 6.8 Summary
- 6.9 Answer to self-check Exercise
- 6.10 Suggested reading
- 6.11 Terminal questions

6.0 Introduction

The two words Identity+ politics which defines politics based on identity. According to Merriam Webster politics in which groups of people having a particular racial, religious, ethnic, social, or cultural identity tend to promote their own specific interests or concerns without regard to the interests or concern of any larger political group. Identity politics is a mechanism to win the elections by showing fear to the identity or claiming the hope for benefiting the identity. In a simple word, it is the Political activity or movements based on or catering to the cultural, ethnic, gender, racial, religious, or social interest that characterize a group identity.

The term Identity politics was coined by the Combahee River Collective in 1977. Identity politics has come to signify a wide range of political activity and theorizing founded in the shared experiences of injustices of members of certain social groups. Rather than organizing solely around belief system, programmatic manifestos, or party affiliation, identity politics formations typically aim to secure the political freedom of a specific constituency marginalized within its larger context. Since the twentieth century heyday of the well-known political movements that made identity politics

so visible, a vast academic literature has sprung up; although “Identity politics “can draw on intellectual precursors from Marry Wollstonecraft to Franz Fanon, writing that actually uses this specific phrase, with any of its contemporary baggage, does not begin until the late 1970s. The term is used primarily to describe political movements in western societies, covering nationalist, multicultural, women’s rights, civil rights, and LGBT movements. The second half of the twentieth century saw the emergence of large-scale political movements—second wave feminism, Black Civil Rights in the U.S., gay and lesbian liberation, and the American Indian movements, for example—based in claims about the injustices done to particular social groups. These social movements are undergirded by and foster a philosophical body of literature that takes up questions about the nature, origin and futures of the identities being defended. Identity politics as a mode of organizing is intimately connected to the idea that some social groups are oppressed; that is, that one’s identity as a woman or as African American, for example, makes one peculiarly vulnerable to cultural imperialism (including stereotyping, erasure, or appropriation of one’s group identity), violence, exploitation, marginalization, or powerlessness.

6.1 Learning Objectives

After this lesson student will be able to understand:

- To understand the nature of caste and tribe in India
- To understand the Indian Politics around Caste and Tribe
- To analysis the politization of identity politics
- To understand the role of Constitution to assimilate different identity

6.2 Dimensions of Identity politics in India

In India we find that despite adoption of a liberal democratic polity after independence, communities and collective identities have remained powerful and continue to claim recognition. In fact, Beteille has shown that the Indian polity has consistently tried to negotiate the allegiance to a liberal [individual] spirit and the concerns and consciousness of community. According to Bikhu Parekh this process has recognized a wide array of autonomous and largely self-governing communities. It has sought to reconcile itself as an association of individuals and a community of communities, recognizing both individuals and communities as bearer of rights.

- **Language:** The political movements for the creation of new states developed on linguistic lines of identity, after Independence in India. The movement to create a Telugu-speaking state out of the northern portion of Madras State gathered strength in the years after independence, and in 1953, the sixteen northern Telugu-speaking districts of Madras State became the new

State of Andhra, which became first state to be created on a linguistic basis. In Indian politics the period from 1953 to 1956 was dominated by 'language'. However, the claim of separate states for linguistic collectivises did not end in 1956 and even today continues to confront the concerns of the Indian leadership. As language becomes an important premise on which group identities are organized and establishes the conditions for defining the 'in-group' and 'out-group' According to the 2011 Census report of India, there are more than 19,500 languages or dialects and 96.71 per cent population in the country have one of the 22 scheduled languages as their mother tongue. This diversity and large number of languages also forms the basis for the identity crisis and is in continuity.

- **Religion:** India is a Secular country and has multi-religious identities with most Hindus (79.80%), followed by Muslims (14.23%), Christians (2.30%), Sikhs (1.72%), Buddhists (0.70%), Jains (0.37%), and others (0.9%). Indian history is replete with inter-religious conflicts, due to use of religion and its identity for partisan advantage. Hindu loyalist groups like the RSS (Rastriya Swayam Sevak Sangh) or the Siva Sena and political parties like the BJP (Bharatiya Janata Party) or the Hindu Mahasabha claim that India is a Hindu State based on their numerical strength in the country. These generate homogenizing myths about India and its history. Such claims are countered by other religious groups (less in number compared to majority) who foresee the possibility of losing autonomy of practice of their religious and cultural life under such homogenizing claims. This initiates contestations that have often resulted in communal riots. The generally accepted myths that process the identity divide on religious lines center upon the 'forcible religious conversions', general 'anti-Hindu' and thus 'anti-India' attitude of the minority religious groups, the 'hegemonic aspirations' of majority groups and 'denial of a socio-cultural space' to minority groups. The divisions based on religion has become institutionalized in the form of a communal ideology has become a major challenge for India's secular social fabric and democratic polity.
- **Caste:** Caste has become an important determinant in Indian society and politics. The origin of confrontational identity politics based on caste may be said to have its origin on the issue of providing the oppressed caste groups with state support in the form of protective discrimination. Caste-identities have resulted not only in the empowerment of newly emerging groups but have increased the intensity of confrontational politics and possibly leading to a growing crisis of governability. This group identity based on caste that has been reinforced by the emergence of political consciousness around caste identities is institutionalized by the caste-based political parties that profess to uphold and protect the interests of specific identities including the castes. For example, in India we have the upper caste dominated BJP, the lower caste dominated BSP (Bahujan Samaj Party) or the SP (Samajwadi Party), etc have implicitly followed the caste pattern to extract mileage in electoral politics.

- **Gender:** The Vedic period indicated the strong status of the women. In which she had right to choose of partner, participate in religious ceremony. At present due to the awareness and also education, exposure etc, has paved way for the neglected genders of the society to speak up about their ignored-presential. From 1950's & 60's we have LGBT (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual & Transgender) movements also gaining momentum who are demanding for their rights and acceptance of their presence and respect in the society. 'Gender Identity' is what people think, believe, and feel about themselves. But gender in relation to identity politics connotes the struggle of identification for their presence, and a demand for being respected and treated equally on par with other gender (especially in relation to male). The feminist movements and the gay liberation movements in and around the world are examples for this. These are intended to fight against the atrocities and towards the removal of certain social evils like child marriage, polygamy, restriction on remarriage of widows, non-access to education, ill treatment etc., and to gain equal remuneration of work, social, economic, and political rights as well.
- **Ethnicity:** There are two ways in which the concept of ethnic identity is used; one, it considers the formation of identity on the basis of single attribute - language, religion, caste, region, etc; two, it considers the formation of identity on the basis, of multiple attributes cumulatively. However, it is the second way formation of identity based on more than one characteristic - culture, customs, region, religion, or caste, which is considered as the most common way of formation of the ethnic identity. The one ethnic identity is formed in relation to the other ethnic identity. The relations between more than one ethnic identities can be both harmonious and conflictual. Whenever there is competition among the ethnic identities on the real or imaginary basis, it expressed in the form of autonomy movements, demand for session or ethnic riots.

Identity has become an important phenomenon in the modern politics. The identification of a members of the group based on sharing common attributes based on all or some of the attributes, language, gender, language, religion, culture, ethnicity etc. indicates the existence or formation of identity. The mobilization because of these markers is called identity politics. Identity politics gained legitimacy in the 1950s and 1960s in the United States and Europe. In India, the identity politics has become an important aspect of politics. The rise of the Dalit politics, especially the SP and backward class politics following the implementation of the Mandal Commission Report; linguistic organisation of Indian states from the 1950s, and rise of the BJP, and the active role of the organisation like the RSS; and the ethnic conflict, insurgency, and autonomy movements in several parts of the country are examples of the identity politics in India.

6.3 Politics of Caste in India

The caste hierarchy in India goes like Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, and Shudras where Brahmins are in the highest tier of the hierarchy. Caste is the basis of social stratification in India. A caste is a form of ascribed inequality that has modernized itself in the present times. Though it had roots in the varna system of Hindu philosophy which is divinely ordained and corresponded to functional divisions gradually it led to social inequality. The nationalist elite promised a casteless society after independence where individuals would not be denied opportunities because of their caste. Emergence of electoral democracy in India created a very fertile ground. Therefore, caste started evolving in Indian society. Modern Constitution abolished untouchability, also in 1976 (the Protection of Civil Rights Act), reservation of seats which ultimately resulted in further concretisation of caste. Caste and casteism never disappeared in India. Myron Weiner's concept of "political co-optation" became very relevant. The policy of political mobilization followed by Congress and other parties also resulted in co-optation many lower castes into the party. With the erosion of the moral basis of caste, the self-imposed barrier to protest by the lower castes was also eroded. Therefore, some middle and lower castes sought equality with the upper castes through the process of Sanskritization (by emulating the orthopraxy of the higher castes), thus claiming more political power.

Thus, according to Rajni Kothari, politicisation of caste in India played a very important role in developing party politics. He proved how politicisation of caste is a double process. Caste needs politics as much as politics need caste. When caste groupings make politics their sphere of activities caste groups then also get a chance to assert their identity and to strive for position. MN Srinivas also used the concept of dominant caste. A dominant caste is a caste which dominates numerically; due to its numeric preponderance it enjoys political power. Politicians find caste a handy and convenient instrument for use during elections. Politics in Indian states had also been viewed in terms of competition among major caste groups for political power. Caste is also said to fractionalize national politics. Srinivas also talked about 'dominant caste' which gained political and economic power through Sanskritization. Thus, the intermediate castes also aspire for dominant position in every sphere due to the development of adult franchise and Panchayati Raj System. Although it is true that caste system had been strengthened rather than weakened by all these.

Self-check Exercise

- 1) Battle of Bhima Koregaon is a classic example of which?
- 2) Who give the concept of Sanskritization (process of cultural change towards twice born castes)?
- 3) Who was the propounded of religious theory of origin of caste?
- 4) Which theory of origin of caste is supported by Nesfield?

6.4 Relationship between Class and Caste in India

Caste based reservations came with the Article 15 of the Indian Constitution which prohibits discrimination of Indians on basis of religion, race, caste, sex, or place of birth. But Article 15 (4) modified by asserting that nothing in this article shall prevent the state from making any special provision for the advancement of any socially and educationally backward of citizens or for the SC's and ST's. Thus, the constitution simultaneously embodies two conflicting notions of equality, one bases on individual rights and the other based on group rights. Also, the Mandal Commission, or the Socially and Educationally Backward Classes Commission (SEBC), was established in 1979 by the Janata Party government under Prime minister Morarji Desai with a mandate to "identify the socially or educationally backward classes" of India. It basically defined backward classes in terms of caste. The caste membership rather than individual class characteristics became the matter of importance. Thus, low social ranking in the class rather than average per capita income became the criteria for inclusion in the OBC list. Thus, it made possible for caste membership to become responsible for identifying class benefits, thus social ranking became a matter of perception rather than a average per capita income. Thus, caste and class became cross cutting identities.

Also, with time as stated by Christophe Jaffrelot, class started transforming caste relations in India. Thus, class and caste started coexisting in Indian society. Caste in India, thus slowly got converted into class plus status (social stigma of being pure and impure). Reservation helped certain jatis within Dalits to catch up with OBC's and other dominant castes in terms of acquiring revenues. Thus, within caste group due to reservation, people started leaving their jobs thus creating a socio-economic differentiation within their caste groups.

Thus, caste continues to be a 'lived in social reality' as stated by Myron Weiner. Orthopraxy continued although ideological basis of caste is undermined. Still caste became an instrument of social change which resulted in rise of 'casteism,' there also happened co-optation of previously excluded groups and this political mobilisation gave rise to 'messy identity politics. Thus, sharpening of group identities, also the scheme of reservations 'taken hold as a mantra' (Marc Galanter) facilitated the lower caste groups to rise to political power.

The relation between class and caste is complex and 'cross cutting' (Myron Weiner), overlapping identities so the struggle for status and the quest for equality continued. So, caste became a far more potent form of social identity than class so social order remained in egalitarian. Also, Mandal framework led 'egregious consequences' (Marc Galanter) because it identified Other Backward Classes in terms of caste. It created a heterogeneous vast diverse category of OBC's. Thus, caste became the basis of a scheme of permanent protection.

'Curious Cognitive hiatus' as stated by Rajni Kothari, which explained the dichotomy between tradition and modernity, also the symbolism of caste for social and economic positions of different

groups. Thus, caste as a traditional social structure has changed its functions and roles, maintaining itself in the process. Thus, like caste has been changing and influencing politics, politics has also been influencing and changing the caste system. Sanskritization as status urge turned as a 'mirage' (Kothari), status became ambivalent, unsettled also Westernisation and secularisation led for economic well-being, liberal education gave rise to rationality and also political power for more institutions drew caste into politics. Thus, caste identities took to new form of articulation thus changing the very ethics of the social system and diminished the very importance of inscriptive and ritualistic basis on the other hand the process of 'ethnicization' (Christophe Jaffrelot) and positive discrimination of caste has been the result of transformation of caste into interest groups.

However, caste has manifested itself in several ways and institutionalized itself within the political process in India.

- Firstly, the rise of caste politics has contributed to institutionalizing caste in politics. The lower castes continue to be treated badly so by the higher castes. Political parties use caste as an instrument for social change. The political use of caste is called casteism which is institutionalizing and not abolishing caste in India. Caste politics is used by the political parties to garner vote banks and use caste as an instrument of securing power.
- Secondly, Political co-optation was to include the lower castes in the political forefront and decision making. Earlier the political elite was mostly made of the upper castes who were already privileged. These upper castes formed the key institutions that shaped political power. Mobilization of the lower castes by the Indian national congress was a step towards political co-optation that challenged the political power of the higher castes. Soon the congress committees comprised of lower and middle castes and in many places like Tamil Nadu and Maharashtra lower castes comprised the source of political leadership. The incorporation of the lower castes strengthened intraparty factionalism. Therefore, the Congress party garnered support on caste lines. Caste institutionalized itself in the Indian polity through the process of political co-optation.
- Thirdly, political mobilization of the lower castes and the rising political consciousness among them played an important role in deconstructing the foundational ideology of caste, hierarchical social order, and rejection of the upper castes. Caste became a tool for justifying their rule in India. It led to caste conflicts among people. Caste also started churning in social consciousness this mobilization politicized the scheduled castes and other backward castes. The Dalits called for the mobilization of the untouchables and launched many political campaigns aimed at improving their economic and social status. For e.g., Bahujan Samaj Party which was a lower caste party formed a government in U.P. The political mobilization of lower castes solidified the role of caste in shaping Indian politics.

- Fourthly, the lower castes rose to political power through the Indian system of affirmative action known as reservations. Reservations for scheduled castes and tribes provided them protection from the age-old denial of equal opportunities and discrimination. Article 15 of the constitution stated that the state shall not discriminate against citizens on the grounds of only religion, race, caste, sex, or place of birth. It also makes special provisions for the advancement of the socially backward classes to STs and SCs. Caste-based reservations provided quotas for Scheduled castes and tribes in the public sector, jobs, educational institutions, etc. The Mandal commission proposed the extension of these reservations for the Other Backward castes that were socially and economically backwards. Caste-based reservations have therefore institutionalized caste further into the Indian polity. Caste is further ingrained through the making of public policy that catered to these scheduled castes and tribes and for their benefit as they are represented in the bureaucracy due to reservations. Caste plays an important role in political rivalry. Many political groups mobilize the scheduled castes against the upper caste dominance. Caste has played an important role to build electoral support among parties. Political parties have appealed to certain caste and religious groups to gather support.

6.5 Politics of Tribe in India

Tribes are relatively isolated from larger cultural influences, have a relative cultural homogeneity and a simple technology. They believe in spirits, magic, and witchcraft. They have their own taboos which prohibit certain actions that are punishable by the community, by the supernatural, or by magical consequences. Large number of the tribes believe in animism, according to which all objects—both animate and inanimate—are permanently or temporarily inhabited by spirits or souls. Often, an activity is believed to be caused by these spirits. Some spirits are worshipped and treated with fear and respect. Some scholars have maintained that animism was the earliest form of religion of the tribes. Many tribes believe in ancestor worship too. Main feature of Tribes in India are following:

• Definite Common Topography

Tribal people live within a definite topography and it is a common place for all the members of a particular tribe occupying that region.

• Sense of Unity

Unless and until, a group living in a particular area and using that area as a common residence, does not possess the sense of unity, it cannot be called a tribe. Sense of unity is an invariable necessity for a true tribal life. The very existence of a tribe depends upon the tribal's sense of unity during the times of peace and war.

- **Endogamous Group**

Tribal people generally do not marry outside their tribe and marriage within the tribe is highly appreciated and much applauded. But the pressing effects of changes following the forces of mobility have also changed the attitude of tribal's and now, inter-tribe marriages are becoming more and more common.

- **Ties of Blood-relationship**

Blood-relation is the greatest bond and most powerful force inculcating sense of unity among the tribal's.

- **Protection Awareness**

Tribal people always need protection from intrusion and infiltration and for this a single political authority is established and all the powers are vested in this authority. The safety of the tribal is left to the skill and mental power of the person enjoying political authority. The tribal chief is aided by a tribal committee, in the events of contingencies. Tribe is divided into a number of small groups and each group is headed by its own leader. The chief of a group works according to the directives received by him from the tribal chief.

- **Distinct Political Organization**

Every tribe has its own distinct political organisation which looks after the interests of tribal people. The whole political authority lies in the hands of a tribal chief. In some tribes, tribal committees exist to help the tribal chief in discharging his functions in the interests of the tribe.

6.6 Indian Tribe and Politics

The "tribal" peoples or Adivasis of India, according to the 2001 census, constitute roughly 8.1 percent of the country's population, some 83.6 million people, classified under 461 different communities. They occupy a belt stretching from the Bhil regions of western India through the Gond districts of central India, to Jharkhand and Bengal, where the Munda's, Orans, and Santals predominate. There are also pockets of tribal communities in the south like the Chenchus, Toads, and Kurumba's, and very small endangered communities in the Andamans, like the Jarawa's, Onge, and Sentinelese. Northeast India contains another major portion of the tribal population, including the different Naga subtribes, Khasis, Garos, Mizos, Kukis, Bodos, and others. The intellectual, political, and administrative rationale for treating all these communities together under a single "tribal" rubric remains unclear. But the Indian "tribe" was further understood to be differentiated by religion and culture from the Indian "caste." The census reports, with their agonizing over the distinction between animists and Hindus, in particular contributed to this objectification, which continues to fuel social science debates. There were of course dissenters from the conventional view, for example, sociologist André Beteille (1974), who pointed out that in terms of size, isolation, religion, and means of livelihood, it was often not possible to distinguish between castes and tribes.

In the pre-colonial period, while hill and plains people occupied different ecological, social, and often political spaces, there was often considerable trade and even intermarriage between the two. Both in central and north-eastern India, hills people would raid the plains, and were in turn looked down upon as savages. Yet categories were often fungible, and the balance of power was never fixed. Colonialism was a significant watershed, both in epistemological and material terms. The production of census records, gazetteers, official or semi-official ethnographies, grammars, linguistic surveys, and land tenure records all served to create sociological and epistemological categories such as castes and tribes. The characterization of the tribal in India was similar to that in Africa, drawing on evolutionary classifications based on race and anthropometry, the denigration of any indigenous kingship or polity in favour of an acephalous, kinship-bound society, and the perceived primitiveness of modes of production. The categories “tribal,” “primitive,” “savage” or “wild” were also used interchangeably to characterize those peoples who resisted colonial rule, and formed part of the justification for particularly violent campaigns of “pacification,” such as the burning of Kond villages in Orissa in the nineteenth century, ostensibly to suppress human sacrifice, or Naga villages in the twentieth century, to outlaw head-hunting.

6.7 Constitutional Politics for Tribe

Like the scheduled castes, tribal communities are officially characterized as among the most vulnerable populations in the country, in need of special protective laws. In addition, however, tribal resistance to colonialism ensured that they were governed under distinctive administrative arrangements, some of which are now being rapidly eroded. Maintaining special tenure laws like the Chotanagpur Tenancy Act is now an important part of tribal politics in the state of Jharkhand. The constitutional provisions for scheduled tribes are inevitably a mixture of colonial legacy and fresh thinking at the time of the framing of the Constitution.

Following the various rebellions in adivasi areas in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, such as the Santal Hul of 1855–1856, the Birsa Ulgulan of 1895–1900, the Tana Bhagat Movement of 1914–1920, and the BastarBhumkal of 1910, the colonial government responded either by maintaining indirect rule (as in Bastar or the Dangs) or by setting up specific areas, under the direct rule of an agent to the governor-general, where the land, forest, and other laws applicable to the rest of the British province did not apply and where special administrative arrangements could be made that recognized, at least to some extent, community rather than private property (see, for example, the Bengal Regulation XIII of 1833 which followed the Kol rebellion of 1831–1832). This state of exceptionalism was continued in the Scheduled Districts Act (Act XIV) of 1874, which listed scheduled districts across British India. Special provisions for tribal areas were continued in the Government of India Act of 1919, which allowed for certain areas to be declared “backward tracts,” followed by the Government of India Act of 1935 and the Government of India (excluded and partially excluded areas) Order of 1936. These excluded and partially excluded areas later became the scheduled areas of independent India.

There are two broad types of scheduling in the Indian Constitution: area-based and community-based. Under Article 244 of the Constitution (Part X), which deals with the “Administration of Scheduled Areas and Tribal Areas,” there are two types of arrangements. The Sixth Schedule applies to tribal areas in the states of Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura, and Mizoram, while nine states have scheduled areas under the Fifth Schedule: Andhra Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Gujarat, Himachal Pradesh, Jharkhand, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, and Rajasthan. While there is a strong overlap between the category of scheduled tribes and scheduled areas, the fit is imperfect. Some states that have the most vulnerable adivasi populations, like West Bengal, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, and Kerala, have no scheduled areas at all, and even in the states where the Fifth Schedule is in operation, not all areas where Adivasis constitute a majority are covered under the schedule.

Article 342 of the Constitution gives the president the power to schedule or list communities in order to render them special protection. These lists are state specific; for instance, the Santals and Mundas are a scheduled tribe in Jharkhand, but not so in Assam or the Andamans, where some of them migrated. Even in their states of origin and despite clear poverty, not all tribal communities are scheduled as tribes, for example the Kols of Sonbhadra and Mirzapur in Uttar Pradesh.

While the Fifth and Sixth Schedules of the Constitution have colonial antecedents, the detailed provisions were framed by three subcommittees of the Advisory Committee on Fundamental Rights and Minorities. The committee, which was to look at the tribal areas “other than Assam” and whose work resulted in the Fifth Schedule, was chaired by the Gandhian A. V. Thakkar, who believed in a policy of “uplift” rather than “rights.” The basic assumption underlying the 1833 Bengal Regulation, the 1874 act, and the 1919 and 1935 acts, which has continued in the Fifth Schedule as well, is that tribal areas are best governed by a paternalistic and personalized administration with special and fewer rules than those that apply to nontribal areas. The Fifth Schedule makes provision for Tribes Advisory Councils and for certain laws to prevent alienation of land to non-tribal’s and exploitation by moneylenders. The governor of the state has wide-ranging powers to modify or forbid existing laws or to propose special laws for these areas. In practice, experience with the Fifth Schedule has been very disappointing. The Tribes Advisory Councils have hardly any teeth, laws applicable to the rest of the state are routinely extended to scheduled areas, the governor rarely exercises the powers vested in him or her, and the net result is demonstrated by the miserable human development indicators for Adivasis.

The Sixth Schedule, pertaining to former Assam, gives greater recognition to the right to self-governance, through the formation of autonomous district and regional councils with legislative powers in a variety of important matters, including the management of forests, the regulation of shifting cultivation, the appointment of chiefs or headmen, property inheritance, and social customs. The District Councils also have the power to levy taxes, regulate money lending, establish, and manage primary schools, dispensaries, and markets. However, it still falls short of the autonomy that many groups in the Northeast region were demanding at the time.

In a parallel stream, the 73rd Amendment Act of the Constitution (1993) made it mandatory for every state to constitute panchayats, or councils, at the village, intermediate, and district levels. Past experience with elected panchayats that supplanted traditional tribal systems, however, led to a legal challenge by Adivasi groups, and in 1995 the Andhra Pradesh High Court ruled that a separate act was needed for scheduled areas. Accordingly, in December 1996, Parliament passed the Provisions of the Panchayats (Extension to the Scheduled Areas) Act (PESA). This act is applicable to Fifth Schedule areas, since the Sixth Schedule already contains many of its provisions regarding customary law. In fact, PESA explicitly aspires to implement Sixth Schedule-like arrangements in Fifth Schedule areas. PESA mandates that any “State legislation on the Panchayats . . . shall be in consonance with the customary law, social and religious practices and traditional management practices of community resources” and that “every Gram Sabha [village assembly] shall be competent to safeguard and preserve the traditions and customs of the people, their cultural identity, community resources and the customary mode of dispute resolution.” However, most states have not passed appropriate legislation to implement the act, and there is widespread and often purposeful ignorance of its provisions on the part of officials.

In addition to the Fifth and Sixth Schedules and PESA, several constitutional provisions are addressed to Adivasis as individual citizens. These include: Article 15 (4), which enables special provisions for the advancement of socially and educationally backward classes; Article 16 (4a), which enables reservations in government services; Article 275 (1), which relates to central grants-in-aid to states for the specific purpose of scheduled tribe welfare; Articles 330, 332, and 335, which stipulate seats for scheduled tribes in the Parliament, state assemblies, and services; and Article 339, which mandates the setting up of a commission to report on the administration and welfare of scheduled areas and scheduled tribes. Successive five-year plans have also created special plans for tribal development, in the shape of multipurpose tribal blocks (second plan), tribal development agencies (fourth plan), and tribal sub plans (fifth plan). The tribal people play powerful role in protecting their identity.

6.8 Summary

The caste system has traditionally had significant influence over people’s access to power. The privileged upper caste groups benefit more by gaining substantially more economic and political power, while the lower caste groups have limited access to those powers. The caste system distributes to different castes different economic strengths. The upper caste groups can then manipulate the economic and political system to transfer economic strength into political power.

It has been argued by Professor Dipankar Gupta that the role of castes in Indian elections has been overplayed.

Politics in India highly depended on patron-client ties along the caste lines during the Congress-dominating period. The caste serves as a strong determinant of his or her voting pattern. In India, different political parties represent the interests of different caste groups. The upper and merchant

castes such as Brahmin, Rajput and Kayastha and the rich Muslim groups tend to express their interests through the Congress Party. The agrarian upper caste Jats tend to vote for the competing parties. Numerically minor parties, represented by the Jan Sangh, receive votes almost exclusively from the upper and trading castes. However, caste does not solely determine voting behaviours. Discrepancies occur especially for the upper caste groups this means that not everyone from the same caste would vote for only one party. The upper caste people have more freedom to vote by political beliefs. The Mandal Commission covered more than 3000 Other Backward Castes. It is thus not clear which parties are associated with each castes. Loyal groups of voters usually back a certain candidate or party during elections with the expectation of receiving benefits once their candidate is in office. This practice, called “Vote bank”, is prolific throughout most regions of the country. Many political parties in India have openly indulged in caste-based vote bank politics. The Congress party used vote bank to maintain power; the competing parties constructed vote banks to challenge the Congress dominance of politics

6.9 Answer to self-check exercise

- 1) Casteism
- 2) M. N Srinivas in his “social change in Modern India” book in 1971
- 3) Hocard and Senart 4 Occupational Theory

6.10 Suggested Reading

- Kothari, R. (1970). Caste in Indian Politics. Orient Longman.
- Jaffrelot, C. (2010). Religion, Caste and Politics in India. Primus Books.
- Omvedt, G. (1982). Land, Caste, and Politics in Indian State. Guild Publications.
- Ambagudia, J. and Xaxa, V. (eds.) (2021). Handbook of Tribal Politics in India. Sage Publications
- Gopal,N. (2011). The Oxford Companion to Politics in India. Oxford Publisher.

6.11 Terminal Questions:

1. Explain Identity politics in India with special reference of Caste
2. How caste effects vote politics in India?
3. Explain Tribal Politics in India. How caste and Tribe identity play important role in power politics.
4. Discuss the role of caste in India.
5. Critically examine the caste-based vote politics in India.
6. Is caste-class in India is similar. Critically examine its effected relationship influencing the electoral politics.

Lesson -7

Politics of Language and Region in India

Structure

- 7.0 Introduction
- 7.1 Learning Objectives
- 7.2 languages Issue in India
- 7.3 Government Policy and language in India
- 7.4 Language and Politics in India
- 7.5 Linguistic Based States in India
- 7.6 Tensions and Violence over Language in India
- 7.7 What is regionalism 7.8 Forms of regionalism
- 7.8 History of Regional movement in India
- 7.9 Different types of Regional Movement have occurred in India
- 7.11 Impact of regionalism on Indian Polity.
- 7.10 Summary
- 7.11 Answer to self-check exercise
- 7.12 Suggested Readings
- 7.13 Terminated Questions

7.0 Introduction

Language politics is the way language and linguistic differences between peoples are dealt with in the political arena. This could manifest as government recognition, as well as how language is treated in official capacities.

Language is closely related to culture and therefore to the customs of people. Besides, the massive spread of education and growth of mass literacy can only occur through the medium of the mother tongue. Democracy can become real to the common people only when politics and administration are conducted through the language they can understand. Hence language plays an important role in the social and economic development of the region.

Since independence in 1947, linguistic affinity has served as a basis for organizing interest groups; the “language question” itself has become an increasingly sensitive political issue. Efforts to reach a consensus on a single national language that transcends the myriad linguistic regions and is acceptable to diverse language communities have been largely unsuccessful.

The language policy of India is basically embodied in part XVII of the Indian Constitution along with the 8th schedule in reference to articles 344 and 351 (which specify the languages of India for purposes mentioned in these 2 articles), and the articles concerning Fundamental Rights regarding language, education, and culture etc.

The language policy gives full freedom to the states to choose any language or languages spoken in regions as their regional languages and to have one or more of them as official languages by different states. However, for the Union, the Constitution prescribes Hindi in Devanagari script for official purposes along with English as an associate official language. The Language Policy of India relating to the use of languages in administration, education, judiciary, legislature, mass communication, etc., is pluralistic in its scope. It is both language-development oriented and language-survival oriented. The policy is intended to encourage the citizens to use their mother tongue in certain delineated levels and domains through some gradual processes, but the stated goal of the policy is to help all languages to develop.

7.1 Learning Objectives:

After this lesson to make learner capable to

- To understand the language and region-based issue in Indian Politics
- To analysis the history of language and region in India
- To understand the positive and negative impact regionalism in India

7.2 Language issue in India

Many Indian nationalists originally intended that Hindi would replace English the language of British rule (1757-1947) as a medium of common communication. Both Hindi and English are extensively used, and each has its own supporters. Native speakers of Hindi, who are concentrated in North India, contend that English, as a relic from the colonial past and spoken by only a small fraction of the population, is hopelessly elitist and unsuitable as the nation’s official language. Proponents of English argue, in contrast, that the use of Hindi is unfair because it is a liability for those Indians who do not speak it as their native tongue. English, they say, at least represents an equal handicap for Indians of every region.

English continues to serve as the language of prestige. Efforts to switch to Hindi or other regional tongues encounter stiff opposition both from those who know English well and whose privileged position requires proficiency in that tongue and from those who see it as a means of

upward mobility. Partisans of English also maintain it is useful and indeed necessary as a link to the rest of the world, that India is lucky that the colonial period left a language that is now the world's predominant international language in the fields of culture, science, technology, and commerce. They hold, too, that widespread knowledge of English is necessary for technological and economic progress and that reducing its role would leave India a backwater in world affairs.

Determining what should be called a language or a dialect has taken a political angle and initiated a sense of regionalism attached to it.

Anti-Hindi agitations erupted in Tamil Nadu in 1937, a decade before India obtained independence, and much before Hindi was even declared the country's official language. In that year, the Indian National Congress Party came to power in the Madras Presidency (modern-day Tamil Nadu). Chief Minister C. Rajagopalachari, heading the Congress, introduced Hindi as a compulsory language in the Presidency's public schools. This order was immediately met with opposition by social activist Periyar E.V Ramasamy, leader of the opposition Justice Party (Dravida Kazhagam) and advocate for a separate Dravidian State. His denunciation triggered massive resistance against the mandatory instruction of Hindi in schools. C. Rajagopalachari's insistence that, Hindi must be learnt in public schools was related to the acknowledgement that Hindi was the primary language used in the government; he encouraged South Indians to learn Hindi as it would greatly help them in obtaining offices, and consequently a voice, in the government. Despite the growing protests, his administration issued a government order in 1938, making the teaching of Hindi compulsory in 125 schools of the Madras Presidency. Viewing his insistence as an effort to undermine and destroy the Tamil language and its culture, a large-scale movement arose, marked by fasts, demonstrations, protest-marches, processions, and the destruction of public property. The protests only subsided in 1940, when the government withdrew its initial order and instead made the teaching of Hindi optional rather than compulsory.

The next decade was embedded with similar agitations, that erupted most often in relation to education; whenever the Congress government tried to institute a change in the curriculum by making Hindi compulsory during certain academic years, or by introducing a minimum mark qualification in Hindi for promotion to higher classes, the leaders of the Dravida Kazhakam initiated protests all over the state. Every time the protests abated, the administration would try to re-institute Hindi in schools, triggering yet another round of demonstrations. The movement was characterized by a growing Anti-Brahminism and incorporated not only Anti-Hindi elements in some cases, but also Anti-English ones; some leaders of the movement, members of the DK, turned their eyes and ambitions towards a separate Tamil state.

As the day (26 January 1965) of switching over to Hindi as sole official language approached, the Anti-Hindi movement gained momentum in Madras State with increased support from college students. A full-scale riot broke out in the southern city of Madurai, sparked off by a minor altercation

between agitating students and Congress party members. The riots spread all over Madras State, continued unabated for the next 2 months, and were marked by acts of violence, arson, looting, police firing and lathi charges. The Congress Government of the Madras State, called in paramilitary forces to quell the agitation; their involvement resulted in the deaths of about 70 persons (by official estimates) including 2 policemen. To calm the situation, Indian Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri gave assurances that English would continue to be used as the official language as long the non-Hindi speaking states wanted. The riots subsided after Shastri's assurance, as did the student agitation.

The agitations of 1965 led to major political changes in the state. The DMK won the 1967 assembly election and the Congress Party never managed to recapture power in the state since then. The Official Languages Act was eventually amended in 1967 by the Congress Government headed by Indira Gandhi to guarantee the indefinite use of Hindi and English as official languages. This effectively ensured the current "virtual indefinite policy of bilingualism" of the Indian Republic. There were also 2 similar (but smaller) agitations in 1968 and 1986 which had varying degrees of success.

One of the greatest concerns of the students in Madras was that any prominent use of Hindi in the government services would disadvantage them for employment within those services. They also felt it was unfair that they would have to learn Hindi and English, whereas native speakers of Hindi would need only learn English. In response to this, the 'Three Language Formula' of education was instated so that the educational load would be fairer. People from Non-Hindi areas were to study their regional language, Hindi, and English (or another European language). Hindi speakers were to study Hindi, English, and another language. It seeks to accommodate the interests of group identity (mother tongues and regional languages), national pride and unity (Hindi), and administrative efficiency and technological progress (English).

Like so many things, this was fine in theory, but it was not followed in practice. Hindi states did little to enforce this curriculum. Even though Hindi classes were not seriously taken in Tamil Nadu, the Anti-Hindi DMK government in Madras decried the northern states' lack of implementation of the Three Language Formula and removed all teaching of Hindi from schools in Tamil Nadu. The Three Language Formula has proven a failure in India though in some areas, it has worked well.

Further in 1986, Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi introduced the "National Education Policy". This education policy provided for setting up Navodaya Schools, where the DMK claimed teaching of Hindi would be compulsory. [The Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (ADMK) led by M. G. Ramachandran (which had split from the DMK in 1972), was in power in Tamil Nadu and the DMK was the main opposition party. Karunanidhi announced an agitation against the opening of Navodaya Schools in Tamil Nadu. On 13th November, the Tamil Nadu Legislative Assembly unanimously passed a resolution demanding the repeal of Part XVII of the constitution and for making English the sole official language of the union.

7.3 Government Policy and Language in India

The Indian constitution recognizes official languages. Articles 343 through 351 address the use of Hindi, English, and regional languages for official purposes, with the aim of a nationwide use of Hindi while guaranteeing the use of minority languages at the state and local levels. Hindi has been designated India's official language, although many impediments to its official use exist.

The 15 official languages are: Hindi, Bengali, Telugu, Marathi, Tamil, Urdu, Gujarati, Malayalam, Kannada, Oriya, Punjabi, Assamese, Kashmiri, Sindhi, and Sanskrit. The constitution's Eighth Schedule, as amended by Parliament in 1992, listed 18 official or Scheduled Languages: Assamese, Bengali, Gujarati, Hindi, Kannada, Kashmiri, Konkani, Malayalam, Manipuri, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Punjabi, Sanskrit, Sindhi, Tamil, Telugu, and Urdu. (Precise numbers of speakers of these languages is matter of contention. They were not reported in the 1991 census, and estimates are subject to considerable variation because of the use of multiple languages by individual speakers.)

Of the official languages, about 41 percent of the population speaks Hindi as their mother tongue. Telugu, Bengali, Marathi, and Tamil rank next, each the mother tongue of about 4 to 5 percent of the population; Urdu, Gujarati, Malayalam, Kannada, and Oriya are claimed by between 2 and 3 percent of the populace; Bhojpuri, Punjabi, and Assamese by 1 to 2 percent; and all other languages by less than 1 percent each.

The teaching of Hindi and English is compulsory in most states and union territories. Twenty-two languages are legally recognized by the constitution for various political, educational, and other purposes: Assamese, Bengali, Bodo, Dogri, Gujarati, Hindi, Kannada, Kashmiri, Konkani, Maithali, Malayalam, Manipuri, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Punjabi, Sanskrit, Santhali, Sindhi, Tamil, Telugu, and Urdu. Numerous other languages are recognized by individual states but not officially recognized by the central government, and linguistic issues related to education, employment, and politics are sometimes politically contentious. Indeed, some state borders are based on linguistic lines.

7.4 Language and Politics in India

Regional languages are an issue in the politically charged atmosphere surrounding language policy. Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, attempts were made to redraw state boundaries to coincide with linguistic usage. Such efforts have had mixed results. Linguistic affinity has often failed to overcome other social and economic differences. In addition, most states have linguistic minorities, and questions surrounding the definition and use of the official language in those regions are fraught with controversy.

States have been accused of failure to fulfill their obligations under the national constitution to provide for the education of linguistic minorities in their mother tongues, even when the minority language is a Scheduled Language. Although the constitution requires that legal documents and petitions may be submitted in any of the Scheduled Languages to any government authority, this right is rarely

exercised. Under such circumstances, members of linguistic minorities may feel they and their language are oppressed by the majority, while people who are among linguistic majorities may feel threatened by what some might consider minor concessions. Thus, attempts to make seemingly minor accommodations for social diversity may have extensive and volatile ramifications. For example, in 1994 a proposal in Bangalore to introduce an Urdu-language television news segment (aimed primarily at Muslim viewers) led to a week of urban riots that left dozens dead and millions of dollars in property damage.

Self-Check Exercise

- 1) Which factor is responsible for the development of regionalism in India?
- 2) Who is first state formed on the basis of linguistic?
- 3) What are the types of regionalism?

7.5 Linguistic Based States in India

The constitution and various other government documents are purposely vague in defining such terms as national languages and official languages and in distinguishing either one from officially adopted regional languages. States are free to adopt their own language of administration and educational instruction from among the country's officially recognized languages, the Scheduled Languages. Further, all citizens have the right to primary education in their native tongue, although the constitution does not stipulate how this objective is to be accomplished.

As drafted, in the constitution Hindi and English were to be the languages of communication for the central government until 1965, when they switch to Hindi was mandated. The Official Languages Act of 1963, pursuing this mandate, said that Hindi would become the sole official national language in 1965. English, however, would continue as an "associate additional official language." After ten years, a parliamentary committee was to consider the situation and whether the status of English should continue if the knowledge of Hindi among peoples of other native languages had not progressed sufficiently. The act, however, was ambiguous about whether Hindi could be imposed on unwilling states by 1975. In 1964 the Ministry of Home Affairs requested all central ministries to state their progress on the switch to Hindi and their plans for the period after the transition date in 1965. The news of this directive led to massive riots and self-immolations in Tamil Nadu in late 1964 and early 1965, leading the central government, and then run by the Congress, to back away from its stand. A conference of Congress leaders, cabinet ministers, and chief ministers of all the states was held in New Delhi in June 1965. Non-Hindi-speaking states were assured that Hindi would not be imposed as the sole language of communication between the central government and the states if even one state objected. In addition, any of the Scheduled Languages could be used in taking examinations for entry into the central government services.

Before independence in 1947, the Congress was committed to redrawing state boundaries to correspond with linguistics. The States Reorganisation Commission, which was formed in 1953 to study the problems involved in redrawing state boundaries, viewed language as an important, although by no means the sole, factor. Other factors, such as economic viability and geographic realities, had to be considered. The commission issued its report in 1955; the government's request for comments from the populace generated a flood of petitions and letters. The final bill, passed in 1956 and amended several times in the 1960s, by no means resolved even the individual states' linguistic problems.

7.6 Tensions and Violence over Language in India

In 1965, many people died and immolated themselves in Anti-Hindi riots in southern India by ethnic Dravidians, whose languages has little in common with the Aryan languages spoken in the north.

Even regions with a long history of agitation for a linguistic state sometimes have found the actual transition less than smooth. For example, proponents began lobbying for a Telugu-speaking state in the early twentieth century. In 1956 the central government formed a single state, Andhra Pradesh, composed of the predominantly Telugu-speaking parts of what in British India had been the Madras Presidency and the large polyglot princely state of Hyderabad. Although more than 80 percent of the residents (some 53 million people as of 1991) of Andhra Pradesh speak Telugu, like most linguistic states it has a sizable linguistic minority. In this case, the minority consists of Urdu speakers centred in the state's capital, Hyderabad, where nearly 40 percent (some 1.7 million people in 1991) of the population speak that language. Linguistic affinity did not form a firm basis for unity between the two regions from which the state had been formed because they were separated by cultural and economic differences. Although there were riots in the late 1960s and early 1970s in support of the formation of two separate states, the separation did not occur. [Source: Library of Congress.

The violence that broke out in the state of Assam in the early 1980s reflected the complexities of linguistic and ethnic politics in South Asia. The state has a significant number of Bengali-speaking Muslims — immigrants and their descendants who began settling the region in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century's. The Muslims came in response to a British-initiated colonization plan to bring under cultivation land left fallow by the Assamese. By the 1931 census, the Assamese not only had lost a hefty portion of their land but also had become a disadvantaged minority in their traditional homeland. They represented less than 33 percent of the total population of Assam, and the Muslim immigrants (who accounted for roughly 25 percent of the population) dominated commerce and the government bureaucracy.

Assamese-Bengali rioting started in 1950, and in the 1951 census many Bengalis listed Assamese as their native tongue to placate the Assamese. Further immigration of Bengali speakers after the formation of Bangladesh in 1971 and a resurgence of pro-Bengali feeling among earlier immigrants and their descendants reawakened Assamese fears of being outnumbered. Renewed violence in the early and mid-1980s was sufficiently serious for the central government to avoid holding general elections in Assam during December 1984.

7.7 What is Regionalism?

Regionalism is the expression of a common sense of identity and purpose by people within a specific geographical region, united by its unique language, culture etc.

In a **positive** sense, it **encourages people to develop a sense of brotherhood** and oneness which seeks to protect the interests of a particular region and promotes the welfare and development of the state and its people. In the **negative** sense, it implies **excessive attachment to one's region** which is a **great threat to the unity and integrity of the country**. In the Indian context generally, the term 'regionalism' has been used in the negative sense.

Causes of Regionalism

- Geographical Factors: India has a diverse geography. There are different types of climates throughout the country. This change in geography affects the regional practices, food habits, and way of life
- Linguistic Factors: India enjoys many languages, but this can also cause one to feel more connected to a region than the country, thus promoting regionalism
- Steps such as making Hindi the national language affected non-Hindi speakers and increased regionalism
- Historical Factors: India has faced the authority of many. The control of regions was sometimes done separately and sometimes together, like by Akbar
- As India faced colonization, the British policy of divide and rule led to growing regionalism
- The discrimination or neglect faced by areas such as North East have caused feelings of regionalism
- Regional leaders try to gain support by promoting regionalism
- Those regions that have been discriminated against have begun to recognize themselves as part of a region, not a nation

Forms of Regionalism:

In India, regionalism has taken many forms, including:

- **Demand for State Autonomy:** States have frequently demanded greater autonomy from the centre as a result of regionalism. Regional tensions have been seen as the Centre becomes more involved in the affairs of the states. The demand for autonomy, or self-dependence has also been expressed by areas inside various Indian states
- **Secession from the Union:** This is a sort of regionalism that is extremely dangerous. It appears when states want independence from the Centre and attempt to create their own identity separate from the nation
- **Disputes between states over the distribution of river water, as well as the importance given by states to the majority language and persons from their states in job possibilities, have also caused regionalism**
- **The migration of people from a developing state to a developed state for job opportunities has often resulted in a discriminatory attitude toward the migrants, as seen in the problems in Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh.**

7.8 History of Regional Movements in India

Origin in Colonial Era:

The roots of regional consciousness in India can be found in colonial policies, **differential attitudes, and treatment by the British** towards princely states and those of the presidencies developed regionalist tendencies among them.

British **exploitative economic policies** completely neglected some regions, giving way to **economic disparities and regional imbalances.**

Movements in Southern India:

The history of regional movements in India can be traced back to the 1940s Dravida Movement or the Non-Brahmin movement that started in the present day Tamil Nadu. Later, the movement resulted in the demand of a separate and independent Tamil state. This triggered the demand for a separate state in the Andhra region. In the 1950s and 60s, India witnessed mass (and violent) mobilization for the demands of statehood. Potti Sri Ramuluspearheaded the revolt for the separate state of Andhrain 1954. His eventual death triggered the wave of political regionalism in India.

Establishment of States Reorganization Committee:

Revolts for separate states across India resulted in the formation of the States Reorganisation Committee (headed by Faisal Ali and two members Hriday Nath Kunzru and K.M.Panikar).

It recommended reorganization of Indian states on linguistic lines, thus reinforcing the regionalist tendencies. With the enactment of the States Reorganization Act, 1956, linguistic states became a reality.

Insurgencies in North East India:

During the 1970s and 80s, the tribal insurgencies for **separation and statehood in the north-eastern region** of India intensified and the Union government passed the **North-eastern States Reorganization Act, 1971**. It declared the UTs of Manipur and Tripura and the Sub-State of Meghalaya as states. Mizoram and Arunachal Pradesh (then Tribal Districts) became Union Territories and were later declared as states in 1986.

Major Changes in the 21st Century

The decade of 2000s, witnessed vigorous movements for the creation of separate states due to a rising sense of regional deprivation. It resulted in the formation of the three new states – **Chhattisgarh out of Madhya Pradesh, Jharkhand out of Bihar and Uttarakhand out of Uttar Pradesh**. In 2014, the state was created by the division of Andhra Pradesh.

More recently, although not on a linguistic basis, the state of Jammu and Kashmir was bifurcated into two Union Territories - J&K and Ladakh via the Jammu and Kashmir Reorganization Act, 2019. At present, India has 28 states and 8 UTs.

7.9 Different Types of Regional Movements have occurred in India

Secessionism: It is a form of regionalism that involves militant and fundamentalist groups advocating a separation from India on the basis of ethnicity or any other factor.

Isac Muivah's National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN-IM), the Islamic fundamentalist groups in J&K, **United Liberation Front of Asom (ULFA)** in Assam are examples of such an **extreme dimension of regionalism**.

Separatism: It is a demand for **separate statehood within the India union**. Many times; linguistic or **ethnic minorities within the states come together and unite against the majority community** in that state. Formation of Uttarakhand, Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, and Telangana are examples of Separatism.

Other similar demands that have been in news include -

Creation of Bodoland for the Bodo-speakers in Assam. Gorkhaland for ethnic Gorkha (Nepali) people in West Bengal. **A Bundelkhand state** (covering part of Madhya Pradesh and part of Uttar Pradesh) for promoting the development of the region.

Demand for Full Statehood: The union territories have been forwarding such demands like the **NCT of Delhi**. Most of such demands have already been accepted. In 1971, **Himachal Pradesh got the status of a full state** and thereafter Manipur, Tripura, Mizoram, **Arunachal Pradesh** and **Sikkim got full statehoods**.

Demand for Autonomy: Since the 1960's, with the emergence of regional parties, the demand for state autonomy has been gaining more and more strength due to the **central political interference**. Several parties in states like Tamil Nadu, Punjab, Andhra Pradesh, and West Bengal have been continuously demanding a **larger share of powers for the states**.

Demand for Regional Autonomy within a State: In some of the states, people belonging to various regions have been **demanding recognition of their regional identities**. The genesis of such demands lies in the **regional imbalances resulting from inefficient planning**. For instance, in the erstwhile state of J&K, there were **demands by Ladakhi's for a regional status**.

7.10 The Impacts of Regionalism on Indian Polity

Positive Impacts

- Positive regionalism results in the **rise of regional parties** which is **advantageous from the perspective of democracy**.
- The people of a region are more likely to put their faith in a person who is a native to their region or a party that is restricted to their region thus **preventing the monopolization of one single political party**. Also, the **son-of-the-soil is more likely to empathize with the native people** and address their concerns as his own.
- Regionalism often **attracts the focus of policymakers on the underlying regional issues**. It helps resolve the issues too large for any one unit of government to tackle alone.
- A **broader regional lens allows better planning** - better connected transit, more efficient infrastructure and better delivery of goods and services.
- Positive regionalism **promotes a sense of pride in connecting to one's roots and culture**.
- It has been noticed that often regional movements have **helped the art and culture of many neglected regions to flourish** by increasing their exposure through local emphasis.

Negative Impacts

- A regional movement often result in violent agitations, disturb the law-and-order situation, and has **negative implications on the economy** of the state as well as the nation.
- Regionalism can **become a shield for militancy and** extremism to create an internal security threat.

- Regionalism sometimes undercuts the national interest by **being a hurdle in international diplomacy.**
- The disagreement of political leadership in West Bengal with the central government over the treaty with Bangladesh **resulted in increased tensions between the two nations.**
- Parochial regionalism poses a threat to the sovereignty of the nation. **Regionalism beyond a point can lead to secessionism,** such as strong regionalism in Punjab ultimately resulted in the **growth of Khalistani terrorism.**
- Regionalist tendencies often stir inter-state hostility as its spill over effect. There have been instances of **anti-migrant feelings among the states that are more job-opportune** such as **Maharashtra.** Employment and residence of non-Maharashtra people in the state has often been opposed by the regional leaders of the state. Regionalism often **promotes Vote-Bank politics,** thereby weakening national integration. Regionalism threatens **the time-tested fabric of ‘Unity in Diversity’,** if promoted in an ultra-manner.

7.11. Summary

The growing awareness among the people of backward areas that they are being discriminated against has also promoted the feeling of regionalism. The local political leaders have fully exploited this factor and try to feed the people with the idea that the central government was deliberately trying to maintain regional imbalances by neglecting social and economic development of certain area. The desire of certain regional parties to capture power also led to rise of regionalism. It is well-known that political parties like DMK, AIADMK, Akali Dal, Telugu Desam, Asom Gana Parishad, etc., have encouraged regionalism to capture political power. The preservation of cultural and linguistic diversity in today’s world is a major concern to many scientists, artists, writers, politicians, leaders of linguistic communities, and defenders of linguistic human rights. More than half of the 6000 languages currently spoken in the world are estimated to be in danger of disappearing during the 21st century. Many factors affect the existence and usage of any given human language, including the size of the native speaking population, its use in formal communication, and the geographical dispersion and the socio-economic weight of its speakers. National language policies can either mitigate or exacerbate the effects of some of these factors.

7.12 Answer to self-Check Exercise

- 1) Linguistic attachment, vested political interests, religious narrow-mindedness, Economic factor
- 2) Andhra Pradesh
- 3) Supra-state regionalism refers to a region that is larger than one state, Interstate regionalism refers to regionalism that pits two or more regions of a state against one another, intra state regionalism occurs when one region of a state fights for its own autonomy.

7.13 Suggested Readings

- Majumdar, A.K. and Singh, B. (1997). Regionalism in Indian politics. Radha Publications
- Mishra, R.N. (1984). Regionalism and State politics in India. Ashish Publisher.
- Mukherjee, B. (1992). Regionalism in Indian Perspectives. K.P. Bagchi.
- Sarangi, A. (2010). Language and Politics in India. Oxford University Press
- Brass, P.R. (2005). Language, Religion and Politics in North India. Universal press.

7.14. Terminal Questions

1. What do you mean by regionalism? Explain their caused and impact on Indian Politics
2. Examine the History of Linguistic politics of India
3. Why Language matter in India politics? Discuss.
4. What do you think question of regionalism and language divided Indian politics?

Lesson- 8

Gender Politics: Women Movement

Structure

- 8.0 Introduction
- 8.1 Learning Objectives
- 8.2 Women rights Movement
- 8.3 Women Organisation in India
- 8.4 Women movement in India
- 8.5 The Autonomous Women's movement
- 8.6 Women and Political Parties in India
- 8.7 Summary
- 8.8 Answer to self-check exercise
- 8.9 Suggested Reading
- 8.10 Terminated Questions.

8.0 Introduction

Gender and politics, also called gender in politics, is a field of study in political science and gender studies that aims to understand the relationship between peoples' genders and phenomena in politics. Researchers of gender and politics study how peoples' political participation and experiences interact with their gender identity, and how ideas of gender shape political institutions and decision-making. Women's political participation in the context of patriarchal political systems is a particular focus of study. Gender and politics is an interdisciplinary field, drawing not just from political science and gender studies but also related fields such as feminist political thought, and peoples' gendered treatment is commonly seen as intersectional linked to their entire social identity.

A central concern in the study of gender and politics is the patriarchal exclusion of women from politics, which is a common but not universal theme historically and across cultures. As the involvement of women in public affairs increased across many societies during the 20th and 21st centuries, academic attention was also increasingly focused on the changing role of women in politics. For example, a common topic in the study of gender and politics is the participation of women as politicians, voters, and activists in a particular country. Since that participation exists in some political

context, many scholars of gender and politics also study the political mechanisms that either enable or suppress women's participation in politics; women's social participation may increase or decrease as a result of political institutions, government policies, or social events. Another common topic of study is the impact on women of particular social policies, such as debates over women's rights, reproductive rights,^[12] women in government quotas, and policies on violence against women.

8.1 Learning Objectives: after this lesson students will be able to learn

- To understand the nature of women and their demand of equality
- To understand the women movement in world
- To understand the nature of women movement in India: their issues and concerns
- To understand the women role in political parties in India

8.2 Women rights Movement

Women's rights movement, also called **women's liberation movement**, diverse social movement, largely based in the United States, that in the 1960s and '70s sought equal rights and opportunities and greater personal freedom for women. It coincided with and is recognized as part of the "second wave" of feminism. While the first-wave feminism of the 19th and early 20th centuries focused on women's legal rights, especially the right to vote (*see* women's suffrage), the second-wave feminism of the women's rights movement touched on every area of women's experience—including politics, work, the family, and sexuality. Organized activism by and on behalf of women continued through the third and fourth waves of feminism from the mid-1990s and the early 2010s, respectively. For more discussion of historical and contemporary feminists and the women's movements they inspired, *see* feminism.

In the aftermath of World War II, the lives of women in developed countries changed dramatically. Household technology eased the burdens of homemaking, life expectancies increased dramatically, and the growth of the service sector opened thousands of jobs not dependent on physical strength. Despite these socioeconomic transformations, cultural attitudes (especially concerning women's work) and legal precedents still reinforced sexual inequalities. An articulate account of the oppressive effects of prevailing notions of femininity appeared in *Le Deuxième Sexe* (1949; *The Second Sex*), by the French writer and philosopher Simone de Beauvoir. It became a worldwide best seller and raised feminist consciousness by stressing that liberation for women was liberation for men too.

The first public indication that change was imminent came with women's reaction to the 1963 publication of Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique*. Friedan spoke of the problem that "lay buried, unspoken" in the mind of the suburban housewife: utter boredom and lack of fulfilment.

Women who had been told that they had it all—nice houses, lovely children, responsible husbands—were deadened by domesticity, she said, and they were too socially conditioned to recognize their own desperation. *The Feminine Mystique* was an immediate best seller. Friedan had struck a chord.

Initially, women energized by Friedan's book joined with government leaders and union representatives who had been lobbying the federal government for equal pay and for protection against employment discrimination. By June 1966 they had concluded that polite requests were insufficient. They would need their own national pressure group—a women's equivalent of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People (NAACP). With this, the National Organization for Women (NOW) was born.

8.3 Women Organisations in India

Women's organizations in India first began to emerge in the early 1900s, and later in the 1970s after a period of limited activity from the 1950s to 1970s. One of the earliest women's organizations, Bharat Stree Mahamandal, formed in 1910 and focused on helping women escape oppression from men. Women's associations had traditionally begun with the help of men giving few women access to work and education, while limiting the expansion of traditional gender roles. In 1927, the All India Women's Conference (AIWC) was formed to advocate for women's education and was helpful in the passage of the Hindu Code of Bills between 1952 and 1960. Women were also active in the freedom movement in protesting British colonial rule over Indian holding protests and public meetings in support of independence.

The new wave of feminism in the 1970s was in response to gender inequality issues and stagnant development in India. The Committee on the Status of Women in India released a report in 1974, and had a significant influence in the re-emergence of activism towards gender equality. The report highlighted the significant differences between men and women in India, including the disparity in the sex ratio, mortality rates, employment, literacy, and wage discrimination. The report fueled the women's movement by signifying the ongoing discrimination towards women in India. Gender inequality has remained the focus of the women's movement with specific emphasis on issues such as the Uniform Civil Code, Women's Reservation Bill, and sexual violence against women. Women's organizations both informal and formal have developed at the rural, urban, national, and state levels in India. Women's organizations in India address a variety of issues from the environment, poverty, empowerment, and violence against women. One of the most prominent women's organizations in India is the AIWC, which was established in 1927, focusing on empowering and educating Indian women. The AIWC has over 100,000 members and 500 branches in India, and has helped with the passage of the Sarda Act, Maternity Benefit Act, and Hindu Code Bills.

Indian women are significantly involved at the grass roots level of activism. The Chipko movement that arose in the 1970s is one example of success among the women's movement in India, as women protested the deforestation in Uttarakhand leading to the protection of the region. Since the Indian independence, women's organizations have focused on issues of violence towards women. Women's movements have focused on rape, female mortality rates, female feticides, dowry deaths, sati, and domestic abuse. Tragedies such as the Mathura rape case in 1972, the dowry death of Tarvinder Kaur in 1979, the death of Roop Kanwar by practice of sati in 1987, the gang rape of Bhanwari Devi in 1992, and the New Delhi gang rape case in 2012, have kept the movement focused on rape and given rise to many women's organizations at the local and national level.

8.4 Women movement in India

The genesis of the new women's liberation movement lay in the radicalization of Indian politics in the late sixties. The rebellious mood of the youth, poor peasants, marginal farmers, educated Dalit and tribal men and women, industrial working classes found its expression in the formation of innumerable special interest groups addressing themselves to the needs and demands of the local masses. Macro political processes were also finding major shifts in their rhetoric as the protest movements of the subaltern masses had taken militant paths guided by different political ideologies. The official communist parties faced major political challenge in the form of the Naxalbari movement in Kerala, West Bengal, Andhra Pradesh, Bihar and Punjab. Middle class mass upheaval in Gujarat (popularly known as Navnirman movement) against corruption, price rise, unemployment, speculation, hoarding and black-marketing in 1974 was replicated in Bihar in the name of Sampurna Kranti Movement under the leadership of a Gandhian leader, Jay Prakash Narayan. The unprecedented strike of the railway workers gave proof of the political power of collective strength of the working class. Tribal people's struggles against destructive development which served the interests of the kulaks, moneylenders, contractors, bootleggers and indigenous industrialists thriving on the barbaric means of surplus extraction developed in Chhattisgarh, Singhbhum, Bhojpur, Srikakulam, Chandrapur, Dhulia and in the pockets of the North Eastern states. The tribal masses in Dhule region of Maharashtra demanded the Employment Guarantee Scheme in response to the 1974 drought paralyzing normal agricultural activities. This historic demand revolutionized the thinking of the development workers about responsibility of the state at the time of economic crisis.

In Maharashtra, women activists and women intellectuals involved in progressive movements took initiatives in forming a united front called Anti-price rise Women's Committee and organized direct action against the culprits who created man-made scarcity of essential goods. Thousands of 153 Women's Movements in Contemporary India-II poor and lower middle-class women joined the struggle under the leadership of seasoned and able women from the left and socialist background. Mrinal Gore, Ahalya Ranganekar, Manju Gandhi and Tara Reddy made their special mark in the eyes of the masses as a result of their unique ability to reach out to women of different class backgrounds.

Their intellectual self-sufficiency, ability to relate micro issues to macro political reality, simple lifestyle and non-bossy nature provided role models to the younger generation of women's liberation activists of all political hues. Around the same time, a conference of Women's Liberation Movement Coordination Committee was organized in Pune. This had an even larger socio-political and cultural base as right from young educated women, professionals, writers, teachers, and industrial working-class women, women workers from the unorganized sector, temple prostitutes and tribal women participated in the deliberations and highlighted their demands. The Stree Mukti Sangathana in Bombay and Progressive Organisation of Women in Hyderabad were formed in 1974.

In Delhi, new leadership among women evolved from the radical students' movement and the democratic rights movement. Individual women in different political groupings all over India were feeling discontented about patriarchal biases in their organizations but they came out openly against it only after the emergency rule got over. These were independent, self-determining democratic movements, which questioned all hierarchical structures. In India, young people of that period had not participated in the dreams of the nationalist movement. Faced with multiple crises—economic, social, and political, along with corruption, drought, inflation, unemployment, pauperization of the rural poor—the disenchanted youth responded with protest. Widespread, open discontent was expressed in action and consolidation of the action developed into powerful organizations throughout the country. These movements raised several diverse issues—land-rights, wages, employment, security at work place, water availability, destruction of nature, oppression and exploitation of Dalits and the working masses. Many women participated in these struggles with enthusiasm, responsibility, and creativity. The UN Declaration of 1975 as an International Women's Year coincided with the Emergency Rule in India. By the time the Emergency was lifted in 1977, several women's groups had vouchsafed democratic rights issues. The press swung into 'action' after the imposed silence of nearly two years. Atrocities committed against women during the Emergency were openly documented and reported in the press. These atrocities struck a chord in most women's own experience of life in the family, in the streets, in the workplace and in political groups. The culmination of this process was reached in 1980 when many women's groups took to the street to protest.

During the 1980s, the issue of women's oppression was depicted not only in discussion forums, seminars and 'serious articles but also in the popular 154 Women's Agency in Post-Independence India media. Women, who had on their own identified the sources of their problems and indignity, began to acquire a language, an organizational platform, a collective identity, and legitimacy they did not have earlier. The Status of the Women's Committee appointed by the Government of India released a voluminous report in 1974. This report called 'Towards Equality' was prepared by the scholars with an interdisciplinary perspective and was presented in the Parliament of India, where it received a tremendous response from the decision-making bodies, the state apparatus, and the print media. Shocking description of Indian women's reality, which manifested in declining sex ratio, very high rate of female mortality and morbidity, marginalization of women in the economy

and discriminatory personal laws were some of the major highlights of the report. Nevertheless, the report failed to throw any light on violence against women in the civil society and by the custodians of law and order. Major achievement of the report lay in the policy decision taken by the principal research body like the Indian Council of Social Science Research (ICSSR) i.e., to provide financial support to scholars committed to the women's cause, to conduct research into problems faced by women in poverty groups.

Between 1977 and 1979, new women's groups emerged in the cities like Delhi, Bangalore, Hyderabad, Bombay, Ahmedabad, Patna, and Madras. They organized protest actions against dowry murders, beauty contests, sexist portrayal of women in media, pornographic films and literature imported from abroad, introduction of virginity tests by the U.K. immigration authorities, custodial rape, and pitiable condition of women in prison. These groups were multicultural in their composition and worldview. As a result, their political agenda reflected the contemporaneous handling of the complex reality of women constructed by interplay of class, caste, religion, ethnicity, and globalization. The spokespersons of these groups had an advantage of high levels of ideological investment and the experience of the radical movements of the late sixties. Their collective wisdom provided the main backbone to the movement. Their newsletters, magazines, and booklets in regional languages as well as in English provided a creative way of handling Indian women's problems. The launch of Manushi in January 1979 was a qualitative leap in this direction. The need to study women's issues in academic institutions and to conduct research based on experiential material and affirmative action was beginning to be discussed among Indian women's studies scholars by the early eighties. Further, the discourse on this subject proved to be a fruitful exercise for activists, academics, researchers, policy planners and the United Nations system. The apex body of higher learning, University Grants Commission defined women's studies (WS) as a discipline that involved research, documentation, teaching, training and action. It is understood that women have subordinate status in our society so the knowledge base created by 'women's studies' should be used for the empowerment of women.

Self-Check Exercise

- 1) Name of female freedom fighters participated in the Quit India Movement?
- 2) Which is the 1st women organisation in India?
- 3) Which is the first NGO for women?
- 4) What is the phrase "personal is political" associated with?

8.5 The Autonomous Women's Movement

The National Conference of Autonomous Women's Movements represents a wide participation of various women's organisations belonging to diverse streams ranging from radical to pure feminist groups, urban women's groups as well as rural women's organisations, feminist intellectuals and

women writers etc. The overwhelming majority of these women's groups are NGOs or NGO-backed. Some of these organisations have done exemplary work in many specific areas concerning the women's movement. The National Conference has, over a decade and a half, succeeded in giving some sort of national character to the grassroots women's groups. The first national-level conference of autonomous women's groups took place in Bombay in 1980, in the context of the then anti-rape campaign. The autonomous groups were defined as, "those who had created their own space as distinct from women's wings of established political parties, state supported women's groups as well as mixed organisations of men and women". According to a note circulated by the National Coordinating Committee — a body that prepares for the national conferences — on the eve of the Fifth National Conference held at Tirupathi, the First Conference was attended by around 200 women from around 38 organisations. The focus of the conference was rape and other forms of atrocities on women though various other issues related to the women's movement were also taken up.

The second conference was also held in Bombay in 1985 in which around 380 women from 56 organisations took part. This time the conference was not limited to some specific issues but was called to discuss the perspective of the women's movement and laid the ideological basis for the autonomous women's movement. Feminism was declared to have provided many of these organisations, "not only a structural critique of society and of patriarchy, class, caste et al, it has also evolved into a way of life, another way of looking at world, another mode of weaving theory with praxis". Therefore, it is claimed, that "in strategizing for change, we have attempted to personalise politics and politicise the personal. This has meant confronting patriarchy within the family, social institutions, religion, and the state as well as challenging core values like authoritarianism, aggression, competition, hierarchy and centralization". On this basis, all issue like personal laws, dowry, rehabilitation centres for women in distress etc., were discussed. There was an attempt to broaden the participation for the 3rd National Conference held at Patna in 1988. Since the venue was the capital city of Bihar, participation of our women's organisation could hardly be ignored. Hitherto the conference participants were only small women's groups. But this time the powerful left-led mass women's organisations, especially our Pragatishee Mahila Manch, was targeted for interaction. Many of these autonomous women's groups had earlier participated in our National Women's Conference organised in Calcutta.

The 4th Conference was held in Calicut in 1990. A National Coordination Committee consisting of representatives from different organizations was formed to prepare the conference agenda, from which we were excluded. It was decided to exclude the women's organizations led by left/ML parties at a gain. However, the conference made a different departure from its 'autonomy' criteria this time. Under the pretext that "various national, international and government agencies had formed organizations which employed women as well as activists from the movement and these organizations were taking up issues concerning women in different forms," various governmental organizations, apart from NGOs, were also allowed to participate officially.

8.6 Women and Political Parties in India

The Indian National Congress (INC), colloquially the Congress Party but often simply the Congress, is a political party in India with widespread roots. Founded in 1885, it was the first modern nationalist movement to emerge in the British Empire in Asia and Africa. From the late 19th century, and especially after 1920, under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, the Congress became the principal leader of the movement. The Congress led India to independence from the Kingdom, and significantly influenced other anti-colonial nationalist movements in the British Empire.

Congress is one of the two major political parties in India, along with its main rival the Bharatiya Janata Party. It is a “big tent” party whose platform is generally considered to lie in the centre to centre-left of politics. After Indian independence in 1947, Congress emerged as a catch-all and secular party, dominating Indian politics for the next 20 years. The party’s first prime minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, led the Congress to support socialist policies by creating the Planning Commission, introducing Five-Year Plans, implementing a mixed economy, and establishing a secular state. After Nehru’s death and the short tenure of Lal Bahadur Shastri, Indira Gandhi became the leader of the party.

In 1969, the party suffered a major split, with a faction led by Indira Gandhi leaving to form the Congress (R), with the remainder becoming the Congress (O). The Congress (R) became the dominant faction, winning the 1971 general election with a huge margin. However, another split occurred in 1979, leading to the creation of the Congress (I), which was recognized as the Congress by the Electoral Commission in 1981. Under Rajiv Gandhi’s leadership, the party won a massive victory in the 1984 general elections, nevertheless losing the election held in 1989 to the National Front. The Congress then returned to power under P. V. Narasimha Rao, who moved the party towards an economically liberal agenda, a sharp break from previous leaders. However, it lost the 1996 general election and was replaced in government by the National Front (then the BJP). After a record eight years out of office, the Congress-led coalition known as the United Progressive Alliance (UPA) under Manmohan Singh formed a government post-winning 2004 general elections. Subsequently, the UPA again formed the government after winning the 2009 general elections, and Singh became the first Prime Minister since Nehru in 1962 to be re-elected after completing a full five-year term. However, in the 2014 general election, the Congress suffered a heavy defeat, winning only 48 seats of the 543-member Lok Sabha (the lower house of the Parliament of India). In the 2019 general election, the party again suffered a heavy defeat, winning only 52 seats in the Lok Sabha.

In the 17 general elections since independence, it has won an outright majority on seven occasions and has led the ruling coalition a further three times, heading the central government for more than 54 years. There have been six Prime Ministers from the Congress party, the first being Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru (1947–1964), and the most recent Dr. Manmohan Singh (2004–2014).

On social issues, it advocates secular policies that encourage equal opportunity, right to health, right to education, civil liberty, and support mixed economy, and a strong welfare state. Being a centrist party, its policies predominantly reflected balanced positions including secularism, egalitarianism, and social stratification.^[16] The INC supports contemporary economic reforms such as liberalisation, privatisation and globalization. A total of 61 people has served as the president of the INC since its formation. Sonia Gandhi is the longest-serving president of the party, having held office for over twenty years from 1998 to 2017 and again from 2019 till 2022. Mallikarjun Kharge is the current serving President of the Indian National Congress. The district party is the smallest functional unit of Congress. There is also a Pradesh Congress Committee (PCC), present at the state level in every state. Together, the delegates from the districts and PCCs form the All India Congress Committee (AICC). The party is also organized into several committees and sections, such as the Congress Working Committee (CWC).

8.7 Summary

Women in India participate in voting, run for public offices and political parties at lower levels more than men. Political activism and voting are the strongest areas of women's political participation. To combat gender inequality in politics, the Indian Government has instituted reservations for seats in local governments. Women turnout during India's parliamentary general elections was 65.63%, compared to 67.09% turnout for men. India ranks 20th from the bottom in terms of representation of women in Parliament. Women have held the posts of president and prime minister in India, as well as chief ministers of various states. Indian voters have elected women to numerous state legislative assemblies and national parliament for many decades.

8.8 Answer to self-Check Exercise

- 1) Aruna Asaf Ali, Usha Mehta and Sumati Morarjee
- 2) Bharat StreeMahamandal in Allahabad founded by Sarala Devi Chaudhurani
- 3) Progressive Organisation of Women, Stree Sangharsh and Samata (Delhi)
- 4) Feminist movement

8.9 Suggested readings

- Jharta, B. (1996). Women and Politics in India: Impact of family education of Women Politics. Deep and Deep Publication.
- Jayal, N.G. and Mehta, P. B. (2011). Politics in India. Oxford Publications
- Desai, N. and Thakkar, U. (2012). Women in Indian Society. National Book Trust India.
- Sinha, N. (2000). Women in Indian Politics. Gyan Publishing House.

8.9 Terminal Questions

1. What is the role of women in Indian Politics?
2. Examine the role of women organisation in providing social injustice to women?
3. Examine the women participation in Indian Politics.

UNIT-III

Lesson- 9

Agrarian Development Policy

Structure

- 9.0 Introduction
- 9.1 Learning Objectives
- 9.2 Phases of agricultural policy
- 9.3 Vision of Agriculture policy 2020
- 9.4 National Mission for Sustainable Agriculture (NMSA): Vision and Objectives
- 9.5 Agricultural Challenges
- 9.6 Imbalances and Regional Disparities
- 9.7 Technology Generation and Dissemination
- 9.8 Summary
- 9.9 Answer to self-check exercise
- 9.10 Suggested Readings
- 9.11 Terminated Questions

9.0 Introduction

Agrarian development policy refers to a set of legislations or laws enacted by the government of a country to attain envisioned goals over it has to work. Agriculture plays an essential role in the process of economic development of less developed countries like India. Besides providing food to nation, agriculture releases labour, provides saving, contributes to market of industrial goods, and earns foreign exchange. Agricultural development is an integral part of overall economic development. In India, agriculture was the main source of national income and occupation at the time of Independence. Agriculture and allied activities contributed nearly 50 percent to India's national income. Around 72 percent of total working population was engaged in agriculture. These confirm that Indian economy was a backward and agriculture-based economy at the time of Independence. After 61 years of Independence, the share of agriculture in total national income declined from 50 percent in 1950 to 18 percent in 2007-08. But even today more than 60 percent of workforce is engaged in agriculture. In spite of this, it is also an important feature of agriculture that is to be noted that growth of other sectors and overall economy depends on the performance of agriculture to a considerable extent.

Because of these reasons agriculture continues to be the dominant sector in Indian Economy. Since independence India has made much progress in agriculture. Indian agriculture, which grew at the rate of about 1 percent per annum during the fifty years before Independence, has grown at the rate of about 2.6 percent per annum in the post-Independence era. Expansion of area was the main source of growth in the period of fifties and sixties after that the contribution of increased land area under agricultural production has declined over time and increase in productivity became the main source of growth in agricultural production. Another important facet of progress in agriculture is its success in eradicating of its dependence on imported food grains. Indian agriculture has progressed not only in output and yield terms but the structural changes have also contributed. All these developments in Indian agriculture are contributed by a series of steps initiated by Indian Government. Land reforms, inauguration of Agricultural Price Commission with objective to ensure remunerative prices to producers, new agricultural strategy, investment in research and extension services, provision of credit facilities, and improving rural infrastructure are some of these steps. Notwithstanding these progresses, the situation of agriculture turned adverse during post-WTO period and this covered all the sub sectors of agriculture. The growth rates in output of all crops slowed from 2.93 percent to 1.57 percent. The livestock declined from 4.21 percent to 3.40 percent. The fisheries declined from 7.48 percent to 3.25 percent. Only, forestry witnessed a sharp increase from 0.09 percent to 1.82 percent.

In order to achieve the goal of self-sufficiency in agriculture, new agricultural strategy has been initiated in 1966-67. The fundamental of this strategy is the application of science and technology for increasing yield per hectare. This strategy, known as New Agricultural Strategy or Green Revolution, is based on the extension of high yielding varieties responsive to heavy doses of fertilizers and the package of improved practices in selected areas with assured rainfall or irrigation facilities. The programmers included under the new strategy are: -

1. The high yielding varieties programmer.
2. Multiple cropping programmers.
3. Integrated developments of dry areas.
4. Plant protection measures.
5. Increased uses of fertilizers.
6. New irrigation concepts.

Tripathi and Prasad: Agricultural Development in India since Independence. The crop sector, which forms largest segment of agriculture, showed poorest growth during post-WTO period in comparison to all other periods. Further, within crop sector, all crops except sugar showed declining trend between initial years of reforms and post-WTO period. This deceleration is very high in

Cereals, Coarse Cereals, Pulses, Oilseeds, and Drugs & Narcotics. The growth rate turned negative in the case of pulses. Both dominant nature of agriculture and slowing growth trend in agriculture attracts attention of policymakers, researchers and economists. The main cause of failure of all development policy for agriculture is that there is no availability of any separate development strategy for Indian agriculture.

9.1 Learning Objectives

After this lesson students will be able to understand:

- To understand the farmer issues and agricultural policy of Indian States
- To analyse the visions and emerging trends in agrarian programmes in India
- To agrarian policy vision, objectives and challenges

9.2 Phases of agricultural policy

In this section, we try to trace out the principal government policies for promoting agricultural development. For the overall development of Indian agriculture, many institutional and infrastructural changes have been introduced since Independence. Broadly, agricultural policy followed during this period can be distinguished in four phases: first phase considered from 1947 to mid-sixties, second phase considered period from mid-60s to 1980, third phase included period from 1980 to 1991, and fourth phase includes period from 1991/92 onwards.

The first phase of agricultural policy witnessed tremendous agrarian reforms, institutional changes, development of major irrigation project and strengthens of cooperative credit institution. The most important contribution of land reforms was abolition of intermediaries and giving land titles to the actual cultivators. This released productive forces and the owner cultivators put in their best to augment production on their holdings. Land reforms were important in increasing agricultural production during this phase. The Community Development Programme, decentralized planning and the Intensive Area Development Programmes were also initiated for regenerating Indian agriculture that had stagnated during the British period. In order to encourage the farmers to adopt better technology, incentive price policy was adopted in 1964 and the Agricultural Price Commission was set up to advise the Government on the fixation of support prices of agricultural crops. Despite the institutional changes and development programmes introduced by the Government during this phase, India remained dependent upon foreign countries for food to feed the rising population.

The second phase in Indian agriculture started in mid 1960s with adoption of new agricultural strategy. The new agricultural strategy relies on high-yielding varieties of crops, multiple cropping, the package approach, modern farm practices and spread of irrigation facilities. The biggest achievement of this strategy has been attainment of self-sufficiency in foodgrains. Agrarian reforms during this period took back seat while research, extension, input supply, credit, marketing, price support and spread of technology were the prime concern of policy makers.

The third phase in Indian agriculture began in early 1980s. This period started witnessing process of diversification which resulted into fast growth in non-food grains output like milk, fishery, poultry, vegetables, fruits etc which accelerated growth in agricultural GDP during the 1980s. There has been a considerable increase in subsidies and support to agriculture sector during this period while public sector spending in agriculture for infrastructure development started showing decline in real term but investment by farmers kept on moving on a rising trend.

The fourth phase of agricultural policy started after initiation of economic reform process in 1991. Economic reforms process involved deregulation, reduced government participation in economic activities, and liberalization. Although there are no any direct reforms for agriculture but the sector was affected indirectly by devaluation of exchange rate, liberalization of external trade and deportation to industry. During this period opening up of domestic market due to new international trade accord and WTO was another change that affected agriculture. This raised new challenges among policymakers. Because of this, a New Agricultural Policy was launched by Indian Government in July 2000. This aims to attains output growth rate of 4 percent per annum in agriculture sector based on efficient use of resources. It seeks to achieve this objective in a sustainable manner and with equity. This was first time when government released a national agriculture policy. The policy document discusses what ought to be done in agriculture but the subsequent step, how and when policy goals and objective would be achieved is not discussed. Therefore, it is highly desirable to prepare action plans at both centre and state level in quantity terms to implement the new policy agenda in a time bound framework. Changing Agrarian Economy since Independence In this section we focused on how agrarian economy has changed since Independence. Keeping this view in mind this section follows land use pattern, population and agricultural workers, distribution of operational holding, and cropping pattern. Land Use Pattern The basic factor in agriculture is land. Knowledge about land use pattern is vital to understand whether the utilization of land in India is at its full potential or far from its full potential. In India the classification of land has had its roots in agricultural statistics. Till 1950, the land in India was broadly classified into five categories:

1. Area under forests.
2. Area not available for cultivation.
3. Uncultivated lands including current fallows.
4. Area under current fallows.
5. Net area sown.

But then it was realised that such a classification did not give a clear picture of the actual area under different categories of land use required for agricultural planning. Hence, a reclassification was adopted from March 1950. Under it, land in India now classified under nine different categories. These are as:

1. Forest.
2. Barren and uncultivable lands;
3. Land put to non-agricultural use
4. Cultivable wastes
5. Permanent pastures and other grazing lands.
6. Miscellaneous tree crops and groves not included in the net area sown.
7. Current fallows.
8. Other fallows.
9. Net sown area.

Further, the changes in land use pattern in India since 1950/51. The total geographical area of the country is 328726 thousand hectares in which 93 percent area is reporting area which means that the area for which record is available. It was 88 percent in 1950/51. The net sown area has risen by 18.44 percent from 1950/51 to 2000/01. The net sown area is only 46 percent of total reporting area that was 41 percent of total reporting area in 1950/51. The area under non-agricultural use has increased from 12690 thousand hectares to 24070 thousand hectares since 1950/51. But barren and uncultivable land has fallen from 37484 thousand hectares to 17709 thousand hectares. Both the cultivable waste land and fallow land have also decreased during this period. But even today 4.4 percent of total reporting area is available as a cultivable waste land and 4.8 percent of total reporting area is fallow land. This indicates that there is scope to increase the net sown area by at least 5 to 10 percent by improving both cultivable waste land and fallow. Gross sown area was 131893 thousand hectares in 1950/51 and it has increased to 185704 thousand hectares in 2001/02. This shows that only 11 percent of net sown area was used for more than one crop in 1950/51 and this figure increased to 31 percent in 2001/02. This point out that gross sown area can be increased by 70 percent of net sown area through intensive cropping.

9.3 Vision of Agriculture policy 2020

India has made impressive strides on the agricultural front during the last three decades. Much of the credit for this success should go to the several million small farming families that form the backbone of Indian agriculture and economy. Policy support, production strategies, public investment in infrastructure, research and extension for crop, livestock and fisheries have significantly helped to increase food production and its availability. During the last 30 years, India's food grain production nearly doubled from 102 million tons in the triennium ending 1973 to nearly 200 million tons (mt) in the triennium ending (TE) 1999. Virtually all of the increase in the production resulted

from yield gains rather than expansion of cultivated area. Availability of food grains per person increased from 452 gm/capita/day to over 476 gm/capita/day, even as the country's population almost doubled, swelling from 548 million to nearly 1000 million.

Increased agricultural productivity and rapid industrial growth in the recent years have contributed to a significant reduction in poverty level, from 55 percent in 1973 to 26 percent in 1998. Despite the impressive growth and development, India is still home to the largest number of poor people of the world. With about 250 million below the poverty line, India accounts for about one-fifth of the world's poor. Child malnutrition extracts its highest toll in this country. About 25% children suffer from serious malnutrition. More than 50 percent of the pre-school children and pregnant women are anemic. The depth of hunger among the undernourished is also high.

India has high population pressure on land and other resources to meet its food and development needs. The natural resource base of land, water and bio-diversity is under severe pressure. The massive increase in population (despite the slowing down of the rate of growth) and substantial income growth, demand an extra about 2.5 mt of food grains annually, besides significant increases needed in the supply of livestock, fish and horticultural products. Under the assumption of 3.5% growth in per capita GDP (low-income growth scenario), demand for food grains (including feed, seed, wastage and export) is projected in the year 2020 at the level of 256 mt comprising 112mt of rice, 82mt of wheat, 39mt of coarse grains and 22mt of pulses. The demand for sugar, fruits, vegetables, and milk is estimated to grow to a level 33mt, 77mt, 136mt and 116mt respectively. The demand for meat is projected at 9mt, fish 11mt and eggs 77.5 billion.

Future increases in the production of cereals and non-cereal agricultural commodities will have to be essentially achieved through increases in productivity, as the possibilities of expansion of area and livestock population are minimal. To meet the projected demand in the year 2020, country must attain a per hectare yield of 2.7 tons for rice, 3.1 tons for wheat, 2.1 tons for maize, 1.3 tons for coarse cereals, 2.4 tons for cereal, 1.3 tons for pulses, 22.3 tons for potato, 25.7 for vegetables, and 24.1 tons for fruits. The production of livestock and poultry products must be improved 61% for milk, 76% for meat, 91% for fish, and 169% for eggs by the year 2020 over the base year TE 1999. Average yields of most crops in India are still rather low.

Emerging Trends

The agriculture sector recorded satisfactory growth due to improved technology, irrigation, inputs and pricing policies. Livestock, poultry, fisheries and horticulture are surging ahead in production growth in recent years and will have greater demand in the future. Industrial and service sectors have expanded faster than agriculture sector resulting in declining share of agriculture in national accounts. Despite the structural change, agriculture still remains a key sector, providing both employment and livelihood opportunities to more than 70 percent of the country's population who live in rural areas.

The contribution of small farmers to the national and household food security has been steadily increasing. The water availability for agricultural uses has reached a critical level and deserves urgent attention of all concerned. India has high population pressure on land and other resources to meet its food and development needs. The natural resource base of land, water and bio-diversity is under severe pressure. Food demand challenges ahead are formidable considering the non-availability of favourable factors of past growth, fast declining factor productivity in major cropping systems and rapidly shrinking resource base. Vast uncommon opportunities to harness agricultural potential still remain, which can be tapped to achieve future targets. There are serious gaps both in yield potential and technology transfer as the national average yields of most of the commodities are low, which if addressed properly could be harnessed. Concentration was on enhanced production of a few commodities like rice and wheat, which could quickly contribute to increased total food and agricultural production. This resulted in considerable depletion of natural resources and the rainfed dry areas having maximum concentration of resource poor farmers remained ignored, aggravating problems of inequity and regional imbalances. This also led to a high concentration of malnourished people in these rainfed, low productive areas. This era also witnessed rapid loss of soil nutrients, agro-biodiversity including indigenous land races and breeds. The agriculture policy must accelerate all-round development and economic viability of agriculture in comprehensive terms. Farmers must be provided the necessary support, encouragement and incentives. It must focus both on income and greater on-farm and off-farm job and livelihood opportunities.

Self-Check Exercise

- 1) Golden revolution is related to which?
- 2) When was National Mission for Sustainable Agriculture launched?
- 3) What is the key dimensions of NMSA?.
- 4) What are the major technologies used in agriculture?

Main Issues

In national priority setting, the following recurring and emerging issues for sustainable agricultural development and poverty alleviation must be considered:

1. Population pressure and demographic transition;
2. Resource base degradation and water scarcity;
3. Investment in agriculture, structural adjustment and impact on the poor;
4. Globalization and implication on the poor;
5. Modern science and technology and support to research and technology development; and

6. Rapid urbanization and urbanization of poverty, and deceleration in rural poverty reduction.

In addressing the above issues, a policy statement on agriculture must take note of the following uncommon opportunities:

- Conservation of natural resources and protection of environment.
- Vast untapped potential of our soil and water resources, and farming systems
- Technology revolution especially in the areas of molecular biology, biotechnology, space technology, ecology and management.
- Revolution in informatics and communication and the opportunity of linking farmers, extension workers and scientists with the national and international databases.

Vision

The Agriculture Policy document must articulate a clear vision on following few basic parameters of the agricultural sector around which a policy framework must be developed.

- Organization of agriculture: A clear long-term vision where inter-sectoral linkages are explicit.
- Sustainability and natural resource management: Prescription must lie in the domain of political economy. Otherwise, allocating funds for watershed development, agroforestry, soil conservation, and so on will not produce desired results.
- Institutional change: Policy document must spell out new approaches and new institutions free from the shackles of bureaucratic and self-help framework.
- Investment priorities: There is a need to develop a consensus on investment themes, priorities and policies. Policy document must lend strength to the claim for greater investment in rural areas, and also re-examine its programmes in the light of complementarities.
- Incentives: Document must articulate a clear vision on the incentive framework.
- Risk management.

9.4 National Mission for Sustainable Agriculture (NMSA): Vision and Objectives

The National Mission for Sustainable Agriculture seeks to transform agriculture into an ecologically sustainable climate resilient production system while at the same time, exploiting its fullest potential and thereby ensuring food security, equitable access to food resources, enhancing livelihood opportunities and contributing to economic stability at the national level. The Mission would focus on the following areas for sustaining agricultural growth:

To devise strategic plans at the Agro Climatic Zone level so that action plans are contextualized to regional scales in the areas of Research and Development, Technology and Practices, Infrastructure and Capacity Building. To enhance agricultural productivity through customized interventions such as use of bio-technology to develop improved varieties of crops and livestock, promoting efficient irrigation systems, demonstration of appropriate technology, capacity building and skill development. To facilitate access to information and institutional support by expanding Automatic Weather Stations (AWS) networks to the Panchayat level and linking them to existing insurance mechanisms including Weather Based Crop Insurance Scheme (WBCIS) and National Agriculture Insurance Scheme (NAIS), scaling the returns at that level. To promote “laboratory to land” research by creating Model Villages and Model Farm Units in rainfed and dry land areas.

To strategize long term interventions for emission reduction from energy and non-energy uses by way of introduction of suitable crop varieties and farm practices, livestock and manure management. To realize the enormous potential of growth in dryland agriculture through development of drought and pest resistant crop varieties, adopting resource conserving technologies, providing institutional support to farmers and capacity building of stakeholders.

The Mission would further devise appropriate strategies by identifying key dimensions of sustainable agriculture and formulating a Programme of Action (PoA) for adaptation and mitigation measures covering research and development, technology and best practices, infrastructure and capacity building. This will be supported by synergizing traditional knowledge, agricultural heritage and modern technology and research.

The Mission would seek „convergence and coordination among the key ministries and departments at all levels of governance. Since climate change adaptation in the agriculture sector is a cross sectoral issue, requiring the cooperation of several government departments and integration of their programs and actions, this would also establish linkages with the other National Missions.

9.5 Agricultural Challenges

There is a sea change in food situation in the country since the 1960s when India faced acute shortage of food and registered widespread hunger, and depended on food imports to save millions of lives from starvation. The situation was so grave that the then Prime Minister gave a call to the people to observe fast for one day in a week. The High Yielding Varieties (HYV) of wheat and paddy became available around the same time, and the then government took a bold decision to adopt Green Revolution technology despite strong opposition from some quarters. The entire agriculture strategy was focused on single motto of ‘grow more food’. Initially, the Green Revolution technology involving high yielding dwarf varieties of wheat and paddy, highly responsive to inorganic fertilizer, was adopted in well-endowed irrigated regions in the country. Subsequently, as irrigation

expanded, the Green Revolution technology spread to wider areas. Improved and HYV were also developed in many other crops. The new cultivars were more water intensive, and their success required better tillage, good quality seeds, use of chemical fertilizers to meet nutrition requirements, and use of chemicals to control pests, insects, diseases and of late weeds. The Green Revolution technology was more beneficial and suitable for irrigated regions compared to rainfed areas. These changes were facilitated and encouraged by favourable policy support and environment both by the centre as well as many states. The spread of the new technology package led towards enterprise specialization, mono cropping, shifts in cropping pattern and crop sequences, withdrawal of more nutrients from the soil and more extraction of groundwater than recharge. This put serious stress on the natural resource base (land, water, ecosystem and environment), and thereby, clear signals emerged on the sacrifice of long-term interest for the short-term gains, and by future generation for current generation gains. It is now evident that the current system and practices need thorough changes and a paradigm shift. Before discussing those changes, it is imperative to discuss the severity and extent of various types of challenges facing Indian agriculture.

Overexploitation of Water Resources

Assured irrigation and access to water are crucial for raising crop productivity, crop intensity and output quality, and lowering risks in agriculture. Expansion in irrigation, along with technology and fertilizer, has been the major instruments fueling agriculture growth. Over time, huge public and private investment have been made to expand the area under irrigation. Seeing the critical role of water in raising yields, some states started subsidizing or supplying power for irrigation free. Agricultural Challenges and Policies for the 21st Century of charges. This led to reckless, indiscriminate and overuse of water, and brought serious distortions in crop choices. With marginal cost of using water being close to zero, farmers started growing water intense crops in low rainfall areas and adopted water-based practices and off-season cultivation. It is evident from the emergence of monoculture of paddy in traditionally groundnut and cotton growing areas in Punjab, Haryana and Rajasthan; expansion of sugarcane in Maharashtra and Uttar Pradesh; groundnut cultivation in peak summer time in Rajasthan and many such cases. Thus, a new geography of crops appeared in complete violation of agro-climatic suitability of various agro-climatic zones in the country. Broad changes in area and sources of irrigation are mentioned. Though, half of the agricultural area is rainfed and without access to irrigation, the sector uses close to 90% of the total water used in the country. Further, the groundwater shows small to very high decline in 36% of the blocks mainly due to water withdrawal exceeding water recharge. This is being experienced even in water rich middle Indo Genetic region. Farmers in some parts of the country are chasing groundwater beyond 1,000 feet below ground level. This is water mining, and has very serious implications for water quality, aquifer health and availability of water in future.

Disregard for Nature and Loss of Crop Diversity

The guiding principle and recommendations for crops suitable for different regions are available in literature on Agro Climatic Regional Planning (ACRP) erstwhile Planning Commission for 15 major agro zones and at a disaggregate level by Indian Council of Agricultural Research (ICAR) for 127 zones in the country. The suggested crops and crop pattern are based on natural resource endowment and agro-climatic conditions prevailing in various parts of the country, and are thus considered sustainable. Actual crop pattern and acreage allocated to various crops are at significant variance with what is suitable from the agro climatic point of view. The deviation is mainly caused by policy support and disparities in advancement in technology for various crops. Technological and policy bias in favour of Green Revolution technology and a few crops not only caused distortions in crop pattern, it also resulted in increased concentration of area under some crops and a sharp decline in crop diversity. This is illustrated that in the early 1970s, paddy cultivation was undertaken on 10.8% of the net sown area in Punjab and 8% in Haryana. This share has increased to 73.3% in Punjab and 39.5% in Haryana. Similarly, area under sugarcane cultivation quadrupled in Maharashtra and doubled in Uttar Pradesh after the onset of the Green Revolution.

Such changes in crop pattern have serious implication for sustainable use of natural resources, complementarily among crops, outbreak of diseases and pests. These consequences are also transmitted to human health and nutrition, and environment quality.

Low Efficiency and Price Led Growth

India's growth in agriculture sector, though impressive in most products and states, has remained lower than the potential. Our productivity levels are lower than major agricultural countries. The sector is witnessing slow modernization. The much-needed changes in technology, method of production and postharvest value addition are not visible on a large scale. Agricultural practices involving prolific use of inputs like broadcasting of fertilizer and flood irrigation are not showing any significant improvement. In most of the crops, increase in productivity has been accompanied by an increase in average cost of production, which necessitates an increase in output prices to keep incremental production profitable. The dependence of the agriculture sector on government support is rising. Because of this, the sector is losing its competitiveness. The role of incentives like output price support and subsidies, and non-price factors like irrigation, new seed, fertilizer, technology and institutional reforms in improving the growth of the agriculture sector is very well documented in the literature. While non-price factors create potential for growth, remunerative prices incentivise farmers to harness this potential. Thus, both sets of measures are crucial for growth and development of the agriculture sector. Over time, farmers have focused more on prices support than making a balanced demand to include non-price factors in policy support. This was because of a couple of factors. Implementation of MSP and procurement of rice and wheat in selected states allowed remarkable stability in prices received by farmers with zero price risk, and assured higher income

than through their sale at market prices. This attracted attention of other producers, who were not able to sell their crops at MSP, for a similar treatment to them and their crops. And also, MSP has been made more and more remunerative over time, and increased year after year irrespective of glut in supply and fluctuations in open market or international prices.

After submission of report of National Commission on Farmers, chaired by eminent agriculture scientist Dr M S Swaminathan, in 2006, farmers have rallied around the commission recommendation for a 50% margin over costs while fixing MSP. This recommendation was a surprise for many economists, as the commission did not give any rationale or justification for this recommendation that has far-reaching implications. The recommendation became quite popular among farmers throughout the country, as it involves a high rate of return over their cost. Political parties also started promising MSP based on the Swaminathan Commission report to appease and seek farmers' support. The decision of the central government to accept Swaminathan Committee recommendation to fix MSP at least 50% above the cost of production in 2018 further raised the attractiveness of MSP and pushed the MSPs much above open market prices. Increase in average costs of cultivation due to higher use of inputs has forced the farmers to rely more on support prices, though increased use of inputs has improved crop productivity. Changes in prices of agriculture relative to prices in the non-agriculture sector can be seen from the terms of trade (TOT) for agriculture. The TOT is taken as ratio of implicit price deflator of agriculture sector to implicit price deflator of non-agriculture sector. Generally, TOT is expected to move cyclically with the phase of rise followed by the phase of decline, and vice versa. But since 2005-06, TOT for agriculture have moved on a rising trend (Figure 1). This implies that price trends have been more favourable towards farmers' output since 2005-06.

9.6 Imbalances and Regional Disparities

Imbalances between demand and domestic production have been growing over the years. India has been accumulating a large surplus of rice, wheat and sugar, and this involves a huge cost to the state exchequer. The underlying reason for this is the rise in output price by the centre and payment of bonus for rice, and rise in fair and remunerative price (FRP) for sugarcane by some states ignoring the CACP recommendations and, for that matter, demand and supply or market situations. Where sugarcane prices ruled higher than the corresponding price of sugar prevailing in the domestic market, sugar mills started paying lower price compared to the price for sugarcane announced by the states. The net result has been an accumulation of arrears for sugarcane growers. Thus, the demands and protest by farmers to pay sugarcane arrears by the union government has become a regular phenomenon for many years. On the other hand, India's deficit in edible oil is rising year after year. The country meets 55% of its domestic requirement of vegetable oils by importing them. There is, thus, a scope in domestic market to absorb 127% increase in domestic oilseed production.

Disposing off surplus rice and sugar in international market needs high level of financial support, as international prices rule much lower than what turns out to be the cost of supply or domestic price of the produce.

Another dimension of imbalances is the variation in productivity. Though some variations are bound to be there because of natural resource endowment and access to irrigation, there are wide variations in crop productivity across states even at a similar level of irrigation. As can be seen from Table 3, value of crops harvested from one hectare of land in major states varies between Rs. 70,977 in Rajasthan and Rs. 2.83 lakh in West Bengal. Excluding Rajasthan, which has very low rainfall and dry and arid climate, per hectare productivity across major states ranges in the ratio of 1:3.1. With more than 72% area under irrigation, Bihar achieved crop productivity of Rs. 1.38 lakh per hectare – lower than average of many other states where area under irrigation is less than 50%.

Wasteful Investment

Investment in major, medium and micro irrigation constitutes a major share of public investment in agriculture. These investments were meant to increase area under surface water irrigation. The country spent more than Rs. 30,000 crore each year after 2007-08 as capital expenditure and also a huge amount as operation and maintenance of canals, but area under canal irrigation is showing either stagnation or decline. There are multiple reasons for this, including considerable delays in completion of projects resulting in very high time and cost overruns. Several major irrigation projects even after incurring most of the expenditure are held up by minor obstacles like forest clearance in small pockets, catchment area development, construction of distributaries and field channels. Interstate and intra state disputes are another factor for delay in completion of some major irrigation works.

It looks ironical that area under canal irrigation witnessed stagnation and even decline for such a long period, despite so much investment in medium and major irrigation. During 1993-2014, the country spent on an average about Rs. 17,663 corer per year at current prices on capital expenditure for major and medium irrigation projects. This disquieting trend necessitates closer examination and urgent action to ensure that the country's resources spent on canal irrigation gives expected return.

The main reason for lack of progress in the area under canal irrigation has been poor utilization of irrigation potential created, and emergence of a big gap between irrigation potential created (IPC) and irrigation potential utilized (IPU). This is despite the fact that Rs. 1,74,473 crores were spent on major and medium irrigation projects in the Eleventh five-year plan period. Though IPU remained poor, even this should have resulted in an increase in the area under canal irrigation, which is not visible in the irrigation statistics.

Due to poor progress in the area under canal irrigation, its share in the net irrigated area has declined from 37.5% in 1984-85 to 23% during 2018-19. This, in turn, is putting strong pressure on use of groundwater leading to its overexploitation, which has several adverse implications.

9.7 Technology Generation and Dissemination

Agricultural problems are becoming more complex, and research is turning more capital intensive. Climate change, share of agriculture in greenhouse emissions and sustainability concerns add to the challenges to be addressed by the research and development (R&D) system. Scope for spill over from research in the developed world is shrinking, and intellectual property right (IPR) issues are complicating and making it costly for transfer of technology from the outside world and the private sector. Thus, India needs to be self-reliant in agricultural research.

Basic and strategic research in any discipline lays the foundation for breakthroughs. Sadly, this component has weakened considerably in the National Agricultural Research System (NARS). The concentration of NARS over a period of time has shifted to applied research and problem-solving research.

Agriculture is also becoming more competitive globally with many new innovations happening in the sector. However, the rate of adoption of improved as well as frontier technology is low, mainly due to poor extension services.

Though agricultural research and higher education is largely a responsibility of State Agriculture Universities (SAUs), the ICAR is required to respond to any challenges and issues concerning the agriculture sector. Public opinion at large holds ICAR responsible for any adverse development in the agriculture sector. As a result, the portfolio of ICAR has been getting bigger and bigger over time. Load of ICAR has raised manifold with the responsibility to expand frontline extension and operate Krishi Vigyan Kendras (KVKs) throughout the country. Many questions are raised about the effectiveness of ICAR in fulfilling the larger role it has been assuming over the years and expected to play in the field of agriculture R&D and education.

Viability of Smallholders

Agriculture in India and most of Asian countries is dominated by small land holdings. According to Agricultural Census for year 2015-16, 68% farm holdings operate on less than 1 hectare land area. Further, 85% of farm households undertake farming on less than 2 hectares. This size of land holding does not generate adequate income with the usual agricultural practices and products. Thus, two options are left to raise income of such farm holdings. One, enable these farmers to go for high value crops and livestock activities, where they can make optimum use of their family work force. And, two, supplement agriculture income with income from non-agriculture sources like wages and salaries, some kind of business and trade. Small holders also face the problem of scale economy in input as well as output markets that require different type of institutional help.

Nutrition, Food Safety and Health

India's nutrition indicators and child health indicators are low. According to the Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) of the United Nations, the largest number Agricultural Challenges and Policies for the 21st Century of people who are hungry or undernourished live in India. According to the Global Hunger Index, an annual publication of two non-government organizations (NGOs), namely, the Concern Worldwide and Welthungerhilfe, India ranks low year after year on the hunger indices, even though the country has become the largest rice exporting country with about 15% of its rice production sold in overseas market. Since 1970-71, food production in the country has increased at trend rate close to 3%, while population growth in the same period was 1.86%. Further, growth rate in food production has remained intact in the recent years, whereas population growth rate has decelerated. Clearly, per capita production of food has witnessed exponential growth. India is also having an excess stock of rice and wheat for many years in a row. Recently, a huge surplus of sugar has also accumulated. According to some observers, India represents a paradoxical situation of 'hunger in the midst of plenty'.

Indian diets are undergoing diversification in a significant manner. Per capita absorption of cereals has witnessed the smallest increase, despite an increase in their availability and heavy subsidy. This is consistent with dietary diversification seen in other countries where per capita income has also risen. There is a manifold increase in per capita net availability of vegetables, and doubling of fruits and milk available for domestic food use. Per capita availability of domestic edible oils increased by 60% in the three decades since the early 1980s. Similar changes are seen in the food balance sheet of China. However, there is a big difference in the growth and the level of per capita supply of horticultural and livestock products between these two countries.

During the early 1980s, per capita supply of eggs and meat products in India was close to China. In the next three decades, supply of these items in China became five times that of India. Along with higher level of eggs and meat products, the Chinese use three times the vegetables and 80% more fruits than those by Indians. The data on food supply shows that though there is large shift towards horticultural and livestock products use in India, the increase is smaller compared to China, where nutrition and child and maternity health have improved considerably.

Mismatch between Structural Changes in Output and Workforce

As an economy develops, the share of agriculture in national gross value added (GVA), a measure of national income, and employment would experience a decline. Higher the growth of the economy, faster is the transformation in the structure of economy. In India, between 1950-51 and 1970-71, the share of agriculture in national income at 2011-12 prices declined from 61.7% to 49.6%, whereas the sector's share in employment remained stuck at more than 69%. In the next two decades, the sector's share in employment declined to 59% and income to 35.1%. After 1990-91,

growth rate of economy accelerated which also resulted in faster decline in the share of agriculture. However, the decline in the share of agriculture in work force did not keep pace with the decline in the sector's share in national income. In 2010-11, agriculture had a share of 18.3% and 54.6%, respectively, in national income and employment.

The latest data estimated by Periodic Labour Force Survey for 2019-20 shows that agriculture sector as a whole (that is, including fishery and forestry) provide employment as the principal occupation to 45.6 % of the total work force in the country (National Statistical Office 2021a). In the same year, agriculture share in GVA at current prices was 18.4%. Thus, there is a need to pull workforce out of agriculture to enhance the per worker income in the sector. However, it is increasingly getting difficult to get adequate alternate jobs, especially in industry, for shifting the workforce out of agriculture. This calls for a new strategy for employment.

Low Income of Farmers

Disproportionate share of agriculture in national income and employment implies disparity in per worker income in agriculture and non-agriculture sector. At the macro level, income per worker in non-agriculture is 3.75 times the income of an average agriculture worker which includes agricultural labourers and cultivators. Lately, the Prime Minister has repeatedly called for focusing attention on raising farmers' income. However, the small and shrinking land size, excess workforce, low productivity and poorly working markets are the main causes for low per farmer income in the country. Besides focusing on raising income from farming, there is a pressing need for enhancing avenues for agricultural households to earn income from non-farm sources.

9.8 Summary

This chapter evaluates performance and progress of Indian Agriculture since Independence. It has been presented into the different phases to describe the agrarian development of India that what kind of ups and downs it has faced during the period. In addition to, delineates about the vision of agricultural policy and challenges experienced by agrarian trajectories in India.

9.9 Answer to self-check Exercise

- 1) Horticulture and Honey
- 2) NMSA was launched in the year 2014-15 to make agriculture more productive
- 3) Key dimensions of NMSA is Water use efficiency, Nutrient Management and Livelihood diversification
- 4) Agriculture technology is also known as agritech, in which modern technology like Satellite imagery, sensors, agriculture machines and software solution is used.

9.10 Suggested Readings

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9.11 Terminal Questions

1. Discuss agrarian development in India since 1990s.
2. Explain major issues faced by the farmers in India.
3. Analyse role vision objectives, and major challenges of national mission for sustainable agriculture.

Lesson-10

New Economic Policy: Social and Economic Implications

Structure

- 10.0 Introduction
- 10.1 Learning Objectives
- 10.2 Economic Policy Need in India
- 10.3 Goal of Economic Policy
- 10.4 Summary
- 10.5 Answers to Self-check Exercises
- 10.6 Suggested Reading
- 10.7 Terminated questions

10.0 Introduction:

There have been many theories given regarding the origin of state. In these theories social contract theory, force theory, divine theory, patriarchal and matriarchal theories and evolution theory of state origins are the main. John Locke the father of liberalism in his book two treaties on government has explained that right to property was one of the main rights among three natural rights and state has to secure all natural rights. All negative liberalist considered state as a protector of the economic rights of the subjects. Karl Marx the father of communism has also related that state is an organisation that control the 'haves not' and do the work for 'haves' i.e. capitalist class due to expansion of communism liberalist developed a nation of welfare state and advocated that state should make policies and control the economic activities of the society. Basically the present scenario the whole social economic and political all type of the activities are controlled and managed by state and for this purpose government make policies state has the control over economy and economic policies.

Economic Policy

An economic policy is a course of action that is intended to influence or control the behaviour of the economy. Economic policies are typically implemented and administered by the government. Examples of economic policies include decisions made about government spending and taxation, about the redistribution of income from rich to poor, and about the supply of money. The effectiveness of economic policies can be assessed in one of two ways, known as positive and normative economics.

Positive and normative economics. Positive economics attempts to describe how the economy and economic policies work without resorting to value judgments about which results are best. The distinguishing feature of positive economic hypotheses is that they *can be tested* and either confirmed or rejected. For example, the hypothesis that “an increase in the supply of money leads to an increase in prices” belongs to the realm of positive economics because it can be tested by examining the data on the supply of money and the level of prices.

Normative economics involves the use of value judgments to assess the performance of the economy and economic policies. Consequently, normative economic hypotheses *cannot be tested*. For example, the hypothesis that “the inflation rate is too high” belongs to the realm of normative economics because it is based on a value judgment and therefore cannot be tested, confirmed, or refuted. Not surprisingly, most of the disagreements among economists concern normative economic hypotheses.

10.1 Learning Objectives

After this lesson student will be able to learn:

- To make learners capable to understand what is economic policy
- The study will help learners to understand the objective of economic policy
- To analyses various instrument of the economic policy centre and state level in India

10.2 Economic Policy Need in India

Why do we need economic policies (outlined by governments)? Seemingly naive but it is an important question. The answer to this question leads us to the most exciting and ceaseless ideological debate in Economics and is beyond the scope of this unit. However, a brief discussion on this topic will help you to develop a perspective about economic policies and plans of the Government of India. Market system is an institutional arrangement that has persisted and evolved over the past few hundred years because it has contributed greatly to our economic well-being. It is not perfect, however, and in some situations, our economic well-being can be raised by regulating it or even by side-stepping it altogether. Failure of market is the most important reason behind ‘making of’ an economic policy.

Economic literature says that competitive markets generate a Pareto optimal solution and an economy that reaches a Pareto optimal solution is commonly said to be efficient. Pareto optimal solution is based on certain assumptions. You might have learnt about these assumptions in Unit 14 of MEC-001 course. If one or more of these assumptions does not hold good, the market system does not give rise to an efficient outcome. These inefficient outcomes are called ‘market failures’. Choices through time, under-provision of public goods, presence of externalities, existence of common property

resources, imperfect competition, asymmetric information, etc., are some of the well-documented reasons for 'market failures'. These need some sort of Government intervention in the form of 'economic policies and programmes'. Further, even if under Pareto optimal solution resources are efficiently allocated, the distribution may not be 'equitable one'. State through participation in the production activities can give a direction to the resource allocation in more efficient manner in the larger public interest. It can directly own and manage various public utility services (also called social consumption of public goods). Competition is wasteful in such industries, and, hence, these can be best entrusted to the state. The state itself can undertake the production and distribution of public goods meant by collective consumption. Production of public goods is necessary not only for itself but also for generating new opportunities to secure the goal of full employment. The state may engage itself in production of such services that are beneficial but which do not attract private enterprise either because they are too risky or because the rate of return on capital employed is too low. There are certain goods of strategic importance that cannot be left in the hands of the state. The state can also act as a countervailing power to private monopolies. The state may: (i) prevent consumption of noxious products, and (ii) protect the consumers against fraudulent practices.

Self-check Exercise

- 1) What do you mean by the term 'Economic Policy'?
- 2) Why do we need state intervention in the economic affairs of a country?

10.3 Goal of Economic Policy

The principal goal of economic policy in a developing country like India is to accelerate the process of economic development and thereby ensuring swift economic development. It is worth to mention here that the concept of economic development is distinct from the concept of economic growth as traditionally defined. You will find details on this issue in Unit 3. The goals of economic development are listed below:

- 1) **Rapid Economic Growth:** In a developing economy, the principal goal of economic policy is to ensure rapid economic growth. Growth, i.e. increased output of goods and services, helps to build up backward and forward linkages that are so essential to ensure trickle-down and other spread effects.
- 2) **Full Employment:** Linked to the growth objective is the goal of full employment, i.e., to find productive use for all available resources in the economy. The economic gains from full employment are enormous. Full employment yields the individual security, which, in turn, promotes progress, contributes to human dignity and weakens non-functional discrimination.

- 3) **Better Distribution of Income:** Market mechanism left to itself promotes inequalities in the distribution of income and wealth. Inequalities lead to misallocation and misutilisation of resources. They lead to a serious breach of social welfare. Economic policy can be so designed as to achieve a somewhat better distribution of income and wealth.
- 4) **Human Development and Decent Work:** Human development as an indicator of improvement in the quality of life is considered an important objective of economic development. Several factors like education and illiteracy rate, life expectancy, the level of nutrition, consumption of energy per head etc. are involved in the measurement of such qualities. With the growing concern of human development, decent work has emerged another goal of economic development. There are four dimensions of decent work: work and employment itself, rights at work, security, and representation and dialogue.
- 5) **Stability of Prices and Rates of Foreign Exchange:** Monetary instability adversely affects both the growth process and the welfare. Fluctuations in the rate of foreign exchange affect international trade and introduce an element of uncertainty into the economic life of the country. Economic policy is a powerful instrument to ensure stability.
- 6) **Maintenance of Fair Competition:** Competitive conditions are essential for welfare maximisation. These can be ensured by an effective antimonopoly policy.
- 7) **Avoidance of Cyclical Fluctuations:** An essential feature of free market economies is what we call business cycles or trade cycles. These refer to regular cyclical fluctuations in economic activity with attendant consequences. An important goal before economic policy is to rid the economy of these ups-and-downs. Having discussed the major objectives of economic policy, let us know what are the weapons available in the state's armoury to address the targets, i.e., the instruments of economic policy.

10.4 Summary

Economic policies are statements of aims and ideals to be achieved by various instruments outlined by the Government. Due to several 'market failures', state intervention manifested in the form of economic policies is needed. Insuring swift economic development is the principal objective of economic policy. Rapid economic growth, full employment, human development and decent work, stability of prices and exchange rate, maintenance of fair competition and avoidance of cyclical fluctuations constitute the important objectives of economic policy. Broadly, economic policies can be classified under two categories: (i) macro-economic policies, and (ii) micro-economic (sectoral) policies. Economic policies in India are political decisions. However, economists and technocrats play major role in the process of formulation of economic policy. Further, the policy-makers have to take into account opinions expressed by mass-media, trade unions, trade associations and NGOs. Even international politics and Multinational Corporations (MNCs) influence the process of making

of economic policy in developing countries including India. Over the period, several indigenous institutions have come up to generate macro level policy options. Most of them are funded and/or financially supported by the Government. The task of implementation of economic policies and programmes in India is delegated to bureaucracy. There are many reasons for failure of economic policies and programmes in India. Although, major responsibility for under achievement (or failures) lies upon inflexible bureaucracy, a few of these reasons can be traced to flaws at formulation stage. By articulating precise workable goals, operational procedures and ‘inbuilt mechanism for performance monitoring’, the policy-makers can improve the chances of meeting the development goals.

10.5 Answer to Self-Check Exercise

- 1) An economic policy is a course of action that is intended to influence or control the behaviour of the country. Economic policies are typically implemented and administered by the government.
- 2) The economists who are in the favour of government interventions in a market give various reason like there may be a greater equality among various social classes due to income redistribution and improved opportunities for everyone. The government may provide incentives or subsidies to firms that meet their standards.

10.6 Suggested Readings

- Buchanan, J. M. and Tullock, G. (1962). The Calculus of Consent.
- Dixit, A.K. (1996). The Making of Economic Policy. The MIT Press.
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10.7 Terminal Questions

- 1) Comment how Economic Policy in India is a purely political process.
- 2) Examine how different shades of public opinion influence the process of economic policy formulation. Give illustrations in support of your answer.
- 3) Discuss the various disappointing outcomes of the poor implementation of economic policies.
- 4) Suggest some measures to improve implementation of economic policy and programmes in India.

Lesson- 11

New Economic Policy of 1991: Objectives, Features and Impacts

Structure

- 11.0 Introduction
- 11.1 Learning Objectives
- 11.2 Objectives of NEP
- 11.3 The Features of the New Economic Policy
- 11.4 Branches of New Economic Policy
- 11.5 Positive Reforms through NEP
- 11.6 Impact of Reforms Post 1992
- 11.7 Negative Impact of New Economic Policy
- 11.8 Summary
- 11.9 Answer to self-check exercise
- 11.10 Suggested Readings
- 11.11 Terminated Questions

11.0 Introduction

Development of the infra structure; the roads mean of transportation and the basic infrastructure is the pre-condition of economic development, so state focus on providing the basic infrastructure that at the centre of economic policy. It's good to use the machines for rapid progress and development but it is also at the centre of economic policy of state to generate employment and skilled technology friendly employment. Economic policy can be considered successful on the bases of balance of trade. Government tries to increase exports and decrease their imports so that foreign trade be balanced. State work through their economic policies for balanced development in two ways (1) balance development of all agriculture, industrial and scientific and technological (ii) balanced development of all regions means is federal state all states should be developed equally so that regional balance could be maintained. State is also committed to work for equality and justice for its citizen, so states also focus on the social and economic welfare and security of the people. They provide different type of security like old age pension, rehabilitation shelter, food and health security of the citizens. State focus on the economic problems like price hiking and Scheck over the black

marketing, supply of commodities, demand, money hoarding. The state always creates the instruments and institution to check these ill practices by the people who try to create economic problems. State policy of economy basically focus on the self-dependency. Every state wants to be self-dependent in economic field. States want to control its explore, at international level and within state it want to make citizen self-dependent through different policies. Government launched many schemes of training, people skills among citizen and provide them loan and low interest rates so that they become self-dependent.

New Economic Policy of India was launched in the year 1991 under the leadership of P. V. Narasimha Rao. This policy opened the door of the India Economy for the global exposure for the first time. In this New Economic Policy P. V. Narasimha Rao government reduced the import duties, opened reserved sector for the private players, and devalued the Indian currency to increase the export. This is also known as the LPG Model of growth. New Economic Policy refers to economic liberalization or relaxation in the import tariffs, deregulation of markets or opening the markets for private and foreign players, and reduction of taxes to expand the economic wings of the country. **Former Prime Minister** Manmohan Singh is considered to be the father of New Economic Policy (NEP) of India. **Manmohan Singh introduced the NEP on July 24, 1991.**

11.1 Learning Objectives

After this lesson student will be able to learn:

- To make learners capable to understand what is economic policy
- The study will help learners to understand the objectives of economic policy
- To explains the various instruments of the economic policy centre and state level in India

11.2 Objectives of NEP

The main objectives behind the launching of the New Economic policy (NEP) in 1991 by the union Finance Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh are stated as follows:

1. The main objective was to plunge **Indian Economy** in to the arena of ‘Globalization and to give it a new thrust on market orientation.
2. The NEP intended to bring down the rate of inflation
3. It intended to move towards higher economic growth rate and to build sufficient foreign exchange reserves.
4. It wanted to achieve economic stabilization and to convert the economy into a market economy by removing all kinds of un-necessary restrictions.

5. It wanted to permit the international flow of goods, services, capital, human resources and technology, without many restrictions.
6. It wanted to increase the participation of private players in the all sectors of the economy. That is why the reserved numbers of sectors for government were reduced. As of now this number is just 2.

11.3 The Features of the New Economic Policy

The new economic policy of 1991 brought a sea change in the Indian market and economy. The government, with this policy, did many reforms and went ahead with radical policy changes. The basic idea that India was a socialist country was challenged by the New Economic Policy, 1991.

1. The Government Gave Up Monopolistic Control Over Many Industrial Sector

In the pre-1991 era, the key industrial sectors, namely - the iron and steel industry, heavy machinery industry, air travel sector, shipbuilding sector, telecommunications and the general communications sector etc. The private players, after the policy, could enter these industries without many obstacles. The Indian Railways, the army equipment industry, the nuclear energy industry etc still remained under the control of the government.

2. The End of License Raj

Previously, the private players had to obtain licenses from the government in order to start a business in any industrial sector. After 1991, the practice of obtaining a license for starting a business was largely done away with. The sectors where licensing still remained were the Alcohol sector, dangerous chemicals sector, cigarette sector, drugs and medicines sector, explosives sector etc.

3. The Government Transferred Its Equity In Public Sector Enterprises To Private Player

As part of the New Economic Policy, it was mandated that the government would have to give up control over the commercial enterprises. This led the government to transfer its equities held in the public sector enterprises to private players. As a result of this privatisation, the government achieved significant monetary gains which helped it to fill the deficits and clear debts.

4. The Financial Sector Reforms

Just like the industrial sector, in the financial sector too, the central bank - the RBI - ceded much of the power it held in the financial sector. Private Banks could now operate in the country. However certain key aspects of the financial sector were kept under the control of RBI to prevent any unfortunate financial incident happening to the account holders.

5. FDI

The foreign direct investment policy in India also became mature after the NEP. Now, foreign players could easily enter the Indian Market. It was allowed to buy a 51% stake in a domestic company.

6. Reforms In Taxation

The NEP reformed the prevailing tax policy. On one hand, it benefited the citizens by lowering the tax rate and on the other, it benefited the government by bringing many previously non-taxable sectors under the purview of taxation.

7. Import-Export Reforms

After 1991, the companies were allowed to import a wider range of products. The outward-looking approach to trade offered the citizens to enjoy high-quality overseas products. The monopoly of the domestic businesses was over and the price of the commodities went down. The import taxes were lowered.

8. Globalisation

Because of the opening up of the Indian market to foreign players and products, the Indian society tasted the advantages of globalisation. More and more Indian businessmen, students and politicians came in contact with global powerhouses and the exchange of ideas proved valuable.

9. Privatisation

Due to the disinvestments of the government from many public sector enterprises, the private players cropped up to gain control of these enterprises. The private players made these hitherto government-controlled companies disciplined. The common people benefited from the high-quality service that they got from these private companies.

The preamble to the constitution of India says that India is a socialist country. Yet socialism failed to lead India towards the light. As a result, the Narasimha Rao government had to go against the preamble and open up the economy. This led to private companies getting richer and the government enterprises moving towards the brink of extinction. Many poor people in the country were not able to get benefited from the NEP. Yet, without NEP, India would have been just another African country with no power and no say in international politics.

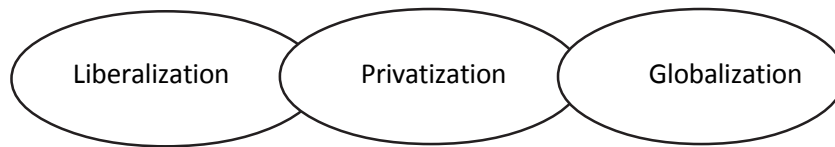
Beginning with mid-1991, the govt. has made some radical changes in its policies related to foreign trade, Foreign Direct Investment, exchange rate, industry, fiscal discipline etc. The various elements, when put together, constitute an economic policy which marks a big departure from what has gone before.

The thrust of the **New Economic Policy** has been towards creating a **more competitive environment** in the economy as a means to **improving the productivity and efficiency** of the system. This was to be achieved by removing the barriers to entry and the restrictions on the growth of firms.

Self-Check Exercise

- 1) What were the main reasons behind the Liberalization of Economic reform/Policy 1991 in India?
- 2) What is the Main Feature of New Economic Policy launched in the year 1991?

11.4 Branches of New Economic Policy



1. Liberalisation

Removal of Industrial Licensing and Registration:

Previously private sector had to obtain license from Govt. for starting a new venture. In this policy private sector has been freed from licensing and other restrictions.

Industries licensing is necessary for following industries:

- (i) Liquor
- (ii) Cigarette
- (iii) Defence equipment
- (iv) Industrial explosives
- (v) Drugs
- (vi) Hazardous chemicals

2. Privatisation:

Simply speaking, privatisation means permitting the private sector to set up industries which were previously reserved for the public sector. Under this policy many PSU's were sold to private sector. Literally speaking, privatisation is the process of involving the private sector-in the ownership of Public Sector Units (PSU's).

The main reason for privatisation was in currency of PSU's are running in losses due to political interference. The managers cannot work independently. Production capacity remained under-utilized. To increase competition and efficiency privatisation of PSUs was inevitable.

Step taken for Privatisation:

The following steps are taken for privatisation:

1. Sale of shares of PSUs:

Indian Govt. started selling shares of PSU's to public and financial institution e.g. Govt. sold shares of Maruti Udyog Ltd. Now the private sector will acquire ownership of these PSU's. The share of private sector has increased from 45% to 55%.

2. Disinvestment in PSU's:

The Govt. has started the process of disinvestment in those PSU's which had been running into loss. It means that Govt. has been selling out these industries to private sector. Govt. has sold enterprises worth Rs. 30,000 crores to the private sector.

3. Minimisation of Public Sector:

Previously Public sector was given the importance with a view to help in industrialisation and removal of poverty. But these PSU's could not able to achieve this objective and policy of contraction of PSU's was followed under new economic reforms. **Number of industries reserved for public sector was reduces from 17 to 2.**

(a) Railway operations

(b) Atomic energy

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4. Globalization:

Literally speaking Globalisation means to make Global or worldwide, otherwise taking into consideration the whole world. Broadly speaking, Globalisation means the interaction of the domestic economy with the rest of the world with regard to foreign investment, trade, production and financial matters.

Steps taken for Globalisation:

Following steps are taken for Globalisation:

(i) Reduction in tariffs:

Custom duties and tariffs imposed on imports and exports are reduced gradually just to make India economy attractive to the global investors.

(ii) Long term Trade Policy:

Forcing trade policy was enforced for longer duration.

11.5 Positive reforms Through NEP

Some of the positive reforms of new economic policy are given below:-

1. India overcomes its worst economic crisis in a remarkable two-year span through change.
2. The BOP crisis was over by the end of March 1994, thanks to smart macroeconomic stabilization policies such as rupee depreciation and other structural changes, and foreign exchange reserves had risen to USD 15.7 billion. Both FDI and FII inflows into India have surged dramatically.
3. India's economy is likewise becoming more connected with the global economy. India's overall exports of products and services as a percentage of GDP increased from 7.3 percent in 1990 to 14 percent in 2000. The increase in imports was less dramatic, but still large, rising from 9.9% in 1990 to 16.6% in 2000. The ratio of total goods and services trade to GDP increased from 17.2 percent to 30.6 percent in ten years.
4. Increased competition in areas such as banking has resulted in more customer choice and increased efficiency as a result of reforms. It has also resulted in a rise in private sector investment and growth.
5. Inflation rates fell as reforms increased output of goods and services, causing prices to either fall or remain constant. Inflation was also kept under control because to competition.

From in 1950 to in 2000, there was a huge increase in GDP.

11.6 Impact of Reforms Post 1992

1. Poverty fell from 36% in 1993-1994 to 26.1 percent in 1999-2000. In both rural and urban areas, the poverty rate has decreased.
2. Reforms resulted in an increase in air travel and expansion in the civil aviation sector. In 1991, the government enacted the Open Skies Policy (which enabled private players enter the aviation sector) in order to increase competition. Private companies in both the domestic and international aviation industries are reaping the benefits of this approach today.
3. International technology was easier to obtain as a result of the reforms that opened the borders to foreign goods. Cell phone technology is a wonderful example of this. In the post-1991 era, the automobile industry expanded, making automobiles more readily available, increasing competition, and lowering automobile prices.
4. As India's reputation grew in the international marketplace, so did the number of foreign visitors.

5. In a number of sectors, such as auto components, telecommunications, software, pharmaceuticals, biotechnology, research and development, and professional services provided by scientists, technologists, doctors, nurses, teachers, management professionals, and similar professions, reforms resulted in measurable increases in international competitiveness.
6. The telecommunications industry has grown dramatically. In fact, this industry has reaped the benefits of economic reforms to a large extent.
7. The sector, which was once severely regulated and monopolised by the government, now has multiple competing service providers. The telecom policy grew out of the National Telecom Policy of 1994, which sought to open up all sectors to private operators.

11.7 Negative Impact of New Economic Policy

1. The reforms mostly affected the formal economy; agriculture, the urban informal sector, and forest-dependent populations did not see significant changes. As a result, growth was uneven and economic freedom was distributed unequally.
2. Economic liberalisation in the organised manufacturing sector (which is governed by strict labour laws) has resulted in little job creation. Market-based economic changes frequently increase inequities between the rich and the poor, as well as between developing and developed countries.
3. Health and education are two social sectors that have been neglected. These sectors, despite their importance, were not prioritised, as evidenced by today's alarmingly low levels of education and health indicators.
4. Economic reforms have sped up development but have failed to create enough jobs. For example, after falling to 5.61 percent in 1993-94, the rural unemployment rate rebounded to 7.21 percent in 1999-2000, as did the overall unemployment rate (urban and rural).

11.8 Summary

New Education Policy cannot consider a domestic policy but it was international foreign policy because it encourages the foreign investment and opened the doors of Indian economy for private investment. The NEP has brought India a centre of economic investment for maximum western states but it also affected the GDP growth rate in positive sense. It has provided a boost to Indian economy and opened the various opportunities to the people of India. It has brought the universal brands to serve the Indian customers and changed the market relation as well. Government of India also providing the infrastructure and created an atmosphere for F.D.I from construction sector to goods and services. We conclude that agricultural production expanded dramatically once the New Economic Policy was implemented. Farmers were offered the option of selling sections of their crops to the government in exchange for monetary compensation in order to boost economic growth.

11.9 Answer to self-check exercise

- 1) Inefficient management of the Indian Economy in the 1980s.
Rise in Fiscal Deficit due to the increase in non-development expenditure.
Rise prices of essential goods.
- 2) Liberalisation, Privatization, and globalisation

11.10 Suggested Readings

- Jalan, B. (1997). India's economic policy: Preparing for the twenty-first century. Penguin Books India.
- Guha, S.B. (2008). Space relations of capital and significance of new economic enclaves: SEZs in India. Economic and Political Weekly.
- Krueger, A.O. (2002). Economic policy reforms and the Indian Economy. University of Chicago Press.
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- Rodrik, D. (1996). Understanding economic policy reform. Journal of economic literature.
- Mohanty, B. (2012). Foreign Policy of India in 21st century. New Century Publications

11.11 Terminal Questions

- What do you mean by Economic policy? Analysis major implication of NEP in India.
- What are the major reforms initiated under the New Economic Policy in 1991?
- Discuss the main feature of NEP and their positive implication in India.

Lesson-12

State and Welfare: MNREGA and JNNURM

Structure

- 12.0 Introduction
- 12.1 Learning Objectives
- 12.2 Welfare State: Meaning and Types
- 12.3 Indian as Welfare State
- 12.4 Features of welfare state in India
- 12.5 Challenges of Welfare State
- 12.6 Summary
- 12.7 Glossary
- 12.8 Answers to Self-Check Exercises
- 12.9 Suggested Reading
- 12.10 Terminal Questions

12.0 Introduction

Political organization of society is institutions of government. The state is a form of human association distinguished from other social groups by its purpose, the establishment of order and security; its methods, the laws and their enforcement; its territory, the area of jurisdiction or geographic boundaries; and finally by its sovereignty. The state consists, most broadly, of the agreement of the individuals on the means whereby disputes are settled in the form of laws. In such countries as the United States, Australia, Nigeria, Mexico, and Brazil, the term *state* (or a cognate) also refers to political units that are not sovereign themselves but subject to the authority of the larger state, or federal union.

So, A state is a politically organised body of people who live in a specified geographical entity and have a legitimate government.

To exercise sovereignty within its area of authority, a state must be free of all types of external control. It is important to distinguish between a state and a kingdom or empire. Nigeria is an example of a state, while Owu and Oyo are examples of kingdoms and empires, respectively.

Elements of State:

1. **Population:** The most visible vital aspect of a state is its population. “The most stable regimes are those in which the people have reached a general political and social consensus (an agreement) on fundamental ideas.”
2. **Territory:** A state, country, or city has its own set of boundaries. States and countries may disagree about where their borders should be drawn. Boundaries can also be altered as a result of conflict, land acquisition, or government talks.
3. **Sovereignty:** A state’s most important characteristic. Political sovereignty refers to the state’s absolute supremacy over its territory’s boundaries. It has the authority to establish laws, shape foreign policy, and take action without the approval of a higher authority.
4. **Government:** A government is defined as “the entity through which the state maintains social order, delivers public services, and enforces binding choices on its population.”
5. **Permanence:** In contrast to the government, which changes from time to time, a state must be relatively permanent. This stability allows a state to develop in the way it should.
6. **Recognition:** A territory must be recognised by other governments and international organisations in order to be termed a state. This understanding will thwart any type of bloodshed or conflict over issues such as borders and the like.

12.1 Learning Objectives

After this lesson student will be able to understand:

- To make learner capable to understand state and its welfare functions
- The study will help learners to enhance their understanding towards national/ universal schemes of employment and development together

12.2 Welfare State: Meaning and Types

A welfare state is a type of government responsible for its citizens’ basic social and economic security. It is an inherent function of every form of government, especially democracies. Common welfare activities undertaken by the state include free health care and education, pensions, welfare payments, etc.

The welfare state as a distinct concept is diminishing, as it has become every government’s inherent and mandatory function. Most countries, including democracies and monarchies, provide for the welfare of their citizens. A few exceptions to this are dictatorships like North Korea.

The history can be traced back to ancient civilizations like India, Rome, China, and the Middle East when some rulers prioritized their subjects’ welfare. However, in modern times, the concept was popularized by philosophers in late 19th-century Europe.

Since then, many countries have adopted it as a fundamental right of citizens to receive direct support from the state. Especially developed countries give immense importance to citizens' social security. This is probably due to the level of development in these countries and their ability to provide for the people. In contrast, the figure is slightly lower for developing countries. For example, here's the 2020 Social Expenditure report of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries. According to the report, the OECD countries spend an average of 20% of GDP on social welfare.

Types of Welfare State

There are three major types of welfare states, according to the Danish sociologist Gøsta Esping-Andersen.

- **The liberal Welfare State**

This type of state is market-oriented, i.e., the market and labor forces influence the state. Common benefits like health insurance and pensions depend on employment. Proponents of a liberal state argue that it supports individual rights and diversity and incentivizes based on eligibility. Here, minimum government interference is idealized.

- **Social Welfare State**

Also known as a social democratic state, it pushes the idea of social welfare as a mandatory responsibility of a democratic government, i.e., the government is the absolute guarantor of social rights. Furthermore, a social welfare state is based on equal opportunity, regardless of employment status.

- **Conservative/Corporatist state**

This is probably the least attractive type, and as the name suggests, it is conservative in outlook. Here too, the government guarantees the basic security of its citizens, but it propagates or indirectly supports conservative ideas. For example, the decision-making hierarchy is too narrow and often based on traditional stereotypes, i.e., total male representation.

Self-Check Exercise

1. What do you mean by liberal welfare state?
2. What is the origin of welfare state?
3. Who is the father of welfare state?
4. Which part of the Indian Constitution is reflecting that India is a welfare state?

The Welfare State is a politico-economic setup with the following characteristics:

- It provides basic minimum services to its citizens like law and order.
- It is interventionist in nature. It does so as to further common social good.
- It has a multi-party democratic system.
- It has a mixed economy. Both the private and public sectors co-exist at the same time.

12.3 India as Welfare State

The Indian Constitution contains the Directive Principles of State Policy from Articles 36 to 51, which lay down the framework for welfare, socialist state. These Directive Principles are not enforceable by law, rather they are the long-term but fundamental goals of a welfare state which help in defining the path of development the country is to follow, and it is the duty of the State to apply them while making laws.

- Article 38 of the Indian Constitution reads: “The state shall strive to promote the welfare the people by securing and protecting as effectively as it may, a social order in which justice-social economic and political-shall pervade all institutions of national life.”
- Article 39A states, “The State shall secure that the operation of the legal system promotes justice, on a basis of equal opportunity, and shall, in particular, provide free legal aid, by suitable legislation or schemes or in any other way, to ensure that opportunities for securing justice are not denied to any citizen by reason of economic or other disabilities.”
- Article 46 states that “The State shall promote, with special care, the education and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people”.
- Hence, we can say that according to the constitution, India is a welfare state.

12.4 Features of welfare state in India

- **Striving to achieve social goals:** Through Directive Principles, the State strives to achieve various common social goals like conservation of the environment, gender equality, representation to depressed communities etc.
- **Ensuring Food Security:** India has achieved food security for its citizens by the Green Revolution, White Revolution and currently working on Nutritional Security by implementing the National Nutrition Mission.
- **Redistribution of wealth:** So as to reduce inequalities have been affected in the form of Land Reforms, Progressive Taxation Policy, and Subsidies etc.

- Profiteering is made subservient to the common good by strict laws like the Companies Act, Prevention of Corruption Act, etc.
- Means of livelihood is provided through various **programmes like MGNREGA**.

12.5 Challenges to Indian Welfare State

- **Income inequality** in India has been rising especially after LPG reforms, as per Oxfam report.
- **Failure of policy implementation** like the Land Ceiling Act.
- **Prevalence of discrimination** – gender (Nirbhaya Case), caste (Dalit atrocities), minorities (communal violence) etc.
- **Unemployment** levels have steadily risen in the last five years.

Thus, India faces many challenges in becoming a Welfare State model in true sense. However, it continually strives to move in that direction in future too, evident in programmes like Ayushman Bharat, Bharatmala and Sagarmala project, strengthening of armed forces etc.

12.6 Summary

However, a brief discussion on this topic will help you to develop a perspective about economic policies and plans of the Government of India. Market system is an institutional arrangement that has persisted and evolved over the past few hundred years because it has contributed greatly to our economic well-being. It is not perfect, however, and in some situations, our economic well-being can be raised by regulating it or even by side-stepping it altogether. Failure of market is the most important reason behind ‘making of’ an economic policy.

12.7 Glossary:

Welfare scheme: refers to assistance program’s sponsored by governments for needy individuals and families including schemes such as food stamps, health care assistance and unemployment.

12.8 Answer to self-check exercise

- 1) In a liberal state, welfare programs are a part of people’s employment and are influenced by the market and labour forces. Therefore, any incentives provided to the people will be based on the value of their respective jobs.
- 2) Otto von Bismarck established the first welfare state in a modern industrial society, with social-welfare legislation, in 1880s imperial Germany. Bismarck extended the privilege of the Junker social class of ordinary Germans.
- 3) Father of the Welfare State was William Beveridge.

- 4) The Directive Principle of State Policy, enshrined in Part IV of the Indian Constitution reflects that India is a welfare state.

12.9 Suggested Reading

- Pierson, C. and Castles, F.G. (2006). The Welfare State Reader (2nd Edition). Polity Press.
- Page, R.M. (2007). Revisiting the Welfare State. Open University Press.
- Sankhdher, M.M. (2003). Yogakshema: The Indian Model of Welfare State. Deep Deep Publications.
- Cavanna, H. (1998). Challenges to the Welfare State: Internal and External.

12.10 Terminal Question

- What do you mean by the concept of Welfare state? It
- Is related to liberal democratic model of state in today's world?
- Define the socialist model of welfare state. Is India's following the socialistic model of welfare model?

Lesson- 13

Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee

Structure

- 13.0 Introduction
- 13.1 Learning Objectives
- 13.2 MGNREGS Yojna: Objective
- 13.3 MGNREGS Scheme: Goals
- 13.4 MGNREGS Scheme: Achievements
- 13.5 Impacts of MGNREGS
- 13.6 MGNREGS and Sustainable Development Goals
- 13.7 Impact of MGNREGS on women's employment
- 13.8 Summary
- 13.9 Answer to self-check exercise
- 13.10. Suggested Readings
- 13.11 Terminated Questions

13.0 Introduction

Despite high rates of economic growth in India since the 1990s, rural poverty continues to be a policy concern. Over two thirds of India's population inhabit rural areas, accounting for 75% of all impoverished citizens in India Currently; nearly 30% of rural Indians live below the poverty line. Risks for rural poverty include caste, employment status, and gender and land ownership. Rural poverty is particularly concentrated among Scheduled Castes (SC) and Scheduled Tribes (ST). To illustrate, although SCs make up approximately 22% of the population and STs Make up 11% of the population, these groups account for 80% of the rural poor. Furthermore, women are over-represented in rural poverty, holding a disproportionate number of the marginal agricultural jobs with low wages in rural India. Notably, even with substantial agricultural growth, there have been economic declines for marginal farmers and landless rural citizens.

Recognizing these problems, the Government of India has introduced several nationwide centralized social schemes to address poverty. One such scheme is The Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (hereafter referred to as MGNREGA), offering a unique rights-

based guarantee of employment to reduce income and food insecurity in rural areas. Significant investment has been made in this scheme, amounting to 5.3 billion dollars (Ministry of Rural Development, 2013-2014), or 0.3% of the gross domestic product. Given the size of this policy platform, the substantial amount of public money invested in it and the potential impact on rural citizens, it is important to ascertain the extent to which MGNREGS has reached its stated policy goals.

Our analysis contributes to the literature on MGNREGS in a unique way. It provides evidence from an in-depth qualitative study that offers insight into policies from the perspectives and experiences of local people in local sites (anaemic perspective), in the spirit of a critical ethnographic tradition that assumes that the best way of knowing is to know from within. Pani and Iyer (2012: 14) indicate that ‘local processes are typically better captured through detailed qualitative analysis’ and that is what we endeavour to do here. This study thus adds to emerging literature on micro-level analysis of multiple dimensions. Using this approach enables the researcher to discover new, as yet unconsidered, elements of a particular policy intervention that might get overlooked in other macro-level approaches. Although the findings are not generalizable across the whole of India, or the whole of each state in which the study was conducted, we posit that the insights gained from this approach will enhance understanding of some aspects of the MGNREGS policy that may not be evident through other macro-level approaches.

Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGS) is a social security scheme launched by the government of India that attempts to provide employment and livelihood to rural laborers in the country. MGNREGS is the largest work guarantee program in the world. MGNREGS was enacted in 2005 with the primary objective of guaranteeing 100 days of wage employment per year to rural households. It is the only scheme in the world which guarantees Employment and in case of non-availability of the job the beneficiary can claim unemployment allowance with NREGA job card. MGNREGA scheme was initially known as National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (NREGA) at the time was launch in 2006 and was later renamed to MGNREGS.

The government earlier allocated an additional amount of Rs 40,000 crore. Under the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme. The money has been allocated for the rural employment guarantee scheme to help provide jobs to migrant workers returning home. Finance Minister Nirmala Sitharaman stated that the allocation for MGNREGS has been increased by Rs 40,000 crore over and above the Rs 61,000 cr budgeted earlier. It is mainly implemented by gram panchayats and does not involve any contractors.

13.1 Learning Objectives

After this lesson students will be able to understand:

- The study will help students to know about NREGA and its working

- The study will help learners to analyse the act their own
- The study will help learner to rural development Programme through MNREGA

13.2 MGNREGS Yojna: Objective

As per the MGNREGS scheme, the following are the objectives of the scheme:

- Its objective is to provide a minimum of 100 days of guaranteed non-skilled manual employment to rural workers every year, so that rural households are able to sustain themselves.
- The core aim of the NREGA scheme is to ensure that there is a source of livelihood for the economically weaker section of the population.
- Strengthening the livelihood and provide resources to the poor.
- The NREGA also aims to proactively include the weaker section of society.
- The scheme also aims at strengthening of Panchayati Raj establishments across India.
- What is Plasma Therapy: A Possible Treatment for Corona virus?

13.3 MGNREGS Scheme: Goals

- The goal of MGNREGS is to provide social protection for the most vulnerable people living in rural India by guaranteeing wage employment opportunities.
- It aims at enhancing the livelihood security of the rural poor through the generation of wage employment opportunities in works leading to the creation of durable assets.
- The goal of MGNREGS is to rejuvenate the natural resource base of rural areas.
- MGNREGS aims at creating a durable and productive rural asset base.
- To strengthen decentralised, participatory planning through convergence of various anti-poverty and livelihoods initiatives.
- It aims at strengthening democracy at the grassroots level by strengthening Panchayati Raj Institutions.

Self-Check Exercise

- 1) When was the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act Notified?
- 2) Under the MGNREGS scheme, who are the key functionaries at the Gram Panchayat Level?
- 3) Who is the first state to employ differently abled, in the MGNREGS?

- 4) What is the mandate of MGNREGS scheme in terms of days of guaranteed wage employment for those who volunteer to work in a financial year?

13.4 MGNREGS Scheme: Achievements

Since its inception in 2006, MGNREGA has greatly helped the poverty stuck population of India by providing guaranteed employment for 100 days. Let us look at few achievements of this scheme so far

- It is the world's largest social welfare scheme and 3.14 lakh crore rupees were spent in its first 10 years.
- The scheme has noticeably reduced the poverty levels in India by a huge amount. It was, hence, called a stellar example of rural development by the World Development Report
- It has helped many women in rural areas to make a livelihood as well as gain social security.
- The unemployed youth in the age bracket of 18-30 got employment for 100 days a year.
- The scheme helped employ the people affected by Demonetization and GST (Goods and Services Tax).
- The scheme provides basic facilities like clean drinking water and first aid to all the labour.
- It has helped in uplifting Scheduled Castes (SCs) and Scheduled Tribes (STs).

MGNREGS Scheme: Job Card

NREGA schemes provide the labour work to poor people for a hundred days in the financial year. Authority grants the chance to the poor people who want to earn money for their livelihood. NREGA job card keeps a record of every detail of work doing that person.

13.5 IMPACTS of MGNREGA

Apart from its impact on the economic conditions of the vulnerable, MGNREGS needs to be understood in the larger framework of its psychosocial ripple effects. Field visits to Piparvani village in Seoni district of Madhya Pradesh during 2013-14 provided qualitative perspectives on the scheme.

Mired by inadequate economic opportunities in the villages, women were engaged in brick kiln in the pre-MGNREGA days making Rs 80-100 for every 1000 bricks. Strained from fumes, and hazardous materials, these women preferred MGNREGA earth works, which helped them earn wages equal to their male counterparts. Because of this wage parity, bargaining power of labour has also increased.

Rise in rural wages has been accused of causing farm inflation. However, a 2015 report stated that during 2004-05 to 2011-12 there were a sharp rise in rural wages, but the scheme played only a modest role toward this. The impact albeit minuscule, is likely to have provided a safety valve to below poverty line households, battling with agrarian crisis and weather anomalies.

Proximity to work (within 5 kms from the village) has helped women contribute to labour force, especially benefitting marginalised women including farmer-widows. The economic empowerment of women in Piparvani village has also led to reduction in alcohol abuse, abandonment and domestic violence.

Water conservation structures built under the scheme have improved the ecological health of rural areas adding on to climate mitigation and adaptation. The government has announced MGNREGA Green India Mission—a joint afforestation initiative aimed at improving the green cover while providing livelihoods. This step will contribute towards the creation of carbon sinks under India’s proposed Intended Nationally Determined Contributions (INDCs).

Twenty-five thousand saplings were planted on Gwalior’s “Neem Parvat” by utilising rural employment turning a barren mountain into a verdant site. Efforts toward greening infrastructure may contribute to minimising the effects of El Nino-induced drought.

13.6 MGNREGS and Sustainable Development Goals

- Governments and other institutions are adapting SDGs in their organisational objectives. A strengthened MGNREGA could eventually contribute to achieving some of these goals.
- SDG 1 that focuses on “ending poverty in all forms” has social protection schemes under its aegis. This is in synchronization with the MGNREGA’s objectives. The scheme has also made progress towards achieving gender equality, which is SDG 5.
- The implementation of SDG 8 (decent work and economic growth) under the scheme could be analysed by checking for provisions like on-site crèches, drinking water facilities and others. If not, it would present an important case for government to look into these nuances of the scheme.
- Analysis of convergence among government machinery, communities, civil society and Panchayati raj institutions can provide an account of MGNREGA’s contribution towards SDG 17, aiming to strengthen institutional partnerships.

13.7 Impact of MGNREGS on women’s employment

Women in our study sites were more likely than men to work for MGNREGS, but there were a number of issues within the programme that created barriers to women’s successful participation. In particular, the type of work available through MGNREGA and the lack of adequate child care were cited as ongoing issues for many women participants.

Women were still disadvantaged workers even within MGNREGS. In addition to receiving lower wages, women reported that they were not always treated very well by their site supervisors, and were often given work that was too difficult for them. In addition, their unpaid care responsibilities for children and home meant that they could often not work the long hours that men worked, and they were sometimes docked pay for this. In Kerala, landless women indicated that they sometimes used childcare facilities, or, more often, took their babies to the fields. In Tamil Nadu, women were more likely to put their children in Anganwadi Centres, which are childcare facilities, so that they could work in the fields. Interestingly, despite the challenges faced by women as MGNREGS workers, they generally viewed the programme as positive, perhaps because it provided them with opportunities to earn their own wages.

Although some of the women preferred working for MGNREGS because of more flexible hours and the ability to bring their children to the worksite, others also mentioned that they did not get treated very well by their superiors and that the work was too difficult. Landless women in Tamil Nadu were particularly articulate about their challenges with MGNREGS. While the participants confirmed that the official upper wage limit was Rs 148, the work required to earn that wage was based on what a man can complete in a day, despite the fact that the majority of MGNREGS workers were women. Because the work was paid according to what was accomplished, women tended to get paid less because they did not get as much done. There were two reasons for this. First, they found the work difficult, particularly in cases where they were digging, and were unable to complete the required digging work. Second, women indicated that they had to work around the schedules of their children, and so women with children tended to work a shorter day. Women indicated that the wages they received from the MGNREGA programme ranged from Rs

13.8 Summary

The development and implementation of MGNREGS as a rights-based policy initiative shows a commitment to the creation of a policy framework to address, by offering focused employment guarantee programmes to marginalized community members, some of the injustices experienced by the most vulnerable members of Indian society. This article explores the implementation of MGNREGS within specific sites in three states in India: Kerala, Tamil Nadu and Odisha. It shows some of the implementation successes and challenges from the perspective of end users and frames these challenges within the context of delivery of a rights-based approach in a liberalized developing economy. In addition to social barriers that may have impacted self-selection into MGNREGS, there were clear cases of gender- and class-based inequalities with implementation of the program. Our landless women participants' stories showed that recognition of different gendered realities, such as responsibilities for child care and differences in physical strength, were not acknowledged within the implementation of MGNREGA, with the outcome being lower wages and, in some circumstances, worse working conditions, for women. It seemed that there was a poor understanding of, and lack of provision for, women's responsibilities for care giving.

13.9 Answer to self-check exercise

- 1) Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act was launched on February 2, 2006 in 200 districts
- 2) Gram Rozgar Sahayak³) Tamilnadu
- 4) 100 days to every household in the village whose adult members volunteer to work

13.10 Suggested Readings

- Chakraborty, R. and Kumar, P. (2016). MNREGA: Employment Wages and Migration in Rural India. Routledge.
- Rajan, A. (2016). MGNREGA and women empowerment. Ocean Book Pvt. Ltd.
- Bhattarai, M. et al (2020). Guarantee Programme and Dynamics of Rural Transformation in India: Challenges and Opportunities. Springer.

13.11 Terminal Questions

- Discuss in Detail about MNREGS.
- Critically evaluate women empowerment through MNREGS.
- Analyses women empowerment through MNREGS Scheme.

Lesson- 14

Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM)

Structure

- 14.0 Introduction
- 14.1 Learning Objectives
- 14.2 Avoid making mistakes in Planning and implementation
- 14.3 Objectives of JNNURM
- 14.4 JMC visualizes following outcomes
- 14.5 Activities Admissible under JNNURM
- 14.6 Summary
- 14.7 Answer to self-Check Exercise
- 14.8 Suggested Readings
- 14.9 Terminated Questions

14.0 Introduction

Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM) The Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM), launched on December 3rd 2005 is the largest national urban initiative to encourage reforms and fast track planned development of 63 identified cities. Focus is to be on efficiency in urban infrastructure and service delivery mechanisms, community participation and accountability of ULB's/Parastatal agencies towards citizens. It consists of two submissions – “Urban Infrastructure & Governance”, and “Basic Services to the Urban Poor”.

The **Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM)**, articulated in 2005-06 with a budget of more than Rs.60, 000 crores, signaled the beginning of a focus upon the ‘urban’. There were 65 cities where the Urban Infrastructure and Governance (UIG) sub-Mission and the Basic Services for the Urban Poor (BSUP) sub-Mission were to be implemented. A few hundred smaller towns were to be covered under other similar programmes.

The JNNURM – particularly its UIG component – was primarily meant to be a **demand-based, reform-driven programme** that would be a game-changer and incentivise the induction of private capital. That did not happen, for many reasons, but at least because – as in other government programmes – expenditure became the measure of success and various key reforms were put on the

back burner in the race to spend budgetary allocations. The BSUP, the poorer cousin in JNNURM, became synonymous with building new houses for the urban poor and its impact was limited. Legislation for Community Participation and Public Disclosure has not been passed in many states.

JNNURM has been a flagship programme of the Government of India. Reportedly, new initiatives are being planned by the new Government at the Centre and so it is an appropriate time to do some stock-taking. Isher Judge Ahluwalia's book, *Transforming Our Cities*, documents many success stories in different towns and cities around water supply, wastewater disposal and treatment, solid waste management, public transport and city planning, and so on.

It is important to analyse these success stories to learn what mix of ingredients she mentions led to success: leadership, the local political and bureaucratic environment and the roles played both by the State and Central Governments. What lends itself to replication and how do we try to come up with such a mix are questions that need to be answered. Just as success stories are important, so too are stories of failure or of potential not realised.

14.1 Learning Objectives

After this lesson students will be able to learn

- The study of this chapter focus on the nature working and evaluation of JNNURM in brief
- It is helpful for learner to understand urban Development Programme through JNNURM

14.2 Avoid making mistakes in Planning and implementation

Firstly, simple arithmetic tells us that, given the amount of subsidy available and the magnitude of urban poverty, efforts to build new houses for the urban poor will reach only a miniscule proportion of them. To get much better value for money, the emphasis should be on universalization of basic services, like water, sanitation, drainage, pathways and electricity for all slums. A much higher proportion of the urban poor will benefit. Improved health for children and adults, and greater longevity and productivity will surely follow, as will the benefit of dignity for women. The provision of basic services, along with some form of security of tenure, is essential requirements to improve the condition of the urban poor, but both have been neglected under BSUP.

Secondly, with the exception of a few cities, there has hardly been any community participation in the identification of needs or in planning and implementation of projects and activities. In most cities, there is no institutional mechanism to secure the participation of communities, and in some cases, there are few civil society groups to take up such a challenge. As a result, in some cities where relocation was planned, houses have been built for the poor but remain unoccupied, because they are in distant locations, usually without, or with unaffordable, public transport. In the absence of livelihood opportunities or social infrastructure, like schools and health centres, people are either reluctant to move in, or, if they do, they then move back to central locations in the city, even if they go

back to the slums. It is evident that the links between habitat and livelihoods are inadequately appreciated. It is striking that the programme fared much better where there was a long institutional history of community development – as in Visakhapatnam in Andhra – or where a partnership developed between the State agencies and community-based organisation/non-governmental organisations – as in Pune and Bhubaneswar.

Thirdly, in the absence of community participation, City Development Plans (CDPs) and Detailed Project Reports (DPRs) were prepared by consultants and then evaluated by consultants. The consultancy industry grew at a healthy pace, but the reports had very little connection with local reality – in the absence of local knowledge and under the pressure of tight deadlines – and hence could not be implemented. CDPs, meant to articulate the vision for a city, were blind to its specificities. Non-implementation of DPRs, or re-doing them, led to huge delays and huge cost escalation. Since there was no provision for escalation, projects remained incomplete or corners were cut in implementation. There have been instances of ‘cut-and-paste’ jobs when consultants have forgotten to change the name of the city.

Fourthly, the administration of the scheme was over-centralized, as every minor change required the approval of the Centre, leading again to delay. There was hardly any flexibility and it was a common refrain by State officials that a ‘one size fits all’ policy cannot accommodate the wide variations that characterize different States and cities in terms of levels of urbanization, densities of population, proportions of the urban poor, amounts of land available, and so on.

Fifthly, it seems that huge quantities of data were being collected without clear purpose. What is the value of filling family profile forms for, say, 100,000 families, when in a given year there will be projects for say only 2,000 families? These data become obsolete as deaths take place, births are registered and some families migrate elsewhere. It should be enough to do a slum profile in half a day, with rough approximations/estimates of population after holding focus group discussions. Family profiles can be taken up once a project is sanctioned and ready for implementation. Money and time will be saved. It would be instructive to analyze what practical purposes have been or can be served by all the data collected so far.

Sixthly, we need to revisit the vexed issue – in the backdrop of the 74th Constitutional Amendment – of whether Urban Local Bodies (ULBs) are the appropriate agencies to implement the JNNURM. Their lack of institutional capacity and the fact that funds, functions and functionaries have not been adequately devolved or provided, are a real hurdle. Project Management Units (PMUs), staffed by consultants on fixed term contracts, focused in most cases on project implementation, monitoring and evaluation, rather than upon building the capacity of State agencies and hence the original objective remained unmet.

14.3 Objectives of JNNURM

The primary objective of the JNNURM is to create economically productive, efficient, equitable and responsive cities. In line with this objective, the Mission focuses on:

- Integrated development of infrastructure services;
- Securing linkage between asset creation and maintenance for long-run project sustainability; Accelerating the flow of investment into urban infrastructure services;
- Planned development of cities including the peri-urban areas, outgrowths, and urban corridors; Renewal and re-development of inner city areas; and
- Universalization of urban services so as to ensure their availability to the urban poor.

Thrust Areas the JNNURM is designed to support:

- Water supply including setting up of desalination plants;
- Sewerage and sanitation;
- Solid Waste Management including hospital waste management;
- Construction and improvement of drains and storm-water drainage system;
- Road network;
- Urban transport;
- Construction and development of bus and truck terminals;
- Renewal and re-development of inner-city areas;
- Development of heritage areas;
- Preservation of water bodies;
- Integrated development of slums, i.e. housing and development of infrastructure in slum settlements;
- Provision of basic services to the urban poor; and Street lighting.

Self-Check Exercise

- 1) Utilization of resources' refers to which role of transportation?
- 2) What lessons can be learnt and how can we avoid making the same mistakes in planning and implementation Can we reimaging JNNURM?

14.4 JMC visualizes following outcomes

- Universal access to a minimum level of services;
- Establishment of city-wide frameworks for planning and governance;
- Modern and transparent budgeting, accounting, and financial management system at JMC level;
- Financial sustainability for JMC and other service delivery institutions;
- Implementation of e-governance in the core functions of municipal government; and
- Transparency and accountability in urban service delivery and management.

14.5 Activities Admissible under JNNURM

- i. Urban Renewal i.e., redevelopment of inner (old) city areas (this would include items like widening of narrow streets, shifting of industrial/commercial establishments from nonconforming (inner-city) areas to ‘conforming’ (outer-city) areas to reduce congestion, replacement of old and worn-out water pipes by new/higher capacity ones, renewal of sewerage/ drainage/solid waste disposal systems, etc). Land acquisition cost will not be financed under this component of the programme.
- ii. Water Supply including setting up de-salination plants, where necessary;
- iii. Sewerage and solid waste management
- iv. iv. Construction and improvement of drains/storm water drains
- v. v. Urban transport
- vi. vi. Laying/improvement /widening of arterial/sub-arterial roads and bridges to remove transport bottlenecks.
- vii. Vii. Laying of ring roads and bridge to remove transport bottlenecks.

4.6 Summary

Direct project benefits include expanding sewage collection, treatment, and sanitation in Bhopal to obtain a more hygienic environment. The project will also increase the city’s capacity to handle rainwater through better drainage. The project will improve drinking water quality by protecting groundwater and surface water sources. The project will also promote a sound solid waste management system in which disposal will be conducted safely and hygienically, preventing blockage of drains. But the indicators on water supply and sanitation show the extent to which a service is available, but do not necessarily reflect its effectiveness or quality. So the project should also bring out some policies evaluation of outcomes. The projects expect the city to achieve the minimum level of basic

services. The changes that were being brought about by the commenced projects ensure an equitable distribution of returns generated for the people. It makes upgradations in quality of lives of people of all classes. Therefore, the changed mindset and exposure to better facilities could lead to a better way of living which in turn could help in the improvement of quality of life and city's scenario. Sustainable urban development is central to the priority area 'environment and health and quality of life' of the communities. The resulting high quality of life attracts investments and skilled labor, which in turn contributes to a vibrant and competitive economy.

14.7 Answer to Self-Check Exercise

- 1) Economic role
- 2) The absence of community participation, City Development Plans (CDPs) and Detailed Project Reports (DPRs) were prepared by consultants and then evaluated by consultants. The administration of the scheme was over-centralized, as every minor change required the approval of the Centre, leading again to delay.

14.8 Suggested Readings

- Kapur, A. (2013). Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM), Budget Briefs 2013-2014. SSRN Publisher
- Ramesh, G. et al. (2020). Urban Infrastructure and Governance. Routledge.

14.9 Terminate Questions

- Discuss role of JNNURM Scheme in Urban Sanitation and waste management in India?
- Analyses the role of JNNURM to Make Indian clean and development.
- Discuss the positive and negative impact of JNNURM Scheme in Urban India.

UNIT-IV

Lesson- 15

Electoral Politics: Meaning, Nature, Types, and Process

Structure

- 15.0 Introduction
- 15.1 Learning Objectives
- 15.2 Why Elections Matter
- 15.3 Principle Function of Elections
- 15.4 Why electoral system rules matter
- 15.5 Types of Electoral system
- 15.6 Summary
- 15.7 Answer to self-check exercise
- 15.8 Suggested Reading
- 15.9 Terminated Questions

15.0 Introduction

Democracy should be defined as a system of representation—of the people, for the people, by the people. This is a broad definition and has some more key principle issues attached to it. There are other certain institutional aspects of democracy that make politicians represent their electorate much more effectively. Two factors that explain this representation are—mandate and accountability. A mandate is a will or the command or authorization of the people, who are also called the political electorate, towards their representative. Accountability should be studied as vertical accountability granted on the capacity of constituents to reward or authorize.

Most countries in the world regard periodic and regular elections as a core attribute of democracy. In 2016, a total of 132 elections were held worldwide in presidential, legislative or local contests. Electoral processes held under conditions that meet global and regional standards for being credible give meaning to democracy's core values of political equality and the accountability of those who govern. At a basic and practical level, elections are a critical element of an effective anti-corruption strategy, even if the fear of losing an election is not always enough to prevent elected officials from being corrupt. Nonetheless, how far the underlying rules of the game of elections

affect the practice of democracy is often under-appreciated. The rules embodied in an electoral system are critical to how democracy is practiced in a given setting. Electoral systems are the rules in constitutions or laws that describe how votes are translated into seats, such as a typical single presidential 'seat', a member of parliament's seat, or a mayor or local councilor's seat.

The electoral system is a strong determinant of the features of democracy, and how the game of politics is played in campaigns and mobilizations. Most importantly, electoral systems strongly affect who wins and who loses in terms of the number of 'seats won' — and who ultimately forms a government. Equally under-appreciated is how electoral system choice and design affect the type, number, and nature of political parties and their interactions within the policy space, or the range of issues and ideologies in the national, regional or local political arena. The effect of electoral systems as rules for translating votes into seats, which in turn affects how parties organize and arrange themselves in relation to one another in a party system, is highly complex and varies according to context. Scholarly research does show a high degree of patterned effects, however, as described in section 3. Winner-takes-all or majority systems are more likely to be associated with two-party systems, or perhaps two dominant parties, whereas proportional representation (PR) systems are said to provide incentives for a party system featuring, typically, four to six major political parties and often many (sometimes very many) smaller parties.

Today, there is much debate about the problems of elections and in particular how electoral systems affect turnout. Electoral systems and party systems are important factors in how democracy works in any given country or context where elections are held. From Hungary and Poland to the United States, populists from the 'nationalist right' of the political spectrum have taken power and sought to restrict rights, especially for migrants and in some cases exacerbated divisions in society with highly ideologically driven policies. In some Latin American countries, such as Venezuela, electoral processes have led to the coming to power of ideologically driven populists from the 'socialist left' of the political spectrum, who appear antithetical to democracy's values or seek to thwart its institutions for narrow gains.

Studies on whether populism as a type of ideology is on the rise in Western European democracies have also raised concerns about how electoral system choices such as PR could enable, or magnify the influence of, illiberal nationalist leaders and parties that seek to undermine human rights. Some analyses of populism in Western Europe argue that political actors from both sides of the ideological divide use the features of electoral democracy in anti-democratic ways. Thus, to understand the phenomenon of populism, it is more important than ever to understand elections and electoral systems, how they affect political parties and the nature and quality of representation.

This unit will introduce you to the electoral process in different countries, Briefly, India and in the UK, the House of Commons delegates the assemblies and mayors who are elected using different types of voting systems. The House of Commons and the House of Lords also have their

own variety of voting systems for internal polls. The United States has a federal government and the representatives are chosen for the federal (national), state, and local levels through elections. On the federal level, the President, who is also the head of the state, is chosen through an electoral college, which is an indirect way of electing people.

15.1 Learning Objectives:

After studying this lesson, you will be able to

- Understand the election process;
- Enumerate the requirement and rules of the election system;
- Recall the procedure of election and various stages in the electoral process;
- Identify the nature and types of the election system in different countries.

15.2 Why Elections Matter:

Elections matter for many reasons. First, elections are not just elections: they are part of a process. Second, elections determine leadership and either continuity or change in this leadership. Third, even flawed elections may have value in institutionalizing electoral integrity, provided that subsequent electoral cycles reinforce key democratic or electoral principles. With so much attention given to elections in the overall practice of democracy, it is important to step back and evaluate the functions they are theoretically and practically meant to serve. This section describes such functions and highlights some of the recent scholarly literature on elections-related issues.

Electoral periods are widely defined as a time of party candidate selection, campaigning, mobilization, and voting, and then the announcement of the results. Those who specialize in elections, however, emphasize that an election is just a moment in a broader electoral cycle that involves many rule changes, decisions, and activities well before the actual balloting and counting. The voting, counting, and proclamation of results are critical but not isolated moments in the continuing practice of electoral democracy.

Inevitably, elections signal a moment in time in which either an old order or set of rulers is confirmed, or there is circulation in ruling coalition's—within or between parties—as new leaders are brought into government. This makes them turning points in democracy. In many cases, they are quite dramatic. For example, the November 2015 elections in Myanmar were the first fully inclusive multiparty elections in the country since 1990. While the Myanmar military had organized elections in 2012, they were boycotted by the opposition. Despite the achievement of the 2015 elections, which brought a civilian government into power, democracy in Myanmar is still limited: some observers note that the military—through reserved seats—still controls considerable power in the country.

Whether and to what extent they are conducted with integrity is the crux of the question when evaluating the overall process of any election. Initiatives such as the Electoral Integrity Project engage in systematic analyses of electoral processes and score each major global contest against a wide range of indicators. Multilateral organizations such as the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe, the Commonwealth, the European Union and the Southern African Development Community regularly monitor and observe the elections in their member states.

In more established or long-standing democracies, electoral processes are typically routinized and held in a regular, periodic fashion. Modern democracies are increasingly holding referendums to ascertain ‘the will of the people’. In the context of democratization, each electoral cycle—beginning with founding elections, the first after a transition to democracy, and continuing with successive electoral cycles thereafter—is about institutionalizing and systematizing electoral processes. For example, scholars have evaluated trends in electoral cycles over time in sub-Saharan Africa to evaluate the effects of the second and third rounds of elections, as research has shown that in electoral processes there is the possibility of increasing integrity through learning by doing.

Because elections are widely held even by regimes that restrict democracy and control their outcomes—sometimes referred to as ‘competitive authoritarian regimes’ they should be closely evaluated for the ways in which they confer legitimacy on those who control government. References to the will of the people have become central to the process of legitimacy or justifying governmental authority, and elections or referendums are often the means of providing that legitimacy. It is for this reason that even in tightly controlled authoritarian systems, there is often an attempt to hold elections, even if they lack integrity and are not officially monitored or observed by outsiders who can attest to their integrity.

15.3 Principle Functions of Elections

In general, elections in democracies serve four principal functions. This helps to identify the most critical questions for understanding why and how elections matter. The four principal functions of elections are:

1. **Legitimization.** As noted above, the legitimacy of ruling elites in a democracy is ideally conferred through ‘free and fair’ or ‘clean’ electoral processes that are free of corruption, intimidation, or restricted choice. An important assessment question for any electoral process is: how and in what ways does the electoral process confer on the government legitimacy to wield authority and to advance socioeconomic development? Warren (2006) explores the complex relationships between democracy and the modern state, arguing that democracy emerged historically to provide such legitimacy for the coercive authority of the state.

2. **Exercising accountability.** It is through electoral processes that leaders are ‘held to account’ by the people, for providing security and fostering development—or providing critical goods and services such as a stable environment for economic development. To what extent does the electoral process allow the exercise of accountability? The studies by Thomasson (2014) explore the relationships between electoral systems and exercising accountability. The relationship between elections and accountability is not automatic. Sun and Johnston (2009) found in their study of India and China that democratic processes have not worked well to curb corruption—and India is doing no better than China at curbing the problem of corruption at the local level.
3. **Choosing ‘representatives.** Representation happens in quite formal ways, such as through the nomination of candidates and lists of political parties, but representation also has a deeper meaning in terms of how such individuals or organizations portray what they seek to represent. In practical terms, representation can be presented ideologically (such as by a ‘socialist’ party), in geographic terms (such as by Italy’s Northern League), along ethnic, racial, religious or sectarian lines (such as the political parties in Northern Ireland) or along other lines (such as the environmentalism of the Green Party in Germany). Constructing ideas of ‘representation’ is at the core of electoral processes in that they articulate visions of inclusion and exclusion in the political community, and its common values, purposes, and goals. Dovi (2016) reviews the influence of the seminal work of Hannah Pitkin. Pitkin described: (a) formal representation, which includes authorization or a warrant to act, and accountability, or incentives and sanctions for performance; (b) symbolic representation, representing a concept such as class or gender; (c) descriptive representation, the accuracy of resemblance; and (d) substantive or issues-oriented representation.
4. **Exercising voice, aggregating preferences.** Electoral processes give meaning to the principles of political equality and popular control in democracy. In ideal conditions, they also help to ‘educate’ the voter by setting common agendas, defining the issues, articulating alternatives and options, and engaging in competition with others on the best way forward. The concept of ‘voice’ is essential to electoral processes, together with the aggregation of each citizen’s views into a common social or public choice. Four factors emerge as central to assessing an electoral process. The first is ease of voting: the ability of qualifying citizens to register, become candidates and participate in voting should be as barrier-free as possible. Equally important is ballot design— whether traditional paper or electronic, the ballot must be clearly presented and designed to minimize mistakes or intentional manipulation. Second, determining which political parties and which candidates are eligible to run for office is a critical part of the process. Nominations, democracy within political parties, and official determination of candidacies must be fair, transparent and consistent with democratic principles.

15.4 Why electoral system rules matter:

Among the most important factors in any election are the rules or laws under which elections are held, and the way in which the votes of citizens are aggregated to produce overall winners. This section provides an overview of electoral systems and some of their effects. One of the most enduring findings in the scholarly literature is that no electoral system can maximize all the desirable outcomes that should flow from an electoral process, such as legitimacy, inclusivity, accountability, or producing a cohesive, responsive government. Instead, it is often argued that electoral systems involve certain trade-offs; for example, that the principle of majority rule is at odds with the principle of inclusivity.

The electoral system is the formula by which votes are aggregated in a democracy to determine the winners and losers of seats in an assembly or office holding: see the ACE Electoral Knowledge Network website for more detailed information on electoral systems, including an ‘Electoral System Quiz’ designed to assist in the analysis of the potential workings and effects of an electoral system). Seats might be a single position, as is the case in most presidential systems, or a multiplicity of seats, such as in a parliament or local council. The classic scholarship on electoral systems focuses on the variety of systems available, their effects, and the specific ‘devil-in-the-detail’ aspects of the mathematical conversions that occur when multiple votes are integrated into various systems to determine the winners and losers (Lijphart and Grofman 1984).

Self-Check Exercise

- 1) Why in democracy election is important?
- 2) What do you mean by plural or majoritarian system?
- 3) What is the electoral system in Indian Democracy?

15.5 Types of Electoral System:

While each electoral system is complicated and contains features that are unique to the circumstances on the ground, there are three main families of electoral systems in use. presents the major types of the electoral system across a spectrum from those that are the most majoritarian, or based on the principle of plurality, where the candidate or party with the most votes win, to simple majority rule, where the winners must gain at least 50 percent of the votes, to those based on the principle of proportionality. A proportional share of the vote is one that is roughly equal to the proportion of seats won, typically in legislative elections.

Plurality or majoritarian systems

The most common plurality or majoritarian systems are those known as first-past-the-post (FPTP), the alternative vote, and the lesser-used block vote. FPTP is used, for example, in the United Kingdom, and the USA, but can also be found in countries such as India, Malaysia, and

Pakistan. The two-round system (TRS) features a first-round poll, from which two winners emerge who then compete in the second round of elections. Long associated with France, the TRS is also used, for example, in Liberia. One advantage of these systems is that they generally produce clear winners or winning coalitions (majority coalitions).

One disadvantage is that TRS systems can result in so called manufactured majorities and disproportionate outcomes because of the number of votes cast for parties or candidates eliminated in either round. Other disadvantages have been widely explored, and research has found that majoritarian systems can inhibit minority representation (depending on factors such as the spatial distribution of minority groups), work against smaller political parties, and lead to tactical (or manipulative) voting. There have been systematic calls in recent years to reform the FPTP electoral system in both the UK and the USA and move to a more proportional system (e.g., as advocated by Fair Vote in the USA).

Semi-proportional systems

Some systems seek to balance the advantages and disadvantages of various systems. In parallel voting, plurality or majoritarian systems and proportional systems are used side by side. These are known as mixed-member majoritarian (MMM) systems and mixed-member proportional (MMP) systems. According to the ACE Electoral Knowledge Network:

There are two forms of mixed systems. When the results of the two types of election are linked, with seat allocations at the PR level being dependent on what happens in the plurality/majority (or other) district seats and compensating for any disproportionality that arises there, the system is called a Mixed Member Proportional (MMP) system. Where the two sets of elections are detached and distinct and are not dependent on each other for seat allocations, the system is called a Parallel system. While an MMP system generally results in proportional outcomes, a Parallel system is likely to give results the proportionality of which falls somewhere between that of a plurality/majority and that of a PR system.

Mixed systems are used in Japan and South Korea, and are also seen in some subnational units in Russia and in countries such as Azerbaijan and Georgia. One of the best-known MMP systems is in Germany, where each voter votes for a candidate in a district or region and for a political party on a national list. Bolivia, Lesotho, and New Zealand have also adopted MMP.

Proportional systems:

Systems of proportional representation (PR) are designed to match the percentage of votes cast in an election for a particular party or candidate with the percentage of seats gained within a body. For example, South Africa's National Assembly features 400 members chosen through a closed-list PR system, in which voters choose among political parties that provide lists of candidates. In such systems, the parties go down their lists until all the seats won by their percentage share have been filled. In 2014, 29 parties were certified for the election but only 13 won enough votes to be represented in the National Assembly.

Other examples are the single transferable vote (STV) system used in elections in Northern Ireland (and also in the Republic of Ireland). Voters rank the candidates by their order of preference. After each round, the second-preference votes of the eliminated candidate are transferred among the political parties until enough winners emerge to fill the seats. For an analysis of how STV worked in the 2017 elections in Northern Ireland, see Quinlan and Schwartz (2017). The advantage of PR systems is that they can contribute to inclusive politics and facilitate minority representation. The disadvantage commonly cited is that they create incentives for the proliferation of political parties, leading to messy and often protracted coalition negotiations that, in turn, lead to non-cohesive governments.

Electoral systems should be consciously designed to fit the country or context (such as a city) in a manner that is consistent with the most important needs of the community. In practice, because countries and especially urban areas are highly diverse, many scholars and practitioner specialists argue that such systems should be designed to balance inclusivity with other aims, in particular accountability

15.6 Summary

To know how electoral processes work, it is essential to understand the nature of elections and their relationship to political parties and political behavior. This knowledge can also provide a greater understanding of the alternatives and their advantages and disadvantages when opportunities for reform arise. A greater understanding of the meaning of elections among citizens would show that they are not just associated with majority rule. More knowledge and awareness of electoral systems would allow for a more meaningful democracy that combines desirable outcomes such as inclusivity, transparency, and accountability. Seeing an electoral process as a process and not an event can help to prevent fraud, manipulation, and violence. Awareness of the role that electoral systems play in political party systems can arm citizens against the dangers of exclusionist, often empty, appeals to populism that can endanger democracy over the long term.

15.7 Answer to self-check Exercise

- 1) The democratic system in India is based on the principle of universal adult suffrage. Democracy means system of Demos means people. So through election citizen of one country express their freedom of political expression and will.
- 2) The most common plurality or majoritarian systems are those known as first-past-the-post (FPTP), the alternative vote, and the lesser-used block vote. FPTP is used, for example, in the United Kingdom, and the USA, but can also be found in countries such as India, Malaysia, and Pakistan. The two-round system (TRS) features a first-round poll, from which two winners emerge who then compete in the second round of elections
- 3) Elections of the Lok Sabha and each Vidhan Sabha are carried out using a first past the post electoral system. for each constituency, the electors can cast their vote for a single candidate (of their choice) the winner being the candidate who get the most vote.

15.8 Suggested Readings:

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15.9 Terminal Questions

- DISCUSS nature of electoral politics in India?
- Why election is important in democracy? Explain.
- What are the types of Electoral system in India? Explain.

Lesson- 16

Electoral system in India: Its Features and Process

Structure

- 16.0 Introduction
- 16.1 Learning Objectives
- 16.2 Election Commission of India
- 16.3 Shortcomings of the Indian Electoral System
- 16.4 Electoral Reforms:
- 16.5 Summary
- 16.6 Answer to self-check exercise
- 16.7 Suggested Reading
- 16.8 Terminated Questions

16.0 Introduction

Elections enable every adult citizen of the country to participate in the process of government formation. You must have observed that elections are held in our country frequently. These include elections to elect members of the Lok Sabha, Rajya Sabha, State Legislative Assemblies (Vidhan Sabha's) Legislative Councils (Vidhan Parishad), and, the President and Vice-President of India. Elections are also held for local bodies such as municipalities, municipal corporations, and Panchayati Raj justifications. If you have attained the age of 18, you must have voted in some of these elections. If not, you will have the opportunity to vote in the next round of elections. These elections are held on the basis of a universal adult franchise, which means all Indians 18 years of age and above have the right to vote, irrespective of their caste, color, religion, sex, or place of birth.

The election is a complex exercise. It involves schedules rules and machinery. This lesson will give you a clear picture of the voting procedure, as also as the filing of nominations, their scrutiny, and the campaigns carried out by the parties and the candidates before actual polling. In this lesson, you will read about the Election Commission, the electoral system in India, and also some suggestions for electoral reforms.

16.2 Learning Objectives

After studying this lesson, you will be able to

- describe the composition of the Election Commission of India;

- enumerate the functions of the Election Commission and explain its role;
- recall the procedure of election from the announcement of the schedule to the declaration of the result;
- mention various stages in the electoral process;
- recognize the poll-related officers and describe their functions;
- identify the drawbacks and need for electoral reforms;
- Suggest the electoral reforms and those already carried on.

16.3 Election Commission of India

The architects of the Indian Constitution attached special significance to independent electoral machinery for the conduct of elections. The Constitution of India provides for an Election Commission of India which is responsible for superintendence direction and control of all elections. It is responsible for conducting elections to both the Houses of Parliament and State Legislatures and for the offices of the President and Vice-President. Besides, it is also responsible for the preparation revision, updating, and maintenance of lists of voters. It delimits constituencies for election to the Parliament and the State Legislatures fixes the election program and settles election disputes. It performs many other functions related to elections.

Composition

The Election Commission consists of the Chief Election Commissioner and such other Election Commissioners as may be decided by the President from time to time. Ever since the first Chief Election Commissioner was appointed in 1950, there was no other Election Commissioner till 1989. The Chief Election Commissioner was assisted by a larger number of officials. The Election Commission became a multi-member body on 16 October 1989 when the President appointed two more Election Commissioners. The senior of the two Election Commissioners is appointed as the Chief Election Commissioner.

Tenure and Removal

Chief Election Commissioner and other Election Commissioners are appointed for a term of six years, or till the age of 65 whichever is earlier. It is important that Chief Election Commissioner and other Election Commissioners should be free from all political interferences. Therefore, even if they are appointed by the President, they cannot be removed by him. And no changes can be brought in the conditions of service and the tenure of office after their appointment. The Chief Election Commissioner cannot be removed from office, except on the grounds and in the manner on which the Supreme Court judges can be removed. However, since the other Election Commissioners and the Regional Election Commissioners work under the Chief Commissioner, they may be removed by the President on his recommendations.

Powers and Functions of the Election Commission

The primary function of the Election Commission is to conduct free and fair elections in India. For this purpose, the Election Commission has the following functions:

- (a) **Delimitation of Constituencies:** To facilitate the process of elections, a country has to be divided into several constituencies. The task of delimiting constituencies is generally performed by the Delimitation Commission consisting of five serving or retired judges of the Supreme Court and the Chief Election Commissioner who is its ex-officio member. All secretarial assistance (at all levels, national, state, and district) is provided to the Delimitation Commission by the Election Commission. The Delimitation Commission is constituted by the Government from time to time.
- (b) **Preparation of Electoral Rolls:** Each constituency has a comprehensive list of voters. It is known as the Electoral Roll or the Voters' List. The Commission prepares the Electoral Roll for Parliament as well as Legislative Assembly elections. The Electoral Roll of every constituency contains the names of all the persons who have the right to vote in that constituency. The electoral roll is also revised from time to time generally before every general election, by-election, and mid-term election in the constituency.

General Election	An election to constitute a new Lok Sabha or Assembly is called General Election.
By-Election	If at any time there is a mid-term vacancy due to the death or resignation of a member either in Lok Sabha or Legislative Assembly only one seat falls vacant. The election for that seat is known as a by-election.
Mid-term Election	If the Lok Sabha or State Assembly is dissolved before the completion of five years and the election is held to constitute new Lok Sabha or new State Assembly, etc. is called a mid-term election.

The revision is carried out from the house to house by the enumerators appointed by Election Commission and all eligible voters are registered. A person can be registered as a voter if he/she fulfils the following conditions:

1. He/she is a citizen of India.
2. He/she is 18 years of age.
3. He/she is a resident of the constituency.

- (C.) **Recognition of Political Parties:** One of the important functions of the Election Commission is to recognize political parties as all Indian (National) or State (Regional) Political Parties. If in a general election, a particular party gets four percent of the total valid votes polled in any four states it is recognized as an all-Indian (National) Party. If a party gets four percent of the total valid votes in a state, it is recognized as a State or regional party. The Indian National Congress, the Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP), the Communist Party of India (CPI), The Communist Party of India (Marxist) the Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP), and the Nationalist Congress Party are at present (2006) major recognized national parties.
- (D) **Allotment of Symbol:** Political Parties have symbols that are allotted by the Election Commission. For example, the Hand is the symbol of the Indian National Congress, Lotus is the symbol of the Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP) and Elephant is the symbol of the Bahujan Samaj Party. These symbols are significant for the following reasons: 1. They are a help for the illiterate voters who cannot read the names of the candidates. 2. They help in differentiating between two candidates having the same name.
- (E) **Officers on Election Duty:** To ensure that elections are held in a free and fair manner, the Election Commission appoints thousands of polling personnel to assist in the election work. This personnel is drawn among magistrates, police officers, civil servants, clerks, typists, school teachers, drivers, peons, etc. Out of these, there are three main officials who play very important roles in the conduct of free and fair elections. They are Returning Officers, Presiding Officers, and Polling Officers.

Electoral Process:

Elections in India are conducted according to the procedure laid down by law. The following process is observed

- (1) **Notification for Election:** The process of election officially begins when on the recommendation of the Election Commission, the President in case of Lok Sabha and the Governor in case of State Assembly issued a notification for the election. Seven days are given to candidates to file nominations. The seventh day is the last date after the issue of notification excluding Sunday. Scrutiny of nomination papers is done on the day normally after the last date of filing nominations. The candidate can withdraw his/her nomination on the second day after the scrutiny of the papers. The election is held not earlier than the twentieth day after the withdrawal.
- (2) **Filing of Nomination:** Structure of Government A person who intends to contest an election is required to file the nomination paper in a prescribed form indicating his name, age, postal address, and serial number in the electoral rolls. The candidate is required to be

duly proposed and seconded by at least two voters registered in the concerned constituency. Every candidate has to take an oath or make an affirmation. These papers are then submitted to the Returning Officer designated by the Election Commission.

- (3) **Security Deposit:** Every candidate has to make a security deposit at the time of filing nomination. For Lok Sabha, every candidate has to make a security deposit of Rs.10,000/- and for State Assembly Rs. 5,000. But candidates belonging to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are required to deposit Rs. 5,000/- if contesting the Lok Sabha elections and Rs. 2,500/- for contesting Vidhan Sabha elections. The security deposit is forfeited if the candidate fails to get at least 1/6 of the total valid votes polled.
- (4) **Scrutiny and Withdrawal:** All nomination papers received by the Returning Officer are scrutinized on the day fixed by the Election Commission. This is done to ensure that all papers are filled according to the procedure laid down and accompanied by the required security deposit. The Returning Officer is empowered to reject a nomination paper on any one of the following grounds: (i) If the candidate is less than 25 years of age. (ii) If he/she has not made a security deposit. (iii) If he/she is holding any office of profit. (iv) If he/she is not listed as a voter anywhere in the country. The second day after the scrutiny of nomination papers is the last date for the withdrawal of the candidates. In case that day happens to be a holiday or Sunday, the day immediately after that is fixed as the last day for the withdrawal.
- (5) **Election Campaign:** Campaigning is the process by which a candidate tries to persuade the voters to vote for him rather than others. During this period, the candidates try to travel through their constituency to influence as many voters as possible to vote in their favour. In recent times, the Election Commission has granted all the recognized National and Regional Parties, free access to State-owned electronic media, the All India Radio (AIR), and the Door darshan to do their campaigning. The total free time is fixed by the Election Commission which is allotted to all the political parties. Campaigning stops 48 hours before the day of polling. A number of campaign techniques are involved in the election process. Some of these are (i) Holding public meetings (ii) Distribution of handbills and highlighting the main issues of their election manifesto (an election manifesto is a document issued by a political party. It is a declaration of policies and programs of the party concerned. (iii) Door-to-door appeal by influential people in the party. (iv) Broadcasting and telecasting of speeches by various political leaders.
- (6) **Model Code of Conduct:** During the campaign period the political parties and the contesting candidates are expected to abide by a model code of conduct evolved by the Election Commission of India based on the consensus among political parties. It comes into force the moment the schedule of the election is announced by the Election Commission. The code of conduct is as follows: (i) Political Parties and contesting candidates should not use religious

places for the election campaign. (ii) Such speeches should not be delivered in a way to create hatred among different communities belonging to different religions, castes, languages, etc. (iii) Official machinery should not be used for election work. (iv) No new grants can be sanctioned; no new schemes or projects can be started once the election dates are announced. (v) One cannot misuse mass media for partisan coverage.

- (7) **Scrutinization of Expenses:** Though the Election Commission provides free access for a limited time to all the recognized National and State parties for their campaign, this does not mean that political parties do not spend anything on their elections campaign. The political parties and the candidates contesting elections spend large sums of amounts on their election campaigns. However, the Election Commission has the power to scrutinize the election expenses to be incurred by the candidates. There is a ceiling on expenses to be incurred in Parliamentary as well as State Assembly elections. Every candidate is required to file an account of his election expenses within 45 days of the declaration of results. In case of default or if the candidate has incurred (expenses) more than the prescribed limit, the Election Commission can take appropriate action and the candidate elected may be disqualified and his election may be countermanded.
- (8) **Polling, Counting, and Declaration of Result:** In order to conduct polling, many polling booths are set up in each constituency. Each booth is placed under the charge of a Presiding Officer with the Polling Officers to help the process. A voter casts his/her vote secretly in an enclosure so that no other person comes to know of the choice he/she has made. It is known as a secret ballot. After the polling is over, ballot boxes are sealed in the presence of agents of the candidates. Agents ensure that no voter is denied the right to vote, provided the voter turns up and comes within the prescribed time limit.
- (9) **Electronic Voting Machines (EVMs):** The Election Commission has started using tamper-proof electronic voting machines to ensure free and fair elections. Each machine has the names and symbols of the candidate's Structure of Government in a constituency. One Electronic Voting Machine (EVM) can accommodate a maximum of 16 candidates. But if the number exceeds 16, then more than one EVM may be used. If the number of candidates is very large, ballot papers may be used. The voter must press the appropriate button to vote for the candidate of his/her choice. As soon as the button is pressed, the machine is automatically switched off. Then comes the turn of the next voter. The machine is easy to operate, and with this, the use of ballot paper and ballot boxes is done away with. When the machine is used, the counting of votes becomes more convenient and faster. The EVMs were used in all seven Lok Sabha constituencies in Delhi in 1999, and later in all the State Assembly constituencies. In the 2004 General Elections EVMs were used all over the country for Lok Sabha elections.

Counting takes place under the supervision of the Returning Officer and in the presence of candidates and their agents. If there is any doubt about the validity or otherwise of a vote, the decision of the Returning Officer is final. As soon as counting is over, the candidate securing the maximum number of votes is declared elected (or returned) by the Returning Officer.

Re-poll: If at the time of polling, a booth is captured by some anti-social elements, the Election Commission may order the holding of a re-poll in either the entire constituency or particular booths.

Countermanding of Election If a duly nominated candidate belonging to a recognized party dies at any time after the last date of nomination and before the commencement of polling, the Election Commission orders countermanding the elections. This is not just postponement of polling. The entire election process, beginning from nominations is initiated afresh in the concerned constituency.

Self-check Exercise

- 1) Who recognized political parties in India?
- 2) What are the true functions of the electoral process in a democracy like India?
- 3) What are the major functions of Election Commission in India?

16.4 Shortcomings of the Indian Electoral System

There has been a universal appreciation of the Indian electoral system. People have hailed the manner in which elections have been conducted in India. But there are its weaknesses. It has been seen that in spite of the efforts of the Election Commission to ensure a free and fair election, there are certain shortcomings in our Electoral system. Some notable weaknesses are discussed below:

- (i) **Money Power:** Structure of Government The role of unaccounted money in elections has become a serious problem. The political parties collect funds from companies and business houses and then use this money to influence the voter to vote in their favours. The business contributions are mostly in cash and are not unaccounted for. Many other corrupt practices are also adopted during elections such as bribing, rigging or voter intimidation, impersonation, and providing transport and conveyance of voters to and from the polling stations. Reports of liquor being distributed in poor areas are frequent during the election.
- (ii) **Muscle Power:** Earlier the criminals used to support the candidates by intimidating the voter at a gunpoint to vote according to their direction. Now they themselves have come out openly by contesting the elections leading to the criminalization of politics. As a result, violence during elections has also increased.
- (iii) **Caste and Religion:** Generally, the candidates are given tickets by the political parties on the consideration of whether the candidate can muster the support of numerically larger castes and communities and possesses enough resources. Even the electorates vote on caste and communal lines. Communal loyalties of the voters are used at the time of the propaganda campaign.

- (iv) **Misuse of government machinery:** All the political parties do not have equal opportunity in respect of access to resources. The party in power is always in an advantageous position over the opposition parties. There is a widespread allegation that the party in power accomplishes misuse of government machinery.

All these features lead to violence, booth capturing, rigging bogus voting, forcible removal of ballot papers, ballot boxes burning of vehicles, etc. which result into loss of public faith in elections.

16.5 Electoral Reforms:

In order to restore the confidence of the public in the democratic electoral system, many electoral reforms have been recommended from time to time by Tarkunde Committee and Goswami Committee which were particularly appointed to study and report on the scheme for Electoral Reforms in the year 1974 and 1990 respectively. Out of these recommendations, some have been implemented. In fact, it was under the chairmanship of the then Chief Election Commissioner, T.N. Sheshan, that Election Commission initiated many more measures to ensure free and fair elections. Some of the reforms which have been implemented so far are as follows:

1. The voting age has been lowered from 21 years to 18 years. This has helped increase the number of voters and response confidence in the youth of the country.
2. Another landmark change has been the increase in the amount of security deposit by the candidate to prevent many nonserious candidates from contesting elections with an ulterior motive.
3. Photo identity cards have been introduced to eradicate bogus voting or impersonation.
4. With the introduction of Electronic Voting Machines (EVM) voting capturing, rigging, and bogus voting may not be possible. The use of EVM will in the long run result in reducing the cost of holding elections and also the incidence of tampering during the counting of votes.
5. If a discrepancy is found between the member of votes polled and the number of total votes counted, the Returning officer away reports the matter forthwith to the Election Commission. Election Commission on such report may either declare the poll at the particular polling station as void and give a date for a fresh poll or countermand election in that constituency.

There is no doubt that India needs drastic poll reforms but still, the fact remains that Indian elections have been largely free and fair, and successfully conducted. It gives the country the proud distinction of being the largest democracy in the world.

16.6 Summary

In order to conduct free and fair elections in India, Election Commission as an impartial body has been established by the Constitution itself. It is a three-member body. The main functions of the Election Commission are to delimit the constituencies, recognize the political parties, allot the symbols, and appoint officials to conduct and supervise the elections, The electoral process begins with the issue of notification by the President. The Election Commission releases the schedule for election and, issues a model code of conduct to be followed during elections. The contesting candidates file their nomination papers. Their papers are scrutinized by the concerned Returning Officers after which they are either accepted or rejected. The candidates can also withdraw their nominations. During the election campaign, political parties and their candidate release their respective Election Manifestos. A large number of public meetings and door-to-door campaigns are organized and electronic media, TV, Radio etc. are used to win the people's confidence. On the Structure of Government, on the polling day the Election Commission ensures that voters cast their votes in a free and fair manner. The candidate who secures the highest number of votes in a constituency is declared elected. Recently Electronic Voting Machine has been introduced, it has replaced the use of ballot papers and ballot boxes. This change has yielded positive outcomes, as no bogus voting, rigging, or booth capturing can happen now, and the counting can be completed in no time. Though Election Commission tries its best to conduct free and fair elections our electoral system is faced with the problems like the use of money and muscle powers, and other corrupt practices. To avoid all these certain electoral reforms have been introduced from time to time.

16.7 Answer to self-check Exercise

- 1) Election Commission of India
- 2) To keep the government responsive to the popular will; to bring together citizens to choose public decision-making. To change the government periodically or if necessary
- 3) EC takes decision on every aspect of conduct and control of elections from the announcement of elections of the declaration of results. It implements the Code of Conduct and punished any candidate or party that violates it

16.8 Suggested Readings

- Bogaards, M., 'Reexamining African Elections', Journal of Democracy, 24/4 (2013)
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- Duverger, M., (1954). Political Parties: Their Organization and Activity in the Modern State. Wiley.

- Frantz, E. and Geddes, B., 'Latin America's authoritarian drift: The threat from the populist left', *Journal of Democracy*, 24/3 (2013), pp. 18–32 M. Gallagher and P. Mitchell (eds), *The Politics of Electoral Systems* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005)
- Grofman, B. (2008). 'The impact of electoral laws on political parties', In D. Wittman and B. Weingast (eds), *Oxford Handbook of Political Economy* Oxford University Press.

16.9 Terminal Questions

- How election commission is important in free and fair election in India? Explain.
- To analyses the short coming of electoral politics in India?
- Critically evaluate the role Election Commission of India in reform electoral politics of India.

Lesson-17

Ideology and Social Base of Political Parties: Congress and BJP

Structure

- 17.0 Introduction
- 17.1 Learning Objectives
- 17.2 Ideology and Social Base of political parties
- 17.3 Features of Indian Party System
- 17.4 Congress: The Coalition of Classes
- 17.5 Bhartiya Janta Party: Social Base, Ideology and Emergence
- 17.6 Summary
- 17.7 Answer to self-check exercise
- 17.8 Suggested Reading
- 17.9 Terminated Questions

17.0 Introduction

Indian party system is unique. It does not fit in any kind of classification that is generally used to categorize the party systems. It is defined by the singular nature of Indian politics on the one hand and the nature of the state-society relationship on the other. In the last two decades, there has been a substantial change both in the nature of politics as well as in nature of relationship between the state and the society. One of the very important manifestations of change is visible in the context of the politicization of greater number of people, especially those belonging to the less privileged sections of society. That explains the change in the nature of the party system as well. The distinctive features that defined the party system of India in the first two decades after independence are no more to be seen at present.

Rajni Kothari has argued in his 'Politics in India' that the party system evolved from an identifiable political centre. This political centre, carved during the nationalist movement, was comprised of the political elite sharing common socio-economic back-ground i.e., educated, urban, upper-caste people belonging mainly to middle and upper classes. The common social background of the elite resulted in the homogeneity that became a defining feature of the political centre as well as of the party system. The ruling party and the opposition, both coming from the same social background, shared the social perceptions and converged on many issues. A consensus, therefore, existed within the system around the basic values.

All the political parties in India have different social and ideological bases, some are committed on the basis of specific region, some are based on language and religion and there are also parties having some ideological beliefs. The ideological, social basis of all these political parties has been described in detailed in this chapter.

17.1 Learning Objectives

After this lesson students will be able to Understand:

- To make learner capable to understand the electoral politics in India
- This will help in understand the voting pattern of electoral in election
- This will also make capable to understand the ideology of political parties in India
- This chapter also helpful in understanding the social base of political parties in India

17.2 Ideology and Social Base of political parties:

Political parties in India, as else- where, are never tired of proclaiming their faith in ‘ideologies’. Political battles are fought on ideological stances. Maurice Duverger accepts, with some -exceptions, that class character and ideological stance are a good method of analyzing political parties. The socio-economic structure in India is characterized by the domination of the capitalist and feudal classes. At the same time, due to universal franchise, the general elections, and the contradictions of the capitalist way of development, workers and peasants are emerging to assert their right to get social justice. Indian politics represents a conflict between the entrenched and the emerging forces. This conflict has now become acute due to a variety of factors.

The objective situation is one of ‘crises’, and the struggle for divesting vested interests of their power has gained momentum. This is the context in which political parties are operating. Since ideology serves class interests, we should examine the class or social base of the Indian parties, and understand their ideology on the basis of their pronouncements and stand on major socio-economic issues like, nationalization of industry, land reforms, pattern of relationship among various ethnic and religious communities, and distribution of income and wealth in the context of the demand for a ceiling on both. The class character of political parties can be known by:

- (a) Studying the socio-economic back- ground of the members and leaders of the party;
- (b) Investigating the character of ‘interest groups’ represented in a party, e g, interest groups of the bourgeoisie like chambers of commerce, federation of employers or trade unions of workers or/and peasant organisations;

- (c) Examining the support extended by the ‘national daily newspapers’, owned by different organized and dominant social groups, to the various political parties. (Opposition and strong criticism of the ‘gheraos’ by the capitalist press, and urging the Central Government, controlled by the Congress party, to take strong and stiff action to defend the interests of property owners, illustrates that the class character of a party can be identified by examining the support extended by the monopoly press to parties like the Jan Sangh;
- (d) Studying the actual policies pursued by the parties and the class interests served by those policies. (If a correlation could be established between the policies pursued by the party and the class beneficiaries of these policies, the class character of the party could be known.)

It must be stated here that two or three parties can represent the interests of one and the same class. At the same time political parties may not take a ‘pure and dogmatic ideological approach to each and every issue. In the context of universal adult franchise, the parties try to get the support of the various segments of society. Parties try to be broad-based and try to bring different ‘interest groups’ under their umbrella. The result is that in actual practice ideological stands get diluted. Parties also make tactical and pragmatic adjustments and compromises. For some parties these tactical adjustments are only a stepping stone to achieve their well-defined ideological goals. For others, ideology ceases to exist in the process of adjustments and compromise; these parties cease to have a viable base. The class and ideological characterization of the main political parties show the operation of a variety of competing and contending ideologies.

17.3 Features of Indian Party System

The Indian party system has the following characteristic features:

Multi-Party System

The continental size of the country, the diversified character of Indian society, the adoption of universal adult franchise, the peculiar type of political process, and other factors have given rise to a large number of political parties. In fact, India has the largest number of political parties in the world. On the eve of seventeenth Lok Sabha general elections (2019), there were 7 national parties, 52 state parties and 2354 registered - unrecognized parties in the country. Further, India has all categories of parties—left parties, centrist parties, right parties, communal parties, non-communal parties and so on. Consequently, the hung Parliaments, hung assemblies and coalition governments have become a common phenomenon.

One-Dominant Party System

In spite of the multiparty system, the political scene in India was dominated for a long period by the Congress. Hence, Rajni Kothari, an eminent political analyst, preferred to call the Indian party system as ‘one party dominance system’ or the ‘Congress System’. The dominant position enjoyed by

the Congress has been declining since 1967 with the rise of regional parties and other national parties like Janata (1977), Janata Dal (1989) and the BJP (1991) leading to the development of a competitive multi-party system

Lack of Clear Ideology

Except the BJP and the two communist parties (CPI and CPM), all other parties do not have a clear-cut ideology. They (i.e., all other parties) are ideologically closer to each other. They have a close resemblance in their policies and programmes. Almost every party advocates democracy, secularism, socialism and Gandhism. More than this, every party, including the so-called ideological parties, is guided by only one consideration—power capture. Thus, politics has become issue based rather than the ideology and pragmatism has replaced the commitment to the principles.

Personality Cult

Quite often, the parties are organized around an eminent leader who becomes more important than the party and its ideology. Parties are known by their leaders rather than by their manifesto. It is a fact that the popularity of the Congress was mainly due to the leadership of Nehru, Indira Gandhi, and Rajiv Gandhi. Similarly, the AIADMK in Tamil Nadu and TDP in Andhra Pradesh got identified with MG Ramachandran and NT Rama Rao respectively. Interestingly, several parties bear the name of their leader like Biju Janata Dal, Lok Dal (A), Congress (I) and so on. Hence, it is said that there are political personalities rather than political parties in India.

-Based on Traditional Factors

In western countries, political parties are formed on the basis of socio-economic and political programmes. On the other hand, a large number of parties in India are formed on the basis of religion, caste, language, culture, race and so on. For example Shiv Sena, Muslim League, Hindu Maha Sabha, Akali Dal, Muslim Majlis, Bahujan Samaj Party, Republican Party of India, Gorkha League and so on. These parties work for the promotion of communal and sectional interests and thereby undermine the general public interest.

Emergence of Regional Parties

Another significant feature of the Indian party system is the emergence of a large number of regional parties and their growing role. They have become the ruling parties in various states like BJD in Orissa, DMK or AIADMK in Tamil Nadu, Akali Dal in Punjab, AGP in Assam, National Conference in J&K, JD(U) in Bihar and so on. In the beginning, they were confined to the regional politics only. But, of late, they have come to play a significant role in the national politics due to coalition governments at the Centre. In the 1984 elections, the TDP emerged as the largest opposition party in the Lok Sabha.

Factions and Defections

Factionalism, defections, splits, mergers, fragmentation, polarisation and so on have been an important aspect of the functioning of political parties in India. Lust for power and material considerations have made the politicians to leave their party and join another party or start a new party. The practice of defections gained greater currency after the fourth general elections (1967). This phenomenon caused political instability both at the Centre and in the states and led to disintegration of the parties. Thus, there are two Janata Dals, two TDPs, two DMKs, two Communist Parties, two Congress, three Akali Dals, three Muslim Leagues and so on.

Lack of Effective Opposition

An effective Opposition is very essential for the successful operation of the parliamentary democracy prevalent in India. It checks the autocratic tendencies of the ruling party and provides an alternative government. However, in the last 50 years, an effective, strong, organized and viable national Opposition could never emerge except in flashes. The Opposition parties have no unity and very often adopt mutually conflicting positions with respect to the ruling party. They have failed to play a constructive role in the functioning of the body politic and in the process of nation-building.

17.4 Congress: Coalition of Classes

The Organisation and Ideology are the unique characteristics of a political party. The circumstances under which a party is formed, the struggle for power and the desire for survival are the important factors to determine the organizational structure. So, we can say that it is the struggle for power and desire for survival which are the keys to understand the changing nature of the organizational structure of the party.

In this chapter an effort has been made to analyse the organisation and ideology of Congress Party in the light of its historical context, environmental setting, the process of internal decision-making, supportive groups and agencies etc.

Political parties have been the dominant agents in political life of the 20th century India. No other institution attracts as much public interest and public disapproval as do the activities of political parties and their leaders. The importance of party politics is related to the fact that parties provide the organisation for mobilization and participation and the symbols and ideologies for political identification and articulation.

A democratic political system is sustained not so much by the ideological structure of the parties competing for power but by the commitment of the parties to values, the rules of game and the norms that the system envisages.

The Congress party is a coalition of classes under the hegemony of the national bourgeoisie. The result of this coalition is that in spite of the socialist utterances of the Congress and its leader, the

late Jawaharlal Nehru, Congress policies during the last twenty years of its monopoly of power have served the interests of property owners. Concentration of wealth and class disparities has increased during the period of 'socialist planning'. This has been established by the Committee on Distribution of National Income and Wealth and by R K Hazari's Report on Industrial Licensing and Planning Policy. To keep intact its coalition of classes, the Congress played the role of the 'centre'. The dilemma of the Congress has been that it tried to reconcile the interests of the bourgeoisie and the landlords with that of workers and peasants. This dilemma was responsible for lack of ideological clarity in the Congress; hence its phoney slogans like socialistic pattern of society, socialist co-operative common-wealth, democratic socialism, etc. These ideological outbursts of the Congress did not lead the nation towards socialism because the dominance and influence of the landlords and the bourgeoisie in the decision-making organs of the party naturally led to the strengthening of capitalist and feudal 'property relations'.

The Congress Party claims to have a large number of members. At the grass roots membership was open to all who paid nominal dues and were not members of any other political party. This rule, therefore, opened the party to masses as primary and active members. The latter category referred to those primary members who qualified by a certain criteria of party activism. Above them, was, a hierarchy of local (sub district, that is, Panchayat or block), district, state, and all-India Congress Committees. The last three were called the District Congress Committees (DCCs), Pradesh Congress Committees (PCCs), and the All-India Congress Committee (AICC).

At the annual Congress session, held at a different part of the country every year, the delegates were the members of PCCs. They elected one eighth of their members to the AICC for a two-year term and the AICC delegates elected the president of the party and certain number of their members to the Congress Working Committee (CWC). Thus, at the apex were the party President and the CWC, collectively described as party 'high command' which ran the party at the national level on a day-to-day basis. A perusal of the Party Constitution enables one to appreciate the mode of selection of the party members, other functionaries etc. Article V of the Congress Party's Constitution elaborates the membership procedure in detail. It says that any person of the age of 18 or over, who accepts the objectives, basic philosophy and commitments of the party mentioned in articles I and II of the Constitution shall, on making a written declaration in the membership form and on a payment of a prescribed subscription become a member of the party; provided that he/she is not a member of any other political party. The term of membership to all ordinarily, is three years (as decided by National Executive from time to time). With the beginning of new term all members of party will have to fill membership forms again. Membership may cease by death, resignation, or removal.

The elements of Socialism, Liberalism, Gandhism, and Conservatism form the objective tradition of Congress thought. In its first place, i.e., before 1920, the Congress ideology was influenced more by Western thought currents than the Indian philosophy. During the early days of Congress, the

influence of the liberal writers like Milton, Burke, J.S. Mill, Macaulay, Spencer etc., was the dominant factor in the development of its ideology. Then in the beginning of 20th century the writings of the European nationalists and martyrs such as Voltaire, Rousseau, Robespierre, Garibaldi, Mazzini, etc. gained popularity and began to influence the Congress ideology. Then in 1920, with the advent of Mahatma Gandhi, came the influence of spiritualistic-idealists of West - Tolstoy, Ruskin, and Thoreau. Later still, especially after 1927, came, the influence of Marxism-Leninism. At Karachi in 1931 the Congress passed an epoch-making resolution on Fundamental Rights, Labour, Economic and Social Programme, which was pronouncedly socialistic. A plant indigenous in one place can be planted in a foreign soil but it can prosper there only if it can adapt itself to the new soil. Similarly, the ideology and programme of Congress was undoubtedly shaped and moulded in the beginning by Western influences, but it could touch the masses only when it was irrigated by the life-giving waters of Indian Philosophy.

However, the most important part in the development of Congress ideology and programme was played by the psycho-political conditions in the country and the policy of the government. The Congress under Gandhi touched the emotions of the multitude. Its message reached every nook and corner of the seven lakh villages of India and captivated the hearts of peasants, which constitute real India. The Congress no longer remained an organisation “for the people” but became one “of the people”.

Next to Gandhi, Jawahar Lai Nehru was the greatest architect of the ideology and programme of the 20th century Congress. Another person who influenced the Congress ideology profoundly, though not to an extent commensurate with Gandhi or even with Nehru, was Subhas Chander Bose.

Congress was, and is, more than the sum of its parts, more than a congeries of social groups promoting their group interests. Congress has been about ideas, about justice, the uplift of the oppressed welfare, the increase of productivity. It is noteworthy that ever since the birth of Congress, people of different ideologies have come into its fold. So, it will not be an exaggeration to put the fact that Congress could never define clearly the meaning of the concepts like socialism and democratic socialism and so on. Congress lost its credibility in the 1967 Lok Sabha elections, and this led to, it is believed, the split in Congress in 1969. The Congress division in 1969 was significant in a way since it looked like, “a shift from the politics of programmatic commitment.

The Indian society is socially and economically a discontented society, gripped by social discriminations and economic inequalities. Almost half of the population in this society is living below the poverty line. The Congress which has been the ruling party since independence is committed to change this society by parliamentary method, by legislation, by action, adopting planning as a tool of this change. Ideology in developing areas assumes crucial role in building up the polity and society. In fact, all ideologies in these countries are nothing but ideologies of socio-economic development. The object of Indian National Congress is the well-being and advancement of the

people of India, by peaceful and constitutional means, of a Socialist State based on Parliamentary Democracy in which there is equality of opportunity and of political, economic and social rights and which aims at world peace and fellowship.

The congress (I) is ideologically committed to socialism, secularism, and democracy. The party professes its commitment to democratic socialism and places special emphasis on the planned economic development of country in which the Govt is expected to play a key role. In its 1989 manifesto it has promised power to the people through Panchayati Raj and Nagarpalika bills. It also promises to revamp, the co-operative movement to make, it the dynamic counter part of political democracy at the grass roots. Among the other points stressed are emancipation of women fight ling communalism social justice and sweeping judicial reforms. In foreign relations the party has been strongly omitted to a policy of non-alignment. Under the leadership of Indira Gandhi, however the party become more-pro-soviet.

Self -Check Exercise

- 1) When Was the Congress Established?
- 2) What is the main ideology of Indian National Congress?
- 3) What do you mean by Dominant Party system?
- 4) When was BJP founded and by whom?

17.5 Bhartiya Janta Party: Social Base, Ideology and Emergence.

The formation of Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP) was announced in a conference of party workers held at Kotla ground in New Delhi on 6th April, 1980. Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee and Shri L.K. Advani took over the responsibilities of President and General Secretary respectively. The question of reviving the Jana Sangh was considered at this meeting. But this idea was not accepted. Shri Vajpayee firmly said: “No. We should not turn back. We will make use of our experience in the Janata Party. We shall move ahead on the strength of our original thinking and principles.” This was the consensus at the conference in the document, ‘Five Commitments’ adopted at the first session of Bhartiya Janata Party on December, 1980 the background and genesis of the BJP is given:

Background

Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP) was born under stunning circumstances over which it had no control. Circumstances which were both tragic and grotesque, tragic because they marked the shattering of JP’s dream of building a party which was to be a national alternative to the Congress and was meant to safeguard the interests of the poor; grotesque because a set of dubious politicians without a political base but with unlimited and unprincipled ambition succeeded in destroying a mass party. Gibbering hideous mask, they wore over their faces has now been torn. Despite the fact that BJP had

no control over the aforementioned circumstances, it is determined to have a complete control over its destiny because it is a party which rests on the strength of lakhs of selfless workers, has a popular national base and represents the aspiration of patriotic elements. The party is determined to fulfil a national historic role with full sense of responsibility and urgency. Those, who have formed the BJP at a time when, the nation is faced with an unprecedented crisis. Our people need faith and hope but without any illusion.

Under the stewardship of JP, the Janata Party came into existence after a prolonged struggle against the decay and corruption of Congressism. The leaders of the Congress Party desperately tried to prolong their stay in power when the social and economic conditions of the country required an alternative to it. The Janata movement started in 1973-74 and this movement of people of different ideologies and parties combined to create an alternative to Congress. The various splits in the Janata Party have pushed back the creation of this alternative and it should be the endeavor of all those, who want to meet the crisis of the Indian society and economy as well as the challenge of authoritarianism of the Congress to rededicate themselves to the creation of that alternative. BJP would be ready to join in cooperation with all those forces, who wish to engage themselves in this endeavor.

The last split in the Janata Party came on the issue of so-called dual membership. When the Janata Party was launched in January 1977, or when it was formally inaugurated, in May 1977, no one had raised any objection to the association of former Jana Sangh members with the RSS. Even after the Janata Party came to power dual membership remained a non-issue until the internal power conflicts within the party became very sharp. It was then that this bogey started being used as a whiplash against former Jana Sangh members. It is not a matter of coincidence that the issue of dual membership came to the surface in a big way when the power game at the summit became acute. The Jana Sangh component of the Janata Party tried to cooperate with others but without much success. It may be a matter of history now, but the fact needs recording that the Jana Sangh group left no stone unturned in maintaining the unity of the Janata Party and made every possible sacrifice it was called upon to make in order to maintain this unity. But the mutual bickering of the leaders coupled with the activities of a group of compulsive chronic party-splitters undermined Morarji's Government and the Janata Party.

BJP would like to make, at the very outset, its position on the so-called dual membership very clear, in case some people have any misgivings about it. The party reiterates that the members of all those social or cultural organizations, which are working for the social and cultural uplift of the masses, and are not engaged in any political activity, are welcome to join the BJP and their membership of that organisation will not be considered inconsistent with the membership of the BJP so long as they subscribe to the ideology and programme of the party. BJP believes that politics without constructive work corrupts both leaders and workers. The party will enlist the support of all those who are engaged in constructive activity.

The first National Convention of BJP was held at Shamata Nagar set up on Bandra reclamation ground at Bombay on 28-30 December, 1980. This convention was a landmark in the recent political history of India. The attendance at the convention was estimated at 50,000 including several thousand women. The participants had come from different parts of the country.

The BJP aroused great expectations and was well-received. In a short period, it gathered widespread support in different parts of the country. It had a well-disciplined cadre. The membership of the party grew rapidly. The party was generally perceived as an alternative to Congress.

Objective of BJP:

The party is pledged to build-up India as a strong and prosperous nation, which is modern, progressive, and enlightened in outlook and which proudly draws inspiration from India's ancient culture and values and thus is able to emerge as a great world power playing an effective role in the comity of the nations for the establishment of world peace and a just international order.

The party aims at establishing a democratic state which guarantees to all citizens irrespective of caste, creed or sex, political, social and economic justice, equality of opportunity and liberty of faith and expression.

The party shall bear true faith and allegiance to the Constitution of India as by law established and to the principle of socialism, secularism and democracy and would uphold the sovereignty, unity, and integrity of India.

Basic Philosophy:

The basic philosophy adopted by the party is 'Integral Humanism'. BJP believes in a new social and economic order which is not exploitative, but cooperative and harmonious and which provides full play to individual initiative and dignity. The multifarious urges and aspirations—spiritual, intellectual, economic and social—of the citizens have to be reconciled and harmonized. This approach flows from the national heritage and from the concept of Mahatma Gandhi's 'Ram-Rajya' and Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya's 'Integral Humanism'. The holistic, total, integral and comprehensive philosophy must suffuse all in national effort for spiritual economic and social development.

Five Commitments: At the first convention the BJP adopted 'Five Principles' which could form the basis for creation of national consensus. These principles were described as 'Our Five Commitments'. These commitments are as follows:

1. *Nationalism and National Integration;*
2. *Democracy;*
3. *Positive Secularism, that is, 'Sarva Dharma Sama Bhava';*

4. *Gandhian Socialism—Gandhian approach to socio-economic issues leading to the establishment of an egalitarian society free from exploitation;*
5. *Value-based Politics.*

The basic philosophy of ‘Integral Humanism’ and the five commitments constitutes the ideology of the BJP. This ideology draws from the Indian heritage, culture and ethos. It incorporates the legacy of Bhartiya Jana Sangh, Gandhian approach, and JP’s vision of a glorious India. It is also influenced by JP movement, anti-authoritarian and anti-emergency struggle followed by democratic restoration. Bhartiya Sanskriti (culture) and Maryyada (tradition) taking into account the changes that have taken place and demands of the times we live in.

The BJP advocated Hindutva (“Hindu-ness”), an ideology that sought to define Indian culture in terms of Hindu values, and it was highly critical of the secular policies and practices of the Indian National Congress (Congress Party). The BJP began to have electoral success in 1989, when it capitalized on anti-Muslim feelings by calling for the erection of a Hindu temple in an area in Ayodhya considered sacred by Hindus but at that time occupied by the Babri Masjid (Mosque of Babur). By 1991 the BJP had considerably increased its political appeal, capturing 117 seats in the Lok Sabha (lower chamber of the Indian parliament) and taking power in four states.

The demolition of the Babri Masjid in December 1992 by organizations seen to be associated with the BJP caused a major backlash against the party. The mosque’s destruction also led to violence throughout the country that left more than 1,000 dead. The party was regarded with skepticism and suspicion by many committed to secularism in contemporary India. To alleviate fear among the public, restore confidence in the party, and expand its base, the BJP’s leaders undertook a series of rath yatras (“journeys on the carriage”), or political marches, in which the Hindu God Rama was symbolically invoked as the symbol of a cultural renaissance.

The 2014 Lok Sabha elections grew near, however, the BJP’s fortunes began to rise, largely because of growing discontent with Congress Party rule. Narendra Modi, the long-time chief minister (head of government) of Gujarat state, was chosen to lead the BJP electoral campaign, thus making him the party’s candidate for prime minister. The polling—held in several stages in April and May—produced an overwhelming victory for the BJP. The party won 282 seats outright, a clear majority in the chamber, and its NDA partners added 54 more. Shortly after the election results were announced, Modi was named head of the party members in parliament, and he began forming a government that included not only senior BJP officials but also several leaders from parties allied with the coalition. Modi was sworn in as prime minister on May 26, 2014.

After that, the party was able to pull off a landslide victory in April–May 2019 and even expanded its representation in the Lok Sabha. This was in part due to the support it gained after the government’s handling of a security crisis in Jammu and Kashmir in February 2019. Moreover, Congress, the BJP’s most viable competitor, failed to portray itself as a worthwhile alternative to the BJP-led government.

17.6 Summary

A political party is a fairly large group of people. Members of a political party have similar political views or fate in one political ideology. Ideology of national movements has been predominantly revolutionary. Although Ideology, Social Bases, and Provenances of Nonlunar here we have to be clear that in such a revolution non-violent adopted. National parties play important role in Indian Electoral system. however, national movement that emerge congress a umbrella type of organisation capture the all strata, all section of the society in early independent India. After some time, it became dominant party in India. The structure of congress is vertical in which its working in nation to grassroots level effectively capture the people of India. On the other side , BJP emerges as Hindu wave, leading questions of Hindu nationalism like making temple in Ayodhya, Abrogation of Article 370 and uniform civil code. No doubt India as Hindu majority state in which BJP play important role in influence the majority of India. Because Congress minority policy affect the security of Hindu as Cristopher Jefferlot explained. Thus both parties continuously trying to capture all section of the society because of vote politics.

17.7 Answer to self-check exercise

- 1) 28 December 1885
- 2) Social liberalism, Social Democracy, Civic nationalism, Secularism, Gandhian liberalism
- 3) Any ruling party staying in power for more than one consecutive term may be considered a dominant party (also referred to as a predominant or hegemonic party).
- 4) 6 April, 1980 by Atal Bihari Vajpayee, L.K Advani

17.8 Suggested Reading

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17.9 Terminal Questions

- To examine the social base and working of Congress party in India.
- What do you mean by dominant party? Analyse the role of Congress during 1980s.
- What do you mean by social base? To examine the role of Bhartiya Janata Party in India.
- Rise of BJP under the leadership of Modi's government? Explain.

Lesson-18

Ideology and Social Base of State parties: SAD and National Conference

Structure

- 18.0 Introduction
- 18.1 Learning Objectives
- 18.2 Background of Political party in India
- 18.3 Ideology and Social Base of Political Parties in India
- 18.5 State Party in India
- 18.6 The Ideology and Social Base of Akali Dal
- 18.7 Summary
- 18.8 Answer to self-Questions
- 18.9 Suggested Readings
- 18.10 Terminated Questions

18.0 Introduction

Ideologies are associated with power structures. Politicians seek power. Their ideology and the social, economic, and political circumstances of the time influence what they do with that power when they have achieved it. Indeed, it is impossible to separate the two. This applies even to those who deny having an ideology. The use of power always takes place in a framework of ideology. Modern politics can only be properly understood by reference to the great ideological movements: conservatism, liberalism, socialism, fascism, and so on.

An ideology is a set of beliefs or philosophies attributed to a person or group of persons, especially those held for reasons that are not purely epistemic, in which “practical elements are as prominent as theoretical ones.

So, ideology contain at least three things about it: although it is unverified or unverifiable, it is accepted as verified by a particular group, because it performs social functions for that group. In other words, holders of beliefs do not need to have had them ‘proved’ by some rational, scientific form of testing. To the believers they are the ‘truth’, the ‘reality’. All political ideologies claim ‘true’ definitions of liberty, equality, justice, rights and the ‘best’ society. The ‘particular group’ mentioned

above might be any social group: class, nation, profession, religious organisation, party or pressure group. All will have sets of ideological assumptions that are unquestioningly accepted as 'proper'. The 'social functions' ideologies perform are numerous. They will include the creation of a sense of group solidarity and cohesion for members of that group through shared ideological values; an explanation of the past, an analysis of the present, and, usually, a vision of the future with some description of how a better future will come about Ideology and State Politics.

Political ideology is a term fraught with problems, having been called "the most elusive concept in the whole of social science". While ideologies tend to identify themselves by their position on the political spectrum (such as the left, the centre or the right), they can be distinguished from political strategies (e.g. populism as it is commonly defined) and from single issues around which a party may be built (e.g. civil libertarianism and support or opposition to European integration), although either of these may or may not be central to a particular ideology. Several studies show that political ideology is heritable within families.

18.1 Learning Objectives

After this lesson students will be able to understand:

- To make learner capable to understand the ideology and social base of political parties
- To make learner capable to know the regional parties influence and their working in state politics
- This will helpful for learner to understand the ideology and social base of SAD

18.2 Background of Political Party in India

The nationalist movement provided, particularly after 1920s, a broad framework of ideologies for political parties in India. Nationalism, socialism, secularism and democracy became the main plank of the Congress during last leg of the freedom struggle which remain so till now.

After independence, a section of political parties including Bharatiya Jan Sangh, while expressing full faith in socialism, secularism and democracy, laid emphases on nationalism based on cultural and civilisational ethos. The communists' belief in secularism, socialism and democracy however, remained based on social revolution leading to the establishment of the rule of proletariat and peasantry guided by Marxism and Leninism. Thus, during formative years, the ideologies of political parties were based on socialism, secularism, nationalism, Hindutva and Marxism. Of course, there were parties based on religious identity, such as Muslim League and Shiromani Akali Dal (SAD) which visualized religious communities as separate political entities.

The people within the Congress Party held different views and were categorized as rightists, centrists, and leftists. The first group within the Congress Party who opposed the overall policy of

the Congress were the Socialists, who left the party in 1948, and formed the Socialist Party. The Socialist Party underwent several splits and reunions. In 1951 Kripalani formed Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party (KMPP) but after 1952 elections, KMPP and Socialist Party merged to form Praja Socialist Party (PSP), so that an anti-Congress non-communist group could be forged. In 1955 Lohia left the PSP and revived the old Socialist Party. Again in 1964 Samyukta Socialist Party (SSP) was formed as a result of the merger of the Socialist Party, with the PSP. Another group in the Congress Party led by C. Rajagopalachari who proclaimed their opposition to the Congress policy of giving a big role to the state in regulating, directing and changing the national economy and raising the public sector to the commanding heights came out of the Congress and founded the Swatantra Party in 1959. The Swatantra Party stood for a liberal ideology. This party, however, soon went into oblivion, though it performed well in the 1967 General Elections and emerged as the second largest party in the Lok Sabha.

There was split in the Congress Party in 1969. The split was known between radicals led by Mrs. Indira Gandhi and the conservative elements led by the old guard of the party called the 'Syndicate'. But in fact, ideology did not play any significant role in the split. The birth of the new Congress Party under Mrs. Gandhi's leadership was attributed more to the changed style of functioning of the Congress rather than to any changes in the party ideology. The later development showed that Indira Gandhi's ideological vehemence and radical slogans were only a means to establish herself as an undisputed leader of the party.

The relation between the Congress and Socialists was always ambiguous. There were differences on co-operating with Congress which were in a way responsible for the splits in the Socialist Party. The ideological opposition to the theory and practice of Communism and formal adoption of the objective of building of socialistic pattern of society by the Congress made the position of Socialists virtually indistinguishable from that of the Congress and drew them closer to the Congress Party. Narendra Dev and Lohia opposed any tie up with Congress. In 1953 talks between JP and Nehru on co-operation failed. In 1962 Ashok Mehta was expelled from the PSP and he joined the Congress as a cabinet minister at the centre.

The most vigorous opposition to the Congress came from the Communists. Soon after independence the Communists waged an armed struggle in some parts of the country to overthrow the Indian Government. But soon the Communists gave up the path of armed struggle and joined the democratic process of election. The ideological debates on the character of Indian states, path to revolution in India, strategy and tactics of the revolutionary path led to several splits in the Communist Party. However, their participation in elections and success in forming and running governments at the state level firmly placed them in the arena of parliamentary politics. The splintered groups which believed in armed struggle were further split into several groups and later merged into one group named as CPI (Maoist) which is engaged today in guerrilla warfare against the established government.

Interestingly, after the inner debate in the party over the character of the Indian state and revolution, the undivided CPI came to the conclusion that it should support the Congress Party and form a united front with it. The other section which took a hostile attitude formed CPM in 1964. The split in the CPM and formation of the CPI (ML) and other revolutionary groups based on Maoism in 1967 and the splits within splits of these groups show the salient differences over strategy and tactics among the Communists. However, a closer examination of splits among the Communists reveals the interpretation of leadership rivalries, personality clashes, organizational matters and programmatic positions.

After the split in the Janata Party in 1979, its constituent Bharatiya Jan Sangh formed the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) in 1980. Besides adopting the main ideological base of the erstwhile Jan Sangh, the BJP adopted Gandhism, socialism and Cultural Nationalism as its ideological plank. The main reason for the BJP's rise in 1990s was its forceful presentation of Indian nationalism and stiff opposition to the Congress programme of Muslim appeasement. It awakened the people against the danger posed by the Congress to Indian culture and the values of Hindutva. Its ability to penetrate into the middle class, to redefine nationalism and articulate the cultural and material aspirations of the people helped the BJP to consolidate itself. Its ability to redefine itself, expand its social base and forge alliances with regional parties helped it significantly in its rise.

In the functioning of political parties, caste, religion, language and region also have acquired ideological overtones. The Muslim League during the pre-partition days claimed that Indian Muslims constitute a separate political community. Islam and Urdu provided the two distinguishing marks. After partition the Muslim League was revived in 1948, although there were splits in it later. The AIMIM in Andhra Pradesh is the continuation of the Majlis of the Nizam period. It is mainly based in Hyderabad city, it almost exclusively appeals to the Muslims of the state.

Similarly SAD of Punjab has its roots in religion and its membership is restricted to Sikhs only. The leaders of the SAD believe that the Sikhs constitute a separate political community (Panth). The Akal Takht is the highest seat of religious and political activity. The SAD launched a campaign for a Punjabi Suba (separate state for Sikh) that excluded the Hindi-speaking areas and included areas where Sikhs are in a majority. In 1970s and 1980s it carried out a militant struggle for Khalistan. There are Christian parties too in the country, as in Kerala.

Language and region also acquired the nature of ideology. As language and region grow together, regionalism takes the form of linguistic nationalism. When they are further combined with religion, culture, or ethnic identity, they become a powerful force. It is witnessed in the South, West and East, in the emergence of several regional parties and separatist groups. The consolidation of TDP, rise of Shiv Sena, AGP, and BJD (and its earlier version Utkal Congress), National Conference and PDP in J&K, JMM, Trinamool Congress etc. shows how region has the potential to assume the form of an ideology.

With the emerging trend of the formation of regional parties, centre-state relations are getting strained. Leaders of the regional parties demand more powers for the state in a federal frame work. This trend has also given rise to the decline of National Parties in those states as it has resulted in consolidation of regional parties. Regional identity and interests remained a potential issue for political mobilization. Often this has taken the form of centre-state problems.

However, the ambitions of the leaders of regional parties generally do not remain confined to the region only and they also tend to catch up with national aspirations and therefore, they compete with the national parties for power. They therefore, adopt belligerent postures particularly against the Congress, the established national party. The BJP, the more nationalistic of the national parties, quickly grasped this emerging trend and forged alliance with these parties. Later the Congress too followed suit but it is yet to come to terms with reality of co-existing with the regional parties inspite of different ideological positions, to get themselves registered with the Election Commission, it is mandatory for all parties to declare themselves as secular, socialist and democratic. It is a different thing as to how they interpret these principles. Even parties who appeal to people based on caste and religious identities regard themselves secular. For instance, SAD, Muslim League, National Conference, Kerala Congress, and Shiv Sena too stand by secularism. They say that they stand for secularism and oppose pseudo-secularism. BSP stands for emancipation and empowerment of Dalits and so on. This is the way how Indian parties have evolved and the values of secularism and socialism have been internalized in the Indian psyche.

Except in the initial years after independence, ideology did not become a bar to forge alliances among the parties. The Communist and Muslim League fought elections in Kerala together. Both Congress and CPI could forge alliances and together they could arrive at electoral understanding in that state. The coming together of socialists, former Congress men and the Jan Sangh to form the Janata Party showed that ideology is no hindrance in party chemistry. Interestingly, the CPI and Jan Sangh, ideologically poles apart were the constituents of Samyukta Vidhayak Dal government (SVD) in Bihar, in 1967 led by Karpoori Thakur, a Socialist.

Thus, we find that relation of any party with any other is not fixed on ideological position. Parties are always ready to make compromises due to electoral compulsions and political requirements. The coalitional arrangements change as per the requirements of situation. Some of the socialists joined hands with the BJP in 1998 and they are happy together since then. DMK and AIDMK switch sides between NDA and UPA. In UP, the BSP formed a government with the support of the BJP. SAD and National Conference became partners of NDA.

Theoretically any party except BJP could fit into the UPA. The Third Front which went into oblivion immediately after its birth but is struggling to take shape again, can accommodate any party except BJP and Congress, while the NDA can take any party except the Congress and Communists. The exclusion and inclusion are more due to party competition and electoral considerations rather than ideological positions.

Indian party politics is typically characterized as centred on leaders, based on social cleavages, and not ideological. This book challenges those views and asserts that, as in many other parts of the world, a deep ideological divide frames the Indian party system. It claims that the paradigm of state formation based largely on class politics is not entirely applicable to many multi-ethnic countries in the twentieth century. In more diverse countries, the most important debates center on the extent to which the state should dominate society, regulate social norms, and redistribute private property and on whether and how the state should accommodate the needs of various marginalized groups and protect minority rights from assertive majoritarian tendencies. These two issues—the state's role in transforming social traditions, and its role as accommodator of various social groups—constitute the dimensions of ideological space as it exists in Indian party politics today.

Self-Check Exercise

1. What are criteria to become a state party in India?
2. What do you mean by regional parties?
3. When was Akali Dal Formed?
4. What is the ideology of Shiromani Akali Dal?

18.3 Ideology and Social Base of Political Parties in India

The only factor that explains the mushrooming growth of political parties in India is the difference in their Ideology/Social base.

1. Indian National Congress and Social Liberalism

The dominant party in Indian political space has formed government for 10 times, winning majority on six occasions and forming coalitions for four times.

For its social liberal outlook, the Congress Party is generally placed on the Centre-Left of the political spectrum. It adheres to the Gandhian principle of upliftment of all sections of society. Unlike many other contemporary parties, Congress supports liberal nationalism, which can also be referred as a more tolerant nationalism with space for equality, freedom and rights. According to Christophe Jaffrelot Congress, which was once an umbrella party, has been reduced to the status of party of minority.

2. BJP and Right-Wing Politics

BJP, undoubtedly, has had a good run in the last three or four decades. After a very slow entry into the mainstream politics, the party gradually climbed the ladder of recognition before becoming India's largest political party in terms of representation in the Parliament.

Having its genesis in the Bharatiya Jana Sangh, the BJP maintains ideological and organisational links to the Hindu nationalist group – Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS). From Ram Janmabhoomi movement, Uniform Civil Code to Good Governance, the party has been prudently selecting and taking stand on issues of national importance to gain better visibility. Also faced recent controversies on beef-ban, Gharwapsi etc.

Thomas Blom Hanson in his book *SAFFRON WAVE* has explained the phenomenal rise of BJP and the forces of Hindutva. Milan Vaishnav also suggests that there is a big change in the electoral behaviour of people in India. For long, Indian politics was based on the agenda of secularism and minoritism. The present Indian politics is a rejection of both minoritism and Congress version of secularism and the assertion of majoritarianism in combination with the concern for good governance and development.

3. Separatist Political Parties

The All Parties Hurriyat Conference (APHC) was initially formed as an alliance of 26 political, social and religious organisations in Kashmir to achieve “the right of self-determination.”

Apart from Jammu Kashmir Democratic Liberation Party (JKDLP), the alliance comprised other separatist political parties in Kashmir including Yaseen Malik’s Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF), Sheikh Yaqoob’s Jammu and Kashmir Peoples League (JKPL), and Shabbir Shah’s People’s Democratic Front (PDF).

4. Communist Parties in India

The communist parties are perennially a proponent of subsidies, minority appeasement and preservation of human rights, the Left parties are facing existential crisis after 2014 General Elections. Communist Party of India (CPI) can be called the progenitor that has worked its way through a series of movements to become a political force to reckon with. From armed struggle against local monarchs in Tripura, Telangana and Kerala to agrarian struggle in Manipur, the party has always been at the forefront of social movements. Land reform and trade union movements also cover a large chunk of CPI’s political ideology.

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) (CPI-M) calls itself the “revolutionary vanguard of the working class of India.” Its political ideology is centred on socialism, communism and establishment of “the state of dictatorship of the proletariat.” The principles of Marx and Lenin guide the party’s activities. The declared objective of CPI-M is the emancipation of the masses and finding a way to end “exploitation of man by man.” Also there are some regional parties who fight for regional problems having ideology and social base for the states like Shivsena, MNS in Maharashtra; JDU, LJP in Bihar; All India Trinamool Congress in West Bengal; Telugu Desam Party in Telangana; YSR Congress Party in Andhra Pradesh; SP, BSP (Also national parties) in Uttar Pradesh, etc..

18.5 State Party in India

In India the criteria to become a State Party is following;

If a political party want to become a state party, then it must fulfil at least one of the following criteria;

- A. A party should win at least 1 seat in the Lok Sabha for every 25 seats or any fraction thereof allotted to that State. or
- B. A party should win a minimum 3% of the total number of seats or a minimum of 3 seats in the Legislative Assembly. Or
- C. In a particular election, the party must win at least 6% of the total votes, and also win 1 Lok Sabha and 2 Assembly seats. Or
- D. If a Party fails to win any seat in a State in a general election of Lok Sabha or Legislative Assembly of the State, the party will still be eligible for recognition as State Party if it secures 8% or more of the total valid votes polled in the State.

18.6 The Ideology and Social Base of Akali Dal

The Akali Dal traces its origins to the Sikh religious reform movement and the drive by the Sikhs to gain control of their gurdwaras in the early 1920s. During this period of agitation, the Akali Dal was established as an institutional political force under the leadership of Master Tara Singh. The Akali Dal moved quickly from its religious reform activities to political action because the gurdwara movement involved a direct political confrontation with the British and the British-supported Hindu mahants. 5 Meanwhile, in October 1920, the religious Sikhs of Punjab formed the Shiromani Gurdawara Prabandhak Committee (SGPC), whose charge was to gain control and management over all Sikh shrines, and put the Sikh community on firm footing when India became independent.

Over the years, the Akali Dal's ideology came to be identified with the protection of the Sikh Panth, or more specifically, the protection of Sikh rights and ensuring the Sikhs' continued existence as an independent political entity. The close relationship between religious and political solidarity has been defended by the Akali ideologues on the grounds that it has provided a protective shield to the Sikh community and helped it maintain its distinct identity. 8 This relationship between Sikh ideology and political interests has been reflected in such demands as the Anandpur Sahib Resolution (1973) and the All-India Gurdwara Act, proposed in the Rajiv-Longowal Accords (1985). The All-India Gurdwara Act, for example, sought to extend the domain of the SGPC (which currently controls only the gurdwaras in Punjab and the neighbouring states of Himachal Pradesh and Haryana) to all the gurdwaras in the country. Such legislation would strengthen a religious structure which, in turn, would be used politically to prevent government interference in Sikh religious matters.

As the Akali ideology is based on Sikh tradition and ideals, it has exercised strong influence on the tradition-oriented Sikh masses, who have shown their support for the party at elections.⁹ The early Sikh leaders recognized the need for a communal consciousness, which was emphasized to a large extent by a “we-they” distinction between Sikhs and Hindus on the one hand and between the Punjab and the Center on the other. It was this communal consciousness which expressed the Sikhs’ scepticism of their future in a Hindu-dominated Punjab. As a result of this alleged fear of Hindu domination over the Sikhs, the Akali Dal demanded a separate Punjabi-speaking state in which the Sikhs would be dominant - a Punjabi Suba.

The precursor to the present-day SAD was an organization established in December 1920 to help guide the quasi-militant Akali movement of the early 1920s, in which Sikhs demanded and (through the Sikh Gurdwara Act of 1925) won from the ruling British authorities in India control over the gurdwaras (Sikh houses of worship). The present-day SAD, which has claimed to be the oldest regional political party in India, has also controlled Sikh religious institutions such as the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee (SGPC) and, more recently, the Delhi Sikh Gurdwara Management Committee. From the mid-1920s the SAD was a part of the Indian independence movement, and its members participated in the protests and civil-disobedience programs (*satyagraha*) of Mohandas K. Gandhi and the Indian National Congress (Congress Party). Although the SAD remained committed to the broader objectives of Indian independence from Britain, its primary mission remained the promotion and protection of the rights of the Sikh minority.

The SAD first contested elections as a political party in 1937, after the Government of India Act of 1935 had authorized the creation of provincial assemblies in British India. With Indian independence achieved in 1947, the SAD spearheaded the movement to create a separate state for the Punjabi-speaking and largely Sikh populace of north western India. The movement finally realized its goal when the state of Punjab was divided in 1966, the south-eastern portion of it becoming the predominantly Hindi-speaking state of Haryana.

In 1967, in the first legislative assembly elections for the newly configured Punjab state, the SAD won fewer than one-fourth of the total number of seats but was able to cobble together a broad coalition of non-Congress parties to form the state government. Conflicts and power struggles within the party, however, led to the government’s fall within months. In the 1969 assembly elections, the SAD won more seats than it had in 1967, but it was still short of a majority and again formed a coalition government—this time with the Bharatiya Jana Sangh party (a pro-Hindu forerunner of the Bharatiya Janata Party [BJP]). That government was also short-lived again marked by intraparty fighting and frequent leadership changes that culminated in the dissolution of the government in mid-1971 and a period of rule by the central government in New Delhi. The SAD lost badly in the 1972 assembly elections, and the Congress Party, with a majority of seats, formed the government.

Over the next several years, the SAD attempted to rebuild and to re-establish itself as the sole representative of the Sikh community. The party nonetheless underwent divisions, with several splinter groups claiming the mantle of the true SAD. The party did win a majority of seats in the 1977 state assembly elections and formed a government, with Parkash Singh Badal as chief minister (head of government). It was Badal's second term in the office, as he had served in 1970–71, during the first SAD-led government.

The party again lost to Congress in the 1980 state assembly elections. Also at that time, a growing number of Sikhs were agitating for greater autonomy, and some were resorting to violent means to promote their demands. In 1982 the main militant leader, Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale, and his armed followers occupied the Harmandir Sahib (Golden Temple) in Amritsar. They were forcefully evicted in June 1984 by the Indian military, and Bhindranwale was killed during the operation. There followed a period of violence in Punjab and elsewhere in India that included the assassination of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi by her Sikh bodyguards at the end of October.

Despite continuing factionalism in the SAD, the party won a large majority of seats in the 1985 assembly elections and formed a government in the state that lasted for almost two years before central rule from New Delhi was reimposed. The party boycotted the 1992 assembly elections, and the Congress Party emerged victorious. Meanwhile, Badal, leader of the largest of the various SAD factions, became president of the party in 1996. The party won another large majority of seats in the 1997 assembly elections and formed the government, with Badal serving his third term as chief minister. After again losing to Congress in the 2002 assembly polls, the SAD—in alliance with the BJP—won in 2007; Badal commenced his fourth term as chief minister. The alliance retained power in 2012, with Badal continuing as chief minister. However, in 2008 he had stepped down as president of the party and been succeeded in that post by his son, Sukhbir Singh Badal.

The SAD maintained a modest presence in the Lok Sabha (lower chamber of the Indian parliament), often consisting of only a small handful of seats from Punjab constituencies. Its highest seat total was nine in the 1977 elections, and it garnered eight in the 1996, 1998, and 2004 contests. The party's total was reduced to four seats in both the 2009 and 2014 elections. For many years the party remained unaligned with any of the national parties, but in 1998 it joined the BJP-led National Democratic Alliance coalition that ruled the country from 1998 to 2004. During that time the SAD was able to exert some influence on policy at the national level, especially with regard to India's relations with Pakistan, with which Punjab shared a long international border. The party maintained its alliance with the BJP into the 21st century, and, following the BJP's landslide win in 2014, SAD member Harsimrat Kaur Badal (the wife of Sukhbir Singh Badal) was named to the cabinet of Prime Minister Narendra Modi.

18.7 Summary

The loss of values of ideology could be due to changing perceptions of the people, leaders and the followers at the ground level. Ordinary people hardly bother about ideological quarrels. For both, people and followers, pragmatic politics have become the norm. Parties are increasingly looked upon as means to serve personal interests. Now we see fewer and fewer leaders having fixed loyalties. Some political leaders change parties as per their convenience. The parties too now follow an “open door policy” in accepting leaders from other parties. Since the signing of the Rajiv-Longowal Accords, the Akali Dal has become highly factionalized due to disagreement among the Sikhs over the implications of the accords. The three major factions of the divided Akali Dal have made several abortive attempts toward unification, but political and personality differences have undermined these overtures. Those who wish Punjab well hope that the Akali Dal unity movement succeeds. The Center’s recent initiatives in Punjab (release of most of the Jodhpur detainees; withdrawal of special provisions of the National Security Act applicable to the state, and of the Disturbed Areas Act, except in the most sensitive areas; and allowing foreigners to travel to nearly every part of the state) require reciprocal political moves from the Akali Dal toward restoring peace to Punjab. The Akali Dal, which has been paralyzed so far by dissension, can play an important role in this respect if it is united. The Center must do everything it can to encourage Akali Dal unification and to refrain from its earlier divisive policies, which have brought Punjab to its present state of disunity.

18.8 Answer to Self-Check Exercise

- 1) A party should win at least 1 seat in the Lok Sabha for every 25 seats or any fraction thereof allotted to that State. Or. A party should win a minimum 3% of the total number of seats or a minimum of 3 seats in the Legislative Assembly. Or. In a particular election, the party has to win at least 6% of the total votes, and also win 1 Lok Sabha and 2 Assembly seats. Or
- 2) A regional party is a political party that operate its political functions within a small geographical area. The regional party functions are limited to a single or a few states.
- 3) Akali Dal was formed on 14 December 1920 as a task force of the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee, the Sikh religious body.
- 4) Punjabi Nationalism, Punjabinism and Sikhism

18.9 Suggested Readings

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18.10 Terminal Questions

- What do you mean by region party? Explain regional parities of different States.
- What do you mean by social base of party? Explain SAD ideology and social base in Punjab.
- What is the role of SAD in State politics? Critically evaluate the significance of SAD.

Lesson-19

National Conference: A state party of Jammu and Kashmir

Structure

- 19.0 Introduction
- 19.1 Learning Objectives
- 19.2 Election Symbol and its Significance
- 19.3 Role of JKNC Leaders
- 19.4 Politics of Autonomy
- 19.5 Achievements of the Party
- 19.6 Summary
- 19.7 Answer to Self-Check Exercise
- 19.8 Suggested Readings
- 19.6 Terminated Questions

19.0 Introduction

The Jammu & Kashmir National Conference (JKNC) is a regional political party in the Indian union territories of Jammu and Kashmir and Ladakh. Founded as the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference by Sheikh Abdullah and Chaudhry Ghulam Abbas in 1932 in the princely state of Jammu and Kashmir, the organisation renamed itself to “National Conference” in 1939 in order to represent all the people of the state. It supported the accession of the princely state to India in 1947. Prior to that, in 1941, a group led by Ghulam Abbas broke off from the National Conference and revived the old Muslim Conference. The revived Muslim Conference supported the accession of the princely state to Pakistan and led the movement for Azad Kashmir.

Jammu and Kashmir National Conference (JKNC) is a regional political party of India. Its mass base is primarily in the state of Jammu and Kashmir. The JKNC operates on the ideology of Moderate Separatism, and the re-unification of Kashmir. This is a political party which is pro-India and favors the policies and schemes of the Indian government. The party which began as the All-Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference in October 1932, was officially founded by Sheikh Abdullah on June 11, 1939 under a new name called All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference. The newly-formed JKNC held its first annual conference in Baramulla in 1940, under its first President Sardar Budh Singh.

Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, who was famously known as the ‘Lion of Kashmir’, was elected the President of the JKNC in 1947. Under his able leadership, the atrocities of the Kashmir Maharaja at Poonch, who ruled the state during that time, were fiercely revolted against. Gaining complete support of the first Prime Minister of India Jawaharlal Nehru, Sheikh Abdullah demanded a ‘Naya Kashmir’. As he said, “Kashmiris want to decide about their future in a calm and tranquil atmosphere. There has not to be decided by the Maharaja and his cohorts; but by the people of the state. The people there can only be in a position to decide when they first achieve their internal freedom.”

Sheikh Abdullah merged with the Indira Gandhi-led Congress (I) in 1965, hence becoming the J&K branch of the Congress. Abdullah became the Chief Minister of the state after the JKNC won the majority seats in the state legislative assembly. Farooq Abdullah replaced his father Sheikh Abdullah as the party president, after the latter’s death. Farooq remained the JKNC President from 1981 to 2002 before his son Omar Abdullah became the party chief. In 2009, Farooq was again made the president of the JKNC. The JKNC has won the state legislative assembly elections for a majority of the terms. Presently, the JKNC by defeating the Jammu and Kashmir People’s Democratic Party and in alliance with the Congress, has formed the government in the state. Omar Abdullah is the current Chief Minister of J&K.

19.1 Learning Objectives

After this lesson students will be able to understand:

- To make learner capable to understand the politics of Jammu and Kashmir
- TO make learner capable to understand the social base of state party of J&K
- This will helpful in understand the role of National Conference in J&K

19.2 Election Symbol and its Significance

The Election Symbol of the Jammu and Kashmir National Conference, as approved by Zthe Election Commission of India, is “Plough”. It is usually drawn on a red-coloured flag, which together represents the JKNC. This symbol of the party was unanimously adopted in its first annual conference held in Baramulla in 1940. It was presided by the then party chief Sardar Budh Singh. As a political party in the country, the JKNC abides by the sovereign, socialist, secular, and democratic principles and ideals of the Constitution of India. It propagates the true values of socialist doctrines and the legacy of the freedom struggle of India to people, irrespective of any social and political differences.

In its official website, the JKNC preaches the last Testament by their founder Sheikh Abdullah or Sher-I-Kashmir, “Only that accession will endure which is acceptable to the hearts of the people. People’s hearts can be won only by love, justice, truthfulness and sincerity and not with subsidized rice, army and offering largesse.” The JKNC stands for the values of individual liberty and non-violent peaceful dissent. It claims to represent the voice of the peasants, farmers and marginalized, oppressed sections of the society. The love of the people of the state is primary according to the aims and objectives of the JKNC.

Self-Check Exercise

- 1) What is the name of Indian state Political Parties is led by Omar Abdullah?
- 2) What is the ideology of National Conference of Jammu and Kashmir?

19.4 Politics of Autonomy

Apart from its cadre, it was its traditional ideological base that the party could use for reclaiming its political base in the valley. After a period of the withdrawal, the NC had to use its discourse of 'autonomy' to gain entry into the politics. This discourse carried the value of expediency as it provided an explanation or the post-1989 crisis as well as a solution to the problem from within the mainstream politics, as an alternate to the separatist discourse of 'azadi'. It located the prevalent problem of militancy and popular political discontent in the erosion of autonomy constitutionally guaranteed to the state of Jammu and Kashmir and considered its restoration as the essential condition for the reversal. In its central working committee meeting in 1994, held after a gap of five years, the party held the union of India responsible for destroying the original constitutional arrangement of the state and for alienating the people of Kashmir. It passed resolution, which asserted that, 'the time has come when this state of affairs should be reviewed in order to restore autonomy to its pristine and original form'

The issue of autonomy fitted in the traditional position being taken by the NC since 1975. According to this position, the autonomy guaranteed to the state by the Constitution was gradually eroded after the dismissal and detention of Sheikh Abdullah in 1953. By 1975 the state was almost brought at par with other state through various presidential orders and through the amendment of the state Constitution. Hence, the recurring demand for revision of all central laws extended to the state after 1953. In the prevailing context of popular resentment against the Indian state, the politics of autonomy certainly had its relevance. It had sufficient popular appeal as it acknowledged the role of Indian state in exacerbating the state of political alienation in Kashmir. Pursued earnestly, in fact, it had also the potential of subduing the impact of the separatist politics. Hence, it was around the demand of autonomy that the NC contested the 1996 assembly election and after winning the election, appointed a state autonomy committee (SAC) to re-recommend measures to restore autonomy of the state to the pre-1953 position. As per the report of this committee, "serious deviations were made and vital positions were altered in the state's constitutional relationship with the centre by repeated application of constitutional orders, with the result that the Article 370 was 'emptied of its substantive content'".

However, the NC could not take political advantage of the politics of autonomy as it could not get the required support from the centre in the process. A resolution passed by the state legislature and forwarded to the central government demanding that the union and the state government take positive and effective steps for implementing the report was dealt with contempt and dismissed even

without minimum discussion. Such brusque rejection of the 'Autonomy Resolution' had serious implications both for the political responses in Kashmir as well as for the political fortunes of the NC. While reinforcing the feeling of distrust towards the centre it had also the effect of further diminishing the political image of the NC, more so because of its affiliation with the NDA which was responsible for rejecting the autonomy resolution.

19.5 Achievements of the Party

As a regional political party, the Jammu and Kashmir National Conference has a number of significant achievements. Some of them are listed below:

- The JKNC has continually worked for the restoration of internal peace between the different factions within the state. It strongly objects the formation of any barrier between the two halves of the state of J&K. The JKNC is in complete support of attaining a lasting negotiation to solve the problems between India, Pakistan, and the State of J&K, making all the three regions equally competent in progress and development.
- Sheikh Abdullah had initiated the policy of single-line administration in the state. This concept was people-centric, involving people in the day-to-day administration of the state, and take the government to the people, and not the people to the government.
- To maintain its secular identity, the JKNC has implemented policies and schemes for the Kashmiri pundits as well the maulvis. It has built colleges and universities for women and reserved categories of the population, thereby paying attention to the issues of minority rights.
- The Panchayati Raj Institutions in the state have been greatly enhanced by the JKNC, providing empowerment to many lakhs of Kashmiri residents. Allocation of funds is made to the local administrations, such as the revenue department, food department etc., in order to ensure their smooth functioning.
- The JKNC had an important role to play in its say against the AFPSA being implemented in the state of J&K, which would kill innocent civilians.

Jammu and Kashmir state assembly elections in 1996, the JKNC led by Abdullah was awarded the election yet again winning 57 seats out of a total 87. This election like its predecessors has been deemed to be rigged and Abdullah stepped down in 2000. His son, Omar Abdullah then took up the reins of power in the state. But in 2002 state assembly elections, the JKNC won only 28 seats, with the Jammu and Kashmir People's Democratic Party (PDP) emerging in the Kashmir Valley as a contender for power. In the December 2008 state assembly elections, no single party was able to get the majority. The JKNC led by Farooq's son Omar Abdullah emerged as a single largest party, winning 28 seats. After the elections, on 30 December 2008 the JKNC formed an alliance with the INC which had won 17 seats. Omar Abdullah became the Chief Minister of this coalition government on 5 January 2009.

JKNC and INC contested 2009 general election in alliance. INC won all the two seats of Jammu region but lost Ladakh seat to NC rebel who contested as an independent candidate. NC won all the three seats of the Kashmir Valley in 2009. In the 2014 general election, the NC contested the election in an alliance with Indian National Congress but did not win a single seat. Out of six seats in the state, PDP and Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) won three each. During 2014 Jammu and Kashmir Legislative Assembly election, INC broke its alliance with JKNC. JKNC contested all the assembly seats but won only 15 seats, a decrease of 13 seats. PDP won 28 seats and became the largest party in the assembly followed by BJP winning 25 seats. Omar Abdullah resigned as a chief minister on 24 December 2014.

19.6 Summary

The mainstream politics, meanwhile, lost its regional character as the NC, ensured of its return to power election after election, had tended to become complacent about the need for maintaining its linkage with its local constituency, the people of Kashmir. Now with the NC facing competition from PDP and other parties, the Kashmiri mainstream politics has become more vibrant. Such transformation of politics is particularly beneficial for the NC as it has been forced by the compulsions of circumstances to find its bearings, once again, in the local politics. That is the reason that the party has been finding means to respond to local issues and reflect the sensitivity of the party to local sensibilities. Even before it disassociated from the NDA, it had changed its political discourse – acknowledging the need to engage the Kashmiri separatists and Pakistan and curb the level of human rights violations. However, the most significant challenge before the NC, at present, is its role as the leading opposition party of the state – a role that can actually help in meeting the challenge of separatism by extending the space that the mainstream politics occupies in the Valley. Being the largest party of the state, it can effectively bring to the democratic space all those issues that have earlier been, in the absence of such an opposition, being raised from within the separatist space. Already it is in the process of engaging the ruling coalition in a variety of such issues including those related to the violation of the human rights of the common people. These issues, like the recent Bandipora killings of the Kashmiri porters, when raised by the mainstream opposition parties like the NC on the floor of the legislature have the effect of increasing the relevance and credibility of the institutional politics. Earlier such institutional politics came to be side-lined because the crucial issues concerning the people of Kashmir could not be articulated and expressed through this channel.

19.7 Answer to Self-Check Exercise

- 1) National Conference of Jammu and Kashmir
- 2) Kashmiriyat, Autonomy of Jammu and Kashmir, Secularism

19.8 Suggested Reading

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- Mridu R. (2004), Hindu Rulers, Muslim Subjects: Islam, Rights, and the History of Kashmir, *C. Hurst & Co*.
- Schofield, V. (2003) [*First published in 2000*], Kashmir in Conflict, *London and New York: I. B. Taurus & Co*.
- Zutshi, C. (2004), Languages of Belonging: Islam, Regional Identity, and the Making of Kashmir, *C. Hurst & Co. Publishers*.

19.9 Terminal Questions

- What do you mean by ideology and social base of political parties Explain the role of National Conference of J&K.
- Discuss programmes and policies of National Conference.

ASSIGNMENTS

M.A Political Science

Semester 2nd

Indian Politics II: Political Processes

POLS - 203

- 1) Discuss different Approaches to understand the nature of Indian State.
- 2) Discuss politics of region in Indian states.
- 3) Define caste and its role in Indian Politics.
- 4) Analyses the role of Women movements in Indian Politics.
- 5) Write a detail note on Agrarian policy.
- 6) Discuss ideology and social base of congress or BJP in Indian Politics.
- 7) Discuss origin programme, policy, and electoral performance of SAD.

*M.A. IInd Semester
Political Science*

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Indian Politics II: Political Processes

Lesson 1-19

Written by : Joginder Singh Saklani

*INTERNATIONAL CENTRE FOR DISTANCE EDUCATION
AND OPEN LEARNING HIMACHAL PRADESH UNIVERSITY,
GYAN PATH, SUMMERHILL, SHIMLA-171005*

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