

Political Processes in India

DEPOL617

Edited by
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Dr. Zahid Hussain**

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Unit01:State, Economy, and Development

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Objectives

- To understand the concept and the nature of the State
- To discuss the different perspectives on the State

Introduction

'State' is a complex concept connoting wide range of parameters that attempt to define it. But, somehow, there is no consensus on any definition of the State. The theorists have not been unanimous about the State's nature, structure, functions and behaviour. Though the term 'State' found an inclusion in the political vocabulary around as late as the 16th century, there have been oblique references to the very idea of 'State' all through the evolution of human civilization. Be it 'codified laws', 'shared norms', 'kinship', 'chiefdom', 'political system', 'sovereign authority' or 'divine monarch'; these terms have hinted at some or the other form of governance which came to be gradually defined as the 'State'. The definition of the State has premised itself on 'divine', 'ethical', and 'legal' notions in the course of its evolution. Many scholars feel that it is impossible to theories any phenomenon, such as family, culture, law, religion, and ecology without a reference to the State. The State impacts on the lives of individuals in a way no other institution can do.

Letsexamine the concept of the State and different perspectives from which to analyse the State as an evolving phenomenon. It will highlight the contemporary Neo-liberal perspective of the State against the backdrop of globalisation besides touching upon the Liberal, Marxist and other pertinent viewpoints. it will try to build a theoretical background and will centre around the 'relationship' of the State with the development and growth of the state.

1.1 Definition of State

Subject Matter

'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 politician 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. Though there is no rational view on the formation of the state but mainly two approaches interpret the nature of the Indian states. These are liberal and Marxist.

1.2 Changing Perspectives on The Nature Of State

Liberal Approach

The liberal approach stressed on institution and processes as the key to understanding the state and political power. It recognises the need for development and social change. To study the nature of any particular state, it is necessary to analyse 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 emphasised 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 centre' which is characterised 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 characterised in the Indian state, one being the ‘owners of production’ and the other 8 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 civilisation. 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 were 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 utilise the conflicts between the two blocs and manoeuvre 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 classbased 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 ParthaChatterjee 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. 10 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 minimising 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, the 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.

1.3 The Economic system in India: Background

The task that the democratically elected leaders of newly independent India embarked on in the early 1950s was not for the faint of heart. It was to lift living standards of a people accounting for one-seventh of the world's population who earned an average income that was one-fifteenth of the average American income of the time Three-fourths of the Indian people were engaged in agriculture working with primitive tools and techniques, as either destitute landless laborers, highly insecure tenants-at-will, or small-plot holders eking out subsistence living from their meager plots. The literacy rate stood at 14 percent, and the average life expectancy was thirty-two years.

How successful has the country been in fulfilling the task over sixty years later? The charts in this article, using World Bank data, show how some of the country's development indicators have changed in the last half-century. The country has experienced an increase in per capita income—especially since the 1980s—as well as reductions in poverty and infant mortality rates. These improvements are not insignificant and mark a sharp break from the near stagnation that the country experienced during British rule. But a comparison with the later superior performance of

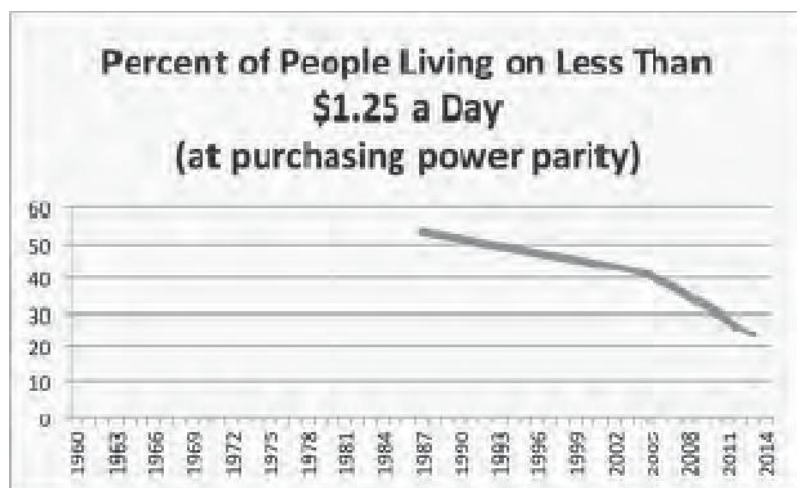
China and South Korea, countries with a comparable level of development in the 1950s, reveals that India's performance remains below its potential. How did that come about? This essay provides an account of India's strategy of economic development, its achievements, shortfalls, and future challenges.

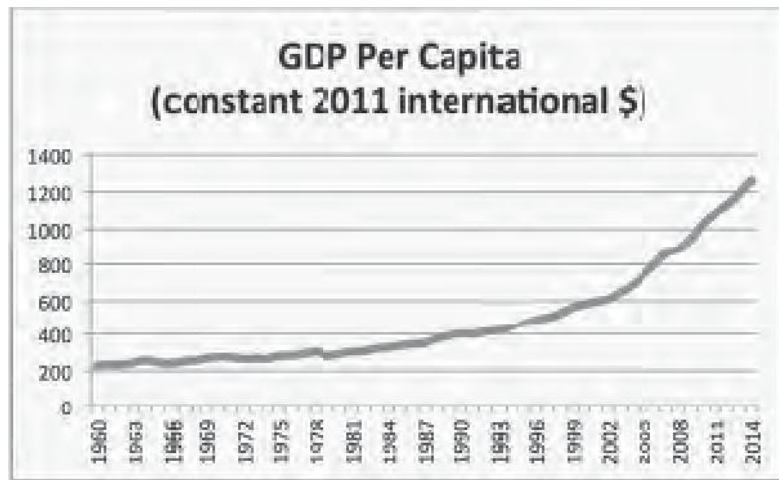
The Initial Strategy

The government in the 1950s adopted a very particular strategy of economic development: rapid industrialization by implementing centrally prepared five-year plans that involved raising a massive amount of resources and investing them in the creation of large industrial state-owned enterprises (SOEs). The industries chosen were those producing basic and heavy industrial goods such as steel, chemicals, machines and tools, locomotives, and power. Industrialization was pursued because leaders believed, based in part on the beliefs of some economists, that the industrial sector offers the greatest scope of growth in production. It was not that the Indian agricultural sector offered no scope for growth. Crop yields in India were quite low compared to other countries, and the recent famine in 1943 had underscored the need to increase food production. Still, Indian leaders did not want to make agriculture the mainstay of their strategy. The preeminence of agriculture they believed was characteristic of a backward economy, and growth in agriculture eventually runs up against the problem of insufficient demand. There is only so much, after all, that people are willing to eat.

Investments in the creation of *public* enterprises were chosen because one goal of the government was to establish a "socialistic pattern of society," i.e., using democratic methods to bring large swathes of the country's productive resources under public ownership. Industries producing basic and heavy goods were chosen for investment over consumer goods because the government wanted to reduce the country's reliance on imports of basic and heavy industrial goods in line with their belief in the goodness of national self-reliance. "To import from abroad is to be slaves of foreign countries," the first Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, once declared. The production of consumer goods such as clothing, furniture, personal care products, and similar goods was left to small privately run cottage industry firms that had the added advantage of being labor-intensive and therefore a potential generator of mass employment.

The particular nature of the chosen strategy of development can be understood by comparing it to the alternative strategies that could have been adopted. One such strategy would have been to prioritize public investments in not industry but agriculture, which was the source of livelihood for more than three-fourths of its people. Investments in agriculture take the form of irrigation projects, education of farmers in scientific methods of farming, construction of rural roads and storage facilities, and agricultural research and development. Once the agricultural sector was relatively healthy and the poverty of its participants somewhat reduced, rising incomes could have been used to finance industrial development. The planners rejected such a strategy because putting off industrialization meant that the country would have to continue to rely on imports for needed industrial goods, while the leaders were impatient for the industrialization they identified with progress. People who argued for the priority of agriculture over industry were dismissed as being reactionaries and possibly stooges of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA).





All charts based upon World Bank data for India.

See data.worldbank.org

Another strategy could have been to rely on private enterprise for industrial development while the government focused its resources on investments in infrastructure, public health, and education—sectors that are not served well by the private sector. Though leaders were cognizant of the dynamism of the private sector and the existence of India's vibrant entrepreneurial class, they rejected the strategy that involved a prominent role for the private sector out of a commitment to establishing the socialistic pattern of society that they believed was morally superior. As things eventually turned out, the country came around in the 1990s to adopting this previously rejected strategy.

In order to assure the success of the government's chosen strategy in the 1950s, complementary measures were put in place. Most industries were given significant trade protection so that their growth was not hampered by competition from more efficient foreign producers. An industrial licensing system was set up to ensure that private enterprises would not expand beyond the bounds that national planners had set for them. The system required all private firms beyond a certain small size to obtain a license whenever they wanted to expand capacity, produce new products, change their input mix, import inputs, or relocate plants. The system put the activities of the private sector under significant control of the government. Pundits and students of political economy who were not socialists derisively nicknamed this stifling system "the license Raj," comparing this economic format of oppression to the political control of the imperialist British Raj.

Their strategy of increasing agricultural production was based on plans to reform agrarian institutions. According to the thinking of the planners, the poor performance of Indian agriculture was due to the fact that tillers did not own the land they worked, so they had little incentive to make land improvements that would increase long-term productivity. The government planned to implement legislation to redistribute land from large landlords to actual tillers and improve the terms under which tenant cultivators leased land from the landowners. The government also planned to organize small farmers into cooperative societies so that their resources could be pooled in order to buy modern tools and implements and the strength of their numbers could be used to obtain higher crop prices. In addition to increasing agricultural production, such reforms were also expected to alleviate the poverty of the huge class of peasants.

The Initial Results

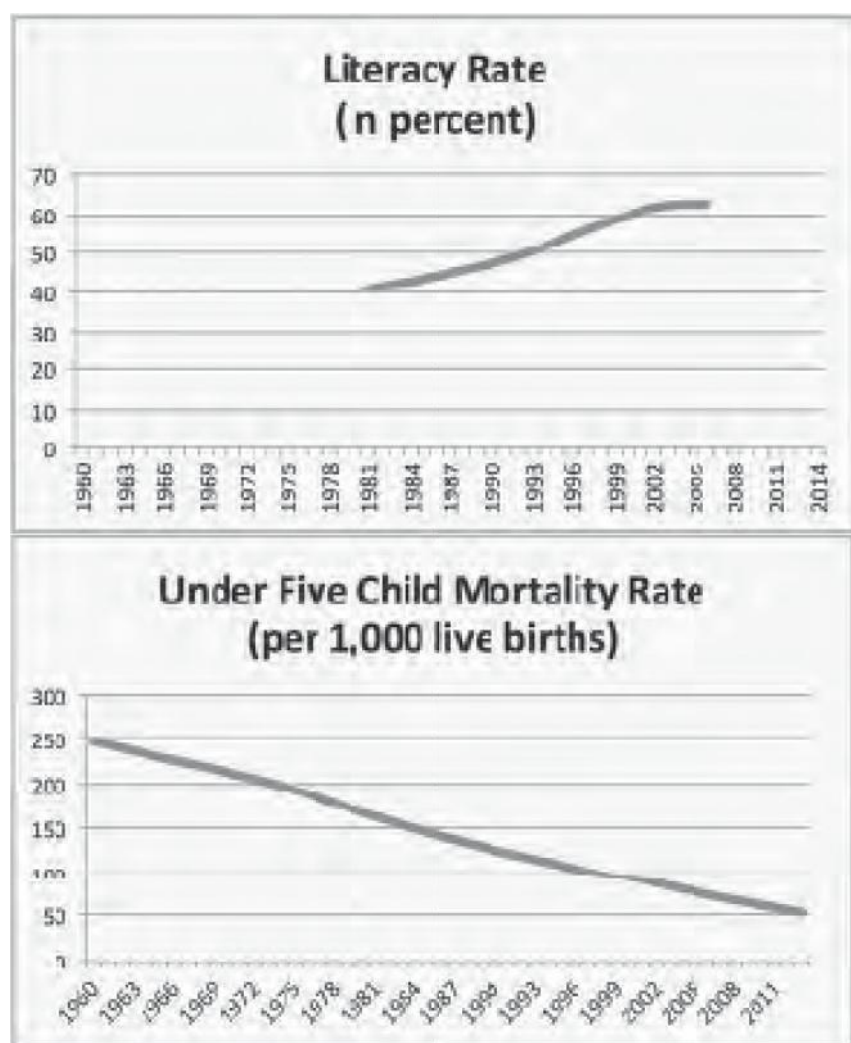
Industrialization was a moderate success. The newly created public enterprises, albeit after major cost overruns and several delays, turned out steel, chemicals, and other products that were generally associated with developed countries. A British colonial official in the early twentieth century once scoffed that he would be willing to eat all the steel than the Indians would produce. If alive in 1960, he would have eaten 6,300 tons of steel.

Still, by the late 1950s several problems resulting from the planners' chosen strategy of economic development were coming to the fore, and such problems intensified in the 1960s and the 1970s.

Many SOEs were run on political rather than economic considerations, so they produced losses that drained government resources rather than—as the planners had hoped—augmenting them. The SOEs could also not be counted on to generate mass employment due to their capital and skill rather than labor-intensive character. Several enterprises were overstaffed and faced insufficient demand for what they produced, forcing them to render idle some of their capacity. The case of the Haldia fertilizer plant is an extreme but illustrative example. The plant was set up in the 1970s and employed 1,500 people. The workers and managers showed up regularly, kept the machine facilities clean and in working condition, and often received annual bonuses and overtime. They lived in a nearby spanking-new township built specially for them, one that had excellent roads, schools, and homes. There was only one thing missing. Because of numerous problems, the plant never produced even an ounce of fertilizer. Yet the government kept Haldia's lights on for twenty-one years.

“One government method for financing expenditures was the creation of new money, which resulted in significant inflation.”

The expenditures necessitated by the massive investments in SOEs generated new problems. One government method for financing expenditures was the creation of new money, which resulted in significant inflation. The government feared the political backlash that the rising prices could generate. Consequently, it resorted to price controls of essential commodities, which caused black markets to flourish, and the government found itself resorting to increasingly intrusive regulations and engaging in cat-and-mouse games with traders. At one point, the government even attempted to nationalize wholesale trade in grains without much success. The efforts at price controls generally failed while consuming much public and private attention.



The plans for the reform of agrarian institutions did not pan out. The push for land redistribution ran into political opposition and clashed with the requirements of due process, so as little as 5

percent of the land was actually redistributed. The creation of agricultural cooperatives also did not materialize due to difficulties of organization and lack of enthusiasm on the ground. Agricultural production barely kept pace with population growth, and the country's food security remained precarious. The drawback of prioritizing industry over agriculture for public investments became glaringly apparent when the country experienced a food crisis in the mid-1960s, necessitating urgent large-scale imports of subsidized grain from the United States. The crisis undermined the government's claim that its strategy of prioritizing industry over agriculture for public investment would increase national self-reliance.

"The drawback of prioritizing industry over agriculture for public investments became glaringly apparent when the country experienced a food crisis in the mid-1960s, necessitating urgent large-scale imports of subsidized grain from the United States."

Under the fixed exchange rate regime that existed in the country, high inflation in the 1960s reduced the country's exports while increasing its imports, resulting in a shortage of foreign exchange. The shortage was exacerbated by the food imports made necessary by a drought and a war with Pakistan. Foreign exchange became one of the items the government had to resort to rationing. The reverberations were felt throughout the economy. Several new factories lay idle for want of foreign exchange to import some necessary inputs, while others hoarded foreign exchange to starve their competitors or earn a premium in the black market. Holding foreign exchange without a license became an offense punishable by jail time. Ultimately, the rupee had to be devalued, which generated further disruptions in the economic lives of most people.

Meanwhile, the industrial licensing system, designed to ensure that the private sector operated according to the five-year plans, became a source of much inefficiency and corruption. The micromanagement of the private sector called for much more knowledge and technical ability than government bureaucrats possessed. The system descended into a mechanism for rewarding political supporters of the rulers, which undermined the confidence of the people in the integrity of their governmental institutions.

Perhaps the most unfortunate legacy of prioritizing industry at the expense of other alternatives for investment was that scarce public resources were diverted away from health and education. The meager resources expended on these in India stand in marked contrast to the plentiful attention paid to them in China and other Asian countries. Seventy years after independence, India has still to catch up on these fronts; one-half of its children are malnourished, one-half of women are illiterate, and two-thirds of its people lack basic sanitation. As a result, a large fraction of Indians today are unable to directly take advantage of the opportunities opened up by the country's recent tilt toward a market economy and globalization.

The Change in Strategies

In response to the food crisis of the mid-1960s, the government changed its agricultural strategy. Rather than holding out for the reform of agrarian institutions, it began to guarantee higher crop prices to farmers and utilize subsidies to promote use of modern inputs such as chemical fertilizers and high-yielding varieties of grain developed in other parts of the world. The resulting surge of production—the so-called “green revolution” of the late 1960s—made the country self-sufficient in food grains. The strategy was controversial because it increased economic disparities among the farmers. For the greatest chance of success, the government had to focus its strategy on the irrigated sections—the very parts of the country that were already doing relatively well. The uptake of subsidized inputs was also the highest among large landowners, owing to their greater education, creditworthiness, and the ability to bear the risk posed by adopting new methods. The strategy did not do much to alleviate the economic condition of the agrarian poor, other than providing the indirect benefit of living in a country with better overall food security that has not since experienced famine. Micronutrient deficiencies (not caloric) such as anemia are today a bigger problem among the poor, and the country's health indicators lag behind those of other countries with comparable levels of income.

The strategy toward industry, however, turned more interventionist after 1965. Elaboration of all the reasons for this need not detain us here; there is a strong case that the interventionist turn was a cynical ploy by new Prime Minister Indira Gandhi for consolidating her power in response to certain political developments. The new policy stance displayed a suspicion of large firms and a preference for the small. The licensing system imposed additional restrictions on the activities of large firms, curtailing their growth. Under a policy that was one of a kind, consumer goods such as apparel, footwear, furniture, sporting goods, office supplies, leather goods, and kitchen appliances

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were reserved by law for production by small firms. Foreign firms were asked to dilute their ownership stake in their Indian subsidiaries and in response, multinationals such as IBM and Coca-Cola closed their operations and left the country.

To the extent that the success of the large firms was due to their superior technical or organizational capacity, the curtailment of their growth meant that such capacity remained underutilized. Delays and arbitrariness in the issuing of industrial licenses resulted in supply bottlenecks and shortages of many consumer goods. For example, in the 1970s, there was an eight-year waiting list for people wanting to buy a scooter, the preferred vehicle for middle-class Indians.

“Thirty-five years after independence, India’s leadership had yet to achieve, to any significant degree, its pledge of lifting living standards.”

The reservation of consumer goods for small enterprises meant that the benefits of economies of scale were forgone, resulting in the production of poor-quality and high-priced goods that foreigners shunned and domestic consumers had no choice but to accept. Meanwhile, countries such as South Korea and Taiwan were growing rich by exporting this very category of goods. It was during this time that Indians developed a craze for foreign products, the imports of which were restricted, and the term “imported” became synonymous with “high-quality.” Therresult of such policies was economic stagnation. The country’s per capita income grew by an average of less than 1 percent a year between 1966 and 1980, a rate that was too low to make a dent in the country’s massive poverty. Thirty-five years after independence, India’s leadership had yet to achieve, to any significant degree, its pledge of lifting living standards.

Also, years of rhetoric about creating rapid development had heightened people’s expectations for their quality of living. Economic stagnation, combined with high inflation caused by the government’s printing of massive amounts of money, bred political unrest and popular agitation, to which Indira Gandhi responded by declaring a national emergency in 1975. Taking advantage of the suspension of democratic procedures and requirements of due process brought on by the emergency, the Prime Minister attempted strict interventions that included rapid land redistribution and forced sterilization as a part of population control. The programs were poorly administered, contributed to incidents of human rights violations, failed to improve the economic situation, and caused a number of unintended consequences. For example, the government’s attempts to liquidate debts of poor farmers led to the virtual drying up of informal sources of credit and the banks were not up to the task of picking up the slack. The chaos generated by the haphazard and poorly administered interventions generated a popular backlash and tainted in many minds the whole interventionist approach to economic development.

By the 1980s, a substantial number of influential people had come around to the conclusion that the government did not have the political and administrative capacity to successfully run a controlled economy that delivered on economic growth. Gandhi, chastened by the political defeats that followed her earlier attempts to impose strict controls, acquiesced to relaxing some of them. Her Cambridge-educated son, Rajiv Gandhi, who succeeded her as Prime Minister, enacted further liberalization. Certain industries and business activities were exempted from licensing requirements. Such measures helped to cause robust industrial growth in the late 1980s.

The About Turn

When a foreign exchange shortage threatened a crisis again in 1991, the government made a clear break with past policies. By then, the intellectual consensus in favor of state-led, import-substituting development strategies had greatly weakened. The breakup of the Soviet Union had substantially discredited central planning, and the export-led success of East Asian countries had thrown into light the drawbacks of an inward-looking model of development. Also, cultural changes in India, consisting of a deemphasis of asceticism and a greater acceptance of the pursuit of material gain, had made extensive economic controls untenable. At the behest of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), which provided rescue during the foreign exchange crisis, but also of its own accord, the government announced major economic reforms. It dismantled the license Raj almost overnight, slashed tax rates and import duties, removed controls on prices and entry of new firms, put up several SOEs for sale, and rolled out the welcome mat for foreign investors. Rather than socialism, the guiding principles of policy now were liberalization, privatization, and globalization.

The country's share in world trade increased from 0.4 percent on the eve of the reforms to 1.5 percent in 2006, and foreign exchange shortages, once a chronic headache for policymakers, have now been replaced by reserves upward of US \$350 billion . . .

The economy responded with a surge in growth, which averaged 6.3 percent annually in the 1990s and the early 2000s, a rate double that of earlier time frames. Shortages disappeared. On the eve of the reforms, the public telecom monopoly had installed five million landlines in the entire country and there was a seven-year waiting list to get a new line. In 2004, private cellular companies were signing up new customers at the rate of five million per month. The number of people who lived below the poverty line decreased between 1993 and 2009 from 50 percent of total population to 34 percent. The exact estimates vary depending on the poverty line used, but even alternative estimates indicate a post-1991 decline of poverty that is more rapid than at any other time since independence. The country's share in world trade increased from 0.4 percent on the eve of the reforms to 1.5 percent in 2006, and foreign exchange shortages, once a chronic headache for policymakers, have now been replaced by reserves upward of US \$350 billion – prompting debates about what to do with the “excess reserves.”

Several significant economic challenges remain for India. The economy has polarized into a highly productive, modern, and globally integrated formal sector, employing about 10 percent of the labor force, and a low-productivity sector consisting of agriculture and urban informal activities, engaging 90 percent of the labor force. The sectors that have experienced the most growth are services and capital-intensive manufacturing. It is illustrative that IT and pharmaceuticals are the two sectors of the economy with international renown. Such industries tend to be urban and employ mainly skilled workers. Yet to come India's way are millions of lowskill manufacturing jobs that have allowed the poor in East Asian countries to climb into the middle class. Companies are loath to set up labor-intensive manufacturing because Indian labor laws are some of the most restrictive in the world. For example, a manufacturing unit hiring more than 100 workers cannot lay off any of them without seeking government permission, which is rarely granted. Liberalization of labor laws tends to run into fierce political opposition. The second reason for the dearth of manufacturing jobs is that the country's infrastructure is relatively deficient, and so companies increasingly practicing just-in-time inventory management do not find it cost-effective to include India in their global supply chains.

The provision of public services in India is appallingly poor. Government schools and clinics are underfunded and inadequately supervised, and their workers display low morale and high absenteeism. Yet such public institutions are rarely held accountable for their performance. The middle class has largely opted out of the system in favor of private health care, schools, and transportation so there is little political pressure from them to improve the system. Most middle-class Indians now even own a power generator to cope with everyday power cuts. The poor take the brunt of the derelict public services. Two million children die in India every year from easily preventable diseases, according to the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), and immunization rates in India are amongst the lowest in the world. Air pollution levels in urban areas pose a severe public health crisis. According to a survey by the World Health Organization (WHO), thirteen out of the twenty most polluted cities in the world are Indian. The country still relies heavily on inexpensive coal to generate power and has shown very little willingness to move toward alternative energy sources.

Given the current policies and state of governance in India, it is hard to see an obvious path into the middle class for the multitudes still remaining in poverty. Global demand for low-wage, low-skill labor to sew T-shirts or assemble TVs is not what it used to be, because production is now becoming increasingly mechanized and some of it is being “reshored” back to the rich countries. For several hundred million poor people in delicate health and with little education, the country will have to find a way to overcome the technical, institutional, and economic barriers to developing the capabilities necessary for functioning in a twenty-first-century economy. It is not a task for the faint-hearted.

1.4 Economic Development and Reforms

What has been the content of economic reforms? We present below a list of major economic policy decisions announced so far since the programme initiated. 1) Devaluation of the Rupee: Approximately 19% in two quick stages. 2) Trade Policy Reforms: Export subsidy abolished. EXIM Scrip introduced but then replaced with a so called partial convertibility of the rupee on trade account (the 40:60 formula), unified exchange rate, and full convertibility of the rupee on current

account since August, 1994. 3) Industrial licensing scrapped except for 6 industries primarily those of strategic importance, or producing hazardous goods. 4) The whole chapter in the Monopolies and Restrictive Trade Practices Act, which was ostensibly meant to curb the concentration of economic power, is scrapped. 5) The convertibility clause abolished. This clause hitherto enabled the term-lending financial institutions to convert industrial loans into equity at the price and time chosen by the lending institutions. 6) Substantial liberalisation of rules and procedures for foreign private investment. Foreign Exchange Regulations Act (FERA) liberalised to allow 50% equity participation in most industries; the FERA has now been to be replaced by Foreign Exchange Management Act (FEMA). 7) The exclusive domain of the public sector has been pruned. Only five industries are now reserved (i.e., Defence related industries, Atomic Energy, Mineral Oils, Mining) for public sector. But the private sector is welcome to apply even in respect of these. Besides, partial privatisation of some of the profit making public enterprises has been initiated. Thus, the steps taken regarding PSUs pertain to: (i) limiting public sector to strategic, high-tech and essential infrastructure; (ii) referring sick PSUs to Board of Industrial and Financial Reconstruction (BIFR), (iii) disinvesting a part of the shareholding of the PSUs, (iv) granting greater autonomy for PSUs through the instrument of Memorandum of Understanding (MOU); and (v) to develop a safety net for workers who are likely to be retrenched as a result of measures to close down sick units or rationalisation of the staffing pattern of PSUs. 8) The problem of black money started being attacked at the root; some measures adopted to curb the generation of new black money (the flow), some others to mop up the black money generated (stock) for productive purposes. 9) Fiscal policy reforms: (a) resolved to cut on government expenditure; (b) reduced rate and simplification of individual income tax, corporate tax, excise and customs duties. 10) Financial Sector Reforms initiated so far are: (a) mutual funds allowed in the private sector; (b) foreign institutions like pension funds permitted portfolio investments in Indian companies; (c) deposit interest rates liberalised; (d) for the first time ever the SLR (the Statutory Liquidity Ratio) is reduced, and that too drastically; banking sector thrown open to private enterprise; insurance sector also opened to private enterprise. 11) Steel industry deregulated. 12) Policy announcement was made regarding small and tiny sector. 13) Reforms in Gold Policy was introduced; imports of gold allowed under baggage rules. 14) Substantial de-compression of imports, with only a short negative list to become shorter.

However, it must be noted that the process is by no means complete. The unfinished tasks are numerous, and can be divided into three broad categories. They are:

- (i) whatever has been done is only the start. The process needs to be carried further and consolidated in each of the above areas;
- (ii) there are several areas, which have not been touched as yet, and (iii) the introduction of reforms has brought to surface some relatively unanticipated problems that need to be considered and addressed.

Altogether, the above package constitutes a sharp turn-around in policy thinking compared to the license permit raj built up during the 1960s and 1970s. Some measures were taken to relax controls during the late 1970s and 1980s but these moves were a pale shadow of what is underway now. Observers of the Indian scene were very impressed by the dispatch with which government issued one policy statement after another. This speed of taking decisions was indeed remarkable. If, however, relevant policy moves are assessed against what is required to be achieved under the fundamental aims of the reforms, then the record of policy decisions does not appear to be all that impressive. What has happened so far is surely a good start but it leaves many gaps to be filled up. The agenda of issues, which will have to be tackled, is very long indeed.

ECONOMIC REFORMS AND SOCIAL JUSTICE The important consideration is not whether the economic reforms measures are anti-poor or not, but whether they are in fact "pro-poor". In other words, is there an explicit "equity" dimension to the economic reforms or is the "humane face" merely an attempt to neutralise the negative impact that the reform measures would have on the extant structure of income and asset distribution? The very fact that the social sector spending policies, including the creation of the National Renewal Fund (NRF) for retrenched workers, is defined as a "safety net" such policies are meant to compensate for equity losses and would not necessarily improve the existing structure of incomes and asset inequality in the country. There are areas in which government intervention is specifically required to ensure that apart from efficiency gains, the economic reform measures would have a positive impact on equity as well. These areas are:

- (i) employment,
- (ii) food security,
- (iii) health,
- (iv) education,
- (v) technology, and
- (vi) environment.

While “equity” is not an explicit goal of the economic reforms’ measures, it is necessary that this is so and a clear definition of what equity should imply in the Indian context should be developed. Another important consideration relates to the fact that while we are assessing the social impact of the reforms measures, a distinction be made between the direct “transitional costs” of reform measures in terms of equity losses, and the already pre-existing equity loss that occurs due to the inequities nature of the extant economic regime. One should not confuse between the inegalitarian consequences of the existing social and economic order and what might be the specific product of the economic reform measures. In measuring government’s support for greater equity, it would not be correct to look only at budgetary allocation, but one should also look at the efficiency of resource utilisation. Have the economic reform helped better utilisation of existing resources, even if fiscal stabilisation required a squeeze on total allocation?

1.5 Economic Reforms And Social Justice

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The economic reform measures should not imply a retreat of government from all spheres of the economy and society. While in some areas there would have to be reduced governmental intervention/support, in others like health care, education and social welfare, they ought to be more purposive and better targeted in terms of equity intervention by the government. The broad thrust relating to the education, health and the public distribution system is that public provisioning of these services is still important and there is inadequate attention being paid to improving the quality of these services in the public sector. On the other hand, the increasing privatisation of these services has created a dualistic structure in which a high value, high quality

private sector is growing while a low value low, quality public sector is stagnating. Unless the government invests more money and improves the quality of the services rendered the retrogression in these sectors would have adverse social externalities resulting in a national loss. If financial allocations are no measure of public support, there is no evidence either to suggest that the government be any more committed today than before to improving the efficiency of resource utilisation. The real challenge before the government today is, therefore, not so much to reduce the role of the government in the social sectors but in fact to make government more responsive to the needs of the people. Indeed, the popular base for economic reform can only be built when ordinary people perceive an improvement in the quality of life. Deregulation, bureaucratization, decontrol, disinvestment and so on are only ways to wind down the involvement of the government in the economic life of the people. While much of this is popular with the business community, most consumers of public services are desperately seeking a more efficient and humane government rather than just less government. For, less government is no substitute for good government.

Prof. V.S. Vyas has cautioned the Central Government against resorting to “unmindful cut in government expenditures” on sectors like education and health, besides infrastructure and human resource development to reduce deficit. In our enthusiasm to reduce deficit we must not curtail the expenditure vital for development. Fiscal adjustment and economic reform is not simply a matter for the drawing room. In the period of transition, it imposes a burden of adjustment that is distributed in an asymmetric manner. Without correctives, the burden of adjustment is inevitably borne by the poor. Whatever we might say about social safety nets, we do not have the resources for this purpose. It cannot and will not suffice to assert that the burden of such adjustment would have to be borne by the affluent and the middle class, simply because the rich in our society have the incomes to immunize themselves from the burden of structural adjustment.

Summary

The task of reform is indeed a challenging one. The commitment to reform should go hand in hand with the concern for alleviation of poverty. A social safety net has been devised to take care of the consequences of the process of change. The imperatives of social policy as embedded in our social and economic framework mandate a concern for the poor and the deprived. The planning process should take care of this. *It is only appropriate that where markets distort the planning process, the State should take care of those who are disadvantaged. So long as one does not attempt to outguess the market but set right its distortions one can preserve the social goal of growth with equity. It is only on this basis that the process of reform can be sustained in an open society*

With regard to economic reform with a humane face, the achievement seems to be far short of what was aimed at. After about ten years of liberalisation, large segments of the population have yet to share the benefits of progress of development. A clear assessment is not possible about the extent to which liberalisation objectives with regard to humane face have been attained. There are no quantified targets against which performance can be compared since what the economic reform measures indicate is a direction of movement, not a specific goal. *The pace of movement towards achievement of humane face is much slower than what is acceptable. With the framework of the reform measures a greater degree of redistributive bias has to be built in.*

For long term strategy, we ought to focus national attention on seven issues: (i) a steep increase in the savings rate, especially the public and private corporate sector's savings rate, (ii) making rapid export growth a “national economic endeavor”. (iii) to pay greater attention to exporting more; improve Indian industry's technological capability through greater attention being paid by firms to R&D, (iv) better tax compliance (v) greater concern for social justice, (vi) a greater concern for the environment – economic growth cannot continue without paying attention to the ecological costs of modernisation; and (vii) rural development which will take employment opportunities both in the agrarian and industrial sectors to rural areas so that there is rural enrichment and an end to urban crowding and decay.

Keywords

- Globalization
- Social
- Culture

- Economy
- Science and technology

Self Assessment

1. Indian society is... in nature.
 - A. Tribal
 - B. Pluralistic
 - C. Rural
 - D. Urban

2. The Constitution of India has recognized major languages.
 - A. 22
 - B. 24
 - C. 26
 - D. 29

3. Traditional Hindu society was divided into..... Varnas base on occupation of an individual.
 - A. three
 - B. four
 - C. five
 - D. seven

4. justice means that everyone must have sufficient opportunity to earn daily bread and satisfy basic needs.
 - A. Social
 - B. Economic
 - C. Political
 - D. Religious

5. Are local self- governments at village or small-town level in India.
 - A. Gram Panchayat
 - B. Zillah Parishad
 - C. Municipal Corporation
 - D. Panchayat Samiti

Answers for Self Assessment

1. B 2. A 3. B 4. B 5. A

Review Question

1. What do you understand by state?

2. Discuss the Gandhian approach to define state.
3. What was the strategy adopted after independence for the development of the country?
4. What were the policy changes during the economics reforms in the country?



Further Readings

- Francine Frankel provides a detailed study of how such a strategy came to be chosen in India's Political Economy: 1947-2004, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).
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Unit 02: Planning Model

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Summary

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Objectives

- To understand the planning model
- To assess the strategy of five-year plan model
- To know about various plans
- To understand the level of development achieved through plans

Introduction

The first five-year plan had ever been established in the Soviet Union by Joseph Stalin in 1928. (Russia). The idea was embraced by a number of capitalist and communist countries, who later developed their own plans. Many developing nations moved to economic planning after World War II. These five-year plans, which examine the status of the economy, would include investment and spending plans for practically every sector of the economy, from transportation and energy to agriculture and industry. When India won freedom, its economy was in ruins. British domination stifled the Indian economy, thus the fathers of development devised a 5-year plan to develop it. The Indian Planning Commission oversees and assesses the country's five-year plan. From 1947 until 2017, the planning philosophy supported the Indian economy. Through the Five-Year Plans, the Planning Commission (1951-2014) and the NITI Aayog developed, carried out, and oversaw this (2015-2017). The Narendra Modi-led Planning Commission was disbanded by the new administration. He was elected in 2014, and the NITI Aayog took his position (an acronym for National Institution for Transforming India).

A coordinated and integrated national economic programme is a five-year plan (FYP). In 1928, Joseph Stalin put the first Five-Year Plan into effect in the Soviet Union. They have since been adopted by the majority of communist regimes and several capitalist nations. China still uses FYPs, despite changing the name of its eleventh FYP from a plan to a guideline between 2006 and 2010 to reflect the central government's more laissez-faire attitude toward development. Jawaharlal Nehru, India's first prime minister, was a socialist who encouraged the country to establish the First FYP in 1951, soon after gaining independence.

2.1 First Five-Year Plan (1951-1956)

Jawaharlal Nehru, the country's first prime minister, presented the First Five-Year Plan to the Indian Parliament, which required immediate attention. In 1951, the First Five-Year Plan was introduced, with a particular focus on the growth of the primary sector. With little revisions, the Harrod-Domar model served as the foundation for the First Five-Year Plan. Jawaharlal Nehru served as the plan's president, and Gulzarilal Nanda served as vice-president. The first five-year plan's theme was "Development of Agriculture," and its main goal was to address the various issues brought on by the country's division and the Second World War. The goal of this strategy was to rebuild the nation after independence. The establishment of the nation's industrial, agricultural, and educational infrastructure as well as the provision of low-cost healthcare and education to the populace was additional major goals. The 2,069 crore (\$2,378 crore later) overall budget was divided into seven major categories: irrigation and energy (27.2%), agriculture and community development (17.4%), transport and communications (24%) (8.6%), industry (16.6%), social services (4.1%), and other sectors and services (2.5%). The state's extensive participation in all economic sectors was this phase's most significant characteristic. At the time, such a position was justifiable because India was struggling with fundamental issues including a lack of money and a limited ability to save. The net domestic product increased by 15%, above the anticipated growth rate of 2.1% annually for the gross domestic product (GDP). Because of the favourable monsoon and the comparatively high crop yields, the country's foreign exchange reserves and per capita income both increased by 8%. Due to the rapid expansion in population, national income increased more than per capita income. During this time, numerous irrigation projects were started, including the Bhakra, Hirakud, and Damodar Valley dams. Together with the Indian government, the World Health Organization (WHO) focused on children's health and decreased infant mortality, which indirectly aided in population increase. Five Indian Institutes of Technology (IITs) were established as important technological institutes at the end of the plan period in 1956. The University Grants Commission (UGC) was established to handle financing and implement policies to improve the nation's higher education system. Five steel mills that were to open in the middle of the Second Five-Year Plan were given contracts. The government judged the strategy successful since it beat growth expectations.

2.2 Second Five Year Plan (1956-1961)

The Second Plan put a strong emphasis on "rapid industrialization" and the growth of the public sector. The strategy was based on the Mahalanobis model, an economic growth framework created in 1953 by Indian statistician Prasanta Chandra Mahalanobis. The strategy sought to identify the best distribution of investments among productive industries in order to maximise long-term economic growth. It made use of cutting-edge operations research and optimization approaches as well as creative uses of statistical models created by the Indian Statistical Institute. The strategy presupposed a closed economy where capital goods imports would dominate trade. The Second Five-Year Plan made a concerted effort to replace the basic and capital goods industries.

With assistance from the Soviet Union, Britain (U.K.), and West Germany, hydroelectric power projects and five steel plants were built in Bhilai, Durgapur, and Rourkela, respectively. Production of coal increased. In the northeast, more railway lines were constructed.

As research institutions, the Atomic Energy Commission of India and the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research were founded. A talent search and scholarship programme was started in 1957 to recruit exceptional young people to train as nuclear power workers. 48 billion rupees were allotted in total for the Second Five-Year Plan in India. The following sectors received this sum: communications and transportation, miscellaneous, social services, power and irrigation, and other. The second strategy involved an uptick in prices. The nation also experienced a currency crisis. The per-capita income increase was slowed down by the population's rapid growth. 4.5% was the

desired growth rate, however 4.27% was the actual growth rate. B.R. Shenoy, a classical liberal economist, attacked the plan and said that it "depended on deficit funding to support heavy industry, which was a formula for trouble." Shenoy contended that economic planning by the government would damage a developing democracy. 1957 saw a crisis in India's external payments, which is seen as supporting Shenoy's thesis.

2.3 Third Five Year Plan (1961-1966)

The Third Five-year Plan placed a strong emphasis on agriculture and increasing wheat output, but the Sino-Indian War of 1962 highlighted economic flaws and moved attention to the Indian Army and the defence sector. India and Pakistan fought a war in 1965–1966. In 1965, there was also a terrible drought. Due to inflation brought on by the war, price stabilisation took precedence. Dam building went on as usual. Also constructed were numerous cement and fertiliser facilities. Punjab started to produce a lot of wheat. In rural locations, many primary schools were first established. Panchayat elections were launched, and the states were given more development duties, in an effort to spread democracy to the local level. India turned to the IMF for loans for the first time. In 1966, the rupee had its first depreciation. State bodies for secondary education and for electricity were established. Secondary and postsecondary education is now under state control. Local road construction became a governmental responsibility after the establishment of state road transportation enterprises. The actual growth rate was 2.4% as opposed to the desired growth rate of 5.6%. It was based on the model created by John Sandy and Sukhamoy Chakraborty.

Plan Holiday (1966-1969)

The government was compelled to announce "plan holidays" as a result of the Third Plan's failure (from 1966 to 1967, 1967–68, and 1968–69). Throughout this interim period, three annual plans were created. Again, there was a drought issue in 1966–1967. Agriculture, its related activities, and the industrial sector all received equal emphasis. To boost the nation's exports, the Indian government announced a "Devaluation of Rupee." The war, a lack of resources, and an increase in inflation were the main causes of planned vacations.

2.4 Fourth Five Year Plan (1969-1974)

The Fourth Five-Year Plan embraced the goal of reversing the prior trend of greater economic and wealth power concentration. It was based on the Gadgil formula, which put an emphasis on growth while maintaining stability and moving toward independence. Indira Gandhi was in office as prime minister at the time. The Green Revolution helped India's agriculture, and the Indira Gandhi administration nationalized 14 significant Indian banks, including Allahabad Bank, Bank of Baroda, Bank of India, Bank of Maharashtra, Central Bank of India, Canara Bank, Dena Bank, Indian Bank, Indian Overseas Bank, Punjab National Bank, Syndicate Bank, UCO Bank, Union Bank, and United Bank of India. In addition, the situation in East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) was getting worse as money set aside for industrial development was diverted to the Bangladesh Liberation War and the Indo-Pakistan War in 1971. When the idea of a buffer stock was first proposed, a 5 million tonnes of food grain buffer stock was envisioned, and the Drought Prone Area Program (DPAP) was launched. The actual growth rate was 3.3% as opposed to the desired growth rate of 5.6%.

2.5 Fifth Five Year Plan (1974-1978)

The Fifth Five-Year Plan placed a strong emphasis on justice, employment, and eradicating poverty (Garibi Hatao). The strategy also placed a strong emphasis on defence and agricultural production independence. The concept was rejected in 1978 by the newly elected Morarji Desai government. The Electricity Supply Act was changed in 1975, allowing the federal government to engage in the production and transmission of electricity. In order to accommodate the increasing traffic, the Indian national highway system was established, and numerous highways were enlarged and tourism increased. In 1975, the twenty-point programme was introduced. From 1975 until 1979, it was followed. The Fifth Five-Year Plan's initial year saw the introduction of the Minimum Needs Programme (MNP) (1974–78). The program's goal is to meet a few essential minimal needs and

raise people's living standards in the process. D.P.Dhar prepared and launched it, 4.4% was the desired growth rate; however, 4.8% was the actual growth rate.

Rolling Plan (1978-1980)

The Janata Party government presented a new Sixth Five-Year Plan after rejecting the Fifth (1978-1980). In 1980, the Indian National Congress government once again rejected this proposal, prompting the creation of a new Sixth Plan. Three different proposed plans are called as the Rolling Plan. The first plan, which included the annual budget, was for the current year. The second plan, which may be for 3, 4, or 5, was for a set period of time. The Second Plan was continuously modified to meet the needs of the Indian economy. The Third Plan was a long-term perspective plan, covering 10, 15, or 20 years. Due to this, in rolling plans, the beginning and ending dates of the plan were not defined. The major advantage of the rolling plans was their flexibility, which allowed them to overcome the rigidity of fixed Five-Year Plans by adjusting targets, the exercise's goal, projections, and allocations in accordance with shifting economic realities. The main drawback of this approach was that it became complicated and impossible to achieve the targets set for the five-year period if the targets were updated annually. The repeated changes also contributed to the economy's lack of stability.

2.6 Sixth Five Year Plan (1980-1985)

The Sixth Five-Year Plan marked the beginning of economic liberalisation. Ration shops were shut down and price limits were removed. As a result, the cost of living rose along with the price of food. Consequently, Nehruvian socialism came to an end. The Shivaraman Committee's recommendation led to the establishment of the National Bank for Agriculture and Rural Development on July 12, 1982, with a focus on rural development. In order to reduce population growth, family planning was also become more widespread. The Indian one-child policy did not rely on the threat of force, in contrast to China's rigid and obligatory one-child policy. More prosperous areas of India adopted family planning more rapidly than less prosperous areas, which continued to have a high birth rate. From this plan onward, military five-year plans were synchronised with the plans of the Planning Commission. The Indian economy benefited greatly from the Sixth Five-Year Plan. 5.7% was the actual growth rate as opposed to the 5.2% targeted growth rate.

2.7 Seventh Five Year Plan (1985-1990)

The Congress Party was in charge of the Seventh Five-Year Plan, and Rajiv Gandhi served as the prime minister. The plan placed emphasis on raising industry production levels through technological advancements. The Seventh Five-Year Plan's primary goals were to generate growth in the areas of rising economic output, food grain production, and creating jobs through "Social Justice." The Sixth Five-Year Plan had resulted in stable agricultural growth, restrictions on the rate of inflation, and a favourable balance of payments, all of which had given the Seventh Five-Year Plan a solid foundation upon which to build in order to meet the demand for more economic expansion. The Seventh Plan had aimed for energy production and socialism in general. The Seventh Five-Year Plan's main objectives were to achieve social justice, end oppression of the weak, use modern technology, develop agriculture, implement anti-poverty initiatives, ensure that everyone had access to enough food, clothing, and shelter, boost the productivity of both small- and large-scale farmers, and turn India into an independent economy. The Seventh Plan was focused on achieving the conditions of self-sustaining growth by the year 2000 after 15 years of trying for continuous growth. According to the proposal, there would be a 39 million increase in the labour force, and employment would increase at a 4% annual pace. The seventh five-year plan for India is expected to produce a number of results, including: Balance of payments (estimates): Export - 330 billion (US\$4.1 billion), Imports - (-) 540 billion (US\$6.8 billion), Trade Balance - (-) 210 billion (US\$2.6 billion); merchandise exports (estimates): 606.53 billion (US\$7.6 billion); merchandise imports (estimates): 954.37 billion (US\$12.0 billion India worked to create a self-sustaining economy under the Seventh Five-Year Plan, with significant assistance from philanthropic organisations and the general public. The actual growth rate was 6.01% [12] as opposed to the anticipated growth rate of 5.0%, while the per capita income increased by 3.7%.

The Eighth Plan could not take off in 1990 due to the fast-changing economic situation at the centre and the years 1990–91 and 1991–92 were treated as Annual Plans. The Eighth Plan was finally formulated for the period 1992–1997.

2.8 Eighth Five Year Plan (1992-1997)

India experienced economic instability between 1989 and 1991, hence no Five-Year Plan was put into action. All that existed between 1990 and 1992 were Annual Plans. India experienced a foreign exchange (forex) reserve crisis in 1991, with only roughly \$1 billion in reserves remaining. As a result of this pressure, the nation decided to alter the socialist economy. P.V. Narasimha Rao, the ninth prime minister of the Republic of India and leader of the Congress Party, presided over one of the most significant governments in the country's modern history. He oversaw a significant economic transition as well as various security-related incidents. At that time, Dr. Manmohan Singh (later India's prime minister) started the country's free market reforms, which saved it from going bankrupt. In India, LPG (liberalisation, privatisation, and globalisation) was just getting started. Modernization of industries was one of the Eighth Plan's key achievements. In accordance with this approach, the Indian economy was gradually opened up in order to address the growing deficit and foreign debt. India joined the World Trade Organization on January 1, 1995. Controlling population growth, reducing poverty, creating jobs, bolstering infrastructure, institutional building, managing tourism, developing human resources, involving NGOs, Panchayati raj, Nagar Palikas, and local governments, as well as decentralization and public participation, were some of the major goals. A priority was given to energy, receiving 26.6% of the budget. The actual growth rate was 6.8% compared to the target growth rate of 5.6%. Investment of 23.2% of the GDP was necessary to reach the aim of an average of 5.6% every year. The ratio of incremental capital is 4.1. Both domestic and foreign savings were expected to contribute to the investment fund, with domestic savings accounting for 21.6% of GDP and overseas savings for 1.6% of GDP, respectively.

2.9 Ninth Five Year Plan (1997-2002)

After 50 years of Indian Independence, the Ninth Five-Year Plan was implemented. During the Ninth Plan, India's prime minister was Atal Bihari Vajpayee. The Ninth Plan's main goal was to exploit the nation's untapped economic potential to advance both social and economic development. In an endeavour to completely eradicate poverty, it provided the social sectors of the nation with substantial support. The states' capacity to continue on the path of faster development was also guaranteed by the Eighth Five-Year Plan's successful execution. Public and commercial sectors worked together to ensure the nation's economic progress during the ninth five-year plan. Additionally, the public and governmental organisations throughout the nation's rural and urban areas contributed to development during the Ninth Five-Year Plan. During the Ninth Plan, new implementation strategies in the form of Special Action Plans (SAPs) were developed in order to meet targets within the allotted period with sufficient resources. The SAPs included sections on water policy, agriculture, information technology, and social infrastructure. The overall public sector plan outlay for the Ninth Five-Year Plan was 859,200 crore (US\$110 billion). In compared to the Eighth Five-Year Plan, the Ninth Five-Year Plan saw increases in plan expenditure of 48% and plan outlay of 33%. The center's portion of the total expenditure was almost 57%, compared to 43% for the states and union territories. The relationship between the country's rapid economic expansion and the quality of life for its citizens was the emphasis of the ninth five-year plan. This plan's main objective was to boost national growth while placing a strong emphasis on social fairness and equity. Combining growth-oriented policies with the goal of accomplishing the desired objective of enhancing policies that would work towards the improvement of poor was given significant weight in the Ninth Five-Year Plan. The historical injustices that were still pervasive in society were another goal of the Ninth Plan. The Ninth Five-Year Plan's primary goals were to reduce historical disparities and boost the nation's economic growth. The following additional elements made up the ninth five-year plan: population control, creating jobs by making agriculture and rural development a priority, decrease in poverty ensuring that the hungry and thirsty have access to food and drink. Primary healthcare facilities and other essentials are accessible. All children in the nation are given access to primary education, empowering socially underprivileged groups like Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, and other underprivileged groups, become more independent in terms of agriculture, acceleration of economic expansion, made possible by price stability. The plan included strategies including the structural changes and advancements of the Indian economy. To address the issues facing the nation's economy, new measures and remedial

action were being taken, effective use of limited resources to guarantee quick growth, public and private backing combined to boost employment boosting export growth rates to achieve independence, offering utilities like electricity, telecommunications, railroads, etc., and developing special strategies to help the nation's socially vulnerable groups. involvement and participation of Nagar Palikas and other Panchayati Raj institutions/bodies in the development process.

Against a target of 6.5%, the GDP growth rate for the Ninth Five-Year Plan was 5.4%. Compared to the anticipated growth rate of 4.2%, the agriculture sector increased at a pace of 2.1%. In comparison to the aim of 3%, the country's industrial growth was 4.5%. The growth rate for the service sector was 7.8%. 6.7% annual increase was attained on average. The Ninth Five-Year Plan examined the country's historical shortcomings in order to build new policies for its overall socioeconomic development. However, the government's agencies as well as the country's general populace should collaborate in order for any economy to be well-planned. To ensure India's economy expands, public, private, and all levels of government must work together. Actual growth was 6.8% compared to the target growth rate of 7.1%.

2.10 Tenth Five Year Plan (2002-2007)

The main objectives of the Tenth Five-Year Plan was to attain 8% GDP growth per year.

Reduction of poverty rate by 5% by 2007. Providing, gainful and high-quality employment at least to the addition to the labour force. Reduction in gender gaps in literacy and wage rates by at least 50% by 2007. 20-point program was introduced. Target growth: 8.1% – growth achieved: 7.7%. The Tenth Plan was expected to follow a regional approach rather than sectoral approach to bring down regional inequalities. Expenditure of 43,825 crore (US\$5.5 billion) for tenth five years. Out of total plan outlay, 921,291 crore (US\$120 billion) (57.9%) was for central government and 691,009 crore (US\$87 billion) (42.1%) was for states and union territories.

2.11 Eleventh Five Year Plan (2007-2012)

Manmohan Singh was the prime minister at the time. By 2011–12, it hoped to raise the number of 18–23 year olds enrolled in higher education. The confluence of formal, non-formal, remote, and IT education institutions was its main focus, inclusive and quick growth (poverty reduction), emphasis on the social sector and service delivery there. empowerment through way of training and skill improvement, decrease in gender inequality sustainable environmental practices, to raise the growth rates of industry, services, and agriculture to 4%, 10%, and 9%, respectively, lower the overall fertility rate at 2.1, all people have access to safe water by 2009, raise agricultural expansion to 4%.

2.12 Twelfth Five Year Plan (2012-2017)

The Twelfth Five-Year Plan was intended to attain a growth rate of 9%, however on December 27, 2012, the National Development Council (NDC) approved a growth rate of 8% for the Twelfth Plan. The Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission, Montek Singh Ahluwalia, has stated that it is impossible to achieve an average growth rate of 9% over the next five years due to the deteriorating global scenario. The National Development Council meeting in New Delhi approved the plan, setting the final growth target at 8%. It is not possible to think of an average of 9% [in the Twelfth Plan]. I think somewhere between 8 and 8.5 percent is feasible," Ahluwalia said on the sidelines of a conference of State Planning Boards and departments. The approached paper for the Twelfth Plan, approved last year, talked about an annual average growth rate of 9%. When I say feasible... that will require a major effort. If you don't do that, there is no God-given right to grow at 8 percent. I think given that the world economy deteriorated very sharply over the last year...the growth rate in the first year of the 12th Plan (2012–13) is 6.5 to 7 percent. He also indicated that soon he should share his views with other members of the commission to choose a final number (economic growth target) to put before the country's NDC for its approval.

The government intends to reduce poverty by 10% during the 12th Five-Year Plan. Ahluwalia said, "We aim to reduce poverty estimates by 9% annually on a sustainable basis during the Plan period". Earlier, addressing a conference of State Planning Boards and Planning departments, he said the rate of decline in poverty doubled during the Eleventh Plan. The commission had said while using the Tendulkar poverty line, the rate of reduction in the five years between 2004–05 and 2009–10,

was about 1.5% points each year, which was twice that when compared to the period between 1993–95 to 2004–05. The plan aims towards the betterment of the infrastructural projects of the nation avoiding all types of bottlenecks. The document presented by the planning commission is aimed to attract private investments of up to US\$1 trillion in the infrastructural growth in the 12th five-year plan, which will also ensure a reduction in the subsidy burden of the government to 1.5 percent from 2 percent of the GDP (gross domestic product). The UID (Unique Identification Number) will act as a platform for cash transfer of the subsidies in the plan.

The objectives of the Twelfth Five-Year Plan were:

- To create 50 million new work opportunities in the non-farm sector.
- To remove gender and social gap in school enrolment.
- To enhance access to higher education.
- To reduce malnutrition among children aged 0–3 years.
- To provide electricity to all villages.
- To ensure that 50% of the rural population has access to proper drinking water.
- To increase green cover by 1 million hectares every year.
- To provide access to banking services to 90% of households.

With the Planning Commission dissolved, no more formal plans are made for the economy, but Five-Year Defence Plans continue to be made. The latest would have been 2017–2022. However, there is no Thirteenth Five-Year Plan.

Summary

From 1947 to 2017, the Indian economy was premised on the concept of planning. This was carried through the Five-Year Plans, developed, executed, and monitored by the Planning Commission (1951-2014) and the NITI Aayog (2015-2017). With the prime minister as the ex-officio chairman, the commission has a nominated deputy chairman, who holds the rank of a cabinet minister. Montek Singh Ahluwalia is the last deputy chairman of the commission (resigned on 26 May 2014). The Twelfth Plan completed its term in March 2017. Prior to the Fourth Plan, the allocation of state resources was based on schematic patterns rather than a transparent and objective mechanism, which led to the adoption for the Gadgil formula in 1969. Revised versions of the formula have been used since then to determine the allocation of central assistance for state plans. The new government led by Narendra Modi, elected in 2014, has announced the dissolution of the Planning Commission, and its replacement by a think tank called the NITI Aayog (an acronym for National Institution for Transforming India).

Keywords

- Development
- Poverty
- economic transition
- liberalization.

Self Assessment

1. Who was the last deputy chairman of the planning commission?
 - A. Shri R.P Sinha
 - B. Shri Shyamal Ghosh
 - C. Shri Vinay Kohli
 - D. Shri Montek Singh Ahluwalia

2. In which year was the twelfth plan completed?
 - A. 2016
 - B. 2015
 - C. 2017
 - D. 2014

3. What was brought in place of the planning commission in 2014?
 - A. NITI Aayog
 - B. Stand Up India Scheme
 - C. NABARD
 - D. SEBI

4. What does NITI Aayog stand for?
 - A. National Institute for Technology India
 - B. National Institute for Transforming India
 - C. National Interest for Technology India
 - D. National Interest for Transforming India

5. Who implemented the first five year plan?
 - A. Jawahar Lal Nehru
 - B. Lal Bahadur Shastri
 - C. Smt. Indira Gandhi
 - D. Joseph Stalin

6. Who implemented the first five year plan in India?
 - A. Morarji Desai
 - B. Charan Singh
 - C. Jawaharlal Nehru
 - D. Rajiv Gandhi

7. What was the focus of the first five year plan?
 - A. Development of the service sector
 - B. Development of the primary sector
 - C. Development of the agricultural sector
 - D. None of the above

8. Which economic model was followed in the first five year plan?
 - A. The Aggregate Production Function
 - B. The Basic Growth Model
 - C. The Harrod-Domar Model
 - D. The Neo-classical Growth Model

9. What was the motto of the first five year plan?
 - A. Development of finance

- B. Development of technology
 - C. Development of secondary sector
 - D. Development of agriculture
10. Which of the following irrigation projects were initiated during the first five year plan?
- A. Bhakra
 - B. Beas
 - C. Bhima
 - D. Chambal
11. Which educational institution was set up during the first five year plan?
- A. Indian Institutes of Science
 - B. Indian Institutes of Technology
 - C. Jawaharlal Nehru University
 - D. Banaras Hindu University
12. Which statutory body of higher education was set up in the first five year plan?
- A. University Grants Commission
 - B. All India Council of Technical Education
 - C. Medical Council of India
 - D. National Council for Teacher Education
13. What was the focus of the second 5-year plan?
- A. Irrigation
 - B. Service sector
 - C. Public sector
 - D. Agriculture
14. Which economic model was followed in the second 5-year plan?
- A. Romer growth model
 - B. Classical model
 - C. Production possibility frontier
 - D. Mahalanobis model
15. Which five year plan saw the devaluation of the Indian rupee?
- A. First
 - B. Second
 - C. Third
 - D. Fourth
16. Which years were plan holidays for the Indian economy?
- A. 1966-1969
 - B. 1965-1968
 - C. 1967-1970
 - D. 1964-1967

17. Which of the following was not a reason for plan holidays to be executed in India?
- A. War
 - B. Lack of resources
 - C. Increase in inflation
 - D. Increase in imports
18. Which agricultural initiative was implemented during the fourth plan?
- A. E-NAM
 - B. National Mission for Sustainable Agriculture
 - C. Green revolution
 - D. Pradhan Mantri FasalBima Yojana
19. What was the primary focus of the fifth 5-year plan?
- A. Poverty alleviation
 - B. Industrialization
 - C. Defence
 - D. Agriculture
20. Which system was introduced to accommodate traffic during the fifth 5-year plan?
- A. Indigenous Intelligent Transportation Systems
 - B. Rural Roads Transportation Systems
 - C. Indian National Highways System
 - D. Indian Railways System
21. Which government introduced the rolling plan after 1980?
- A. Janata Party
 - B. Indian National Congress
 - C. Communist Party of India
 - D. National People's Party
22. The seventh 5-year plan focused on _____
- A. Social justice
 - B. Removal of the oppression of the weak
 - C. Agricultural development
 - D. All of the above
23. Which two years carried out annual plans due to the fast changing economic situation of the country?
- A. 1990-1992
 - B. 1991-1993
 - C. 1992-1994
 - D. 1989-1991

Answers for Self Assessment

- | | | | | |
|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| 1. D | 2. C | 3. A | 4. B | 5. D |
| 6. C | 7. B | 8. C | 9. D | 10. A |
| 11. B | 12. A | 13. C | 14. D | 15. C |
| 16. A | 17. D | 18. C | 19. A | 20. C |
| 21. A | 22. D | 23. A | | |

Review Questions

1. Why the five year plan model was adopted?
2. What was the focus of first plan?
3. Why the NITI Ayog came up?
4. Which plan adopted the liberalization?
5. What do you understand by Rolling plans?



Further Readings

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Unit 03: New Economic Policy

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Objectives

- To understand what was the new economic policy about
- To understand the policies before liberalisation
- To understand the policy changes to give way to liberalisation

Introduction

In the early 1990s, India faced a major crisis followed by a foreign exchange deficit, resulting in its economic downfall. To overcome the crisis, the government came up with adjustments to the economy by bringing new reforms. The reforms introduced were called 'structural reforms' and launched under the 'New Economic Policy (NEP)'. The New Economic Policy was introduced in 1991 under the leadership of P. V. Narasimha Rao. It refers to the economic activities of the government and includes various policy and structural reform methods like stabilisation measures to control inflation and correct BoP (Balance of Payment), improving the efficiency of the economy, and increasing international competitiveness.

The economic liberalisation in India refers to the opening of the country's economy to the world with the goal of making the economy more market and service-oriented, thus expanding the role of private and foreign investment. Indian economic liberalisation was part of a general pattern of economic liberalisation occurring across the world in the late 20th century. Although some attempts at liberalisation were made in 1966 and the early 1980s, a more thorough liberalisation was initiated in 1991. The reform was prompted by a balance of payments crisis that had led to a severe recession and also as per structural adjustment programs for taking loans from IMF and World Bank. Through reform, India overcame its worst economic crisis in the remarkably short period of two years. Specific changes included reducing import tariffs, deregulating markets, and reducing taxes, which led to an increase in foreign investment and high economic growth in the 1990s and 2000s. From 1992 to 2005, foreign investment increased 316.9%, and India's gross domestic product (GDP) grew from \$266 billion in 1991 to \$2.3 trillion in 2018. According to one study, wages rose on the whole, as well as wages as the labor-to-capital relative share. As an effect of the liberalisation in 1991, Poverty reduced from 36 percent in 1993-94 to 24.1 percent in 1999-2000. India also increasingly integrated its economy with the global economy. The ratio of total exports of goods and services to GDP in India approximately doubled from 7.3 percent in 1990 to 14 percent in 2000. This rise was less dramatic on the import side but was significant, from 9.9 percent in 1990 to 16.6 percent in 2000. Within 10 years, the ratio of total goods and services trade to GDP rose from 17.2 percent to 30.6 percent. Liberalisation policies of Indian government

have been criticised for increasing income inequality and concentration of wealth.^[9] The reforms have also been criticised for worsening rural living standards and unemployment and increasing farmer suicides.

3.1 Policies Before Liberalisation

Indian economic policy after independence was influenced by the colonial experience (which was exploitative in nature) and by those leaders', particularly prime minister Nehru's exposure to Fabian socialism. Under the Congress party governments of Nehru, and his successors policy tended towards protectionism, with a strong emphasis on import substitution industrialization under state monitoring, state intervention at the micro level in all businesses especially in labour and financial markets, a large public sector, business regulation, and central planning. Five-Year Plans of India resembled central planning in the Soviet Union. Under the Industrial Development Regulation Act of 1951, steel, mining, machine tools, water, telecommunications, insurance, and electrical plants, among other industries, were effectively nationalised. Elaborate licences, regulations and the accompanying red tape, commonly referred to as Licence Raj, were required to set up business in India between 1947 and 1990. The Indian economy of this period is characterised as Dirigism.

Licence Raj established an "irresponsible, self-perpetuating bureaucracy" and corruption flourished under this system. Only four or five licences would be given for steel, electrical power and communications, allowing license owners to build huge and powerful empires without competition. A huge public sector emerged, allowing state-owned enterprises to incur record losses without being shut down. Controls on business creation also led to poor infrastructure development. During the brief rule by the Janata party in late 1970s, the government seeking to promote economic self-reliance and indigenous industries, required multi-national corporations to go into partnership with Indian corporations. The policy proved controversial, diminishing foreign investment and led to the high-profile exit of corporations such as Coca-Cola and IBM from India. By 1980, this had created widespread economic stagnation. The annual growth rate of the Indian economy had stagnated around 3.5% from the 1950s to 1980s, while per-capita income growth averaged 1.3%.

In 1966, due to rapid inflation caused by an increasing budget deficit accompanying the Sino-Indian War and severe drought, the Indian government was forced to seek monetary aid from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank. Pressure from aid donors caused a shift towards economic liberalisation, wherein the rupee was devalued to combat inflation and cheapen exports and the former system of tariffs and export subsidies was abolished. However, a second poor harvest and subsequent industrial recession helped fuel political backlash against liberalisation, characterised by resentment at foreign involvement in the Indian economy and fear that it might signal a broader shift away from socialist policies. As a result, trade restrictions were reintroduced and the Foreign Investments Board was established in 1968 to scrutinise companies investing in India with more than 40% foreign equity participation. World Bank loans continued to be taken for agricultural projects since 1972, and these continued as international seed companies that were able to enter Indian markets after the 1991 liberalisation. As it became evident that the Indian economy was lagging behind its East and Southeast Asian neighbors, the governments of Indira Gandhi and subsequently Rajiv Gandhi began pursuing economic liberalisation. The governments loosened restrictions on business creation and import controls while also promoting the growth of the telecommunications and software industries. Reforms under lead to an increase in the average GDP growth rate from 2.9 percent in the 1970s to 5.6 percent, although they failed to fix systemic issues with the Licence Raj. Despite Rajiv Gandhi's dream for more systemic reforms, the Bofors scandal tarnished his government's reputation and impeded his liberalisation efforts.

3.2 Policies After Liberalisation (1991)

By 1991, India still had a fixed exchange rate system, where the rupee was pegged to the value of a basket of currencies of major trading partners. India started having balance of payments problems in 1985, and by the end of 1990, the state of India was in a serious economic crisis. The government was close to default, its central bank had refused new credit, and foreign exchange reserves had reduced to the point that India could barely finance two weeks' worth of imports. The collapse of the Chandra Shekhar government in the midst of the crisis and

the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi led to the election of a new Congress government led by P. V. Narasimha Rao. He selected Amar Nath Verma to be his Principal Secretary and Manmohan Singh to be finance minister and gave them complete support in doing whatever they thought was necessary to solve the crisis. Verma helped draft the New Industrial Policy alongside Chief Economic Advisor Rakesh Mohan, and it laid out a plan to foster Indian industry in five points. Firstly, it abolished the License Raj by removing licensing restrictions for all industries except for 18 that "related to security and strategic concerns, social reasons, problems related to safety and overriding environmental issues." To incentivise foreign investment, it laid out a plan to pre-approve all investment up to 51% foreign equity participation, allowing foreign companies to bring modern technology and industrial development. To further incentivise technological advancement, the old policy of government approval for foreign technology agreements was scrapped. The fourth point proposed to dismantle public monopolies by floating shares of public sector companies and limiting public sector growth to essential infrastructure, goods and services, mineral exploration, and defense manufacturing. Finally the concept of an MRTP company, where companies whose assets surpassed a certain value were placed under government supervision, was scrapped.

Meanwhile, Manmohan Singh worked on a new budget that would come to be known as the Epochal Budget. The primary concern was getting the fiscal deficit under control, and he sought to do this by curbing government expenses. Part of this was the disinvestment in public sector companies, but accompanying this was a reduction in subsidies for fertilizer and abolition of subsidies for sugar. He also dealt with the depletion of foreign exchange reserves during the crisis with a 19 per cent devaluation of the rupee with respect to the US dollar, a change which sought to make exports cheaper and accordingly provide the necessary foreign exchange reserves. The devaluation made petroleum more expensive to import, so Singh proposed to lower the price of kerosene to benefit the poorer citizens who depended on it while raising petroleum prices for industry and fuel. On 24 July 1991, Manmohan Singh presented the budget alongside his outline for broader reform. During the speech he laid out a new trade policy oriented towards promoting exports and removing import controls. Specifically, he proposed limiting tariff rates to no more than 150 percent while also lowering rates across the board, reducing excise duties, and abolishing export subsidies.

In August 1991, the Reserve Bank of India (RBI) Governor established the Narasimham Committee to recommend changes to the financial system. Recommendations included reducing the statutory liquidity ratio (SLR) and cash reserve ratio (CRR) from 38.5% and 15% respectively to 25% and 10% respectively, allowing market forces to dictate interest rates instead of the government, placing banks under the sole control of the RBI, and reducing the number of public sector banks. The government heeded some of these suggestions, including cutting the SLR and CRR rates, liberalizing interest rates, loosening restrictions on private banks, and allowing banks to open branches free from government mandate. On 12 November 1991, based on an application from the Government of India, World Bank sanctioned a structural adjustment loan/credit that consisted of two components - an IBRD loan of \$250 million to be paid over 20 years, and an IDA credit of SDR 183.8 million (equivalent to \$250 million) with 35 years maturity, through India's ministry of finance, with the President of India as the borrower. The loan was meant primarily to support the government's program of stabilization and economic reform. This specified deregulation, increased foreign direct investment, liberalisation of the trade regime, reforming domestic interest rates, strengthening capital markets (stock exchanges), and initiating public enterprise reform (selling off public enterprises). As part of a bailout deal with the IMF, India was forced to pledge 20 tonnes of gold to Union Bank of Switzerland and 47 tonnes to the Bank of England and Bank of Japan. The reforms drew heavy scrutiny from opposition leaders. The New Industrial Policy and 1991 Budget was decried by opposition leaders as "command budget from the IMF" and worried that withdrawal of subsidies for fertilizers and hikes in oil prices would harm lower and middle-class citizens. Critics also derided devaluation, fearing it would worsen runaway inflation that would hit the poorest citizens the hardest while doing nothing to fix the trade deficit. In the face of vocal opposition, the support and political will of the prime minister was crucial in order to see through the reforms. Rao was often referred to as *Chanakya* for his ability to steer tough economic and political legislation through the parliament at a time when he headed a minority government.

Objectives of new policy was :

- The main objective of the NEP was to open the Indian economy into the Globalisation arena and provide a new direction to the Indian market.
- The NEP focused on reducing the rate of inflation and building up foreign exchange reserves to accelerate the economic growth of the country.
- The NEP aimed at increasing the participation of the private sector in economic growth by reducing the number of sectors reserved for the government.
- The NEP was intended at permitting a global movement of goods and services, capital, human resources, and technology by reducing trade restrictions.
- The NEP aimed at attaining economic stability and an economic market by eliminating all the unessential trade and tariff restrictions.

Under the Liberalisation Policy, the government of India introduced various economic reforms. These reforms are:

- **Industrial Sector Reforms:** This reform included policies like Reduction in Industrial Licensing, Decrease in the Role of the Public Sector, De-reservation under Small-Scale Industries, and the Monopolies and Restrictive Trade Practices (MRTP) Act.
- **Financial Sector Reforms:** This reform included policies like Change in the Role of RBI, Origin of Private Banks, Increase in limit of Foreign Investment, and Ease in the Expansion Process.
- **Tax Reforms:** There are generally two types of taxes, Direct and Indirect Taxes. This reform included policies like the Rationalisation of Direct Taxes, Reform in Indirect Taxes, and Simplification of Process.
- **Foreign Exchange Reforms:** This reform included policies like the Devaluation of Rupee and Market Determination of Exchange Rate.
- **Trade and Investment Policy Reforms:** This reform included policies like the Removal of Quantitative Restrictions on Import and Export, Removal of Export Duties, Restriction in Import Duties, and Relaxation in Import Licensing System.

Measures of the LPG Policy

1. Due to the Liberalisation of the economy, the market got opened up to more foreign investments and import and export of goods.
2. The Liberalisation Policy helped in reducing the dependence on foreign loans and expand the banking sectors and capital markets.
3. Privatisation Policy helped in opening up the industries, that were reserved for the public sector, to the private sector.
4. Privatisation Policy helped in reducing the monopolies of the government by increasing competition.
5. Privatisation of PSUs resulted in the promotion of efficient and improved quality of goods and services for the consumers.
6. The Globalisation Policy helped in opening the local market to the global market which helped India in connecting with the global financial markets.
7. It helped in opening up the economy to foreign direct investment and reducing international trade restrictions.

Reforms led to the achievement of recognizable increases in international competitiveness in a number of sectors including autocomponents, telecommunications, software, pharmaceuticals, biotechnology, research and development, and professional services provided by scientists, technologists, doctors, nurses,

teachers, management professionals and similar professions. Foreign investment in the country (including foreign direct investment, portfolio investment, and investment raised on international capital markets) increased from US\$132 million in 1991-92 to \$5.3 billion in 1995-96. Poverty reduced from 36 percent in 1993-94 to 26.1 percent in 1999-00. Within 10 years, the ratio of total goods and services trade to GDP rose from 17.2 percent to 30.6 percent. After the reforms, life expectancy and literacy rates continued to increase at roughly the same rate as before the reforms. For the first 10 years after the 1991 reforms, GDP also continued to increase at roughly the same rate as before the reforms. However, the average annual growth rates in GDP, post the 1990s has shown a significant increase, having been around 6.25 per cent against 4.18 per cent for the three decades prior to the reforms.

Liberalisation did not affect all parts of India equally. Urban residents have benefited more than rural residents. An analysis of the effects of liberalisation across multiple Indian states found that states with pro-worker labor laws saw slower industry expansion than those with pro-employer labor laws, as industries moved towards states with friendlier business climates.

By 1997, it became evident that no governing coalition would try to dismantle liberalisation, although governments avoided taking on powerful lobbies such as trade unions and farmers on contentious issues such as reforming labour laws and reducing agricultural subsidies. By the turn of the 21st century, India had progressed towards a free-market economy, with a substantial reduction in state control of the economy and increased financial liberalisation. Institutions like the OECD which promote neoliberal free-market economics applauded the changes. Its annual growth in GDP per capita accelerated from just 1¼ per cent in the three decades after Independence to 7½ per cent currently, a rate of growth that will double the average income in a decade. In service sectors where government regulation has been eased significantly or is less burdensome – such as communications, insurance, asset management and information technology – output has grown rapidly, with exports of information technology-enabled services particularly strong. In those infrastructure sectors which have been opened to competition, such as telecoms and civil aviation, the private sector has proven to be extremely effective and growth has been phenomenal. In 2006 India recorded its highest GDP growth rate of 9.6% becoming the second fastest growing major economy in the world, next only to China. The growth rate has slowed significantly in the first half of 2012. The economy then rebounded to 7.3% growth in 2015, 7.9% in 2015 and 8.2% in 2016 before falling to 6.7% in 2017, 6.5% in 2018 and 4% in 2019.

The United Front government attempted a progressive budget that encouraged reforms, but the 1997 Asian financial crisis and political instability created economic stagnation. The Vajpayee administration continued liberal reforms. NDA Coalition began privatizing government-owned business including hotels, VSNL, Maruti Suzuki, and airports. The coalition also began reducing taxes, enacted a fiscal policy aimed at reducing deficits and debts and increased initiatives for public works. Towards the end of 2011, the second UPA Coalition Government initiated the introduction of 51% Foreign Direct Investment in retail sector. But due to pressure from coalition parties and the opposition, the decision was delayed. It was later approved in December 2012. The second NDA Government also opened up the coal industry through the passing of the Coal Mines (Special Provisions) Bill of 2015. It effectively ended the state monopoly over the mining of coal sector and opened up the for private, foreign investments, as well as private sector mining of coal. In the 2016 budget session of Parliament, the Modi led NDA Government pushed through the Insolvency and Bankruptcy Code to create time-bound processes for insolvency resolution of companies and individuals. On 1 July 2017, the NDA Government under Modi approved Goods and Services Tax Act after the legislation was first proposed 17 years earlier under the NDA Government in 2000 to replace multiple indirect taxes with a unified tax structure. On 20 September 2019 Finance Minister Nirmala Sitharaman announced reduction of the base corporate tax rate from 30% to 22% for companies that do not seek exemptions, and reduced the rate for new manufacturing companies from 25% to 15%. This was followed with proposal of agricultural and labour reforms in 2020.

Summary

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, devalued the Indian currency to increase the export. This is also known as the LPG Model of growth. New Economic Policy refers to economic

liberalisation 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.

Keywords

- Privatisation
- Liberalisation
- Globalisation

Self Assessment

1. What was the amount that India borrowed in the 1980s from the IMF, International Monetary Fund?
 - A. 7 billion
 - B. 10 billion
 - C. 12 billion
 - D. 5 billion
2. At the peak of 1990 India had foreign reserves for how many weeks of import?
 - A. 3 weeks
 - B. 1 week
 - C. 2 weeks
 - D. 4 weeks
3. Who was India's prime minister during 1990 when the economic crisis was unfolding?
 - A. Narendra Modi
 - B. Manmohan Singh
 - C. Atal Bihari Vajpayee
 - D. Chandra Shekhar
4. What is called the twin deficits of 1990?
 - A. Gold reserves and foreign exchanges
 - B. Imports and exports
 - C. Devaluation of rupee and inflation
 - D. Deficit in trade balance and fiscal deficit
5. What did the Indian government do to get a loan from the IMF?
 - A. Gave government bonds as collateral
 - B. Gave India's gold reserves as collateral
 - C. Made business deals with other countries
 - D. Followed protectionism of the domestic market
6. What led the way to liberalization in India?
 - A. Fall of the Soviet Union
 - B. The economic crisis and deficits
 - C. The war between India and Pakistan

- D. Gulf War
7. What were the main causes of the depreciation of the Indian currency in 1990?
- A. Privatisation of the Indian market
 - B. India's foreign policy relations with the Soviet Union
 - C. Deficits, the overvaluation of the rupee and investor confidence
 - D. Starting of the Gulf war in the middle east
8. What was India's gross fiscal deficit in 1990?
- A. 15% of Indian GDP
 - B. 18% of Indian GDP
 - C. 12.7% of Indian GDP
 - D. 10.4% of Indian GDP
9. How did the Reserve Bank of India handle the depreciation of the Indian currency during the 1990-1991 period?
- A. Sold India's gold reserves
 - B. Introduced Market reforms
 - C. Invited foreign countries for investments
 - D. Expanded international reserves and slowed the decline in value
10. What was India's foreign exchange reserve value in January 1991?
- A. 7 billion dollars
 - B. 6 billion dollars
 - C. 3 billion dollars
 - D. 1.2 billion dollars
11. Under whose prime minister's ship did the government bring about liberalisation in Indian media?
- A. Chandra Shekar
 - B. Manmohan Singh
 - C. C.P.V Narsimha Rao
 - D. Atal Bihari Vajpayee
12. To which two banks did India airlift gold as collateral for a loan?
- A. Bank of England and Union Bank of Switzerland
 - B. Union bank of Switzerland and Asian Development Bank
 - C. Asian Development Bank and Bank of England
 - D. Citi Bank and Royal Bank of Scotland
13. Who was India's Finance minister during Economic reforms of 1991?
- A. Manmohan Singh
 - B. Arun Jaitley
 - C. P.Chidambaram
 - D. Nirmala Sithraman

14. Structural reforms and stabilization measures come under which policy branch?
 - A. Industrial policy
 - B. Monetary regulations
 - C. New Economic policy
 - D. Financial Policy

15. Which organization is responsible for regulating the financial sector in India?
 - A. RBI
 - B. NSE
 - C. SBE
 - D. Ministry of Finance

16. After the finance sector reforms there was a limit on foreign financial investment. What was the percentage of the limit?
 - A. 80%
 - B. 70%
 - C. 50%
 - D. 74%

17. Which of the following organizations is a Navratna?
 - A. National Aluminium Company [NALCO]
 - B. BSNL
 - C. Air India
 - D. Indian Oil Corporation

18. What is the policy that works on integrating the the country's economy and global economy?
 - A. Liberalisation
 - B. Privatisation
 - C. Globalisation
 - D. Protectionism

19. What is the name of the organisation that is the predecessor of the World Trade Organization?
 - A. International Monetary Fund
 - B. World Bank
 - C. General Agreement on Trade and Tariff
 - D. United Nations

20. What is another name for the World Bank?
 - A. Asian Development Bank
 - B. International Bank of Reconstruction and Development
 - C. Swiss Bank of Development

- D. Union Development Bank
21. When were Economic reforms introduced in India?
- A. 1985
 - B. 1995
 - C. 1990
 - D. 1991
22. What was the issue that was being addressed through the Economic reforms of 1991?
- A. Depreciation of the Indian rupee
 - B. Crisis in Foreign exchange
 - C. Economic policy failure
 - D. All of these
23. Who initiated the New Economic Policy in 1991?
- A. Prime Minister
 - B. Education Minister
 - C. Finance Minister
 - D. Foreign Minister
24. What was the objective of the New Economic Policy 1991?
- A. Structural transformation
 - B. Reorganizing Public Administration
 - C. Economic reforms
 - D. Management of Foreign trade
25. Which was one of the acts that got quashed after the introduction of NEP in 1991?
- A. FCRA
 - B. MRTP
 - C. POSH
 - D. MDVP

Answers for Self Assessment

- | | | | | |
|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| 1. A | 2. A | 3. D | 4. D | 5. B |
| 6. B | 7. C | 8. C | 9. D | 10. D |
| 11. C | 12. A | 13. A | 14. C | 15. A |
| 16. D | 17. A | 18. C | 19. C | 20. B |
| 21. D | 22. B | 23. A | 24. C | 25. B |

Review Questions

1. What do you understand by New economic policy in Indian context?
2. What reforms were taken up in liberalisation of Indian economy?
3. Elaborate the features of economic policy before liberalisation.
4. What were the impacts of liberalisation on Indian economic system?



Further Readings

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Unit04: Process of Globalization

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Objectives

- To understand the term " globalization.
- To examine the impact of globalization throughout the world
- To assess the Social Implications to India
- To describe the economic Implications to India.

Introduction

The term 'Globalization' is in itself self-explanatory. It is a global platform for maintaining evenness in the living mode of the individuals all over the world. Globalisation is the resultant of the interchange of worldly views, opinions and varied aspects of the culture all over the world. This is the method of giving the globalised world a way of intermixing of individuals from various segments, culture and lingos and figure out how to move and approach socially without harming and influencing every others' prestige and glory. Globalization highly affects social, fiscal, political, and mutual existence of nations. Plentiful hypothetical investigations exhibited that globalization mediates in a social existence of people that pertains various basic issues. Globalization is depicted by scholars as the procedure through which social orders and economies are incorporated through cross-border flows of thoughts, correspondence, innovation, capital, individuals, finances, merchandise, administrations, services and information. The term globalization means international integration, the world trade prospects being opened, development of advanced means of communication, internationalization of financial markets, growing importance of MNC's and population migrations. It has also widened the scope of the mobility of persons, goods, capital, data and ideas. It is a way through which the dissimilar world is unified into one society. The wave of globalization started entering and effecting India at the end of the last century and still the country is flowing with the present of global changes

Globalization has both positive and negative effects all through the globe. May it be business, trade, and work exposure or the economic and financial status of the nation; no field is deserted from the scope of globalization. The culture and way of living of any nation does not just depict the region and dialect of the locale, yet it also shows with the attitude and mindset of its people. Indian culture is very rich for its legacy and assets, and the warm approach of its residents. India is bunch of flowers consisting of various religion, languages, food, cuisine and edibles, convention, custom, music, craftsmanship and architecture and so forth, packaged into a solitary unit of patriotism and solidarity. The common factor of these varieties is the Indian attitude of greeting, welcoming,

celebrating unitedly with immense friendship and harmony. This is the rich embodiment of the Indian culture that has pulled in numerous non-natives to remain back in India and blend into its interminable fragrance. When we analyze this rich culture with the globalization perspective, we can discover many inferences of westernization and blending of different attributes and societies into our delightfully woven cover. As every coin has two sides likewise globalization also has its positive and negative effects. The effects of globalization on Indian society and culture are as follows:

4.1 Impact of Globalization on the Indian Society

Subject Matter

Globalization has several aspects and can be political, cultural, social, and economic, out of which financial integration is the most common aspect. India is one of the fastest-growing economies in the world and is predicted to reach the top three in the next decade.

India's massive economic growth is largely due to globalization which was a transformational change that didn't occur until the 1990s. Since then, the country's gross domestic product (GDP) has grown at an exponential rate.

The many effects of globalization on Indian society and multiple aspects of it have been discussed here.

Overall, globalization has improved various aspects of India, like:

- International trade relations
- Economy
- Technology and communication
- Corporate world
- Social and cultural expansion
- Political setup
- Governance

The reduction of export subsidies and import barriers enabled free trade that made the Indian market attractive to the international community. The untapped potential of the nascent Indian market was opened to the global market and the significant changes were made to its industrial, financial, and agricultural sectors:

Industrial sector: It saw a massive influx of both foreign capital investments' India became a favorite offshore market for pharmaceutical manufacturing, chemical, and petroleum industries. This brought advanced technologies and processes that helped in the modernization of the Indian industrial sector.

Financial sector: Prior to globalization and privatization, India's financial sector had been mismanaged by a combination of corrupt and inept government officials. The privatization of the financial space created a much more dynamic financial services sector.

Agricultural sector: India still has a largely agrarian society, with a significant majority of the country's population depending on this sector either directly or indirectly for their livelihood. The new technological capabilities of farmers have increased helping drive global exports of Indian products such as tea, coffee, and sugar. The betterment of these sectors has brought about an increase in national income, employment, exports, and GDP growth

4.2 Social Implication of Globalization in Indian Society

a) **Family Structure and Role of Women in Family:** The joint family which had been the basis of traditional Indian families has undergone serious changes. Those residing in the metropolitan cities in the small flat culture prefer nuclear families. We have lost the persistence to get balanced into the joint family, assimilating the experiences of the older folks and getting the youthful ones raised under the shadow of their grandparents. Kids have begun treating grandparents like visitors or guests, and such upbringing of children is one of the principle reasons of expanding old-age homes,

as those youngsters think about their own parents as burden in their adulthood. Although women and men are equal before the law and therefore the trend toward gender equality has been noticeable, women and men still occupy distinct functions in Indian society. Woman's role within the society is usually to perform family and household related activities. However, with the change in time men and women are gaining equal right to education, to earn, and to articulate.

b) Marriage System and Values: Additionally, marriages in comparison to earlier times have lost their values and morality. It is especially obvious from the expanding number of separation cases and extra-marital affairs reported every now and then. Marriage used to be considered as bonding of souls which will be connected even after the demise of the partners; yet today marriage resembles an expert bond or a purported pledge to share existence without bargaining their self-interests. Traditional ways of arranged marriages by the parents consent has been replaced by marriage by own liking by the partners. The sense of self factor into the Indian youth is again a result of globalization.

c) Infidelity: Both the genders had to maintain a distance as much as possible, with numerous confinements and impediments for a very long time in our culture and way of life. With the rise of globalization and western culture, youth have begun mixing up well with each other. The cordial approach and the mingling are apparent. The aggregate breakout of restrictions has tainted the Indian mentality, playing up with the physical relationship. A new type of relationship concepts namely live-in-relationship has emerged. Additionally the exaggerated cases of sexual offense cases are the results of the perverted mind that are very much the values considerably alien to our mother culture.

d) Festivals and Social Values: We have the included values of treating the guests as God, warm-hearted welcoming, greeting elders with due respect and a celebrating every small festival with great colour of enjoyment and togetherness. Such a wide gathering with full shade and light can barely be seen today. Individuals have profoundly limited themselves in social collaboration. The relation in present generation is exceptionally conciliatory thinking about the money related status and riches. We are losing our social morals and ideals and happy moments of harmony and peace. The present age generation is glad observing Valentine's Day and friendship day than Holi and Diwali. Traditionally namaste, namaskar or touching of feet of elders is a common way of greeting in the Indian subcontinent. But in modern times 'Hi', 'Hello' is used to greet people in place of Namaskar.

e) Food, Clothing and Dialect: Indian food, attire and dialects are different in different states. The food varies in its taste having its own nutrient values and each region is specific and rich in its restorative arrangements with the home cures. Indeed, even the attire fluctuates in various states which are especially specific in keeping up the nobility of lady. The various cuisines from different places throughout the world however have distinctive flavours to include; still the food ingredients that have inflicted with much popularity are the junk food items which have increased the health disorders in the country. Again, the dressing like the clothes for the males are an unseemly comfortable for the India n climate. The female dresses are again a diversion to the tainted minds. Indeed, even the Indians are not in favour of promoting their mother tongue or our national language. Rather, the adolescent today view it as a disgraceful condition to talk in their national dialect Hindi. The manner in which the foreign languages are getting common in India like the French, German and Spanish, right from the school level, gives the examples of the amount of significance we give to Indian dialects and languages in contrast with the remote ones.

F) Work and Agricultural Sector: India was overwhelmingly an agriculture based nation. With the propelled globalization and springing up of MNCs, the farming and agriculture has lost its prime importance in India. Agriculture science has minimal concentration among the youths who consider cultivating as a despicable calling. We are losing our wellbeing and our status and gradually getting to the period of financial servitude because of these MNCs.

g) Education Sector: There are significant effects in academic sector because of globalisation like higher literacy rate and foreign universities collaborating with different Indian universities. The Indian academic system faces challenges of globalisation through info-technology although it offers opportunities to evolve new paradigms shifts in developmental education. Globalization promotes newtools and techniques such as E-learning, flexible learning, distance education programs and overseas training programs.

4.3 Economic implication of globalization in Indian

a) Indian Business Culture: The foreign culture has both constructive and contrary impact on individuals and business firms. New ways of thinking and working has developed leading to higher efficiency. Indian organizations have embraced international accounting standards, Just-in-time and other more effective methods of stock control, flexitime and new practices of human asset administration, social duty and business morals thoughts, improvement in corporate governance practices, customer relationship management practices, inflow of outside assets and healthy competition with foreign products. The business area in India is profoundly encouraging in the present situation. The effect of globalization has changed the business system in India in terms of psychology, approach, innovation, attitude, work culture and so on. As a consequence of globalisation Indian industries are adapting themselves to newer challenges and taking benefit from the new and better opportunities making their business all the more profitable with prospects of future growth. The colossal populace of India has made a huge unsaturated market of customers. This is one reason why worldwide organizations are particularly inspired in doing business in India. In the post globalization period this degree has expanded enormously for worldwide multinational organizations as Government of India has likewise played an exceptionally essential and steady part in this regard through changed liberalized strategies and administrative structure. A few situations that have arisen in India post liberalization era are as follows: urbanisation and people of rural areas preferring to shift to urban areas, agriculture workers shifting to industry sector, trade market getting opened, boom in international import and export, big open saturated market for products, a growing market for high quality and low price product, gradual increase of organized retail chain, growing range of merger and acquisitions and lucid license policies for overseas multinational corporation. High growth rate is showing economic prosperity in India. Indian market leaders are going global.

b) Space, Science and Technology: India has created a distinct place in the field of space science and technology viz. launch services, earth observation, communication & navigation and application of space technology for national development. Today, India stands one amongst the top six space faring nations in the world. The areas that are benefitted/ seemingly to be benefitted with the use of space technology and its applications embrace - resource monitoring, weather forecasting, telecommunication, broadcasting, rural connectivity, health & education, governance, disaster management support, location based services, space commerce together with host of social applications.

Summary

India is obtaining a worldwide recognition and slowly moving towards to become a significant economic and political strength. Market economic policies are spreading around the world, with greater privatization and liberalization than in earlier decades. Globalisation has resulted in growing global markets in services. People can now execute trade services globally -- from medical advice to software writing to data processing that could never really be traded before. India features a consumer base of 1.14 billion people. The mobile subscriber base has grown up from 0.3 Million in 1996 to over 250 million currently. In the cities Internet facility is everywhere. Extension of internet facilities has extended even to rural areas. Global food chain /restaurants have already found a large market within the urban areas of India. Lavish multiplex movie halls, big shopping malls and high rise residential buildings are seen in every city. Software Industries and telecommunication sectors are enjoying a tremendous boost in India. Bollywood movies are distributed and accepted worldwide. Programming and software Industries, telecommunications and media segments are getting benefits out of a gigantic lift of this sector in India. Entertainment sector in India has made a significant place for itself in the global market. Indian television channels and serials are watched and liked by people of different countries all over the world. New technologies are being used in agriculture sector resulting in improved yield of crops. Though the development is progressing rapidly, still many basic problems like prevailing poverty in rural areas, menace of corruption and instability of the government in the political arena are a cause of concern and steps should be taken to bring solution to such problems so as to reap the benefits of globalisation in the best possible manner.

Keywords

Globalization, social, Culture, Economy, Science and technology

Self Assessment

1. Globalization highly affectsof nations?
 - I Social
 - II Fiscal
 - III Political,
 - IV mutual existence
 - A. I,II,III
 - B. I,III,IV
 - C. II,III,IV
 - D. I,II,III,IV

2. Globalization has onlyeffects all through the globe?
 - A. Negative effects only
 - B. Positive effects only
 - C. None of the above
 - D. Both

3. Which one of the following organisations lay stress on liberalisation of foreign trade and foreign investment?
 - A. International Monetary Fund
 - B. International Labour Organisation
 - C. World Trade Organisation
 - D. World Health Organisation

4. Removing barriers or restrictions set by the government is known as
 - A. Globalisation
 - B. Liberalisation
 - C. Nationalism
 - D. Privatisation

5. Which one of the following refers to investment?
 - A. The money spent on religious ceremonies
 - B. The money spent on social customs
 - C. The money spent to buy assets such as land
 - D. The money spent on household goods

6. Which of the following is a 'barrier' on foreign trade?
 - A. Tax on import

- B. Quality control
 - C. Sales tax
 - D. Tax on local trade
7. Special Economic Zones (SEZs) are being set up to attract
- A. foreign tourists
 - B. foreign investment
 - C. foreign goods
 - D. foreign policies
8. Entry of MNCs in a domestic market may prove harmful for
- A. all large scale producers
 - B. all domestic producers
 - C. all substandard domestic producers
 - D. all small-scale producers
9. Ford Motors set up its first plant in India at
- A. Kolkata
 - B. Mumbai
 - C. Chennai
 - D. Delhi
10. Globalisation so far has been more in favour of:
- A. developed countries
 - B. developing countries
 - C. poor countries
 - D. none of the above

Answers for Self Assessment

1. D 2. D 3. C 4. B 5. D
6. A 7. B 8. C 9. C 10. A

Review Questions

- 1) Explain the term globalization ?
- 2) Discuss the effects of globalization on Indian society and culture?
- 3) Examine the effects of globalization?
- 4) How globalization is more useful for developed nations ?



Further Readings

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Unit 05: Identity Politics

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5.2 Religion

5.3 Tribe

5.4 Caste

5.5 Region

Summary

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Objectives

- To understand the term identity politics.
- To examine the impact identity politics in India.
- To assess the Social Implications identity politics in India.

Introduction

The Identity Politics has become a prominent subject in the Indian politics in the past few years. Rise of low castes, religious identities, linguistic groups and ethnic conflicts have contributed to the significance of identity politics in India. The discourse on Identity, many scholars feel, is distinctly a modern phenomenon. Craig Calhoun aptly describes the situation when he argues that it is in the modern times we encounter intensified efforts at consolidating individual and categorical identities and reinforce self-sameness. This is primarily a modern phenomenon because some scholars feel that emphasis on identity based on a central organising principle of ethnicity, religion, language, gender, sexual preferences, or caste positions, etc, are a sort of "compelling remedy for anonymity" in an otherwise impersonal modern world. It is thus said to be a "pattern of belonging, a search for comfort, an approach to community." However, the complex social changes and the imbrications of various forces, factors and events in this modern world have rendered such production and recognition of identities problematic. This is to say that any search for an 'authentic self or identity' is not an innocent and unnuanced possibility; it involves negotiating other, often overlapping and contested, heterodox or multiple 'selves'. Cascardi succinctly elucidates this by observing, "the modern subject is defined by its insertion into a series of separate value-spheres, each one of which tends to exclude or attempts to assert its priority over the rest", thereby rendering identity schemes problematic. Nonetheless, the concerns with individual and collective identity that simultaneously seeks to emphasise differences and attempt to establish commonality with others similarly distinguished, have become a universal venture.

5.1 What is Identity Politics?

Subject Matter

But the question is how do discourses on identity fit into the political landscape? What are the political underpinnings of these discourses on identity? What are the organising principles of movements that characterise themselves as those based on identity concerns?

Can we define movements of workers as an instance of identity politics? In short what is the politics of identity and what are its organising principles?

Identity Politics is said to "signify a wide range of political activity and theorising founded in the shared experiences of injustice of members of certain social groups". As a political activity it is thus considered to signify a body of political projects that attempts a "recovery from exclusion and denigration" of groups hitherto marginalised on the basis of differences based on their 'statehood' determining characteristics like ethnicity, gender, sexual preferences, caste positions, etc. Identity politics thus attempts to attain empowerment, representation and recognition of social groups by asserting the very same markers that distinguished and differentiated them from the others and utilize those markers as an assertion of selfhood and identity based on deference rather than equality. Contrastingly placed, it is to imply that adherents of identity politics essentials certain markers that fix the identities of social groups around an ensemble of definitional absolutes. These markers may be those of language, culture, ethnicity, gender, sexual preferences, caste positions, religion, tribe, race, etc. institutionalized in jargons, metaphors, stereotypes, and academic literature and reinforced through practices of positive discrimination or affirmative action. The proponents of identity politics thus, assign the primacy of some "essence" or a set of core features shared only by members of the collectivity and no others and accepts individual persons as singular, integral, altogether harmonious and unproblematic identities. These core markers are different from associational markers like those of the workers who are defined more by their common interests rather than by certain core essential naturally 'given' identity attributes of the groups engaged in identity politics. Though many would argue that "worker" was an identity deserving legitimacy and as a group, its movements can be referred to as identity Politics, but probably the term "identity politics" as a body of political projects implied to in contemporary discourses refers to certain essential, local and particular categorical identities rather than any universalizing ideals or agenda. The adherents of identity politics utilize the power of myths, cultural symbols and kinship relations to mould the feeling of shared community and subsequently politicize these aspects to claim recognition of their particular identities.

The strongest criticism against Identity Politics is that it often challenged by the very same markers upon which the sense of self or community is sought to be built. It is despite the fact that identity politics is engaged in numerous aspects of oppression and powerlessness, reclaiming and transforming negative scripts used by dominant group; into powerful instruments for building positive images of self and community. In other words the markers that supposedly defines the community are fixed to the extent that they harden and release a process of in-group essentialism that often denies internal dialogicality within and without the group and itself becomes a new form of closure and oppression.

Identity Politics as a field of study can be said to have gained intellectual legitimacy since the second half of the twentieth century, i.e., between 1950s and 1960s in the United States when large scale political movements of the second wave-feminists, Black. Civil Rights, Gay and Lesbian Liberation movements and movements of various Indigenous groups in the U.S. and other parts of the world were being justified and legitimated on the basis of claims about injustices done to their respective social groups. However, as scholars like Heyes point out that although "Identity Politics' can draw on intellectual precursors from Mary Wollstonecraft to Frantz Fanon, writing that actually uses this specific phrase-Identity Politics-is limited almost exclusively to the last 15 years

5.2. 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.

It was probably this claim for and granting of recognition of particular identities by the post-independence state of India that led many scholars to believe that a material basis for the enunciation of identity claims has been provided by the post-independent state and its structures and institutions. In other words the state is seen as an "active contributor to identity politics

through the creation and maintenance of state structures which define and then recognise people in terms of certain identities". Thus, we find identity politics of various hues abound in India, the most spectacular however, are those based on language, religion, caste, ethnicity or tribal identity. But having said this it would be wrong on our part to assume that each of these identity markers operate autonomously, independent of the overlapping influence of the other makers. In other words a homogenous linguistic group may be divided by caste affiliations that may be subdivided by religious orientations or all may be subsumed under a broader ethnic claim.

5.2 Religion

Another form of identity politics is that effected through the construction of a community on the shared bond of religion. In India, Hinduism, Islam, Sikhism, Christianity, and Zoroastrianism are some of the major religions practiced by the people. Numerically the Hindus are considered to be the majority, which inspires many Hindu loyalist groups like the RSS (Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh) or the Siva Sena and political parties like the BJP (Bharatiya Janata Party) or the Hindu Mahasabha to claim that India is a Hindu State. These claims generate homogenizing myths about India and its history. These claims are countered by other religious groups 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 centre on the 'appeasement theory', '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.

Historically, the Hindu revivalist movement of the 19 century is considered to be the period that saw the demarcation of two separate cultures on religious basis-the Hindus and the Muslims that deepened further because of the partition. This division which has become institutionalized in the form of a communal ideology has become a major challenge for India's secular fabric and democratic polity. Though communalism for a major part of the last century signified Hindu-Muslim conflict, in recent years contestations between Hindus and Sikhs, Hindus and Christians have often crystallized into communal conflict. The rise of Hindu national assertiveness, politics of representational government, persistence of communal perceptions, and competition for the socio-economic resources are considered some of the reasons for the generation of communal ideologies and their transformation into major riots.

Identity schemes based on religion have become a major source of conflict not only in the international context but since the early 1990s it has also become a challenge for Indian democracy and secularism. The rise of majoritarian assertiveness is considered to have become institutionalized after the BJP that along with its 'Hindu' constituents gave political cohesiveness to a consolidating Hindu consciousness, formed a coalition ministry in March 1998. However, like all identity schemes the forging of a religious community glosses over internal differences within a particular religion to generate the "we are all of the same kind" emotion. Thus differences of caste groups within a homogenous Hindu identity, linguistic and sectional differences within Islam are shelved to create a homogenous unified religious identity.

In post-independence India the majoritarian assertion has generated its own antithesis in the form of minority religions assertiveness and a resulting confrontational politics that undermines the syncretistic dimensions of the civil society in India. The process through which this religious assertiveness is being increasingly institutionalized by a 'methodical rewriting of history' has the potential to reformulate India's national identity along communal trajectories.

5.3 Tribe

The political scenario of the 1990s reflected the fundamental transformation in the terrain of politics, which, in turn, is anchored in the process of social change. This period saw an expanding base of electoral democracy that was fallout of witnessing greater participation and more intense politicization than before, among the marginal social groups in India. The backward communities are often disinterested in politics unless they are encouraged and allured by vote bank to participate in the electoral process. They are prone to believe that the present socio-political set up is hostile to them. They become apathetic towards the political system and develop cynicism

towards it. The effectiveness of STs in shaping the contents of political decisions as well as their long term orientation for political efficacy, however, constitutes the dominant theory of inquiry.

The contemporary Indian scenario is increasingly witnessing the political assertion of different social groups, which leads them to form their separate political identity. This seems to contribute towards the emergence of identity politics in India. Identity politics suggests a political orientation built around a preexisting social identity. In democracies, political scientists have consistently shown that social identity is the predictor of how people vote and what kind of policies they favour. Perhaps the most striking aspect of this political assertion of tribal communities revolves around the interlocking system of the nature of oppression they suffer. In this context, tribal politics is about the identity of a given group that is based on common ethnic or cultural factors that gather the group into a functioning political unit. While there may be some disagreement within the group, ultimately all those concerned rally behind a common purpose, even if there is some difference of opinion on how to express that common purpose. Individuals will emerge within the group who are empowered to make statements that are considered to represent the entire body. In turn, the group will establish mechanisms that allow for the confirmation of orthodoxy among all group members, as a way to ensure that order is maintained. This will of course require the employment of skills to gain the support of the majority, as well as talents to keep the support once it is given.

a) Political Participation Political participation is defined as the extent to which citizens use their rights such as the right to protest, the right to free speech, the right to vote or to influence or to get involved in political parties. The level of tribal political participation has direct link with their level of educational development. The low levels of literacy and education among tribal population shows the low level of political participation and vice versa. The participation of the tribal communities is associated with their level of political consciousness, i.e., knowledge about political affairs. Political consciousness has strong correlation with participatory orientation, cynicism and political efficacy of the people. The level of political consciousness among people has far reaching consequences for the successful functioning of democracy. Political participation not only depends upon political awareness but also promotes it. In tribal society, political participation is closely associated with the social characteristics of the society. The political behaviour of tribals is not very much individualistic. The decision to cast a vote, it has been observed, is weakly related to the individual benefit of voting to tribal communities, but that can be defined in terms of the groups they belong to. The tribal communities of India participate in politics in various ways: (i) as voters, (ii) as candidates, (iii) as members of political parties, and (iv) as elected members of different political institutions, taking part in decision making, planning implementation and evaluation. The tribal communities cast their vote for the following purposes: (i) to exercise a democratic right; (ii) to bring success to a party of choice; (iii) to elect a desirable candidate; (iv) to promote the development of the country; (v) to win the confidence of the local elite; and (vi) to achieve some personal gain.

B) Who Represent the STs The pertinent question that needs to be addressed is: who represents the STs? During the colonial period, it was deemed that due to their backward condition, there were no capable members of tribes to represent the tribals. The system of tribal representation that emerged under the British rule was concerned more with enabling spokes person for tribal interests to enter the legislature than with addressing the substantive issues of tribal rights and development (McMillan, 2005). The question emerged more vocally after Independence in India. The answer to this query reflects certain complexities, such as, should the tribal people be represented by their own community members, or, can they be represented by non-tribal people? Some people subscribe to the second view that the tribal communities can be represented by non-tribal people due to their desired level of political articulation. But the dominant view represents the presumption of 'who can speak for or on behalf of another'. The recognition of community based identities led to special representation, so that the representatives and those represented share common aspect of socio-economic life. The choice of legislators among the tribals obviously reflects the similar socio-economic characteristics within their representative community at large. The tribal communities of India have strong group consciousness, often cutting across kin, class and political loyalties; they evaluate most of the problems in terms of 'We Adivasis'. This trait reflects in the voting behaviour of their concerned leaders in India. Thus, while providing reservations in the legislatures, it was believed that a tribal representative than a non-tribal legislator would be in a better position to comprehend the problem faced by his/her own community. As John Burnheim believes that "Our interests are better protected when we are represented by those who share our experience and interests and that this similarity of condition is far better indicator than whether people might share

our rather shaky opinions". So, the tribal communities cast their vote in favour of those candidates who share the common experience and problems.

C) Constitution and Political Reservation In order to politically involve the tribal communities into the mainstream society, Indian Constitution has adopted number of provisions in the form of political reservation. Politically, it empowers the mass and gives a political voice to sections of the population that traditionally had little say in the political process. The policy aimed at integration of the deprived in the political system in order to secure accommodation of their raising aspirations and to provide for their integration with non-tribal elite on equal terms. The State is wedded to the principle of equality and universality in the political system to ensure political participation of tribal people through the measure of preferential treatment. In other words, following the principle of universal adult franchise, the state has become 'more politically inclusive' in nature. Thus, the policy represents a major political innovation to guarantee 'proportional self-representation' to the tribal communities whose long experience has left them with such low levels of resources for political competition that they would normally be unable to compete effectively in a democratic system.

Consequently, Articles 330, 332 and 334 provide for reservation of seats for the STs along with the SCs in the Lok Sabha and the legislative assemblies of the states. In similar vein, article 243D reserves one-third of seats for the tribal communities at the different levels of local self-government, popularly known as, Panchayati Raj Institutions. So, there is a reservation of 7.5 per cent of seats in Lower House of the Indian Parliament and the statistical figure of the reservation at state level varies from state to state on the basis of their proportion to the total population of the state. The effect of reservation of seats is to guarantee a minimum number of seats to the members of the STs in proportion to their numerical strength. Accordingly, total of 38 and 282 seats are reserved for the STs in the Lok Sabha and the State Assemblies respectively.

In the context of electoral reservation for STs in India, it is important to point out that there is no reservation for STs in the Upper House at the centre or in the states. This is because of the differences in the electoral procedure for both the Houses. In case of the Lower Houses of the Parliament (Lok Sabha) and the Assemblies (Vidhan Sabha), the people directly elect the members. While the people do not elect the members of the Upper Houses directly. Rajya Sabha composed the representatives of the state and the union territories and the nominated members by the President. Unlike the Vidhan Sabha, the members of the Vidhan Parishad are elected by the members of the municipalities; district boards and other local authorities; graduates of the Universities; persons engaged in teaching and other educational institutions; by the members of the State Legislative Assembly from among persons who are not members of the Assembly and the members nominated by the Governor. In short, the representatives of the Lower Houses are more responsible to the people than the Upper Houses.

Seats reserved for STs are to be filled by joint electorate. These reservations do not involve 'separate electorates' in the sense that the representation of a particular group by legislators chosen by an electorate composed solely of members of that group. The seats are 'reserved' in the sense that candidates who stand for them must belong to those communities. The entire electorate, however, participates in choosing among candidates so qualified. However, this provision does not deprive a member of STs of his right to contest a general seat on the strength of the very nomination for a reserved seat. Consequently, ST members were elected in Parliament as well as State Assemblies on non-reserved seats in the initial general elections. For instance, It can be pointed out that in 1952, 1 and 4, 3 and 11 in 1957, 2 and 31 in 1962, 1 and 11 in 1967, 4 and 14 in 1971 and 2 and 2 in 1977, members of STs were elected on general constituencies in Lok Sabha as well as Vidhan Sabha respectively.

Since seats in parliament and legislatures are filled periodically by elections, the STs have been founding numerical representation in these bodies. They have come to increasingly realize their significance in the power game and their capacity to tilt the balance decisively in favor of one of the competing groups. Political leaders believe that the provision of reservation in the seats of Parliament and Legislatures have definitely, in some way, accelerated the political education of these disadvantaged groups. Since, they share seats in proportion to their ratio in the total population, their numbers would never be sufficient for effecting policy changes. Eventually the welfare of the group would be possible only when the House collectively directed its attention to their problems. A small number of representatives would not be able to do much by them.

According to Marc Galanter, the STs are widely believed to be less articulate, less assertive and less independent than their fellows. He cites data suggesting that they have been relatively less active and influential and that they are less likely to hold leadership positions. The reason is that the STs

do not constitute a homogenous and cohesive social Group both in the Parliament and in the State Legislatures. They are fragmented along lines of political party and linguistic/regional consideration

Even if these representatives are generally less active, they may nonetheless effectively represent the interest of their constituents. He also claims that holders of reserved seats seem to “have been prominent and sometimes influential” in matters relating to the welfare of the groups they represent.

D) Contemporary Tribal Politics The contemporary tribal politics in India is revolving around the issues of every day concerns of the tribal communities. Though the state has adopted number of positive provisions in Indian Constitution and launched a number of developmental projects for the tribal communities, they continue to be at the lower edge of the Indian society. They have been suffering from different forms of discrimination and marginalization. They have been marginalised in relation to their rights over resources. They have been increasingly losing their land and resources due to the acquisition of land for mining, hydro-electric projects, defence projects and other development activities leading to large scale of displacement. The Bailadilla iron ore mine in Bastar, the Hirakud and Upper Indravati hydro-electric projects, POSCO and Vedant projects in Orissa, and Sardar Sarovar dam in Gujarat are all examples. Since the late 1990s, several tribal groups have been mobilized to retain their rights over resources. So, there has been an increase in political consciousness among STs and demand for greater share not only of political power but also in employment, development, benefits and even control over land, forest and other resources

The Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act, 2006, and PESA are examples of laws that have been enacted because of the struggle of adivasi political movement. These Acts emerged out of the political assertion of the tribal communities and greater political awakening and consciousness among the tribes with respect to production of their lands, forest, water and other resources. The recent demands by a vociferous section of tribal leaders for a separate Jharkhand State have added new dimension to the tribal politics in India. The Legislative presence of the ST elite swells the flow of patronage, attention and benefits to the scheduled communities and ‘lock in place the other programmes for their benefits and assures that their problems are not dismissed and ignored’. To put it differently, the contemporary tribal politics in India is focusing more on their rights over resources than merely emerging as the spokesperson of the tribal communities as it happened during the colonial period.

5.4 Caste

Caste-based discrimination and oppression have been a pernicious feature of Indian society and in the post-independence period its imbrications with politics have not only made it possible for hitherto oppressed caste-groups to be accorded political freedom and recognition but has also raised consciousness about its potential as a political capital. In fact Dipankar Gupta has poignantly exposed this contradiction when he elaborates the differences between Ambedkar and Mandal Commission's view of caste. While the former designed the policy of reservations or protective discrimination to remove untouchability as an institution from Indian social life and polity, the latter considered caste as an important political resource. Actually, the Mandal commission can be considered the intellectual inspiration in transforming caste-based identity to an asset that may be used as a basis for securing political and economic gains. Though it can also be said that, the upper castes by virtue of their predominant position were already occupying positions of strengths in the political and economic system, and when the Mandal heightened the consciousness of the 'Dalits' by recognising their disadvantage of caste-identity as an advantage the confrontation ensues. The caste system, which is based on the notions of purity and pollution, hierarchy and difference, has despite social mobility, been' oppressive towards the Shudras and the outcastes who suffered the stigma of ritual impurity and lived in abject poverty, illiteracy and denial of political power. 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. 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. Consequently, we have the upper caste dominated BJP, the lower caste dominated BSP (Bahujan Samaj Party) or the SP (Samajwadi Party), including the fact that left parties (for example use of caste idioms for mobilizing agricultural laborers in Andhra Pradesh elections in 1950) have tacitly followed the caste pattern to extract mileage in electoral politics. The Cumulative result of the politicization can be

summarized by arguing that caste-based identity politics has had a dual role in Indian society and polity. It relatively democratized the caste-based Indian society but simultaneously undermined the evolution of class-based organizations

In all, caste has become an important determinant in Indian society and politics, the new lesson of organized politics and consciousness of caste affiliations learnt by the hitherto despised caste groups have transformed the contours of Indian politics where shifting caste-class alliances are being encountered. The net effect of these mobilizations along caste-identities have resulted not only in the empowerment of newly emerging groups but has increased the intensity of confrontational politics and possibly leading to a growing crisis of governability.

5.5 Region

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.

A) 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.

B) 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) mobilisation for the demands of statehood. Potti Sri Ramulu spearheaded the revolt for the separate state of Andhra in 1954. His eventual death triggered the wave of political regionalism in India.

C) Insurgencies in North East India: During the 1970s and 80s, the tribal insurgencies for separation and statehood in the northeastern region of India intensified and the Union government passed the North-eastern States Reorganisation 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.

D) 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 of Telangana was created by the division of Andhra Pradesh.

Language

Identity claims based on the perception of a collectivity bound together by language may be said to have its origin in the pre-independence politics of the Congress that had promised reorganization of states in the post-independent period on linguistic basis. But it was the "JVP" (Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel and Patabhi Sitaramayya) Committee's concession that if public sentiment was "insistent and overwhelming", the formation of Andhra from the Telugu-speaking region of the then Madras could be conceded which as Michael Brecher mentions was the "opening wedge for the bitter struggle over states reorganization which was to dominate Indian Politics from 1953 to 1956". Ironically, the claim of separate states for linguistic collectivities did not end in 1956 and even today continues to confront the concerns of the Indian leadership. But the problem has been that none of the created or claimed states are mono-ethnic in composition and some even have numerically and politically powerful minorities. This has resulted in a cascading set of claims that continue to threaten the territorial limits of existing states and disputes over boundaries between

linguistic states have continued to stir conflicts, as for instance the simmering tensions between Maharashtra and Karnataka over the district of Belgaum or even the claims of the Nagas to parts of Manipur.

The linguistic divisions have been complicated by the lack of a uniform language policy for the entire country. Since in each state the dominant regional language is often used as the medium of instruction and social communication, the consequent affinity and allegiances develops towards one's own language gets expressed even outside one's state of origin. For instance the formation of linguistic cultural and social group outside one's state of origin helps to consolidate the unity and sense of community in a separate linguistic society. Thus language becomes an important premise on which group identities are organized and establishes the conditions for defining the "in-group and out-group".

Summary

Identity has become an important phenomenon in the modern politics. The identification of a members of the group on the basis of sharing common attributes on the basis of all or some of the attributes, language, gender, language, religion, culture, region etc. indicates the existence or formation of identity. The mobilization on the basis 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 BSP and backward class politics following the implementation of the Mandal Commission Report; linguistic organization of Indian states from the 1950s, and rise of the BJP, and the active role of the organizations 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.

The democratic political system in India enables various groups to organize and assert on the basis the common attributes which they share. Identity politics has both negative and positive roles in Indian Politics.

Keywords

Caste, Religion, language, region, tribal

Self Assessment

1. Which of the following statements are true regarding Feminist Movements?
 - A. Radical women's movements aimed at equality in personal and family life as well.
 - B. Agitations demanded enhancing the political and legal status of women and improving their educational and career opportunities.
 - C. There were agitations in different countries for the extension of voting rights to women.
 - D. All of the above statements are true.

2. In Scandinavian countries such as Sweden, Norway and _____, the participation of women in public life is very high.
 - A. Finland
 - B. Hungary
 - C. Russia
 - D. Latvia

3. Patriarchal society means _____.
 - A. a society dominated by men

- B. a society dominated by women
C. a society where there is equality between men and women
D. None of the above
4. The literacy rate among women in India is only _____.
- A. 45 percent
B. 50 percent
C. 60 percent
D. 54 percent
5. Discrimination on the basis of a person's language is known as
- A. linguism
B. Regionalism
C. Castism
D. Communalism
6. On average, an Indian woman works _____ more than an average man every day.
- A. three hours
B. two hours
C. one hour
D. None of the above
7. Battle of Bhima Koregaon is a classic example of which of the following?
- A. Linguism
B. Casteism
C. Regionalism
D. Communalism
8. For which of the following fairs does the group of devotees from all over the world called 'Jamaat' come to attend?
- A. Fair of Barman
B. Fair of Mahamrityunjay
C. Aalami Tableegi Ijtima
D. Simhastha
9. Caste represents one's ...status
- A. Ascribed social status
B. Achieved social status
C. None of the above
D. Both
10. Who said "Caste needs politics as much as politics need caste."

- A. Rajni Kothari
- B. MN Srinivas
- C. Myron Weiner
- D. Narendra modi

Answers for Self Assessment

1. D 2. A 3. A 4. D 5. A
6. C 7. B 8. C 9. D 10. A

Review Questions

1. Explain the term Identity Politics ?
2. Discuss the effects of Communalism in Indian Politics?
3. Examine the impact of Casteism in India?
4. How Regionalism is a threat to the Indian nation?



Further Readings

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Unit 06: Social Movements

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Objectives

- To understand the importance of social movements
- To understand the dalit movement in India
- To understand the tribal movement in India
- To know the causes behind women's, farmer's and labour movement

Introduction

To begin this understanding, we first need to understand what social movements are. To reiterate a definition already presented, a social movement may be defined as an organized effort by a large number of people to bring about or impede social, political, economic, or cultural change. Defined in this way, social movements might sound similar to special-interest groups, and they do have some things in common. But a major difference between social movements and special-interest groups lies in the nature of their actions. Special-interest groups normally work *within the system* via conventional political activities such as lobbying and election campaigning. In contrast, social movements often work *outside the system* by engaging in various kinds of protest, including demonstrations, picket lines, sit-ins, and sometimes outright violence. Conceived in this way, the efforts of social movements amount to "politics by other means," with these "other means" made necessary because movements lack the resources and access to the political system that interest groups typically enjoy.

6.1 Dalit Movement

Post independence many anti-discrimination laws came into force. But even today, in the civilised society dalits suffer from social stigma and discrimination. The movements are caused by various factors. It is the result of the constant hatred being generated from centuries from the barbaric activities of the upper castes of India. They were deprived of higher training of mind and were denied social-economic and political status. The division of labour led to their inequality and exploitation. The caste system degenerated Dalit life into pathogenic condition where occupations changed into castes. For centuries, Dalits were excluded from the mainstream society and were

only allowed to pursue menial occupations. They were pushed to the outer areas of villages whereas the mainland was occupied by the upper castes. Many of the atrocities were committed in the name of religion like system of Devadasi, pouring of molten lead into the ears of a Dalit who happened to listen to some mantra. To retain the stronghold on people, education was monopolized. This made the Dalits rise and protest against the inhuman practices demand for basic rights of equality. With the introduction of western language, and with the influence of the Christian missionaries, the Dalits began to come across the ideals of equality and liberty and thus began the Dalit Movement in modern times. Educated Dalits began to talk about the problems of the poor and about exploitation and humiliations from the upper castes. They also got a fillip through British policy of divide and rule. Improved communication network, new system of education, new administrative system, rule of law threw open equal opportunities for all dismantling social barriers.

Some Dalit leaders followed the process of 'Sanskritization' to elevate themselves to the higher position in caste hierarchy. They tried to adopt established cultural norms and practices of the higher castes. They adopted Brahman manners, including vegetarianism, putting sandalwood paste on forehead, wearing sacred thread, etc. Imitation of the high caste manners by Dalits was an assertion of their right to equality. Treating Dalits as outside the fourfold Varna system, and describing them as 'outcastes' or 'Panchama' gave rise to a movement called Adi-Hindu movement. Certain section of Dalit leadership believed that Dalits were the original inhabitants of India and they were not Hindus. Aryans or Brahmins who invaded this country forcibly imposed untouchability on the original inhabitants of this land. They believed that if Hinduism was discarded, untouchability would automatically come to an end. That Dalits began to call themselves Adi-Andhras in Andhra, Adi- Karnataka in Karnataka, Adi-Dravidas in Tamil Nadu, Adi-Hindus in Uttar Pradesh and Adi-Dharmis in Punjab.

Dalits also followed the route of conversion with a purpose of getting rid of untouchability and to develop their moral and financial conditions. A good number of Dalits were converted to Christianity, especially in Kerala. Some of the Dalits, especially in Punjab were converted to Sikhism (known as Mahabis, Namdharis, Kabir Panthis etc...) Dr. Ambedkar converted to Buddhism along with his millions of followers at Nagpur in 1956. As a protest against Hinduism some of the Dalit leaders founded their own sects or religions. Guru Ghansi Das (MP) founded Satnami Sect. Gurtichand Thakur (Bengal) founded Matua Sect. Ayyan Kali (Kerala) founded SJPY (Sadhu Jana ParipalanYogam). Mangu Ram (Panjab) founded Adi Dharam.

Attempts were also made to organize Dalits politically in order to fight against socio-economic problems. Dr. Ambedkar formed the Independent Labour Party in 1936. He tried to abolish the exploitative Khoti system prevailing in Kokan part of Maharashtra, and the Vetti system (a wage free hereditary service to the caste Hindus in the local administration). He tried to convince the Government to recruit the Mahars in the Military. In 1941 the first Mahar Regiment was formed. Dr. Ambedkar demanded adequate representation for Dalits in the legislatures and the Government of India Act, 1919, provided for one seat to the depressed classes in the central Legislative Assembly. Poona Pact of September 1932 provided for reservation of seats for depressed classes out of general electorates sets.

Post independence Ambedkar was invited to serve as the nation's first Law Minister, which he accepted. On 29 August, he was appointed Chairman of the Constitution Drafting Committee, charged by the Assembly to write India's new Constitution. The text prepared by Ambedkar provided constitutional guarantees and protections for a wide range of civil liberties for individual citizens, including freedom of religion, the abolition of untouchability and the outlawing of all forms of discrimination. He argued for extensive economic and social rights for women and also won the Assembly's support for introducing a system of reservations of jobs in the civil services, schools and colleges for members of SCs and STs. Ambedkar resigned from the cabinet in 1951 following the stalling in parliament of his draft of the Hindu Code Bill. He was appointed to the Rajya Sabha in March 1952 and remained as a member till death. Around 1950, he turned his attention fully to Buddhism and travelled to Ceylon to attend a meeting of the World Fellowship of Buddhists. In 1955, he founded the BharatiyaBauddha Mahasabha. He completed his work, 'The Buddha and His Dhamma' in 1956. In 1956, in a formal public ceremony at Nagpur, he along with his wife and around 5,00,000 supporters got converted into Buddhism.

Dalit Panthers is a social organization founded by NamdevDhasal in April 1972 in Mumbai. It was inspired by Black Panther Party, a revolutionary movement amongst African-Americans, which emerged in the United States and functioned from 1966-1982. They called themselves "Panthers" because they were supposed to fight for their rights like panthers and not get suppressed by the

strength and might of their oppressors. The members were young men belonging to Neo-Buddhists and Scheduled Castes. The controversy over the article "Kala Swatantrata Din" (Black Independence Day) by Dhale which was published in "Sadhana" in 1972 created a great sensation and publicised the Dalit Panthers through Maharashtra. Many Panther branches sprang up spontaneously in parts of Maharashtra. The movement was a radical departure from earlier Dalit movements as its initial thrust on militancy through the use of rustic arms and threats, gave the movement a revolutionary colour. They linked their struggles to the struggles of all oppressed people over the globe. The clear cut leftist stand reflected by this document ran counter to the accepted legacy of Ambedkar as projected. The Naxalite movement saw a potential ally in the Panthers and tried to forge a bond right at the level of formulation of policies and programmes of the latter. The Panthers' militancy by and large remained confined to their speeches and writings.

In 1971 Kanshiram quit his job in DRDO and together with his colleagues established the SCs, STs, OBCs and Minorities Employees Welfare Association. Through this association, attempts were made to look into the problems and harassment of the above-mentioned employees and bring out an effective solution for the same. Another main objective was to educate and create awareness about the caste system. In 1973, Kanshi Ram again with his colleagues established the BAMCEF: Backward And Minority Communities Employees Federation. The first operating office was opened in Delhi in 1976 with the motto - "Educate Organize and Agitate". This served as a base to spread the ideas of Ambedkar and his beliefs. In 1980 he created a road show named "Ambedkar Mela" which showed the life of Ambedkar and his views through pictures and narrations. In 1981 he founded the Dalit Soshit Samaj Sangharsh Samiti (DS4) to fight against the attacks on the workers who were spreading awareness on the caste system. In 1984, he established a full-fledged political party known as the Bahujan Samaj Party. Later he converted to Buddhism. The 'Bahujan' identity encompassed all the SCs, STs, BCs, OBCs and religious minorities than 'dalit', which practically represented only the scheduled castes. The obsession with capturing power robbed him of certain fundamental values that Ambedkar never compromised. Ambedkar pointed at capitalism and Brahminism as the twin enemies for his movement but Kanshiram enthusiastically embraced them.

Given that the Brahmins would never allow the Dalits' voice to be expressed, the Dalits began their own magazine and began to express their own experiences. With the formation of the Dalit Panthers, a series of Dalit poetry and stories depicting the miseries of the Dalits were released. All these literature argued that Dalit Movement fights not only against the Brahmins but all those people whoever practices exploitation. New revolutionary songs, poems, stories and autobiographies were written by Dalit writers. Educated Dalit and intellectuals explained to the other illiterate brothers about the required change in the society. Dalit literature tried to compare the past situation of Dalits to the present and future generation not to create hatred, but to make them aware of their pitiable condition. As power can be cut by only power, Phule and Ambedkar gave the main emphasis on the education of the Dalits, as it will bestow them with reason and judgement capacity, political power, socio-economic status and a life of dignity. They knew that the political strategy of gaining power is either an end in itself or a means to other ends. If the Dalits have power, then they do not have to go begging to the upper castes. The Dalits require power to control the economic scenario and thereby the politics of the country. Ambedkar contested with Gandhi to give the Dalits their right to equality. He gave the call "Educate, Organize and agitate". Education would help to know the truth of Brahmanism in Indian society, and will make them agitate against caste based inhuman practices. Only when agitation begin, can the Dalit be able to attain power and win the movement against exploitation.

6.2 Tribal Movement

Tribal Movements in India under British rule were the most frequent, violent, and militant of all the movements. Before the colonial rule in India, tribals had been living peacefully in their regions in harmony with nature. When the British came to India, they introduced many changes in their way of life. Many of the tribal groups revolted against this forceful instruction by the British into their life and region. In the 19th and 20th centuries, India witnessed numerous such rebels and movements. The tribal rebellions were sparked by several factors, which are as follows: The land Settlements by the British affected the joint ownership of land tradition among the tribal societies. Shifting cultivation, hunting, fishing, and use of forest produce were the mainstay of the tribals. The British curbed these mainstays, which added to the tribal's problems. As the Company

government extended agriculture in a settled form, the tribals lost their land, which causes the influx of non-tribals into these areas. This also reduced the tribals to being landless agricultural labourers. The British government extended its control over the forest land by setting up the reserved forest and putting restrictions on timber use and grazing. Thus, there was the erosion of the traditional land rights of the tribals. The British introduced the traders and money-lenders (most of them outsiders) into the tribal areas. This led to severe exploitation of local tribal people. With the expansion of colonialism, Christian missionaries came to these tribal regions and interfered with the traditional customs of the tribal people. Tribals resented these missionaries.

In 1864, the Government set up the Forest Department to mainly control the rich resources of the Indian forest. Further, the British government established its monopoly over forest land through the Government Forest Act of 1865 and the Indian Forest Act of 1878. Most of the tribal movements in India during British rule were concentrated in Central India, the West-Central region, and South India. Some important tribal movements areas follows:

Chuar uprising took place by the Chuar aboriginal tribesmen of **Jungle Mahal** of **Midnapore** district and **Bankura** district (in **West Bengal**). Mostly, these tribal peoples were farmers and hunters. They revolted against the rise in land revenue demands and economic privation by the British. The uprising was also known as the **Revolt of Jungle Mahal**. The Chuar uprising was a series of revolts that took place between 1771 and 1809. The most significant uprising occurred in 1798, in which **Durjan Singh** (zamindar of Raipur) led a violent revolt along with his 1500 Chuar followers against the British. However, the British brutally suppressed the revolt.

Pahariya's revolt took place in 1778 in Chota Nagpur region. The **Pahariya Sardars** of **Chota Nagpur** rebelled against the British expansion over their territory. The prominent leader of this uprising was **Raja Jagganath**, who led the Pahariyas of Raj Mahal Hills against the British expansion on their land.

The Bhils lived in the **Western Ghats**, mostly concentrated in **hill ranges of Khandesh**, and controlled the mountain passes between the North and the Deccan. During the East India Company's rule from 1817 to 1819, they faced famine, economic distress, and misgovernment. In 1818, after the British intruded into the Bhil territory in the Khandesh region of Maharashtra, the tribals rebelled fearing exploitation under the new regime. They revolted under the leadership of **Sewaram**. However, the British forces suppressed the uprising with force. The Bhil uprising again erupted in 1825 as the Bhils sought to take advantage of reverses being suffered by the British in the First Anglo-Burmese war. They also revolted in 1831 and 1846. In 1913, the Bhils of **south Rajasthan** (Banswara, Sunth, and Dungarpur States) organised themselves under reformer **Govind Guru** to fight for the **Bhil Raj**.

The **Kols**, along with other tribes, were the inhabitants of the **Chota Nagpur area**, which covers *Ranchi, Singhbhum, Palamau, Hazaribagh, and the western parts of Manbhum*. Before the advent of the British, they lived in complete autonomy and enjoyed their sovereignty under their traditional chiefs. The trouble started in 1831 when the British transferred the land from the Kol chiefs to the outsiders on a large scale. The money lenders were oppressive and demanded heavy taxes. Further, British judicial and revenue policies caused resentment among Kols. The Kols organised themselves under the leadership of **Buddho Bhagat** and revolted against the British and moneylenders. They killed many outsiders and burnt their houses. This rebellion went on for two years, after which the British brutally suppressed them with their superior weaponry.

The Santhal Rebellion occurred in the **Santhal region of Jharkhand, Odisha, and West Bengal**. When the British government introduced the Zamindari system in the Bengal Presidency, the zamindars claimed the traditional land of Santhal as their own. The Santhals lost their land and turned into bonded labourers. The money-lenders joined the Zamindars to exploit them. In June 1855, the Santhal revolt took place under the

leadership of two brothers, **Sidhu and Kanhu**, in the plains of **Rajmahal Hills** (Bihar). They rebel against the practices of zamindars and killed many money-lenders. The revolt was intense and massive, which turned into an anti-British movement. The British suppressed the revolt violently in 1856, in which many Santhals, including the two leaders, were killed.

Kharwar Movement, also known as the **Sapha Har movement**, began in 1868 by the Kharwar of Bihar. The Movement initially advocated for monotheism and social reforms. The uprising was led by **Bhagirath Manjhi** against the revenue settlement activities. The Kharwar (or Kharwar) Movement continued till 1874.

Munda Rebellion, also known as the "**Ulgulan Movement**", took place under the leadership of **Birsa Munda** in the Chotanagpur region (near Ranchi, Jharkhand). They revolted against the introduction of zamindari, tenures, and exploitation by moneylenders and forest contractors. In December 1899, Birsa Munda launched an armed struggle against the zamindars and the British government. The rebels attacked police stations and churches and raided the property of moneylenders and zamindars. They wanted to establish the 'Munda Raj'. On 9 January 1900, the British forces suppressed the rebellion. Birsa was captured and imprisoned.

The Baster Rebellion, also known as the '**Bhumkal**', was a tribal uprising in 1910 against the British Raj in **Jagdulpur** in the princely state of **Bastar**, Central India. The revolt took place against the British colonial policies regarding the usage of forests. The tribals also resented the new feudal and forest levies. The rebellion was primarily led by **Gunda Dhur** (a tribal leader) and **Lal Karendra Singh** (diwan and cousin of the king). However, by the end of February 1910, British forces had quelled the revolt and arrested the leaders.

The movements of the tribes of the **North-eastern frontier** were different from the **non frontier tribal revolts** (uprisings in central and south India) in some aspects. Firstly, the tribes in the north-eastern region, which shared tribal and cultural links with the countries across the border, did not concern themselves much with the nationalist struggle. Their revolts were often in favour of political autonomy within the Indian Union or complete independence. Secondly, the British entered the north-eastern areas much later than the non-frontier tribal areas. Therefore, these movements were not forest based or agrarian revolts, as these tribals were generally in control of land and forests. Thirdly, the frontier tribal revolts against the British continued for a longer time than the non-frontier tribal revolts.

After the East India Company occupied the hilly regions between **Garo and Jaintia Hills**, the British wanted to build a road through the **Khasi hills** linking the **Brahmaputra valley with Sylhet**. For this purpose, a large number of outsiders, including Bengalis, Englishmen and labourers from the plains, were brought to these regions. However, the tribes of these regions wanted to stop the road construction project through the Khasi hills. To drive out the outsiders and stop this project, **the Khasis, Garos, Khamptis, and the Singphos**, organised themselves under the leadership of **Tirot Singh**. The movement developed into a popular uprising against British rule in this area. However, by 1833, the British were able to suppress the Khasi rebellion.

In 1931, **Haipou Jadonang** led the Naga movement in Manipur against British rule in India. Jadonang was a Naga spiritual leader and political activist from Manipur. He established the **Heraka religious movement** based on the ancestral Naga religion and declared himself to be the "**Messiah King**" of the Nagas. Jadonang envisioned establishing an independent Naga Kingdom (**Naga raj**), which brought him into conflict with British rule in India. Heraka religious movement was initially launched as a spiritual movement to reform the **Zealiangrong Naga communities**. But later it turned into a political movement seeking to drive out the British from Manipur and the surrounding Naga areas. Jadonang led the **Zealiangrong movement** against the British to establish a Naga Raj in the area. But, he was arrested and hanged by the British in 1931 and

succeeded by his cousin **Rani Gaidinliu**. **Rani Gaidinliu**'s association with Jadonang prepared her to fight the British. After the execution of Jadonang, she took up the leadership of the movement (Zealiantong Movement) in 1932. She started a severe revolt against the British. **Gaidinliu** was arrested in 1932 at the age of 16 and was sentenced to life imprisonment by the British. **Jawaharlal Nehru** met **Rani Gaidinliu** at Shillong Jail in 1937 and promised to pursue her release. She was released after 14 years in 1947. Acknowledging her role in the struggle against the British, **Jawaharlal Nehru** called her the "Daughter of the Hills" and gave her the title of "Rani"

6.3 Women's Movement

Society has been patriarchal for most part of recorded history. It is difficult to talk about the position and status of women, with all women being categorised as uniform. There has been infinite variation on the status of women depending on the culture, class, caste, family structure and property rights. The role and status of women throughout ancient and medieval period has been far from static ranging from one of authority to freedom to one of subservience. Most of the historical sources by and large refer to the elite sections of society concentrating on the court and the aristocracy and hence when they talk of women they generally refer to women of this class because women from other classes and tribal backgrounds had different norms. Tribal women and women from the labouring castes and classes are rarely visible as they represent those groups which did not have a literary culture and therefore did not leave behind much evidence. There are ample references to such women in the Smriti literature like the Manusmriti, the Smritis of Apastamba and Gautama. In addition, the Jataka stories also offer us many glimpses from the lives of these women drawn from royalty, aristocracy, trading, artisanal, hunting, fisher folk and labourers. What clearly emerges from reading these sources and the Sanskrit literature and dramas and inscriptions is a distinction between different classes of women, where royal women needed protection and the subaltern women were more unfettered. The introduction of English education first started to train Indians for jobs under British administration. This created upper class elites who began to doubt the rationale of many of the existing practices in their society. The establishment and expansion of the British rule also encouraged British missionaries to enter their colonies and start schools, orphanages and destitute homes especially for widows. They stood against sati, child marriage, purdah and polygamy. The new Indian elite exposed to European liberalism of the 18th century through Western education, felt the urgency for reform of their own society. The women's movements in the colonial period are mainly of two different concerns: (1) social reform movements and (2) nationalist movements. The women's movements began as a social reform movement in the 19th century. The British conquest and its rule over India brought about transformation in Indian economy as well as in society.

They began a critical appraisal of Indian society in an attempt to create a new ethos devoid of all overt social aberrations like polytheism, polygamy, casteism, sati, child marriage, illiteracy etc. all of which they believed were impediments to progress of women. All the social reformers shared a belief common to many parts of the world in the 19th century that no society could progress if its women were backward. To the reformers, the position of Indian women, as it was in the 19th century was abysmally low and hence their efforts were directed at an overall improvement in the status of women through legislation, political action and propagation, of education. This was mainly spurred by the first wave feminism of the west and concentrated on basic rights for women. The social reform movement did not radically challenge the existing patriarchal structure of society or question gender relation. They picked up for reform only those issues which the British were pointing out as evidence of degeneration in the Indian society. Even the women's institutions and organisations that sprang up during this period do not reveal the development of an independent view. As a result even when women were speaking for themselves they were speaking only the language of the men, defined by male parameters. There was thus an attempt to reform women rather than reform the social conditions which opposed them. There were no attempts to alter the power structure and the men-women relation in the society. While arguing in favour of equal rights for women appealed to logic, reason, history, the principle of individual freedom and the requirements of social programme, social reformers such as Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Keshab Chandra Sen, Iswarachandra Vidya Sagar, Kandukuri Veeresalingam Panthulu, M. G. Ranade, Karve, Swami Vivekanantia, Swami Dayanand Saraswathi and others provided leadership to the women's movement by frankly acknowledging the degraded position of Indian women. The social reformers established a number of societies like Bramho Samaj, Ramakrishna Mission and others for the cause of Indian women. The best exponent of liberalism was Raja Ram Mohan Roy who was the first Indian to initiate a social reform movement and campaign for the cause of women. He advocated

equality between the two sexes and declared that women were not inferior to men morally and intellectually. The characteristics of the second phase of women's movement i.e. the national movement are: for the first time many women belonging to the middle class, started taking part in the political activities. Till 1919, the national movement was limited to the urban upper class and it was later with Gandhi's entrance into the national movement, participation of the masses began to take place. In this phase, political developments and women's participation in the National movement went hand in hand. Though there was the absence of mass awakening amongst the women, but meetings were arranged and khadi spinnings were taken up by women. Women contributed their bangles, nose rings and bracelets to the national fund. In villages, women started putting away a handful of grain daily for such purpose. The women of Bengal and Punjab took active part in the Swadeshi movement. The women workers of the Arya Samaj were also responsible for arousing national spirit among the people. Swarna Kumari, sister of Rabindranath Tagore and her daughter Sarala Devi were strong supporters of the Swadeshi movement. Important women who participated in the revolutionary activities were Mrs. Shyamji Krishna Varma, Ms. P. Nauroji, Ms. M. Chettopadhyaya, and Madam BhikajiRustum, K. R. Kame, a regular among the Indian revolutionaries based in Europe, coordinated to the activities of the revolutionaries. She also raised issues of women's equality at international socialist circles reflecting the Indian reality.

Chipko Movement was born in a small hilly village, Advani in Tehri Garhwal district of Uttar Pradesh. The illiterate adivasi women led this movement in December 1972. It challenged the old belief that forests mean only timber and emphasised their roles in making soil, water and pure air as the basis of human life. This philosophy popularised the movement in many countries. The women symbolically tied sacred threads around the trees, faced police firing in February 1978 and later courted arrest. This movement continued under the leadership of Sri Sunderlal Bahuguna in various villages. The movement's plan is a slogan to plant five F's- food, fodder, fuel, fiber and fertiliser to make communities self sufficient in all their basic needs. The Chipko movement is inimical to gender in its theoretical underpinnings as well as the political and economic ones. Women and children gather firewood for domestic consumption. They rely on the forestry for combustible crop residues such as rice straw. This, however, is considered inferior to fuel-wood. Therefore, forestry activities that increase the availability of fuel-wood and development projects that promote improved stoves both release women's labour from fuel collection and permit its use in other productive activities, and improve the agricultural environment by permitting crop residues to be better used for enriching depleted soil. The movement points out the link between women's burden as food providers and gatherers and their militancy in protecting natural resources from violent devastation. One of the women, Gaura Devi led 27 village women to prevent the contractors and forest department personnel, about 60 men in all, from entering the Reni forest to cut 2,415 trees. While the women blocked the narrow passage leading to the forest, the men used all sorts of threats and also misbehaved with the women. But the women bravely refused to budge. In the course of this movement, Garhwal women successfully understood leadership roles and questioned the right of the men to decide the fate of the forests or to enter into the contracts without consulting them. The anti-arrack movement of women in Andhra Pradesh was one of most historic and significant movements of the 1990s. The historic bangle waged by the women of Andhra Pradesh against the social evil of alcohol drinking is a magnum war in Indian social history. Women have played a historic role in bringing about a ban on consumption and sale of distilled liquor in Andhra Pradesh. The movement indeed was not just for elimination of liquor but for the protection and survival of their lives and culture. The rural women in the villages raised their voices against the degeneration of the progress of their families through the damage caused by their men to their children and themselves.

In the post Independence period during the first few decades, the major concern was for overall economic growth. This was immediately followed by another decade, which witnessed an increased concern for equity and poverty alleviation. Gender issues were subsumed in poverty related concerns and there were no specific programs which aimed at women. Women during this period were involved in such movements like the law and famine relief movement but did not start to pick up issues involving their oppression until the 1970s. NGOs and other such organisations from the 70s started emphasising on women's development and provided women avenues of collectively voicing their concerns. These grass root organisations have questioned the welfare approach to women and incorporated an empowerment participatory approach. While questions about the success of these organisations are often raised, it is often seen that women exposed to some amount of mobilisation show great potentialities, receptiveness and defining capacities. In the post independence period, the women's movement has concerned itself with a large number of issues such as dowry, women's work, price rise, land rights, political participation of women, Dalit

marginalised women's right, growing fundamentalism, women's representation in the media etc. It has also been able to draw a large number of women around three major issues: girl child, gender violence and globalisation. The important characteristics of the 3rd phase of women's movement i.e. from post independence era to 1985 are as follows: till the 1970s a kind of passivity or accommodation due to the socio-economic circumstances of free India influenced the women's movement. The economic crisis of 1960s created an atmosphere in which issues concerning women are more and in which women started taking place (1975-1985- International Women's Decade) saw the emergence of autonomous women's movement in which autonomous women's groups and organisations started fighting for liberation.

6.4 Farmer's Movement

India has a long history of peasant or farmers' movement, dating back to the colonial period when farmers in different parts of India revolted against Zamindars, landlords, British colonial masters or powers including feudal lords. These movements were the results of severe exploitation, oppression, loss of rights over land, imposition of new taxes, and new agrarian relations of the peasants with the Colonial state or the feudal lords. Most of the struggles that the peasants resorted to were either carried as part of nationalist struggle or independent of it. The beginning of the New Farmers' Movement in general is seen from the decade of 1980s. However, its genesis requires to be stretched back to the earlier decade of 1970s. This was the decade when farmers of green revolution area began to rally around political parties and leaders. One such leader who organised the farmers under political party was Chaudhury Charan Singh, the former Prime Minister of India. He organised few rallies raising such issues as parity in prices between industrial and agricultural commodities; allowing import of agricultural input from abroad, reducing the protection given to industry, due representation of farmers in different boards and committees, subsidies to electricity, water fertilizer, seeds, reducing the income disparity between the urban and rural people, establishing Kisan Banks as well as agricultural polytechnics etc. It all began in Maharashtra when Shetkari Sanghathana under Sharad Joshi, a former employee of UN turned farmer, began agitating in village called Chakan in Pune for remunerative prices for agricultural commodities, particularly for onion. This one point agenda of remunerative prices began to be enacted by farmers in other states of India. In Uttar Pradesh, the movement started much later in 1986. It was spearheaded by Mahendra Singh Tikat a peasant by profession. His organisation is called Bharatiya Kisan Union. His movement started from a small village called Sisoli and Shamli in Meerut District in Uttar Pradesh. One of the unique features of farmers' movements is that they moved from local to global. When globalisation was making serious inroads, some of the organisations went to support or oppose globalisation for various reasons. Those who opposed globalisation, particularly Karnataka Rajya Raitha Sangha, Bharatiya Kisan Union of Uttar Pradesh and Punjab, argued that globalisation would destroy the identities of peasantry, introduce western hegemony, destroy cultural life style, take away the right to produce, distribute and exchange agricultural commodities etc. On the contrary those who supported globalisation saw in globalisation an answer to rural backwardness, agricultural prosperity, and capitalist development.

The Farmers' movements are often criticised for their class bias. It is often argued that the New Farmers' movement is highly biased towards market-oriented farmers than those who are living in the subsistence economy. All through their struggles, these movements have raised such issues which have helped either the rich farmers or the middle farmers. For example, their argument in favour of writing off loans, remunerative prices, declaring agriculture as an industry, abolition of tractor loans etc ultimately helped the big or the rich/middle peasantry or the farmers. Even the movements have not addressed the issues beyond irrigated areas. The issues of non-irrigated areas have received scant focus in their discourse. This is the reason why the farmers' movement began to lose its appeal in the years to come. The movement encompassing different categories of farmers, however, lost its vitality or appeal in due course. This is the reason why it is stated that its social bases are confined to rich and middle peasants including the farmers of commercial cropping and also market-oriented farmers. Secondly, there are criticisms that movements never become the movements of or for all caste groups. In Karnataka, the Raitha Sangha largely became the movement of two dominant castes- the Lingayats and Vokkaligas. In Maharashtra, it did become a movement of Maratha Kunbis. However, it tried to encompass Dalits, Other Backward Castes, artisan castes, and others. However, their proportion was less when compared to Kunbi Marathas. On the contrary, Punjab and Uttar Pradesh movements became movement of Jats. In Tamil Nadu, it is argued that its membership derived from such castes as Naidus, Goundars, Tewars, Vanniyars and Nadaars. However, the representation from dalits, Muslims, etc. is minimal. In Gujarat, under

Khedut Samaj, the movement was largely dominated by Pattidars, although others such as OBCs are also its support bases but in less number. This wide range of social bases has literally made the farmers' movement confine to their agitational politics or to their locality. Therefore it has become difficult to organise the farmers' movement at an all India level.

There has been a debate whether to analyse these movements as Gandhian or not. In other words, to what extent the New Farmers' Movement may be treated as Gandhian Movement? What are the characteristics that make them to vouch for Gandhism? Infact, the Karnataka movement, under Raitha Sangha, is very vehement in advocating that it is a Gandhian movement despite the fact that in its analysis, the arguments of and about Third World or the arguments of Marx, Lenin, Rosa Luxemburg's internal colonialism are apparent. Hence it argues that its final objective is the realisation of "village republic". This is nothing but a "form of social, political and economic organisation based on direct democracy". In this democracy "affairs affecting several communities are decided upon through process of consultation involving all affected".

The **2020–2021 Indian farmers' protest** was a protest against three farm acts that were passed by the Parliament of India in September 2020. The acts, often called the Farm Bills, have been described as "anti-farmer laws" by many farmer unions, and politicians from the opposition who say it would leave farmers at the "mercy of corporates". The farmers have also demanded the creation of a minimum support price (MSP) bill, to ensure that corporates cannot control the prices. The union government, however, maintains that the laws will make it effortless for farmers to sell their produce directly to big buyers, and stated that the protests are based on misinformation. Related endemic legacy issues include farmer suicides and low farmer incomes. Despite India being largely self-sufficient in foodgrain production and having welfare schemes, hunger and nutrition remain serious issues, with India ranking as one of the worst countries in the world in food security parameters.

Soon after the acts were introduced, unions began holding local protests, mostly in Punjab. After two months of protests, farmer unions—mainly from Punjab and Haryana—began a movement named *Dilli Chalo* (transl. Let's go to Delhi), in which tens of thousands of farming union members marched towards the nation's capital. The Indian government ordered the police and law enforcement of various states to attack the protesters using water cannons, batons, and tear gas to prevent the farmer unions from entering into Haryana first and then Delhi. November 2020 saw a nationwide general strike in support of the farmers and thousands converging at various border points on the way to Delhi. Eleven rounds of talks took place between the central government and farmers represented by the farm unions between 14 October 2020 and 22 January 2021; all were inconclusive with agreement on only two relatively minor points.

While a section of farmer unions have been protesting, the Indian Government claims some unions have come out in support of the farm laws. By mid December, the Supreme Court of India had received a batch of petitions asking for the removal of blockades created by the protesters around Delhi. Farmers have said they will not listen to the courts if told to back off. Their leaders have also said that staying the implementation of the farm laws is not a solution. The Supreme Court of India stayed the implementation of the farm laws in January 2021. Farmer leaders welcomed the stay order, which remains in effect. A Supreme Court appointed committee submitted its confidential report before the court on 19 March 2021. Six state governments (Kerala, Punjab, Chhattisgarh, Rajasthan, Delhi and West Bengal) passed resolutions against the farms acts, and three states (Punjab, Chhattisgarh and Rajasthan) have tabled counter-legislation in their respective state assemblies. None of the counter-legislation passed the respective state governors.

On 26 January 2021, India's Republic Day, tens of thousands of the farmers held a farmer's parade with a large convoy of tractors and drove into Delhi. The protesters deviated from the pre-sanctioned routes permitted by the Delhi Police resulting in violence and clashes with the police. Later protesters reached Red Fort and installed farmer union flags and religious flags on the mast on the rampart of the Red Fort. On 19 November 2021, the union government decided to repeal the bills, and both houses of

Parliament passed the Farm Laws Repeal Bill, 2021 on 29 November. Following the announcement of the repeal of the farm laws, farmer unions continued with the demand for guaranteed minimum support prices (MSPs), reminding the government of the aim of doubling farmers' income by 2022; and the 2004 MS Swaminathan-headed National Commission on Farmers reports. The Supreme Court appointed committee report was released by a committee member on 21 March 2022

6.5 Labour Movement

The modern working class arose in India with the introduction of capitalism in the 19th century under colonial dispensation. It was a modern working class in the sense of relatively modern organisation of labour and a relatively free market for labour. This development was due to the establishment of modern factories, railways, dockyards and construction activities relating to roads and buildings. Plantations and railways were the initial enterprises to herald the era of colonial capitalism in Indian subcontinent. Port cities Bombay, Calcutta and Madras became the centres of the capitalist economy. Cotton mills in Bombay, jute mills in Calcutta, and several factories in Madras were set up in the late 19th century. Similar developments took place in the cities of Ahmedabad, Kanpur, Solapur and Nagpur. The first jute mill of India was set up in Calcutta in 1854 by a Scottish entrepreneur. The ownership of the cotton mills was with the Indian entrepreneurs, while that of jute was with the foreigners for a long time.

Initial Attempts to Improve Workers' Conditions: Attempts were made in 1870-1880 to better the working conditions of the workers by legislation. Till the Swadeshi surge of 1903-08, there was no concerted effort to better the working conditions of the labour. Again between 1915-1922, there was resurgence of workers' movement along with the Home Rule Movement and the Non-Cooperation Movement. The earlier attempts to improve the economic conditions of the workers were in the nature of philanthropic efforts which were isolated, sporadic and aimed at specific local grievances.

Workers' Plantation and Mine Workers: The plantation and mine workers were heavily exploited but their conditions did not attract much attention initially as they were away from the notice of early social reformers, journalists and public activists. Despite this isolation, the plantation workers, on their own, registered their protests against the exploitation and oppression by the plantation owners and managers. The cotton and jute industry workers were more in the public gaze. The early social workers and philanthropists were also involved with them facilitating better organisational work as well as better reporting and public support. In Bengal, Sasipada Banerjee founded the 'Working Men's Club' in 1870 and started publishing a monthly journal in Bengali entitled '*Bharat Shramjibi*' in 1874. The Brahmo Samaj formed the 'Working Men's Mission' in Bengal in 1878 to impart moral education among the workers. It also established the 'Working Men's Institution' in 1905. In 1890 in Maharashtra, N.M. Lokhandey established the 'Bombay Millhands' Association', and in 1898, he started publishing a journal entitled '*Dinbandhu*' in Marathi. The Bombay Millhands Defence Association formed by Bal Gangadhar Tilak in 1908. However, these bodies were primarily interested in welfare activities and did not have much organisational base among the workers. The trade unions emerged in India after World War I. The main factors that led to the emergence of trade unions include: Rising prices of essential commodities. Decline in the real wages of workers. Increase in the demand for the industrial products resulting in the expansion of Indian industries. Gandhi's call for the Non-Cooperation Movement. The Madras Labour Union, formed in April 1918, is generally considered to be the first trade union in India. B.P. Wadia, a nationalist leader and an associate of Annie Besant, was instrumental for its organisation. The Textile Labour Association, also known as *Majur Mahajan Sangh*, was established in Ahmedabad in 1920. The union was formed following the agitation of mill workers of Ahmedabad demanding for a bonus to compensate for the rise in prices. This union worked along Gandhian lines and became very strong over the years.

A New Edge to the Workers' Movement: The most important development in the workers' movement was the formation of All-India Trade Union Congress under the leadership of Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Lala Lajpat Rai. Since then the working class movement became strong and by 1930 onwards, an ideological tone was added to the movement. Many people connected with labour realised that there was a need for a central organisation of labour to coordinate the

works of the trade unions all over India. The formation of the International Labour Organisation (ILO) in 1919 acted as a catalyst for it. The members selected from AITUC represented the Indian Labour at the ILO. Leaders Involved: Bal Gangadhar Tilak, N.M. Joshi, B.P. Wadia, Diwan Chamanlall, Lala Lajpat Rai and Joseph Baptista were the main leaders behind the formation of AITUC. Lala Lajpat Rai became the first president of the AITUC and Joseph Baptista its vice president. Lajpat Rai was the first to link capitalism with imperialism: "imperialism and militarism are the twin children of capitalism". In the beginning, the AITUC was influenced by social democratic ideas of the British Labour Party. The Gandhian philosophy of non-violence, trusteeship and class-collaboration had great influence on AITUC. The act recognised trade unions as legal associations. It laid down conditions for registration and regulation of trade union activities. It secured civil and criminal immunity for trade unions from prosecution for legitimate activities, but also put some restrictions on their political activities. The most important phenomenon in the field of labour movement in India was the emergence of the communists. The communist ideology, deriving from the theories of Karl Marx and Vladimir Lenin, assigns the working class the central place. The Communist Party of India (CPI), formed in Soviet Union in 1920, soon after its formation, became active in the labour movements. The communists organised the workers in cotton mills of Bombay and jute mills of Calcutta, besides many other industries and led militant struggles. By 1928-29, the communists gained a marginal majority in the AITUC. In the **tenth session** of the AITUC held in Nagpur, the communists called for the **dissociation from the ILO** and association with the League against Imperialism. The moderate and reformist group were against the idea and consequently left the AITUC and formed the **Indian Federation of Trade Unions (IFTU)**. Another split occurred in 1931 due to **divergence** between the nationalist and communist opinions. The communists severely criticised Gandhi and condemned the Round Table Conference of 1931 in which the Indian National Congress was participating. Unable to secure a majority for this condemnation, the communists split from the nationalists and formed the Red Trade Union Congress (RTUC). By 1931, there were three national federations of trade unions - the AITUC, the IFTU and the RTUC. It was felt by many trade union leaders that the division in their ranks was creating problems for their political and economic struggles. As a result, the Railway Unions and some unaffiliated unions united with the IFTU to form the National Federation of Trade Unions (NFTU) in 1933. Consequently, the RTUC, and the AITUC also united in 1935 and the name AITUC was retained for the unified organisation.

The post-independence period saw the formation of a number of trade unions such as Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh (BMS) and Centre of Indian Trade Unions (CITU). CITU was formed by Communist Party of India (Marxist), splitting from AITUC. The Industrial Dispute Act, 1947 and Labour Relations Bill and Trade Unions Bills, 1949 were introduced. Between 1947-1960, the condition of the working class improved and there was a decline in the number of strikes. The period of late 1960s saw decline in the wages of the working class; as a result, disputes in the industrial front increased. It introduced LPG (Liberalisation, Privatisation and Globalization). Liberalization deteriorated the bargaining position of the workers vis-a-vis capital. The policy provided no statutory minimum wages for labour. It gave the employers the complete right to hire and fire. Incomplete Coverage: A large section of the working class, the unorganized sector, was left outside the fold of trade unions. The unions took the relatively easy path of pressing the demands of those who could be easily organised or whose demands were likely to be heard by the government. Post independence, the trade unions representing workers in the country have multiplied. Multiplicity of unions in a capitalist system keeps the working class fragmented and vulnerable to all forms of pressures. Trade unions in the country had not been responsive to the problems of the working class in the country. Unions lay fragmented which produced bitter rivalry among them and hence very often they failed to respond to the issues of the working class. The industrial working class of the country did not ally with the peasants and other sections of the society in collective direct action on political issues'. This reflected the lack of political consciousness among the working class. Negligence for Marginalised Sections: Trade unions in the organised sector overlooked the problems of women workers and workers belonging to the socially oppressed groups

Discussion on Labour movement in India was a wide range description in Indian working class History. Non agricultural labour and a class relational approach was present in the colonial legacy

to concrete social setting. Landless labour and marginal farmers were discussed on the light of rural poverty. Indian culture was saturated with religious values and ideas as it was structured by the rural economic condition of the country. The need base agricultural economy had been changing before in the year of 1840 due to the British industrial revolution needed raw material for their industry. Historians were tried to discuss Indian working class movement phase wise, such as age of Early Industrialization and emerging of working class (1840-1900), working class movement (1850-1947) was a vast period in history so this period divided in to five phase, first phase (1850-1900), second phase (1900-1914), third phase (1915-1922), fourth phase (1923-1939) and fifth phase (1940-1947). The segment wise labour movement was organized to various part of India and emergence of early labour consciousness. Dipesh Chakraborty in his book 'Rethinking Working Class History 1890-1940' had tried to analyze deep roots of the substance of class consciousness.

From the very beginning Indian working class history had been bearing a tradition which was not to compare with another country. In the post Palasy fighting (in the year of 1757) radically changes had occurred in Indian sociocultural- economy. East India company tried to capture the India so that administration pattern of the state was becoming frequently changing. According to historical scholarly micro label study on actual working class history of the age of beginning of the colonialism was obtained absent. Labour history came to lighting through the organisation in initially stage of 20th century's India. After formation of the All India Trade Union Congress (AITUC, 1920) the industrial labour were organist in India throughout a new shape. Working class in India was an increasing number on population of India. Working class History and its growth in abroad was a systematic way, industrial revolution had took place in England according to result of industrialization. In Indian context working class had been popular thorough a continuous movement. India had grown an economy which had mainly agricultural based before British industrial revolution. After 1800 India was a major raw material supplier country for the purpose of the British industrial revolution. Indian productions of cotton, coal, jute were very cheap and best raw materials. Having incriminating demands of those raw materials in England, peasantry of India were pushed to a new economic challenges. A Continuous increasing exploitation of the farmers of agriculture fields change crops production tradition and they were bound to cultivate cotton as if cheap raw material could be exported to England. In the midnineteenth century, in true sense industrialization in India had introduced by the establishment of tea industry in Assam (1839), Bengal Coal Company (1843), first cotton mill in Bombay and jute mill in India (1854). It is notable point that jute and cotton industry played important role in the economic structure which was radically changing their pattern in context of the colonial effects. Tea plantation workers and railways workers were identified as platforms of huge employment opportunity. From the writing of Walter Hamilton in his 'Description of Hindustan' in 1820 mentioned regarding existences of towns and cities of India at beginning of the nineteenth century.

The first concept of industrial labour had came by the establishment of the tea plantations industry which was mentioned as semi industrial revolution in Indian. Industry was compared with agriculture and considering no doubts, much lesser role in providing a means of living. The significance of industry in the economy of the country and in social life was better than agriculture in colonial India (Urban Development in Indian since Pre Historic Times, by B Bhattacharyya). The age of the twentieth century is marked as age of beginning of the trade union. Near about 1900-1914, the total number of worker in industry were highly increased. If we consider the data of the industry it was recorded that 264 textile mills, 64 jute mills were established within the year 1914. The shape of industrialization of India grown in this year. England needed huge raw material for industrial revolution. In this purpose colonial country of the England had become good number of raw material supplier and they were influenced by the ruler to cultivate the raw material which was needs for industry instead of Traditional crops. Wage workers and non-wage earners were played important role in rural economy. One of the first concerns of course is the relative size of the proletarian labour force in the population. In this regard in "The Indian Labour Year Book 1997" provided some interesting information. According to the 1991 census, 'workers' constituted 37.5% of the whole population of the country. The term 'workers' here taken to mean all those gainfully employed and not as wage-workers. Out of these, 'cultivators' accounted for 38.41%. Similarly fishers, animal herders, hunters etc. accounted for another 1.90%. This means, 40% of the working population of the country were insignificant producers and small property owners. To deep root discussion its observe the Peasants, Agricultural Workers and Industrial Workers had close relationship with each other in every aspects. The diagram mentioned below is made clear indication of the gradual proletarianization of the rural population.

Working class and the path of organisation was not an easy process in colonial autocracy. V. B. Karnik in his book 'Strike in India' clearly mentioned Continuous labour disputes in cotton

industry, jute industry and railways workers in various part of the India. Labour of the cotton industry of Gujarat. Factory industry and factory labour brought in its wake many an industrial problem, the problems of terms and conditions of employment, of recruitment and retention, of absenteeism and hours of work, of industrial relations and of industrial disputes and their settlement. This study is concerned only with the problem of strikes, the method used by workers for ventilating grievances and securing their redress. The study will be to trace the origin of this phenomenon in the early years of the growth of industries. Workers were organised on a need based demand such as working hours reduce, wage increase and demand for betterment of living conditions etc. Most of the cases strikes took place locally, in this regard it was notable thing that out sides leadership involvement had took place for organization in the industry. Sujata Patel in her book "Making of Industrial Relations. Ahmedabad Textile Industry 1918-1939" mentioned that how the workers of textile industry were engaging through the middle man involvement. On question of outside leaders involvement in organisedlabour disputes and continuous strike in the textile industry had come in the writing of working class history as a critical research.

Summary

The Indian society is encompassed by caste, race, religion, languages, regions etc. and these have been highly stratified. There are profoundly ingrained social and economic disparities. Despite seven decades of democracy, norms are still rigid with respect to inter-group ties, marriage, religious and ritual observance. India's past is loaded with social movements set in motion against institutional and cultural obstacles that stopped persons going in the direction they wanted. Democratic movements aim to create a social system of equal standing in general. However, counter-social movements are also present, which oppose these attempts and do whatever possible to retain the status quo.

Keywords

pnchama, sanskritisation, proletarianisation, bahujan

Self Assessment

1. Ishwarchandra Vidyasagar, Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Mahatma Phule etc. took initiative in ending the practice of
 - A. Dowry and Remarriage
 - B. Adult Marriage and widow marriage
 - C. Sati and Child Marriage
 - D. Right to vote to movement

2. _____ are the tribes found in Bihar
 - A. Kolam and Gond
 - B. Koli and Bhilla
 - C. Santhal and Munda
 - D. Bhilla and Gond

3. _____ movement is an important economic movement.
 - A. Civic
 - B. Judicial
 - C. Tribal
 - D. Swadeshi

4. _____ is an organised activity done by organized people who try to pressurize the government and resolve the issue.

- A. Movement
- B. Revolution
- C. Agitation
- D. Strike

5. _____ is the main demand of farmers movement.

- A. Right to cultivate on the forest land
- B. To get the right price for agricultural product
- C. Protection of consumers
- D. Building of Dams

Answers for Self Assessment

1. C 2. C 3. D 4. A 5. B

Review Questions

1. Trace out the reasons for the emergence of labour movement.
2. Elaborate the features of dalit movement in India.
3. What were the trends of women's movement in India?
4. Describe the main features of the recent farmer's movement in India.
5. Point out the causes and consequences of the other backward caste movement in India.



Further Readings

Social Movements in India: A Review of Literature by Ghanshyam Shah

Social Movements and the State by Ghanshyam Shah

Social Movements in India by MS A Rao

Social Movements in India by EDITED BY RAKA RAY AND MARY FAINSOD
KATZENSTEIN

Unit 07: Civil Society Groups

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Objectives

- To understand the importance of civil society
- To understand non-governmental organisations
- To understand non-party social formations
- To understand social action groups

Introduction

Civil society comprises organizations that are not associated with government—including schools and universities, advocacy groups, professional associations, churches, and cultural institutions (business sometimes is covered by the term civil society and sometimes not). Civil society organizations play multiple roles. They are an important source of information for both citizens and government. They monitor government policies and actions and hold government accountable. They engage in advocacy and offer alternative policies for government, the private sector, and other institutions. They deliver services, especially to the poor and underserved. They defend citizen rights and work to change and uphold social norms and behaviors.

7.1 Civil Society

Civil society can be understood as the "third sector" of society, distinct from government and business, and including the family and the private sphere. By other authors, *civil society* is used in the sense of

- the aggregate of non-governmental organizations and institutions that manifest interests and will of citizens or
- individuals and organizations in a society which are independent of the government.

Sometimes the term *civil society* is used in the more general sense of "the elements such as freedom of speech, an independent judiciary, etc, that make up a democratic society" (*Collins English*

Dictionary). Especially in the discussions among thinkers of Eastern and Central Europe, civil society is seen also as a normative concept of civic values.

The term *civil society* goes back to Aristotle occurring in his *Politics*, where it refers to a 'political community', commensurate with the Greek city-state (*polis*) characterized by a shared set of norms and ethos, in which free citizens on an equal footing lived under the rule of law. The *telos* or end of civil society, thus defined, was (often translated as human flourishing or common well-being), in as man was defined as a 'political (social) animal'. The concept was used by Roman writers, such as Cicero, where it referred to the ancient notion of a republic. With the rise of a distinction between monarchical autonomy and public law, the term then gained currency to denote the corporate estates of a feudal elite of land-holders as opposed to the powers exercised by the prince. The first post-modern usage of civil society as denoting political opposition stems from writings of Aleksander Smolar in 1978–79. However, the term was not in use by Solidarity labor union in 1980–1981.

The literature on relations between civil society and democratic political society have their roots in classical liberal writings of Adam Ferguson and G.W.F. Hegel from whom they were adapted by Alexis de Tocqueville, Karl Marx, and Ferdinand Tönnies. They were developed in significant ways by 20th century researchers Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba, who identified the role of political culture in a democratic order as vital. They argued that the political element of political organizations facilitates better awareness and a more informed citizenry, who make better voting choices, participate in politics, and hold government more accountable as a result. The statutes of these political organizations have been considered micro-constitutions because they accustom participants to the formalities of democratic decision making. More recently, Robert D. Putnam has argued that even non-political organizations in civil society are vital for democracy. This is because they build social capital, trust and shared values, which are transferred into the political sphere and help to hold society together, facilitating an understanding of the interconnectedness of society and interests within it. Others, however, have questioned the link between civil society and robust democracy. Some have noted that the civil society actors have now obtained a remarkable amount of political power without anyone directly electing or appointing them. It has been argued that civil society aided the Nazi Party in coming to power in 1930s Germany. It has also been argued that civil society is biased towards the global north. Partha Chatterjee has argued that, in most of the world, "civil society is demographically limited." Finally, other scholars have argued that, since the concept of civil society is closely related to democracy and representation, it should in turn be linked with ideas of nationality and nationalism.

7.2 Non-Governmental Organisations

A non-governmental organization (NGO) is an organization that generally is formed independent from government. They are typically non-profit entities, and many of them are active in humanitarianism or the social sciences; they can also include clubs and associations that provide services to their members and others. Surveys indicate that NGOs have a high degree of public trust, which can make them a useful proxy for the concerns of society and stakeholders. However, NGOs can also be lobby groups for corporations, such as the World Economic Forum. NGOs are distinguished from international and intergovernmental organizations in that the latter are more directly involved with sovereign states and their governments. The term as it is used today was first introduced in Article 71 of the newly-formed United Nations' Charter in 1945. While there is no fixed or formal definition for what NGOs are, they are generally defined as nonprofit entities that are independent of governmental influence—although they may receive government funding. According to the UN Department of Global Communications, an NGO is "a not-for profit, voluntary citizen's group that is organized on a local, national or international level to address issues in support of the public good." The term NGO is used inconsistently, and is sometimes used synonymously with *civil society organization* (CSO), which is any association founded by citizens. In some countries, NGOs are known as non-profit organizations, and political parties and trade unions are sometimes considered NGOs as well. NGOs are classified by

- orientation—the type of activities an NGO undertakes, such as activities involving human rights, consumer protection, environmentalism, health, or development; and

- level of operation, which indicates the scale at which an organization works: local, regional, national, or international.

Russia had about 277,000 NGOs in 2008. India is estimated to have had about 2 million NGOs in 2009 (approximately one per 600 Indians), many more than the number of the country's primary schools and health centres. NGOs further the social goals of their members (or founders): improving the natural environment, encouraging the observance of human rights, improving the welfare of the disadvantaged, or representing a corporate agenda. Their goals cover a wide range of issues. They may fund local NGOs, institutions and projects, and implement projects. NGOs are classified by their:

- orientation, i.e. the type of activities an NGO undertakes, such as activities involving human rights, consumer protection, environmentalism, health, or development.
- level of operation, which indicates the scale at which an organization works: local, regional, national, or international.

Orientation

- Charity – often a top-down effort, with little participation or input from beneficiaries. They include NGOs directed at meeting the needs of disadvantaged people and groups.
- Service – includes NGOs that provide healthcare (including family planning) and education.
- Participatory – self-help projects with local involvement in the form of money, tools, land, materials, or labor
- Empowerment – aim to help poor people to understand the social, political, and economic factors affecting their lives, and to increase awareness of their power to control their lives. With maximum involvement by the beneficiaries, the NGOs are facilitators.

Level of operation

- Community-based organizations (CBOs) – popular initiatives which can raise the consciousness of the urban poor, helping them understand their right to services, and providing such services.
- City-wide organizations – include chambers of commerce and industry, coalitions of business, ethnic or educational groups, and community organizations.
- State NGOs – include state-level organizations, associations, and groups. Some state NGOs are guided by national and international NGOs.
- National NGOs – an NGO that exists in only one country; they are rare. These include national organizations such as YMCAs and YWCAs, professional associations, and similar groups. Some have state or city branches, and assist local NGOs.
- International NGOs (INGOs) – range from secular agencies, such as Save the Children, to religious groups. They may fund local NGOs, institutions and projects, and implement projects.

NGOs act as implementers, catalysts, and partners. They mobilize resources to provide goods and services to people who have been affected by a natural disaster; they drive change, and partner with other organizations to tackle problems and address human needs. NGOs vary by method; some are primarily advocacy groups, and others conduct programs and activities. Oxfam, concerned with poverty alleviation, may provide needy people with the equipment and skills to obtain food and drinking water; the Forum for Fact-finding Documentation and Advocacy (FFDA) helps provide legal assistance to victims of human-rights abuses. The Afghanistan Information Management Services provide specialized technical products and services to support development activities implemented on the ground by other organizations. Management techniques are crucial to project success.

The World Bank classifies NGO activity into two general categories:

- operational NGOs, whose primary function is the design and implementation of development-related projects
- advocacy NGOs, whose primary function is to defend or promote a particular cause and who seek to influence the policies and practices of International governmental organisations (IGOs).

NGOs may also conduct both activities: operational NGOs will use campaigning techniques if they face issues in the field, which could be remedied by policy change, and campaigning NGOs (such as human-rights organizations) often have programs which assist individual victims for whom they are trying to advocate.

Operational NGOs seek to "achieve small-scale change directly through projects", mobilizing financial resources, materials, and volunteers to create local programs. They hold large-scale fundraising events and may apply to governments and organizations for grants or contracts to raise money for projects. Operational NGOs often have a hierarchical structure; their headquarters are staffed by professionals who plan projects, create budgets, keep accounts, and report to and communicate with operational fieldworkers on projects. They are most often associated with the delivery of services or environmental issues, emergency relief, and public welfare. Operational NGOs may be subdivided into relief or development organizations, service-delivery or participatory, religious or secular, and public or private. Although operational NGOs may be community-based, many are national or international. The defining activity of an operational NGO is the implementation of projects.

Advocacy NGOs or campaigning NGOs seek to "achieve large-scale change promoted indirectly through the influence of the political system." They require an active, efficient group of professional members who can keep supporters informed and motivated. Campaigning NGOs must plan and host demonstrations and events which will attract media, their defining activity. Campaigning NGOs often deal with issues related to human rights, women's rights, and children's rights, and their primary purpose is to defend (or promote) a specific cause.

Non-governmental organisations need healthy public relations in order to meet their goals, and use sophisticated public-relations campaigns to raise funds and deal with governments. Interest groups may be politically important, influencing social and political outcomes. A code of ethics was established in 2002 by the World Association of Non-Governmental Organizations. Some NGOs rely on paid staff; others are based on volunteers. Although many NGOs use international staff in developing countries, others rely on local employees or volunteers. Foreign staff may satisfy a donor who wants to see the supported project managed by a person from an industrialized country. The expertise of these employees (or volunteers) may be counterbalanced by several factors: the cost of foreigners is typically higher, they have no grassroots connections in the country, and local expertise may be undervalued. By the end of 1995, Concern Worldwide (an international anti-poverty NGO) employed 174 foreigners and just over 5,000 local staff in Haiti and ten developing countries in Africa and Asia.

On average, employees in NGOs earn 11-12% less compared to employees of for-profit organizations and government workers with the same number of qualifications. However, in many cases NGOs employees receive more fringe benefits.

NGOs are usually funded by donations, but some avoid formal funding and are run by volunteers. NGOs may have charitable status, or may be tax-exempt in recognition of their social purposes.

Others may be fronts for political, religious, or other interests. Since the end of World War II, NGOs have had an increased role in international development, particularly in the fields of humanitarian assistance and poverty alleviation.

Funding sources include membership dues, the sale of goods and services, grants from international institutions or national governments, CSR Funds and private donations. Although the term "non-governmental organization" implies independence from governments, many NGOs depend on government funding; one-fourth of Oxfam's US\$162 million 1998 income was donated by the British government and the EU, and World Vision United States collected \$55 million worth of goods in 1998 from the American government. Several EU grants provide funds accessible to NGOs.

Government funding of NGOs is controversial, since "the whole point of humanitarian intervention was precise that NGOs and civil society had both a right and an obligation to respond with acts of aid and solidarity to people in need or being subjected to repression or want by the forces that controlled them, whatever the governments concerned might think about the matter." Some NGOs, such as Greenpeace, do not accept funding from governments or intergovernmental organizations. The 1999 budget of the American Association of Retired Persons (AARP) was over \$540 million.

7.3 Non-Party Social Formation

By the end of the seventies, there was a plethora of activity at the grassroots level. There were the Chhatra Yuva Sangharsh Vahini and similar organisations spawned after the JP movement in a kind of post-Gandhian formation. There were also post-emergency civil liberties groups and action groups formed by radical youth fired by the Latin American radical liberation movements. Youth from the formal left parties also started breaking away to form action groups. Many of these action groups were registered and received foreign funds. A phenomenon that Prakash Karat of the CPI(M) decried as an attempt to divert radicalised youth into 'non-revolutionary' activities. Prof. Rajni Kothari however saw this as the emergence of a new non-party political process raising great expectations.

The 'grassroots' movements and non-party formations posit a different social context from that of the 'incrementalists' or the revolutionaries. Their intervention comes at a time when existing institutions and theoretical models have run their course and there is a search for new instruments of political action. They are attempts to open alternative political spaces outside the usual arenas of party and government.

It is an attempt at redefining the content of politics. Issues that were not seen as amenable of political action – people's health, rights to forests and community resources, even personal and primordial issues as are involved in the struggle for women's rights – get defined as political. The struggle is not limited to economic and political demands, but is extended to cover ecological, cultural and educational issues as well.

The need is for people to wage sustained struggle not just against a particular local tyrant but against the larger social system. Not everyone involved in popular movements sees it in this manner. Many of them are too pre-occupied with immediate struggles. Others are suspicious of abstractions and aggregates. In any case the conditions for concerted and consolidated action informed by an adequate theory are just not there. And yet there is enough evidence to suggest that underlying the micro-movements is a search and restlessness for both a more adequate understanding of the forces at work and a more adequate response to them.

A more cohesive and comprehensive macro-formation is not yet in sight despite being widely recognised. On the whole, though it would be a mistake to think of these action groups as one would think of political parties. Their role is neither antagonistic nor complementary with existing parties. It is a role at once more limited (in space and expanse) and more radical (taking up issues that parties have failed to). The individual effort may be expressed in micro-terms but it deals with conditions that are caused by larger macro structures. The non-party formations are thus to be viewed as part of a larger movement for global transformation in which non-state actors on the one hand and non-territorial crystallisations on the other are emerging, and playing new roles, taking up cudgels against imperialist forces.

As various peoples struggles gained ground, there was a multiplicity of groups, each involved in their own issues. There were attempts to articulate commoners as in Anandvan. But the coming together crystallised at the great Harsud Rally, creating formations like Jan Vikas Andolan, and National Alliance for Peoples' Movement.

The question is whether these processes can have effective political impact and serve as an alternative political mechanism, outside the pale of mainstream electoral party politics.

The fragmentation and discordance among non-party formations especially between what are called NGOs and people's struggles (mass-based, community-based, issue-based initiatives) has been a feature of the development scene in India since early days of development efforts for Structural Change. The latter organised a series of meetings at which individuals and groups from both sides of the divide were able to come together for a dialogue. This process was cemented at the historic Harsud Rally in 1989, in which the NBA played a key role. It organised the rally to protest against the Narmada Projects in particular, using them as a symbol of the larger malaise - destructive development.

Out of this series of meetings, the **Jan Vikas Andolan** was born at Bhopal in December 1989. There was a general agreement on the need for concerted collective action: spelling out alternative stands on vital issues of development, advocating specific policies on these issues, and supporting people's struggles against destructive and exploitative development policies and practices.

But the collective was short lived. The so-called people's movements and mass-based initiatives gathered under the banner of the **Bharat Jan Andolan**. Funding, its volume and its foreign sources, was a key sticky point. There was ideological reservation. Institutionalised development efforts were considered less progressive, radical, and relevant. NGOs were perceived to be collaborationist and detrimental to real revolution, and to real people's development.

The year 1993 brought a new initiative with overt political overtones into play. **National Alliance of People's Movements**, a non-party forum, proposed to bring together the collective strength of various mass-based popular struggles and initiatives. The assumption was that there is widespread support for a people-based development paradigm, which is weak because of dispersion and fragmentation. If they could unite on a single platform, mainstream political processes would have to eventually be responsive to their aspirations.

These initiatives have been kept alive through the years. But the objective socio-economic-political reality of the last decade of the millennium suggests that the original objectives need to be reassessed, and their relevance in the present context be re-examined.

7.4 Social Action Groups

Social Action is viewed in the broad context of the social, cultural, economic and political situation prevailing in India today and is related to the analysis and understanding of the above forces at work. Kitler's definition of social action - "collective action to mitigate or solve a social problem" - and his paradigm is adapted to comprehend the broad range of social action SAGs are involved in. SAGs' PRIMARY MISSION is to advance a social cause and their targets are neglected areas and disadvantaged groups. A CHANGE STRATEGY is a basic mode of influence adopted by the Social Action Group (SAG) to affect/effect the change. Most of the groups that have mass participation resent the externally imposed classification 'NGO'. They consider it a negative identification." A commonly accepted term is 'Social Action Group'. Equally, there is confusion with regard to the terra 'voluntary'. "In the more recent past the term 'voluntary agencies' has come to connote organisations that are officially registered under the Societies Registration Act of 1860.

Most of these groups occupy social spaces created by the decline of the conventional, mainstream politics of legislatures, elections, political parties and trade unions" and have to be located within the context of the larger retreat of institutional politics. "Sections of the middle classes, disillusioned by the failures of electoral politics and- the inability of various regimes to ensure growth with justice, radicalised by the spate of movements that rocked the country from the mid-sixties to the early seventies, in collaboration with the hitherto dispossessed sought to create new organisations and initiate movements that could move into * the niches yielded by the mainstream forces. By taking up issues and constituencies abandoned by the political parties and trade unions and ill served by the 19 bureaucracy, the activist formations have sought to reformulate the issues and expand their constituencies in a framework that is primarily non-electoral. The organisational form that has evolved is neither that of a political party nor of a pressure group; rather the effort is to

evolve a participative and mobilisation form of politics which can sustain struggles on issues articulated by the people themselves and work for their empowerment".

Sags "can be defined as groups working at the microlevel, in a localised setting for and with the poor, marginalised and oppressed sections of the society – whether rural or urban. These groups educate, conscientise and organise such sections towards social action aimed at transforming their lives qualitatively. Generally such groups operate outside the institutional framework of both the government and established political parties, but are not necessarily indifferent to them. By definition activist groups are not apolitical!' Some prefer to distance themselves from the mainstream political process and power politics and hence they are conceptualised as 'non-party political processes' or formations... Although such groups may consciously opt to work outside power-politics, they are and have to be aware of the relations of power in local situations where groups operate and are engaged in organising concrete struggles to resist all forms of oppression and injustices that disadvantaged sections are subjected to. Most action groups, are therefore, politically conscious of the implications of their struggles for local power structures.

Some action groups, however, may engage themselves in linking these micro-level struggles with broader (macro-level) processes and extend that consciousness in order to understand and explain local problems in the wider context of national and international systems of hegemony and exploitations. In such cases the ultimate solutions of problems at the local level are visualised only in systemic changes rather than in intra-system reforms. Other groups simply confine themselves to local situations. To them, de-linking local from regional, national or trans-national politico-economic systems is necessary for self-assertion, efficacy and success, though in a limited measure, at the micro-level. Such micro-level groups tend to be more pragmatic and down-to-earth in their approach. They believe in combating concrete problems with concrete solutions and not in diffusing them by stretching the prognosis of reality to the level of ideological abstractions or philosophisation, often incomprehensible to masses with whom they work.

Summary

Civil society is the society driven by people themselves. It has its origin in ancient times although the understanding and meaning have changed over a period of time. The Roman word *societascivilis* was the root word of it having a synonymity with a good society. It was Hegel, the German philosopher who had coined the term civil society and the meaning of it that we understand today. In a civil society, people voluntarily come together to achieve the desired objective of welfare of the society or to raise the problems of people before the state. Basically, the voids of the state can be rightly filled by the civil society. The term civil society was originally used to describe popular movements in the society. With the passage of time it has expanded to embrace diversity of spaces and non-state actors like; non-governmental organisations (NGOs), self help groups, business associations, social movements and groups of special interests. Antonio Gramsci says, the word "civil society" has emerged in the 18th century and become a buzz word in 20th century with an altogether new conceptualisation - a self-regulated society, free from political interference and assuming a separate and viable entity. The notion of civil society today is commonly identified with a non-statist set of institutions that stand for serving the interest of the people at large. The Civil societies are defined as the sum of people who come together and organise themselves around common interests.

Keywords

civil society, NGOs, social action, movements

Self Assessment

1. Which of the following are civil society organizations?
 - A. Amnesty International
 - B. The International Trade Union Confederation
 - C. The World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF)

- D. All the above
2. ____ means an established group that supports or promotes community programs through volunteer service?
- A. Public organization
 - B. NGO
 - C. Civic organization
 - D. None of the above
3. Which is the biggest NGO in India?
- A. Earth saviour
 - B. Meri sakhi
 - C. Give India
 - D. Save India
4. Which is the biggest NGO in the world?
- A. The women saviour
 - B. Child saviour
 - C. Give India
 - D. BRAC
5. What is the oldest NGO?
- A. BRAC
 - B. Give India
 - C. Earth saviour
 - D. Anti-Slavery Society
6. Who is the founder of an NGO?
- A. Chandi Prasad Bhatt
 - B. Smriti gupta
 - C. S.R mathur
 - D. None of the above
7. ____ is an international non-governmental organization focused on human rights, with its headquarters in the United Kingdom?
- A. World health
 - B. Amnesty International
 - C. Civic organization
 - D. Both A and B
8. According to Whom the civil society is the "region outside the family, market, and state"?
- A. World Economic Forum
 - B. World health organization
 - C. NGO

D. All the above

9. According to whom civil society means "All types of social action carried out by individuals or groups who are not related to, or managed by, the state"?

- A. Britain
- B. USA
- C. European Union
- D. ASEAN

10. ____ was strengthened through the filing of Public Interest Litigations and judicial activism?

- A. NGO
- B. People
- C. Civil society
- D. None of the above

11. Sociologists describe the term 'group' as

- A. Collection of people
- B. People involved in an organized pattern of interaction
- C. People interacting at a place
- D. Participants in a gathering.

12. Sociologists describe the term 'group' as

- A. Collection of people
- B. People involved in an organized pattern of interaction
- C. People interacting at a place
- D. Participants in a gathering.

13. Which one of the following is a 'secondary group'?

- A. Nuclear family
- B. Peer group
- C. Association
- D. Joint family

14. The success of group work does NOT depend on?

- A. Achievement of goals
- B. Understanding and agreement on major problems
- C. Handling of behavioural problems
- D. Ignoring individual problems

15. Leader in a group does NOT depend on?

- A. Authoritarian Approach
- B. Distribution of responsibility
- C. Rapport with individual members
- D. Understanding group dynamics

Answers for Self Assessment

- | | | | | |
|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| 1. D | 2. C | 3. C | 4. D | 5. D |
| 6. A | 7. B | 8. A | 9. C | 10. C |
| 11. B | 12. B | 13. C | 14. D | 15. A |

Review Questions

1. What do you understand by civil society?
2. What role civil society plays?
3. What is the need for NGOs? Elaborate.
4. What do you understand by social action groups?



Further Readings

Civil Society: History And Possibilities by SudiptKaviraj

Knowledge and Civil Society by Johannes Glückler, Heinz-Dieter Meyer, Laura Suarsana

New Leadership of Civil Society Organisations Community Development and Engagement
by Ibrahim Natil

Routledge Studies on Civil Society in Asia

Unit 08: Regionalization of Indian Politics

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Objectives

To understand the relation between Indian union and its states

To understand the need for reorganisation of states

To understand how states work as economic and political units

To explore the regionalisation of the politics

Introduction

The States Reorganisation act, 1956 was a major reform of the boundaries of India's states and territories, organising them along linguistic lines. Although additional changes to India's state boundaries have been made since 1956, the States Reorganisation Act of 1956 remains the single most extensive change in state boundaries after the independence of India. The Act came into effect at the same time as the Constitution (Seventh Amendment) Act, 1956, which (among other things) restructured the constitutional framework for India's existing states and the requirements to pass the States Reorganisation Act, 1956 under the provisions of Part I of the Constitution of India, Article 3. British India, which included present day India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Myanmar, was divided into two types of territories: the Provinces of British India, which were governed directly by British officials responsible to the Governor-General of India; and the Indian States, under the rule of local hereditary rulers who recognized British suzerainty in return for continued authority over their own realms, in most cases as established by treaty. As a result of the reforms of the early 20th century, most of the British provinces had directly elected legislatures as well as governors, although some of the smaller provinces were governed by a chief commissioner appointed by the Governor-General. Major reforms put forward by the British in the 1930s also recognized the principle of federalism, which was carried forward into the governance of independent India. On 15 August 1947, British India was granted independence as the separate dominions of India and Pakistan. The British dissolved their treaty relations with more than five hundred princely states, who were encouraged to accede to either India or Pakistan, while under no compulsion to do so. Most of the states acceded to India, and a few to Pakistan. Bhutan, Hyderabad and Kashmir opted for independence; Bhutan remains independent, but Hyderabad was invaded and annexed by India, and the status of Kashmir became the subject of conflict between India and

Pakistan. South Indian states prior to the States Reorganisation Act. Between 1947 and about 1950, the territories of the princely states were politically integrated into the Indian Union. Several states were merged into existing provinces; others were organized into unions, such as Rajputana, Himachal Pradesh, Madhya Bharat, and Vindhya Pradesh, made up of multiple princely states; a few, including Mysore, Hyderabad, Bhopal, and Bilaspur, remained separate states.

8.1 Government Actions

The Government of India Act 1956 remained the constitutional law of India pending adoption of a new Constitution. The new Constitution of India, which came into force on 26 January 1950, made India a sovereign democratic republic. The new republic was also declared to be a "Union of States". The constitution of 1950 distinguished between three main types of states and a class of territories:

- Part A states – which were the former governors' provinces of British India, were ruled by a governor appointed by the president and an elected state legislature. The nine Part A states were Assam, Bihar, Bombay, Madhya Pradesh (formerly Central Provinces and Berar), Madras, Orissa, Punjab (formerly East Punjab), Uttar Pradesh (formerly the United Provinces), and West Bengal.
- Part B states – which were former princely states or unions of princely states, governed by a raj Pramukh, who was usually the ruler of a constituent state, and an elected legislature. The raj Pramukh was appointed by the President of India. The eight Part B states were Hyderabad, Jammu and Kashmir, Madhya Bharat, Mysore, Patiala and East Punjab States Union (PEPSU), Rajasthan, Saurashtra, and Travancore-Cochin.
- Part C states – included both the former chief commissioners' provinces and some princely states, and each was governed by a chief commissioner appointed by the President of India. The ten Part C states were Ajmer, Bhopal, Bilaspur, Coorg, Delhi, Himachal Pradesh, Cutch, Manipur, Tripura, and Vindhya Pradesh.
- The sole Part D territory^[4] – was the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, which was administered by a lieutenant governor appointed by the central government.

In this classifications, Part A states had a *Governor*, Part B states had a *Rajpramukh* and Part C states had a *commissioner*.

The demand for states to be organized on a linguistic basis was developed even before India achieved independence from British rule. A first-of-its-kind linguistic movement started in 1895, in what is now Odisha. The movement gained momentum in later years with the demand for a separate Orissa Province to be formed by bifurcating the existing Bihar and Orissa Province. Due to the efforts of Madhusudan Das, the Father of Odia nationalism, the movement eventually achieved its objective in 1936, when Orissa Province became the first Indian state (pre-independence) to be organized on the basis of common languages. The post-independence period saw the ascent of political movements for the creation of new states developed on linguistic lines. 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. During the 1950–1956 period, other small changes were made to state boundaries: the small state of Bilaspur was merged with Himachal Pradesh on 1 July 1954; and Chandernagore, a former enclave of French India, was incorporated into West Bengal in 1955.

The States Reorganisation Commission was preceded by the Linguistic Provinces Commission (aka Dhar Commission), which was set up in June 1948. It rejected language as a parameter for dividing states. Later, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru appointed the States Reorganisation Commission in December 1953, with the remit to reorganise the Indian states. The new commission was headed by the retired Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Fazal Ali; its other two members were H. N.

Kunzru and K. M. Panikkar. The efforts of the commission were overseen by Govind Ballabh Pant, who served as the Home Minister from December 1954. The States Reorganisation Commission submitted a report on September 30, 1955, with recommendations for the reorganisation of India's states, which was then debated by the Indian parliament. Subsequently, bills were passed to make changes to the constitution and to administer the reorganisation of the states. The States Reorganisation Act was enacted on 31 August 1956. Before it came into effect on 1 November, an important amendment was made to the Constitution of India. Under the Seventh Amendment, the existing terminology of Part A, Part B, Part C, and Part D states was altered. The distinction between Part A and Part B states was removed, becoming known simply as "states". A new type of entity, the Union Territory, replaced the classification as a Part C or Part D state. A further Act also came into effect on 1 November, transferring certain territories from Bihar to West Bengal.

The States Reorganisation Act of 1956 was a major step towards dividing India into states and Union Territories. The following list sets out the states and union territories of India as reorganised on 1 November 1956:

8.2 States

- Andhra Pradesh: formed by the merger of Andhra State (1953–56) with the Telugu-speaking areas of Hyderabad State (1948–56).
- Assam: The adjoining map depicts the scenario according to States Reorganisation Act of 1956. However, the state of Assam has been further divided into Arunachal Pradesh, Mizoram, Nagaland, Meghalaya (not in chronological order) in subsequent years.
- Bihar: reduced slightly by the transfer of minor territories to West Bengal (Purulia from Manbhum district, Islampur from Purnea district).
- Bombay State: the state was enlarged by the addition of Saurashtra State and Kutch State, the Marathi-speaking districts of Berar Division and Nagpur Division of Central Province and Berar and Marathwada region of Hyderabad State. The southernmost districts of the Bombay Presidency were transferred to Mysore State.
- Jammu and Kashmir: No change of boundary in 1956.
- Kerala: formed by the merger of Travancore-Cochin state with the Malabar district and Kasaragod taluk of South Canara district of the Madras Presidency. The southern part of Travancore-Cochin, Kanyakumari district, along with Sengottai Taluk, was transferred to Madras State. The Laccadive and Minicoy Islands were separated from Malabar District to form a new Union Territory namely Laccadive, Amindivi, and Minicoy Islands.^[10]
- Madhya Pradesh: Madhya Bharat, Vindhya Pradesh, and Bhopal State were merged into Madhya Pradesh; the Marathi-speaking districts of Nagpur Division were transferred to Bombay State.
- Madras State: Malabar District was transferred to the new state of Kerala, and a new union territory, Laccadive, Minicoy and Amindivi Islands, was created. The southern part of Travancore-Cochin, Kanyakumari district, along with Sengottai Taluk, was added to the state.
- Mysore State: enlarged by the addition of Coorg State and the Kannada speaking districts from western Madras Presidency, southern Bombay Presidency and western Hyderabad State.
- Orissa: No change of boundary in 1956.

- Punjab: enlarged by addition of the Patiala and East Punjab States Union.
- Rajasthan: enlarged by the addition of Ajmer state and parts of Bombay and Madhya Bharat states.
- Uttar Pradesh: No change of boundary in 1956.
- West Bengal: enlarged by addition of Purulia district, previously part of Bihar.

8.3 Union Territories

The Part C and Part D territories that weren't merged into other states, were converted into Union Territories:

1. Andaman and Nicobar Islands
2. Delhi
3. Manipur
4. Tripura
5. Himachal Pradesh
6. Laccadive, Minicoy & Amindivi Islands

Union territories

The Part C and Part D territories that weren't merged into other states, were converted into Union Territories:

1. Andaman and Nicobar Islands
2. Delhi
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4. Tripura
5. Himachal Pradesh
6. Laccadive, Minicoy & Amindivi Islands

The role of the State is perhaps the most dominant theme of political disagreement among thinkers, reflecting different views about the proper relationship between the State, society and the individual. While all political thinkers, with the exception of anarchists, have regarded the State as a worthwhile or necessary association, they profoundly disagree about the exact role that the State should play in society. At one extreme in this debate, Classical Liberals have argued that individuals should enjoy the widest possible liberty and have therefore insisted that the State be confined to a minimal role. This minimal role is simply to provide a framework of peace and social order within which private citizens can conduct their lives as they think best. Such minimal States, with institutional apparatus restricted to little more than a police force, court system and army, commonly existed in the 19th century. In the 20th century, however, they have become rare, and the dominant trend has been for the State's role to expand. Progressively, this has occurred in response to electoral pressures for economic and social security, supported by a broad ideological coalition including democratic socialists, modern liberals and paternalistic conservatives. Indian society tried to create a space for the idea of the modern Nation State in the Indian culture along with the traditional concept of the State. While doing so, they could not visualise that this imported concept of the State will eventually totally marginalise the indigenous concept and become the hegemonic concept. The process was helped by the colonial inheritance of the imperial State structure which has shaped much of the relationship of the State with the rest of Indian society. A crucial component of the inheritance is the concept of the State as the ultimate pacesetter and protector of the society, a moral exemplar, and as an arbiter among social groupings having conflicting interests. The nationalist movement, under the leadership of the Congress, sought to transform the colonial political legacy into a powerful State with the aim of firing the engines of capitalist economic development and establishing a just, socialistically inclined, civil society capable of overcoming poverty. The Indian Constitutional State emerged in 1947 after one of the world's most novel and long-drawn-out struggles for political emancipation. The leading elite in Indian nationalist struggle and the founding fathers of Indian National Congress were profoundly

enamoured of Western influence. The Party developed a nationalist, State-centred, and secular ideology. Its conversion to Socialism was actually concomitant with its accession to power. This conversion gave the party a way to adapt to the requirements of State construction. It led to the creation of a strong State for the precise purpose of overcoming the traditional order, which was segmented both regionally and socially. The new State marked a significant departure from the values and institutions of traditional India. The Constitution adopted in 1950, turned India into a secular, parliamentary democracy with a bicameral parliament and a multi-party system, an indirectly elected president, an independent judiciary, and a federal structure with partial separation of the powers and responsibilities between the Centre and the states (See: Austin, 2004). State aimed at a comprehensive form of justice, equality and dignity of the individual. It rooted in the people the ultimate source of its legitimacy and provided them certain Fundamental Rights that could not be alienated or abrogated even by the Parliament. They, however, were subject to national security and general welfare. The Constitution also contained Directive Principles of State Policy under which the State was to strive to secure a social order oriented to people's welfare, ensure means of livelihood for all citizens, achieve a use of the material resources of the community that promoted the common good, prevent harmful concentration of wealth, ensure equal pay for equal work for both men and women, and protect children and youth from exploitation. Adopting a federal form, the Constitution demarcated those subjects that could be legislated upon by the Centre i.e. the Union government, those by the States, and those by both. Defence, foreign affairs, inter-state communication, trade and commerce, currency, banking, control of industry, etc. were reserved for the 2 Union government. Public order, police, public health, education, agriculture, professions, etc. were reserved for the states. The concurrent list included such items of legislation as marriage and divorce, transfer of non-agricultural property, contracts, civil and criminal procedure, monopolies, welfare, social security, price-control, factories, electricity and food adulteration. The states were to have autonomy in enacting legislation on these subjects, but not in contravention of any law passed by the Parliament. The Constitution also demarcated the means of raising revenues between the Centre and the states. The Union government could raise its revenues from corporation and income tax, capital gains tax, customs and excise, coinage, currency, foreign exchange, taxes on stock exchange transactions, etc. The states could raise revenues through land revenue, agriculture, income tax, electricity and water rates, taxes on vehicles, taxes on trades, professions, land and property taxes, sales and purchase taxes, entertainment tax etc. Besides, to provide help to the poorer or less developed States, the Constitution provided for grants-in-aid to the states by the Centre (Austin, op.cit.). The post-independence elite also cherished certain values and set certain goals to achieve. The main goals in India were national integration, economic development, social equality and political democracy. All these goals could be achieved through a centralised bureaucratic State which Nehru sought to build. The State also undertook the construction of atomic power plants, massive dams and huge steel plants. Emphasis was also laid on the coordination between the class relations in Indian society and power relations in the state structure which culminated in shaping a strong state structure in India and the state could solve the linguistic and regional tensions/problems initially through a policy of consensus. Thus, the post-independence ruling elite sought and to a great extent was successful in forging a strong state on the basis of a full acceptance and even glorification of India's regional, linguistic, ethnic and religious diversities. This kind of attempt promoting a unifying and legitimising conception of a strong and powerful State also became an effective way for the leading elite to establish their monopoly on legitimate physical violence (Badie, 2000). Accordingly, the socialist reference promoted egalitarian principles that, in the context of India's construction of a State, became a major asset for the governing political elite. The removal/diminution of inequalities in a society of castes and profound regional disparities also provided opportunity for diminishing the resources of the competing traditional elite and thus establishing the political arena as the privileged space for the exercise of power. Moreover, socialist ideology offered the new elites of the State the means to establish influence in society and economy. The setting up of Planning Commission (1950), launching of Five Year Plans (1951), National Development Council (1952), the (Industries Development Regulation Act) 1951 etc. were notable steps in this direction.

8.4 Regionalism

One of the notable features of the Indian Party System is the presence of a large number of regional parties. By regional party we mean a party which generally operates within a limited geographical area and its activities are confined only to a single or handful of states. Further as compared to the broad ranging diverse interests of national parties, the regional parties represent the interest of a particular area. In simple words, regional parties differ from All India parties both in terms of their

outlook as well as the interests they pursue. Their activities are focused on specific issues concerning the region and they operate within the limited area. They merely seek to capture power at the state or regional level and do not aspire to control the national government. It is noteworthy that in India, the number of regional parties is much larger than the national parties and some of the States are being ruled by the regional parties, viz., Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, Assam, Jammu & Kashmir etc.

The term 'regionalism' has two connotations. In the negative sense, it implies excessive attachment to one's region is preference to the country or the state. In the positive sense it is a political attribute associated with people's love for their region, culture, language, etc. with a view to maintain their independent identity. While positive regionalism is a welcome thing in so far as it encourages the people to develop a sense of brotherhood and commonness on the basis of common language, religion or historical background. The negative sense regionalism 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. The feeling of regionalism may arise either due to the continuous neglect of a particular area or region by the ruling authorities or it may spring up as a result of increasing political awareness of backward people that have been discriminated against. Quite often some political leaders encourage the feeling of regionalism to maintain their hold over a particular area or group of people.

Regionalism is not a new phenomenon in the Indian political system. In the pre-independence days it was promoted by the British imperialists and they deliberately encouraged the people of various regions to think in terms of their region rather than the nation as a whole, with a view to maintain their hold over India during the national movement. After Independence the leaders tried to foster a feeling among the people that they belonged to one single nation. The framers of the constitution sought to achieve this by introducing single citizenship for all. With the same objective a unified judiciary, all Indian services, and a strong Central government was provided. But in view of the vastness of the country and cultures regionalism soon made its appearance in India. The first manifestation of regionalism was the demand for reorganisation of states on linguistic basis, but the most effective play of regionalism was the victory of the DMK against Congress in Tamil Nadu in 1960s. Initially the central leadership felt that regionalism was a peripheral political factor confined to Tamil Nadu and hence did not pose any threat to national unity. However, that assessment was ill-founded. Soon in Punjab the Akali movement gained momentum, while in Jammu and Kashmir Sheikh Abdullah revived the National Conference. During these initial years all the Indian political parties continued to adjust with these regional forces on the plea that they would ultimately succeed in making inroads into the bases of the regional parties and absorb them in their organisations. The Indian National Congress which enjoyed monopoly of power between 1947-1967 and followed a policy of blowing hot and cold toward the regional forces, also contributed to the growth of regionalism in India. It accommodated the regional forces when it was convenient and raised a hue and cry against them when it was pitted against them. The local Congress leaders also encouraged the growth of regionalism and strengthened their hold on local party organisation, with a view to increase their bargaining power with the central leaders. In fact a close link developed between central and regional leadership. This close link between the central and regional leadership greatly encouraged the growth of regionalism.

In India a number of factors have constituted to the growth of regionalism.

1. Regionalism made its appearance as a reaction against the efforts of the national government to impose a particular ideology, language or cultural pattern on all people and groups. Thus the States of South have resisted imposition of Hindi as official language because they feared this would lead to dominance of the North. Similarly, in Assam anti-foreigner movement was launched by the Assamese to preserve their own culture.
2. Continuous neglect of an area or region by the ruling parties and concentration of administrative and political power has given rise to demand for decentralization of authority and bifurcate of unilingual states. On occasions sons of soil theory has been put forth to promote the interests of neglected groups or areas of the state.
3. The desire of the various units of the Indian federal system to maintain their sub cultural regions and greater degree of self-government has promoted regionalism and given rise to demand for greater autonomy.
4. The desire of regional elites to capture power has 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 power.

Unit 08: Regionalization of Indian Politics

5. The interaction between the forces of modernisation and mass participation have also largely contributed to the growth of regionalism in India. As the country is still away from realising the goal of a nation state, the various groups have failed to identify their group interests with national interests, hence the feeling of regionalism has persisted.

6. The growing awareness among the people of backward areas that they are being discriminated against has also promoted feeling of regionalism. The local political leaders have fully exploited this factor and tried 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 areas.

Though the regional parties operate within very limited area and pursue only limited objective, they have played significant role both in the State as well as national politics. The regional political parties formed governments in several states and tried to give concrete shape to their policies and programmes. Some of the important regional parties which formed governments in various states include DMK and AIADMK in Tamil Nadu; National Conference in Jammu and Kashmir, Telugu Desam in Andhra Pradesh, Asom Gana Parishad in Assam; MaharasthrawadiGomantak Party in Goa; Mizo National Front in Mizoram; Sikkim Sangram Parishad in Sikkam; All Party Hill Leaders Conference in Meghalaya and Indian National Lok Dal (INLD) in Haryana. Some of the regional parties were also partners in the coalition governments formed in several States after the fourth general elections of 1967. At the Centre also, of late the Regional Parties have been able to play critical role in helping formation of Congress government. DMK, a regional party, supported Mrs. Indira Gandhi's government after split in the party in 1969 and enabled her to carry on government despite loss of majority in the Parliament. Telugu Desam was the pillar of strength for the United Front and later the National Democratic Alliance. The representatives of the regional parties focus the attention of the Parliament on issues in their region and try to influence the policies of the Government to promote their own interests. But probably the greatest service rendered by the regional political parties is that they have focused the attention of the people in remote areas on various political and economic issues and contributed to their political awakening. Above all, the regional parties have been able to impress on the national political parties that they cannot put up with their attitude of indifference towards regional problems and have compelled them to take keen interest in the resolution of their problems.

Summary

India is a country where there are many different languages, each with its own unique alphabet, grammar, vocabulary, and literary traditions. An idea of organizational structure based on linguistic regions was rooted during the early 1900's. How was this notion of reorganisation developed conceptually? Was the procedure of reorganisation challenging? What more elements contributed to this process? To learn more, continue reading. The notion of restructuring was expanded and codified with the formation of provincial Congress Committees by linguistic zones following the INC's Nagpur Session in 1920. Among others, Lokmanya Tilak and Mahatma Gandhi advocated and supported the Congress' linguistic restructuring. After partition, the then-Prime Minister Nehru was wary of further separating the country on the basis of language following the painful religious partition. However, as evidenced by the movements for **Ayikya Kerala, Samyukta Maharashtra, and Vishalandhra**, calls for a distinct state based on linguistic identity gained traction.

Keywords

linguistic, ethnic, cultural, reorganisation

Self Assessment

1. When did The States Reorganisation Act 1956 , come into force?
 - A. 01 April 195
 - B. 01 November 1956
 - C. 01 May 1955

D. 23 April 1955

2. Which section of The States Reorganisation Act 1956 deals with the Formation of a new Madhya Pradesh State?

- A. Section 12 of The States Reorganisation Act 1956
- B. Section 9 of The States Reorganisation Act 1956
- C. Section 14 of The States Reorganisation Act 1956
- D. Section 20 of The States Reorganisation Act 1956

3. Which section of The States Reorganisation Act 1956 deals with Composition of the Councils ?

- A. Section 16 of The States Reorganisation Act 1956
- B. Section 14 of The States Reorganisation Act 1956
- C. Section 13 of The States Reorganisation Act 1956
- D. Section 18 of The States Reorganisation Act 1956

4. Section 25 of The States Reorganisation Act 1956 deals with_____?

- A. Saving powers of State Governments
- B. By-elections to fill vacancies
- C. Functions of the Councils
- D. Term of office of members.

5. Functions of the Councils, is provided in section_____ of The States Reorganisation Act 1956

- A. Section 24 of The States Reorganisation Act 1956
- B. Section 22 of The States Reorganisation Act 1956
- C. Section 21 of The States Reorganisation Act 1956
- D. Section 23 of The States Reorganisation Act 1956

6. Section 18 of The States Reorganisation Act 1956 provides _?

- A. Power to appoint Committees
- B. Allocation of sitting members in the Council of States.
- C. Formation of a new Punjab State
- D. Changes in composition and allocation of sitting members

7. Which section of The States Reorganisation Act 1956 deals with the Formation of Kerala State?

- A. Section 7 of The States Reorganisation Act 1956
- B. Section 4 of The States Reorganisation Act 1956
- C. Section 5 of The States Reorganisation Act 1956
- D. Section 9 of The States Reorganisation Act 1956

Section 12 of The States Reorganisation Act 1956 deals with_____?

- A. Amendment of the First Schedule to the Constitution
- B. Transfer of territory from Travancore-Cochin to Madras
- C. Formation of a new Punjab State

- D. Joint meetings of Zonal Councils
9. Which section of The States Reorganisation Act 1956 deals with the Transfer of territory from Travancore-Cochin to Madras ?
- A. Section 7 of The States Reorganisation Act 1956
 - B. Section 9 of The States Reorganisation Act 1956
 - C. Section 4 of The States Reorganisation Act 1956
 - D. Section 5 of The States Reorganisation Act 1956
10. Section 10 of The States Reorganisation Act 1956 deals with
- A. Laccadive, Minicoy and Amindivi Islands
 - B. Composition of the Councils
 - C. Formation of a new Rajasthan State
 - D. Provision as to existing House
11. Which of the following Constitutional Amendments integrated Sikkim as a full fledged State of the Indian Union?
- A. 34th
 - B. 35th
 - C. 36th
 - D. 37th
12. Sikkim became a state of India under
- A. 30thAmendment
 - B. 32ndAmendment
 - C. 35thAmendment
 - D. 40th Amendment
13. Which one of the following is the correct chronological order of the formation of the following states as full States of the Indian Union?
- A. Sikkim - Arunachal Pradesh - Nagaland - Haryana
 - B. Nagaland - Haryana - Sikkim - Arunachal Pradesh
 - C. Sikkim - Haryana - Nagaland - Arunachal Pradesh
 - D. Nagaland - Arunachal Pradesh - Sikkim - Haryana
14. A separate Vananchal State carved out of Bihar can be made possible by
- A. Passing the legislation in State Assembly
 - B. Passing the ordinance by the Governor
 - C. Completing Constitutional formalities
 - D. Parliament under Article 3 of the Constitution
15. Uttarakhand State was created in

- A. the year 1999
- B. the year 2000
- C. the year 2001
- D. the year 2002

16. Chhattisgarh State came into existence on

- A. 1 November, 2000
- B. 9 November, 2000
- C. 10 November, 2000
- D. 1 January, 2000

17. The correct sequence of the formation of the following States in descending order is

- A. Maharashtra, Rajasthan, Haryana
- B. Haryana, Rajasthan, Maharashtra
- C. Rajasthan, Maharashtra, Haryana
- D. Haryana, Maharashtra, Rajasthan

Answers for Self Assessment

- | | | | | |
|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| 1. B | 2. B | 3. A | 4. B | 5. C |
| 6. A | 7. C | 8. A | 9. C | 10. C |
| 11. C | 12. C | 13. B | 14. D | 15. B |
| 16. A | 17. C | | | |

Review Questions

1. What do you understand by Indian federalism?
2. Why the need for reorganizing the state was felt ?
3. What is the significance of regional political parties ?
4. Describe the states reorganization Act.



Further Readings

- Regionalism in Indian Politics by Anis Kumar Majumdar, Bhanwar Singh
- Regionalisation of Indian Politics by Prabhat Kumar Datta
- Regionalisation of Politics in India by Ramesh Kumar
- Regionalisation of Indian Politics by Prabhat Datta

Unit 09: Regional Disparity

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Objectives

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Objectives

- To understand the Indian nature of diversity
- To understand the various regional issues in India
- To understand the need for demand of new states

Introduction

Regional development disparity is a continuous developmental challenge for Indian policy makers. Recently NITI Aayog published Three Year Action Agenda, to recommend policy changes and programmes for action from 2017-18 to 2019-20. This document highlighted regional development disparity as critical development issue. Regional Development Disparity refers to difference in economic development and uneven economic achievement in different geographical regions. It is reflected by the indicators like per capita income, the proportion of population living below the poverty line, the percentage of urban population, percentage of population engaged in agriculture vis-à-vis engaged in industries, infrastructural development of different states. Within democratic polity, growth and prosperity must exhibit regional balance. Thus a democratic government striving to achieve such balance is axiomatic. India is subdivided into 29 states differing in terms of their productive potential and the type of industry they can support. The realization of their potential holds the key to increasing the competitiveness of the nation as a whole. Regional disparity in development causes challenges like violent conflicts, unplanned and haphazard migration e.g. Insurgency in North-east and Left wing extremism in large parts of central and eastern states of India. The sustainability of the growth rate and the goal of the country to achieve its development target will be difficult to meet unless India develops as an integrated whole of regional competency.

9.1 Historical Background

The British government and industrialists developed only those regions of the country which possessed rich potential for prosperous manufacturing and trading activities. Thus port cities like Bombay, and strategically important areas like Calcutta and Madras received initial development. In the absence of proper land reform measures and proper industrial policy, the country could not attain economic growth to a satisfactory level. The difficult terrain surrounded by flood prone areas, hilly terrain, rivers and dense forests leads to increase in the cost of administration, cost of

developmental projects, besides making mobilization of resources particularly difficult. Himalayan states like Himachal Pradesh, Northern Kashmir, Uttarakhand, North-Eastern states remained mostly backward due to its inaccessibility and other inherent difficulties. Due to some locational advantages like availability of irrigation, raw materials, market, port facilities etc. some regions are getting special favour in respect of site selections of various developmental projects e.g. oil refineries are mostly located in close to sea. New investment in the private sector has a general tendency to concentrate much on those regions having basic infrastructural facilities. Term-lending institutions and commercial banks tend to concentrate investments in the relatively more developed States. Local needs; one size fits all approach, lack of adequate resources, poor implementation of plans, lack of planning capacity at state level reduced capacity of Planning Commission to ensure balanced development.

9.2 Regional Issues

Green revolution improved the agricultural sector to a considerable extent through the adoption of new agricultural strategy of high yielding variety seeds, assured irrigation, provision of technical knowhow etc. However, the benefit of green revolution were restricted to Punjab, Haryana and western Uttar Pradesh as this belt had advantage of irrigation facilities, were traditionally wheat growing states, with adequate policy support from State Governments which other areas lacked and couldn't reap benefits of Green Revolution. Extremist violence, law and order problem etc. have been obstructing the flow of investments into backward regions besides making flight of capital from backward states. An important aspect of regional disparities in India is the significant level of disparities, which exist within different States. For example, Vidarbha in Maharashtra, Saurashtra in Gujarat. Demand for and creation of some of the States in the past in the wake of popular agitation was based on perceived neglect of certain backward regions in some of the bigger states such as creation of Andhra Pradesh and Gujarat in the fifties and creation of Punjab, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh in the sixties. In each State specific reasons exist for backwardness of regions within states e.g. the major cause of backwardness of Vidarbha and Marathwada in Maharashtra and Northern Karnataka is the scarcity of water. Backwardness of certain regions in Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar and Orissa can be associated with the distinct style of living of the inhabitants who are mostly tribals and the neglect of such regions by the ruling elite. Higher resource transfers from the Centre to the Backward States via Planning Commission (before 2014) mainly in the form of plan transfers, and Finance Commission in the form of non-plan transfers. Since 1969 a Special Category status was introduced which was in operation till 13th Finance commission to provide greater percentage of grants to such states from Centre. The large weight given to "Income Distance" by 14th Finance commission is an important step towards plugging the gaps in per-capita income between states. Programmes of agriculture, community development programme, Drought Prone Areas Programme, irrigation and power, transport and communications and social services aimed at providing basic facilities and services to people in all the regions. Provision of Facilities in Areas which Lag Behind Industrially like River valley projects and multi-purpose projects e.g. Narmada Dam for dry parts of Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh, proposed Ken-Betwa inter river link project for Bundelkhand region etc.

Programmes for the Expansion of Village and Small Industries like Village and small industries are spread all over the country and various forms of assistance provided by the Central and State Governments are made available in the areas according to programmes undertaken. Industrial estates have been set up in all States, and increasingly, they are being located in smaller towns and rural areas. In the location of public sector projects, the claims of relatively backward areas have been kept in view wherever this could be done without giving up essential technical and economic criteria. For North east region East West Corridor project, Special Accelerated Road Development Project (SARDP-NE) and Trans Arunachal Highway for increasing connectivity. There is an on-going major rail construction programme in the NER. 25 rail projects are under way in the region of which 11 are national projects. Subsidies, exemptions and tax breaks given to industries for investing in backward regions. For instance North East Industrial and Investment Promotion Policy (NEIIPP 2007) for Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Sikkim, and Tripura; Special Package Scheme for Himachal Pradesh, Uttarakhand and J&K. The Backward Region Grant Fund (BRGF) is a Programme implemented in 272 identified backward districts in all States of the country to redress regional imbalances in development. BRGF consists of two funding window namely Development Grant and

Capacity Building. Pradhan Mantri Khanij Kshetra Kalyan Yojana (PMKKKY) has been launched in September 2015 for the welfare of tribals and tribal areas and other affected by mining.

Competitive federalism means spirit of competition among two or more states in the matters of trade, investment and commerce. States compete with each other to attract funds and investment, which facilitates efficiency in administration and enhances developmental activities. India's geographical diversity and different levels of development across regions mean that location specific targeted action would be required in less prosperous regions to ensure that a minimum acceptable level of prosperity. There is need to invigorate civil society in these areas as it is now well accepted in developmental studies that the region with higher social capital tends to develop more rapidly and sustainably. NITI Aayog's Three Year Action Agenda underlines the specific action for North Himalayan states, North-Eastern states, Coastal regions and Islands and Desert & Drought prone areas this action plan should be diligently implemented.

In recent years, discussion on Indian Federal system is full of controversies. Demand for smaller states has been a very prominent subject in contemporary Indian politics. A voice for separate statehood has been emerging from different regions, political groups, and cultural identities. The Indian constitution makers have adopted the Federal kind of political system in a view to increase democratic ideas and spirit by accepting, recognizing and protecting different regional identities and people rights in a plural and multi-cultural country. The framers of our constitution were very well aware of the complicate ethnic identities and plural culture of India, which has been the reason for adopting the unitary kind of federal system. (P.M. Bakshi 201:6) The article 1 of Indian constitution declares that "India shall be a union of states", which creates a controversy also whether India is a federal or a quasi-federal state. As a consequence, demand for and formation of new states had become a regular phenomenon in democratic polity of our country. The constitutional provision under Article 3 was incorporated with a generous idea to realize geographical and economic unification aspirations of people and an instrument to achieve electoral gains. The situation given the scope of frequent demands for the creation of new states. The formation of the new states on the regional sentiments always had been a sensitive issue to Indian Union which needs to be addressed care and understanding of different problems as well. (Kalpana S. Agrahari 2014:130) Vulnerability towards national unity has been a strong factor for hesitation of union government from creation of newer states despite strong demands for it.

Initially, the linguistic states were formed which predicted that unification of the people speaking the same language as a geographic region under one state, would paved the way for equal and rapid development of the states. However, the expectation of uniform development could not be satisfied in some of the states. As a result, demands for creation of new states started being made with greater enthusiasm. These demands of smaller states in have the following features: a) The region, where demand for a separate state was being claimed had a distinct culture of its own; it was further beyond the language of the state. Consequently, the region needed a separate state of its own in order to protect its distinct culture. b) The demand for a new state was raised in the context, where one region was more backward than rest of the state and the rulers of the state were failed to provide proper attention to the development of the region. Thus, the region demands a separate state in order to promote its own development. c) The demand for a separate state was being claimed, where the region was more developed than rest of the state. As a result, higher revenue from the region was spending on other regions of the state, thereby denying this region meanwhile the right share of its development. Therefore, demand was made that the region needed a state of its own in order to further its own development. At present the demands for separate statehood both present and past share a number of characteristics like Language, control of resources and, preservation of culture and identity. In Modern days India is being asked to change the position of federal system into smaller units that encourage local-based politics. Nevertheless, what is the different from past claims for separate state is the expected outcome of these contemporary demands for new states. This is because of the initiative NDA (National Democratic Alliance) government formed three new states in 2000, which increased hopes for more demands for statehood. Moreover, the Congress party announcement in case of Telangana in 2009 also in the same way created hopes among the people to agitate for few smaller states.

The Prime Minister of India Sri H.D. Deve Gowda's announcement from the Red Fort on 15th August, 1996 Independence Day about the creation of "Uttarkhand" have brought the issue of

reorganization of states in our country to unexpected focus and unchecked level. It has simultaneously generated optimism, skepticism, heat and genuine concern among the peoples of this country. According to B.B.Kumar the individuals, parties and the organizations in the forefronts of the new states demands are getting ready for the struggle. Rejected politicians are hopeful and are busy in working out new strategies. (B.B.Kumar 1998:16-17) the emotions are aroused. Threats and warnings are issued. The reasoning and the rationality has taken the back seat. The moral ideas of the dead demands for the states were started being focus again. Thus, the announcement unsettled many settled issues in the context of demands for separate statehood. Demand for the creation of new states have been regular feature of the Indian politics since from reorganization of Andhra state in 1956. Such agitations are usually based on the discrimination or neglect in the arena of administration and showing disparities in development by the successive state governments. At present the union government has been under pressure for various kinds of smaller states. After the government accepted the demand of creation of Telangana, old and new demands for creation of new states in different parts of India were emerged with increased intensity including those of Coorg in Karnataka, Mithilanchal in Bihar, Saurashtra in Gujarat, Gorkhaland in West Bengal, Vidarbha in Maharashtra, and also Harit Pradesh, Purvanchal, Braj Pradesh and Awadh Pradesh in Uttar Pradesh etc. Formation of states in India is supported by several factors such as language, religion, ethnicity, and historical legacy that provide identity to large groups of people of a region who can form themselves into a separate state. As Prof.K.C.Suri rightly said, there are various reasons such as inter-regional imbalances in development within a state, cultural differences, unequal access to employment opportunities, self-respect which are usually mentioned by the supporters for demanding of new states. All these factors combine in various ways to give rise to the demand for separate states. (K.C.Suri 2016:17) The realization of such demands depend on the political ideas of the ruling party or coalition at the national level with regard to Indian federalism and nationhood, electoral and political strategy of parties at the national and state levels, and how strongly the regional leadership can articulate the separatist demand, sustain the agitation and make a persuasive case. Asha Sarangi and Sudha Pai clearly says that "globalization and liberalization have led to the establishment of a globalnational market economy which has given scope for private capital which leading to increase regional inequalities among states, and causing to the rising demands for smaller states.

Indeed, "economic backwardness of sub-regions within large states has emerged as vital ground on which demands for smaller states are being raised". (Asha Sarangi and Sudha Pai 2011:15-17) This is evident from the various demands for statehood such as Telangana in Andhra Pradesh, Vidharbha in Maharashtra, and Bodoland in Assam etc. Moreover, the discriminatory economic policies of the colonial state on region-wise increased to the uneven and unequal development of different regions of the country after independence. Today, we may "a pattern of capitalist development in the large states, surrounded by poorer regions which have remained backward and underdeveloped on various levels". Meanwhile "the capital is not moving from the developed to the underdeveloped areas which create an overall and balanced development of different regions within them. However, as they pointed out that "At present the demands for separate statehood from the backward regions like Telangana, Bundelkhand, Vidarbha, and Poorvanchal are claiming on the ground of equitable distribution of resources for their people who have been left out of the route of state-led development.

9.3 Demands for new states

- The Demand for the Vidarbha State The demand for separate state for the Vidarbha region of Maharashtra has been agitated mainly on the issue of underdevelopment of the region. It is in the Eastern part of Maharashtra. It has the total geographical area of 97,409 sq.kms and population of the region is about 1,73, 91,134, with the districts of Buldana, Akola, Amaravathi, Yavatmal, Wardha, Nagpur, Bhandara, Chandrapur and Gadchiroli. The region is comparatively less developed than Western Maharashtra. The Nine Marathi speaking districts of Vidarbha were merged with the Bombay province. Of course, Bombay remained a bilingual State up to April, 1960. The SRC recommended the formation of Vidarbha State in 1956, but the same was not formed. As already stated the announcement on the formation of „Uttarkhand“ has instigated the protagonists of Vidarbha state also. Vidarbha Rajya Sungursh Samiti is mobilizing the support of the local politicians for the

statehood. Samawaya Samiti is the common platform of the politicians working for the purpose of achieving statehood. Among the political parties, the Janata Dal, the Bharatiya Janata Party and the various groups of the Republican Party are in favour of the statehood. The Shiva Sena opposes the idea. The party leadership has opposed the formation of Vidarbha on unclear terms. The Congress also does not believe in the separation of Vidarbha from Maharashtra.

- **The Demand for the Gorkhaland State:** The demand for statehood for the Gorkhaland region of (three subdivisions of Darjeeling district namely Darjeeling, Kurseong and Kalimpong) West Bengal has been raised mainly on the issue of distinct hill culture of the region, which is different from rest of the state. The movement was started vigorously by Subhas Ghising on April 13, 1986 for separate Gorkhaland when people reacted angrily in Darjeeling Hill due to the harassment and preventing thousands of Nepalis from the North-East, specially, the Meghalaya. (B.B.Kumar 1998:91) The area was full of the refugees and the numbers of the followers of Ghising's ideas were widened. The movement was mostly violent one. About 1200 persons were killed and thousands were injured. More than ten thousand houses were burned. The Gorkha National Liberation Front (GNLF) leader Subhash Ghising got Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council on December 26, 1988 as a result of an accord signed between the West Bengal Government, the Centre and the GNLF; Ghising heads the Councils. He led the movement of Darjeeling Hills. He got the opportunity to develop the area through Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council. It is most unfortunate that the issue of development was pushed to the background by Ghising himself and he started diverting the attention of the people to non-issues very soon after the formation of the council.
- **The Demand for the Bodoland State:** The demand for the statehood for the Bodoland region of Assam has been raised mainly on the issue of distinct tribal culture of the region, which is different from rest of the state. The Bodos were not immune to the developments in the North-East. They witnessed the formation of Tribal States in North-East with lesser population than that of the Bodos. There are two points, which are specific and need to be mentioned in the case of the Bodoland state demand. Firstly, it was the first demand, where a state was demanded by a community without their majority in the area. Secondly, organized attacks by armed insurgent groups on the Muslim and Santal villagers took the shape of an attempt towards ethnic medicine to secure higher percentage of population and hegemony. The Plains Tribal Council of Assam (PTCA) was the first political organization of the Bodos. It was formed at Kokrajhar on February 27, 1967 under the championship of Modoram Brahma. The All Bodo Student's Union was formed later on in the 1970s. The ABSU played a vital role in the political life of the Bodos later on. The Bodos started the demand for an autonomous state very late almost in the mid-1980s. However, there were many attempts to promote the needs of the community in the past. Gurudev Kalicharan Brahma represented before the Simon Commission that the seats in the Legislative Assembly and the Government jobs should be reserved for the Tribals. According to B.B.Kumar the demands for small states in India define all logic. The economic viability, reasonable size and population, etc. cease to be the valid criteria for the formation of a state. The only valid criterion for the Statehood demand during the last three decades was the assertion of separate ethnic identity. This resulted into the arrest of the process of social and cultural assimilation and that of „give and take“ going on for centuries in this part of the country. The process of social distancing was deliberately started by many communities, such as, the Bodos from the Assamese.

- The Demand for Saurashtra State The demand for separate state of Saurashtra from Gujarat is likely to be an issue in the upcoming elections. This region has its own identity and it was known as the United State of Kathiawar, a mixture of princely states. In 1948, it was renamed as Saurashtra following persuasion by Ballabhbhai Patel. In 1956, it was merged with Bombay state and again merged with Gujarat state afterwards in 1960. The demand for Saurashtra was first raised in 1966 and, then, more seriously, in 1970-71 by an advocate RatilalTanna, who was an assistant of former Prime Minister Morarji Desai. In 2001, after the earthquake in Kutch, the demand was again made but gathered no steam until 2009 when a Member of Parliament from the Congress party from Porbandar raised the issue again.
- 5. The Demand for Koshal State The announcement by the Home Minister of India P.Chidambaram for creation of Telangana has triggered a simmering agitation in the Koshal region demanding a separate Koshal state. (ArtatranaGochhayat 2013:8) The Koshal region also known as western Odisha basically comprises 10 districts including Sambalpur, Jharsuguda, Sundargarh, Bargarh, Kalahandi, Nuapada, Deogarh, Sonapur, Boudh and Balangir with a population of about 2.5 crores. About nearly 42 organizations from 10 districts of the Koshal region met in Balangiri and chalked a plan to take forward the movement for Koshal state. The Koshal Kranti Dal, was formed in 2007, which was an emerging political party played a key role in the agitation for the demand for separate statehood.
- The Case study of Telangana State Telangana question may be discussed for the reasons relevant as an issue of inequality, backwardness, lack of development, discrimination in allocation of funds for irrigation and creation of employment, in view of the consistent deception of leaders as well. Ever since the formation of Andhra Pradesh, there has been discrimination against Telangana in terms of the resource allocation, developmental schemes and employment generation. (B.Janardhan Rao 1997:20) Injustice and discrimination are also evident in denying spaces for Telangana and Telanganites in decision making in economic, political, social and cultural spheres. Actually Telangana is not merely a geographical dispute. It is a result of unequal development through several historical phases". There were continuous movements for separate Telangana state. The 1969 movement, subsequently, there were several organizations emerged like Telangana Jana Sabha and Telangana Maha Sabha in the late 1990"s for demanding separate Telangana state. (P.L.Vishweswar Rao 1997:56) This region is deprived of economic and social development in spite of its merger with Coastal Andhra. "Because successive governments and the ruling political parties have not only neglected to develop Telangana region but also systematically exploited it, through denying its share of funds , plundered its rich ,fertile land resources and impoverished its people".

Constitutional Provisions and New Developments

- Indian constitution empowers the Union government to create new states out of existing states or two merge one state with other. This process is called reorganisation of the states.
- The basis of reorganisation could be linguistic, religious, ethnic or administrative.
- Article 3 provides the following procedure:
 - Presidential reference is sent to State Assembly.

- After presidential reference, a resolution is tabled and passed in Assembly.
- Assembly has to pass a Bill creating the new State/States.
- A separate Bill has to be ratified by Parliament.

Reasons for Demand

- All these demands are from regions which are poor in spite of being rich in natural resources and disputes exist over sharing and utilisation of natural resources with the mother states.
- Linguistic and cultural reasons, which were the primary basis for creating new states in the country, have now become secondary in most of these cases.
- Other factors being:
 - Competition for local resources.
 - Government negligence towards certain regions
 - Improper allocation of the resources,
 - Difference in culture, language, religion, etc.
 - The economy's failure to create enough employment opportunities
 - Popular mobilization and the democratic political process is also one of the reasons.
 - 'The sons of the soil' sentiments

Issues Arising due to creation of New States

- Different statehood may lead to the hegemony of the dominant community/ caste/ tribe over their power structures.
- This can lead to emergence of intra-regional rivalries among the sub-regions.
- The creation of new states may also lead to certain negative political consequences like a small group of legislators could make or break a government at will.
- There is also possibility of increase in the inter-State water, power and boundary disputes.
- The division of states would require huge funds for building new capitals and maintaining a large number of Governors, Chief Ministers, Ministers and administrators as the case in division of Andhra Pradesh and Telangana (establishment of new capital at Amravati).
- Creation of smaller states only transfers power from the old state capital to new state capital without empowering already existing institutions like Gram Panchayat, District Collector, etc. rather diffusion of development in the backward areas of the states.

Summary

Regional Imbalances implies that there is difference in 'economic development' of different regions. In India 'region' means a state or district or union territory. Regional imbalances may be inter-state or intrastate. Regional imbalances or disparities means wide differences in per capita income, literacy rates, health and education services, levels of industrialization, infrastructural facilities etc. between different regions. Regions may be either States or regions within a State. Roots of regionalism is in India's manifold diversity of languages, cultures, ethnic groups,

communities, religions and so on, and encouraged by the regional concentration of those identity markers, and fueled by a sense of regional deprivation. For many centuries, India remained the land of many lands, regions, cultures and traditions. For instance, southern India (the home of Dravidian cultures), which is itself a region of many regions, is evidently different from the north, the west, the central and the north-east. Even the east of India is different from the North-East of India comprising today seven constituent units of Indian federation with the largest concentration of tribal people.

Keywords

regional imbalance, economic disparity, natural resources, per capita income

Self Assessment

1. Social problem means
 - A. state of affairs
 - B. moral approach to problem
 - C. personal problem
 - D. family problem

2. In which case the Supreme Court ruled that the Parliament cannot amend the basic features of the Constitution of India?
 - A. Minerva Mills Case
 - B. Golaknath Case
 - C. Keshvananda Bharti Case
 - D. LIC of India Case

3. The principle of collective responsibility is enshrined in which article of the Constitution?
 - A. Article 75
 - B. Article 76
 - C. Article 77
 - D. Article 78

4. Who becomes the acting President in case there is no Vice President and the post of President falls vacant?
 - A. Chief Justice of Supreme Court
 - B. Lok Sabha Speaker
 - C. Vice Chairman of Rajya Sabha
 - D. Attorney General of India

5. What is the maximum life of an ordinance?
 - A. Four months and six weeks
 - B. Six months and six weeks
 - C. Three months and three weeks
 - D. One month and three weeks

6. The office of Vice-President is modelled on the lines of which country's Vice-President?
 - A. Japan
 - B. Australia

- C. America
- D. Russia

7. When did The States Reorganisation Act 1956 , come into force?

- A. 01 April 1956
- B. 01 November 1956
- C. 01 May 1955
- D. 23 April 1955

8. Which section of The States Reorganisation Act 1956 deals with the Formation of a new Madhya Pradesh State?

- A. Section 12 of The States Reorganisation Act 1956
- B. Section 9 of The States Reorganisation Act 1956
- C. Section 14 of The States Reorganisation Act 1956
- D. Section 20 of The States Reorganisation Act 1956

9. Which section of The States Reorganisation Act 1956 deals with Composition of the Councils ?

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- C. Section 4 of The States Reorganisation Act 1956
- D. Section 5 of The States Reorganisation Act 1956

15. Section 10 of The States Reorganisation Act 1956 deals with_____?

- A. Laccadive, Minicoy and Amindivi Islands
- B. Composition of the Councils
- C. Formation of a new Rajasthan State
- D. Provision as to existing House

Answers for Self Assessment

- | | | | | |
|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| 1. A | 2. C | 3. A | 4. A | 5. B |
| 6. C | 7. B | 8. B | 9. A | 10. B |
| 11. C | 12. A | 13. A | 14. C | 15. C |

Review Questions

1. What are the reasons behind demand for ne states?
2. What are the constitutional provisions to solve regional disparities?
3. What do you understand by green revolution?
4. What were the reasons for demand of separate Telangana state?
5. Describe the Indian nature of federalism?



Further Readings

Regional Disparity in India by Dr. Kumar Das

Regional Disparity in India: Issues and Perspectives by Himani Joshi Baxi

DEVELOPMENT DISPARITIES IN INDIA: An Enquiry into Convergence by Arpita Banerjee and Pravat Kumar Kuri

Regional Disparity in India by Nirod K. Palai

Unit 10: Gender and Politics in India

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Objectives

- To understand the importance of political participation
- To know about the women's reservation in politics
- To understand the reasons behind less women in politics

Introduction

The term 'political participation' has a very wide meaning. It is not only related to 'Right to Vote', but simultaneously relates to participation in: decision-making process, political activism, political consciousness, etc. 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.

The Constitution of India establishes a parliamentary system of government, and guarantees its citizens the right to be elected, freedom of speech, freedom to assemble and form associations, and vote. The Constitution of India attempts to remove gender inequalities by banning discrimination based on sex and class, prohibiting human trafficking and forced labour, and reserving elected positions for women. The Government of India directed state and local governments to promote equality by class and gender including equal pay and free legal aid, humane working conditions and maternity relief, rights to work and education, and raising the standard of living.[3] Women were substantially involved in the Indian independence movement in the early 20th century and advocated for independence from Britain. Independence brought gender equality in the form of constitutional rights, but historically women's political participation has remained low.

Background

Politics has long been a male bastion in which women have yet to gain an equal footing. Even when women leaders overcome significant obstacles to enter electoral politics, they are continuously discouraged by misogynistic attitudes and character assassination. Women are routinely demotivated by being told that they do not belong here, and are systematically kept out of politics and decision making. For instance, just last month, Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) leader Chandrakant Patil told Nationalist Congress Party (NCP) MP Supriya Sule to "go home and cook" instead of

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being in politics, highlighting the existence of a structured system of oppressive gender hierarchy in politics and a patriarchal attitude that politics is a profession for 'men'.

Empirical studies confirm women's skewed gender representation in politics and legislation. According to an Inter-Parliamentary Union study, India ranks 149th out of 193 countries in terms of female representation in the lower or single house of Parliament. It is inexcusable that in a country where women account for half of the population, they have an abysmally low 14% representation in the Lok Sabha and 11% in the Rajya Sabha. Is this what we mean when we say India is a 'representative democracy'? Why are their voices still marginalized, even though they constitute a sizeable proportion of the population? It is high time that we stop representing women and speaking on their behalf and give them every opportunity to speak for and represent themselves. Because of the prevalence of patriarchal tendencies and rampant sexism in political parties and institutions, an institutional process for ensuring the representation of women in legislation is critical. The lack of women's active participation in politics not only undermines the spirit and idea of a representative democracy, but also denies women equal status and opportunity, as guaranteed by our Constitution. To bridge this gap, we should do away with women's 'ornamental' presence in politics and implement the pending action - the Constitution (108th Amendment) Bill (Women's Reservation Bill) - to level the playing field for women entering politics. We should fulfil our obligation to ensure equality as guaranteed by Article 14 of the Constitution, which establishes the right to equality as a fundamental right.

10.1 Women's Reservation Bill

The disproportionately low number of women in the positions of power reflects the inherent patriarchal tendencies in the Indian power structure. This was evident in the latest 'Gender Gap Report' by the World Economic Forum, where India ranked 135th in gender parity out of 156 countries. This indicates that the inequality between sexes that is inherently unfair. Women's representation in the Lok Sabha has grown at a snail's pace since Independence. Women comprised only 4.4% of the first Lok Sabha, constituted in 1952, which was risen to merely 12.15% after the 2014 Lok Sabha elections. Democracy has not been able to provide justice to its women because it has not given them a voice. The Women's Reservation Bill, which aims to represent women, has been rotting at the table of Lok Sabha since 2008 and continues to do so, having lapsed several times. This Bill seeks to reserve one-third of all seats in the Lok Sabha and state legislative assemblies for women. There is not only a lack of political will or consensus on the Bill; there's strong opposition to it by lawmakers and various stakeholders, demonstrating how male-dominated Parliament's role, authority, and rights are. Parliament's failure to pass this Bill is a result of various factors, the main reason being a social mind-set that refuses to acknowledge women as leaders, as well as a popular perception of women's reluctance to run alongside male candidates. The numbers, on the other hand, tell a different story. The total number of female contestants increased from 45 in 1957 to 668 in 2015; that's a 15-fold increase in the number of female contestants. When we look at the data for male contestants from the same years, the number has increased five-fold; from 1,474 to 7,583.

The 15-fold increase in female candidates indicates a growing desire for women to enter politics and be a part of political decision-making. There is a perceptible preferential bias among voters in favor of male candidates compared to female candidates. Even though voters show initial biases against female politicians, with enough exposure and awareness, they are more likely to view women in leadership roles to be as effective as men. Another factor for the failure of the Bill is the assertion that gender-based seat reservation is unfair because it is discriminatory to men and also denies their democratic right to compete based on gender. However, in light of the discrimination, systematic exclusion, and injustices women have faced on account of their gender, this line of argument is untenable. Where gender has been the cause of a variety of problems women face, it is justifiable to use gender as a tool to combat a society that has historically favored men while oppressing, ostracizing, and denying basic human rights to women. Furthermore, preserving seats for women just guarantees equal opportunity, as is enshrined in the Indian Constitution.

10.2 Need for Effective Legislation

When we dissect the arguments against the Bill, we see that all of the opposition is nothing more than hollow statements arising from our society's patriarchal and misogynistic culture. When compared to our neighbors in the Gender Gap Report, Bangladesh ranks 71st, China 102nd and Sri Lanka 111th. Pakistan (145th) and Afghanistan (146th) are among only 11 countries which rank worse than India (135th), as of the 2022 edition of the report. This not only reflects the country's

dismally low levels of female participation, but also the country's larger picture of gender inequality. In recent years, when there has been a rise in voter turnout among women – which can impact electoral politics in a myriad of ways – it is disheartening that there's no proportional rise in women's representation in the legislative and decision-making bodies. That is not to be argued that women have no representation in India, but the progress of women in elected bodies has been incredibly slow, as evidenced by the fact that even in the current and best phase (2002-2019), the percentage of women MPs in the Lok Sabha remains appallingly low.

Although there are no legal barriers to women being represented in elected bodies, impediments make it more difficult for women to have a voice in legislation. As a result, proactive affirmative action on the part of the government is critically needed. Even though reservation is not a panacea for ending India's deeply rooted gender bias, it is a necessary step toward making a difference and ensuring equality. Studies have shown that the gender quota introduced in local administration through the 73rd and 74th Amendment Acts has increased the presence of women and enabled them to enter mainstream politics. Hence, effective representation can help in equal participation by men and women, which is a prerequisite for a just and representative democracy. When one looks at the Nordic countries with the most female parliamentarians, it is clear that their national policies are more inclusive and gender-sensitive as female politicians are more likely to prioritize gender equality, safety and security, elderly care, children's welfare, women's health care issues, and so on. They've had a remarkable amount of success in enacting policies that promote social inclusion and equality. It is high time that we do the same in our country as well. Equal representation of women in legislation can significantly improve the quality of decision-making and empower both women and the nation. We cannot achieve social development with equity and justice without equal representation of women in Parliament, which is why the Women's Reservation Bill is the need of the hour. It is high time we stop the mere tokenism extended in the name of politics of representation and inclusion and ensure the actual and equal representation of women. More than one in every two Indians say that "women and men make equally good political leaders" and over one in every ten believe women generally make better political leaders than men, according to a recent survey by the Pew Research Centre.

The study, conducted among 30,000 adults nationwide, surveyed Indian attitudes toward gender roles. India has had powerful female politicians, with some of them managing to ascend to top political posts nationally and regionally, including president and prime minister. Indira Gandhi, for instance, India's first and only female prime minister to date, was a dominant political figure in the country from 1966 to 1984. But despite studies showing widespread public acceptance of female politicians, women's political participation remains low. According to a 2020 report by the Association of Democratic Reforms (ADR) and National Election Watch (NEW), less than a tenth of the over 50,000 candidates contesting federal and state elections are women.

India slipped 28 places to rank 140th among 156 countries in the World Economic Forum's Global Gender Gap Report in 2021, becoming the third-worst performer in South Asia. Most of the decline occurred in the area of political empowerment, where India regressed considerably, with a significant drop in the number of women ministers in recent years – from 23.1% in 2019 to 9.1% in 2021. Politics is often seen as a male bastion, and women are discouraged from entering it on the pretext that it is not a 'feminine' profession," said Jayakumari Devika, a women's rights activist and social critic from Kerala state in southern India. She added that women are, most of the time, designated roles that require "care and compassion." Devika pointed out that people holding such views don't take into account the experiences of hundreds of women who are comfortable leading public political lives by leading self-help groups, civil society outfits and non-governmental organizations. It's not just societal bias against women that poses an obstacle to female politicians. A Priyadarshini, 21, the youngest councilor elected to the city corporation of Chennai city in Tamil Nadu state, said that, in addition to the gender bias, young women face severe infrastructural barriers to entering politics. "This includes a lack of clean toilets and safe accommodation during field work. For example, when we conduct a political survey, we have an equal number of female and male volunteers. But many female volunteers struggle to find clean toilets and bathrooms when they travel, and drop out of work," she said. Priyadarshini stressed that many female candidates were often made to contest in elections as "namesakes" for their husbands. Pointing to the 2021 local body polls in Tamil Nadu in which she ran herself, the young politician said: "This was the first local body election held in the state after a 50% quota was announced for women. So many male politicians simply made their wives contest in their place." She underlined that reserving seats for women was meaningless if women were treated as "puppets" by their male family members.

10.3 Encouraging Female Participation

A bill to reserve a third of all seats in the national and state legislatures for women has been stalled in the Indian parliament for almost three decades. Padmini Swaminathan, former director of Madras Institute of Developmental Studies (MIDS), argues that affirmative action encouraging women's participation in law-making is essential to improve female representation in politics. "A woman may get elected for the first time because she comes from a family with a political background. But later, she will have to go out on the field," she said, adding that after reservations were introduced in local bodies, many civil society organizations came forward to train rural women on local governance and administration. Swaminathan stressed that women who want to contest in elections are often simply not given the chance. "If they are not given a party ticket, how will they have the resources to contest as independent candidates?" she questioned, adding that even women who win elections are often not given decision-making powers or influential cabinet posts. "Men in politics still do not want to take orders from women," she said.

Tara Krishnaswamy, a co-founder of Shakti, a non-partisan women's collective, said that there seems to be a contradiction in how Indians view women in public and domestic roles. She also noted that the Pew survey findings cannot be taken at face value. "The survey would be more meaningful if there was data on differences in responses among men and women, urban and rural respondents, different regions of the country and people from different economic classes," said Krishnaswamy. Furthermore, she pointed out that the researchers had mined data from government sources that she found unreliable. "Voters are fairly progressive in India. In fact, I think the survey may underestimate the number of people who think women make good politicians," said Krishnaswamy. Devika underlined that one should not conclude that more women in politics always mean better policies for women. "There are senior female politicians who encourage women to defer to their husband or promote patriarchal views in public to walk the tightrope and not lose their allies," she said, adding, "it is not the 'critical mass' of women that is important in politics, but the 'critical actions' they take." A new study about women in politics by Professor Parimal Maya Sudhakar, Head of the School, MIT School of Government, MIT World Peace University reported the disparity between the number of male and female politicians in India. The study revealed that in India, women in politics still struggle to become change-makers and that reform is required to 'break the glass ceiling'. According to the World Bank, in 2021 the proportion of seats held by women in national parliaments was at a disappointing 14 per cent. The highest proportion of seats held by women in national parliaments in 2021 was 61 per cent in Rwanda.

The Economic Survey 2022 that was released in January revealed that in 2019-2021, the number of females per 1000 males was 1020 in India. This means that India has a greater population of women than men, but that is not reflected in the parliament. In 2018, Reuters surveyed about 550 experts on women's issues regarding which of the United Nations member states were the most dangerous for women. Out of the 193 UN member states, India was ranked as the most dangerous for women. It was ranked as the most dangerous on three issues: The risks women face from sexual violence and harassment, Cultural and traditional practices and Human trafficking. In a country where the sex ratio favors women and where women's safety is a serious issue, women in politics would greatly benefit the condition of women in India.

Gender stereotypes and discrimination are the two largest hurdles for women in politics. Even though there have been female political leaders, most have not enjoyed the same notoriety nor have been put upon a pedestal as male politicians in similar positions have. Low literacy rates for women serve as another barrier. According to the World Bank, the literacy rate for women ages 15 and above in 2018 is 66 per cent. For men, the literacy rate is 82 per cent. This disparity and the lack of education for women, especially women in rural areas make it harder for them to deviate from unpaid work to a publicized life in politics. Women's organizations have focused on women's empowerment, such as women's education and financial independence. Education and financial independence give women the freedom to pursue their interests, and the knowledge they need, and they provide financial support in their endeavor. Reservation for women in politics has been a huge stepping stone towards improving the number of women participating in politics.

The Constitution (108th Amendment) Bill, also known as the Women's Reservation Bill ensures that one-third of the seats in local governing bodies and the Rajya Sabha are reserved for women. The seats reserved for women are rotated to ensure that each seat has an equal chance of being reserved. In 1993 for Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRI), the local governing bodies in India, one-third of the seats are reserved for women. In 2010, the Rajya Sabha passed the bill, meaning one-third of all seats in the Rajya Sabha were reserved for women. The Bill is pending in the Lok Sabha. A study reported that after women's reservations were established, political participation in women went from 4 to 5 per cent to 25 to 40 per cent. Some political parties also promise reservations for women.

and women have created their political parties. The United Women's Front Party was created in 2007 and advocated for a 50 per cent reservation in parliament for women.

Summary

India has a three-step political system: the grassroots, governed by the panchayats; the state-level elections to the assemblies, and national-level elections to parliament. A little over 25 years ago, a law guaranteeing 33 per cent reservation for women was enacted at the panchayat level, which in many ways brought about a revolution in Indian politics. As a result of this law, currently, India has about 13,00,000 women in politics at the grassroots, giving way to increased participation of younger women. Literacy is often considered to be a big factor in enhancing this participation. However, contrary to popular belief, many illiterate women have proved to be remarkably good panchayat presidents (pradhans) while some fairly literate women have done a dismal job in assuming leadership roles. Therefore, along with literacy, access to opportunity and the personalities of these elected representatives are what make a difference.

It has been quite difficult for the same women leaders who have performed exceptionally well at the grassroots to come to the forefront - without the blessing of their 'bosses' - at the state and national levels. The lack of reservation at the state and national levels and strong party alliances that are enmeshed with deep-rooted patriarchy are some of the reasons for this. Reservation at the state and national levels has never come through because men across the board have opposed it out of fear for their own position in the party and constituencies. Another dimension of the disproportionate representation of women in Indian politics has been the lack of access to finance and funds. In this regard, self-help groups in the country have been a silver lining as they have made women more financially independent and given them a choice to invest their money strategically.

Despite the obstacles, with increasing access to education, Internet, phones and growing urbanization, the woman's vote has come to be valued. However, the absence of men from dialogues on women's empowerment has been a major impediment in achieving concrete progress. Unless men are also persuaded to join the dialogue, achieving political equity between men and women will remain a distant dream.

Keywords

feminism, women's reservation, legislation, discriminations

Self Assessment

1. What is the result of political expression of gender division?
 - A. Has helped to improve women's role in public life
 - B. Has provided a superior status to women
 - C. The position remains the same, as it was
 - D. None of the above

2. What is meant by the term 'Feminist'?
 - A. Having the qualities considered typical of women.
 - B. A person who believes in equal rights and opportunities for women and men.
 - C. The belief that men and women are equal.
 - D. Men who look like women.

3. Which of these Acts provides that equal wages should be paid for equal work to both men and women?
 - A. Same Wages Act
 - B. Equal Wages Act
 - C. Wages Equality Act

- D. Equality Wages Act
4. What is meant by 'gender division'?
- A. Division between rich and poor
 - B. Division between males and females
 - C. Division between educated and uneducated
 - D. None of the above
5. To provide representation to women in Panchayats and Municipalities, the following step has been taken:
- A. Reservation for election to half of the seats for women
 - B. Appointment of 1/3 women members
 - C. Reservation for election to 1/3 of the seats for women
 - D. None of the above
6. What did Gandhiji mean when he said that religion and politics can never be separated?
- A. Effect of Hinduism on politics is more
 - B. Effect of Islam on politics is more
 - C. Need moral values in politics
 - D. None of these
7. Partly due to the efforts of reformers and partly due to other __ changes, caste system in modern India has undergone great changes.
- A. fundamental
 - B. socio-economic
 - C. cultural
 - D. professional
8. According to some feminist movements, which of these is the best way to achieve women's well-being?
- A. Women should stop cooperating with men
 - B. All women should go out for work
 - C. Women should share power
 - D. None of these
9. Which of these is true about the ugliest form of communalism?
- A. Communal violence
 - B. Riots
 - C. Massacre
 - D. All of the above
10. What is leading to the breakdown of caste hierarchy?
- A. Large-scale urbanization
 - B. Growth of literacy and education
 - C. Occupational mobility
 - D. All of the above

11. groups in our country have argued that most of the victims of communal riots in our country are people from religious minorities.
 - A. Trade Union
 - B. Feminist
 - C. Students
 - D. Human Rights

12. Which of these forms can communalism take in politics?
 - A. In everyday beliefs, like religious prejudices
 - B. A quest for political dominance of one's own religious community
 - C. Political mobilization on religious lines
 - D. All of the above

13. In which system of elected bodies about one-third seats are reserved for women?
 - A. Panchayats and Municipals
 - B. Lok Sabha
 - C. State Assemblies
 - D. None of these

14. Laws concerning family matters such as marriage, divorce, adoption etc. are known as:
 - A. Family laws
 - B. Constitutional Laws
 - C. Criminal Laws
 - D. Civil Laws

15. Who among the following said that religion can never be separated from politics?
 - A. Acharya Vinobha Bhave
 - B. Mahatma Gandhi
 - C. Sarojini Naidu
 - D. Rajendra Prasad

Answers for Self Assessment

- | | | | | |
|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| 1. A | 2. B | 3. B | 4. B | 5. C |
| 6. C | 7. B | 8. C | 9. D | 10. D |
| 11. D | 12. D | 13. A | 14. A | 15. B |

Review Questions

1. Why there has been less participation of women in politics?
2. What measures can be undertaken to encourage more participation of women in politics?
3. Discuss about the women's reservation bill.
4. What are the social stereotypes which restrict the women's participation in politics?

Unit 11 : Ideology and Social Basis of Political Parties: National Parties and State Parties

Objectives

Introduction

- 11.1 Types of political parties in India
- 11.2 National Party
- 11.3 State Party/Regional Party
- 11.4 Un-Registered /Unrecognized Party
- 11.5 Understanding the Ideology & Social basis of Parties in India:
- 11.6 Left-Wing Parties
- 11.7 Right-wing ideology
- 11.8 Centre-wing ideology
- 11.9 The National Parties of India
- 11.10 Congress
- 11.11 The Ideology
- 11.12 The Social Base
- 11.13 Organization
- 11.14 The Bhartiya Janta Party
- 11.15 The Ideology
- 11.16 The Social Foundation
- 11.17 The Organization
- 11.18 The Communist Parties
- 11.19 The Ideology
- 11.20 Social Basis
- 11.21 The Organization
- 11.22 Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP)
- 11.23 Regional Parties
- 11.24 The Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK) and The All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (AIADMK)
- 11.25 The Shiromani Akali Dal
- 11.26 The National Conference
- 11.27 The Telugu Desam Party (TDP)
- 11.28 The Assam Gana Parishad (AGP)
- 11.29 The Jharkhand Party

Summary

Keywords

Self Assessment

Answers for Self Assessment

Review Questions

Objectives

- Understand the political frame work of Indian politics.
- Acquire knowledge of debates over the basis of ideologies of political parties in India.
- Acquire knowledge of debates over the social basis of political parties.
- We will also study the background and setup of some major political parties of India

Introduction

The political system in India has a framework of multi-party democratic socialistic and Republican system. The government is run on a federal structure. The elections are conducted by election commission of India which is the body responsible for conducting free and fair elections in the country. The election commission has categorised three kinds of political parties in India national level, state or regional and registered and unregistered parties. At present India has almost 2300 political parties of which 7 are of national level, 36 state recognised parties, 329 regional parties other than these regional parties there are 2044 registered unrecognised parties. The number of these parties keep on changing depending upon the performance in the elections. In this chapter you read about different types of parties.

11.1 Types of political parties in India

In this part of the chapter you'll understand how the election commission of India categorizes different parties at different levels. These political parties are categorised under National level political party, state/regional and registered/unregistered parties.

11.2 National Party

The election commission recognises party as a national party only if it fulfils any one of the three criteria is given below:

- The party must win 2% of seats in Lok Sabha from at least three different states.
- If a party gets recognition as a state party in four states of India.
- Party has to gain at least 6% of votes in any four or more states and in addition it has to win four Lok Sabha seats in any general election to Lok Sabha or legislative assembly elections.

At present there are seven National Parties in India: Indian National Congress (INC), Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP), BahujanSamaj Party (BSP), Communist Party of India (CPI), Communist Party of India-Marxist (CPI(M)), Nationalist Congress Party (NCP) and All India Trinamool Congress.

11.3 State Party/Regional Party

The term state parties or regional parties are used interchangeably by academic discourse and general parlance but the election commission of India does not encourage the use of word regional party instead it uses the term state party. The election commission of India identifies regional party on the basis of its electoral performance. Academic discourse defines a regional party or a state party through its leadership, activities, policies, support base in some regions or states. The election commission of India recognises a party as state party only if a party if it qualifies the following criteria:

- A party must be engaged in political activities for at least a time period of five years.
- A party must have one either 4% of the seats in the general election or 3% in the state legislative election
- Party must have had the support of 6% of votes casted in the election.

Unit11: Ideology and Social Basis of Political Parties: National Parties and State Parties

- The status of a state party can still be best stored upon an entity even if it fails to win any seat in Lok Sabha or the assembly elections if it managed to win at least 8% of the total votes casted in entire state elections.

In the year 2020 the election commission of India recognise 36 state parties in India that represent their states. Some of the recognised parties include all India Anna DravidaMunnetrakazhagam, DravidaMunnetraKazhagam, BijuJanta Dal, Janta Dal United, Janta Dal United, Rashtriyajanta Dal, Samajwadi party.

11.4 Un-Registered /UnrecognizedParty

A Registered party is that one which is neither recognised as a state nor a national party, but it is registered with the election commission of India. It is also called unrecognised party. At present, there are more than 2000 registered parties in India.

11.5 Understanding the Ideology &Social basis of Parties in India:

The ideology and social basis of parties in India can be divided into three categories which are given as follows:

11.6 Left-Wing Parties

Left-wing parties are those parties in India which totally focus on freedom equality rights progress reformation and development of the society. Left-wing parties are those parties which support socialism communism liberalism and focus on collective development of the society they also support social democratic form in the society. Left-wing parties always support modern policies. They do not involve religion in their political ideology. They believe in making good ties with the neighbouring and other countries foreign country. Left-wing parties also support modern ideologies including abortion, same-sex marriage freedom of religion. They are also against the death penalties given to criminals.

11.7 Right-wing ideology

Right-wing ideology based usually upon authority, order, hierarchy, tradition and nationalism. Normally right-wing parties are very conservative and old-fashioned they follow modern ideas in very few thanks. They also support one-man rule and dictatorship. They are of the notion that the best results can be obtained when individual rights and civil liberties are kept at the top and the government is less involved. Romantic Nationalism is the basic influence behind right wing politics. In this the state derives its legitimacy from the culture of the people that live in it. This may also be inclusive of their language, race, and customs followed in the culture. The believers of right-wing ideology believe that religion should play an important part in politics and every day matter of life. This kind of politics follows the ideas of authority, hierarchy, tradition, and nationalism.

11.8 Centre-wing ideology

Centrism in politics is the propensity to take an ideologically moderate stance in order to avoid political extremes. By striking a balance between the left and the right, a centrist advances moderate policies and downplays ideological appeals in favour of a practical or "catchall" party platform. One way to increase electoral support is by centrism, especially among swing voters (those who will vote across party lines).

A common system for categorising ideologies, political viewpoints, or political parties is the left-right political spectrum. The seating arrangements of the parliamentary factions in the French Convention following the Revolution of 1789 are said to be the source of the terms left, right, and centre.

11.9 The National Parties of India

Due to the existence of numerous national and regional parties, the decade starting in the 1960s was essential for the development of the Indian party system. The period of one-party rule in the previous decades, or the control of the Congress, was well-known. You will learn about the Communist Party of India, the Communist Party of India (Marxist), the Bharatiya Janata Party, and the BallujanSamaj Party in this unit. The National Conference, the DMK, the AIADMK, the Akali Dal, the Assam GanaParishad, the Jharkhand Party, and the Telugu Desam Party are among the major regional groups that you will also examine.

11.10 Congress

The Indian National Congress, which was founded in Bombay in 1885, is where the Congress has its roots. The latter had been successful in uniting various social classes inside Indian society through the Indian National Movement. Congress was first an exclusive group before becoming a mass group under Gandhian leadership.

The key moments in the history of the Congress Party before the independence were the non-cooperation, civil disobedience, and quit India movements. The Government of India Act of 1935's Provincial Autonomy provision gave the Congress party the chance to get some instruction in how to run the government between 1937 and 1939.

The British handed over control to the Congress Party, which went on to rule after India's independence. The Congress Party governed Indian politics from 1947 to 1967. The results of the fourth general election, which was held in 1967, significantly weakened the power of the Congress. In eight states, voters ousted the Congress party from power. Even at the national level, it could only muster a slim majority in the Lok Sabha. The Congress party split for the first time in 1969, this time into an old Congress led by S. Nijalingappa and a new Congress led by Indira Gandhi. In most of the countries, the new Congress led by Indira Gandhi won both the assembly elections in 1972 and the parliamentary elections in 1971.

Gandhi took office as prime minister. He guided the party to an extraordinary win in India's general election of 1985. Four hundred fifteen Lok Sabha seats were won by the Congress Party and its allies. The National Front, a coalition of opposition parties, the Congress (I), and the AIADMK and the National Conference engaged in a bitter campaign in the ninth general election. The Bharatiya Janata Party and the left-leaning parties agreed to seat adjustments in their respective spheres of power. This made sure that most of the elections were fair fights. With 197 members, the Congress (I) became the lone largest party. No party was able to win an outright majority in the Lok Sabha.

11.11 The Ideology

A supporter of socialism, secularism, and democracy, the Congress Party. It adhered to the notion of democratic socialism, which is why the Congress Party's economic strategy established governmental control of the key sectors of the economy, such as the primary industries, banking, and insurance. The party supported a ceiling on both rural and urban land. It advocated for the growth of small and medium-sized businesses and opposed monopolies. Congress reaffirmed its commitment to the socialistic model of society at the Avadi session in 1956. The Congress used the GaribiHafao campaign slogan in the 1971 elections (remove poverty). Even the 20-point emergency plan has a significant communist element. Congress swung to the right throughout the 1980s. Socialism and communism were not included in the 1984 manifesto. Socialism or the necessity to rein in monopolies were not mentioned in the 1984 platform. The need of giving people more power through Panchayati Raj was emphasised in the 1989 election manifesto. A capitalist economy that is interwoven with the global capitalist system was proposed for in the Congress election manifesto of 1999. Additionally, it supported encouraging the private sector and the elimination of public monopolies outside of the defence industry. The party's commitment to institutional strengthening and secularism was reiterated in its 1999 election platform. Additionally, it pledged to double spending on reducing poverty.

The party has supported non-alignment in terms of foreign policy.

11.12 The Social Base

The party has its origins as an exclusive metropolitan middle class organisation. It grew in popularity during the 1920s. Despite having a large support base, the upper caste great landowners, urban intelligentsia, and businessmen controlled the Congress. The Congress Party easily won three general elections following independence. This was due to the widespread support it received from rural and urban, educated and uneducated, high caste and lower caste, rich and poor individuals practically everywhere in the nation. Congress lost elections in numerous states as a result of the shift in middle caste voters, which started in the latter half of the 1960s. The party had its origins as a privileged group of the urban middle class with higher education. In the 1920s, it grew in popularity. Despite having a large following, the leadership. The upper caste, in especially the Brahmins, Scheduled Castes, and Muslims, has been the main source of support for the Congress. The Congress was essentially eradicated from the Gangetic belt (UP and Bihar) in 1991. The Scheduled Caste and Muslim votes in Uttar Pradesh have been stolen from the Congress by the BSP and Samajvadi Party. In Bihar, the RJD has gained support from Muslims and lower castes, while the BJP has gained support from upper castes in both of these states.

11.13 Organization

The Congress party's constitution calls for a complex organisational structure.

The party's organisational structure is headed by the party president. A working committee is available to support the president. They are supplemented by the All India Congress Committee, a deliberative body. The party's National and Regional headquarters are in New Delhi. The Pradesh's operations are under the supervision of the central office. Committees for Parties' Congresses, Committees for District Congresses, and Committees for Block Congresses.

The District Congress Committees keep track of things, collect money, and suggest candidates.

11.14 The BhartiyaJanta Party

The BhartiyaJanta Party was founded in 1980 as a result of a split within the Janata Party over the question of dual membership, or whether Janata Party members who were also R S S members should continue to be members of both organisations concurrently or not. Due to the controversy surrounding this matter, members of the RSS and Bharatiya Janata Sangll left the Janata Party. The members of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh who had formerly belonged to the Janata Party founded the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP). "The Bharatiya Jana Sangh is rightly viewed as the rebirth of the B J P." The Bharatiya Jana Sangh was established in 1951 by Syama Prasad Mukherjee. The KeshavBaliramHedgewar-founded RSS served as the Bharat Jana Sangh and then the Bharat Janata Party's organisational backbone. The B J P barely won two seats in the first Lok Sabha election after its founding in 1984, but it won 88 seats in the subsequent election in 1989. This party won 120 seats in the 1991 elections, making it the second-largest party in the legislature. The BJP won 162 seats in the 1996 Lok Sabha election, becoming the only major party to do so. Atal Behari Vajpayee was called by the president to form the cabinet.

The government only held office for thirteen days since it was unable to address the Parliament because it lacked the necessary majority. The BJP formed a tactical alliance with regional parties and won 180 seats in the 1998 Lok Sabha election. The BJP formed the government, although it was short-lived. In 1999, there was again another election. There was another election in 1999. The BJP contested this election as a partner of the National Democratic Alliance (NDA). In 2014 the BJP one the elections and Narendra Modi became the Prime Minister of India. In 2019 again the BJP won the elections and Narendra Modi being the brand Ambassador became the Prime Minister for the second term.

11.15 The Ideology

The BJP initially made an effort to distance itself from the Bharatiya Jana Sangh. At the B.J.P.'s first convention, held in Bombay, Atal Behari Vajpayee, the party's first president, connected the rise of the BJP with Jay Prakash Narayan's idea of a magnificent India. The Hindu Nationalist Party established by Shyanla Prasad Mukherjee in 1951 is also thought of as having reincarnated as the BJP. The Jana Sangll sought to recreate India's nation as a contemporary democratic democracy in accordance with religious tenets. The BJP adheres to five fundamental ideologies: nationalism and

national integration, democracy, positive secularism, Gandhian socialism, and value-based politics. The BJP declared that it would centre its national consensus-building efforts and development strategy around these policies. Because they both encourage the consolidation of economic power in the hands of either private persons or government officials, the party opposes both capitalism and socialism. The party emphasised the growth of both industry and agriculture in 1984. Additionally, it emphasised tax cuts, the implementation of an employment guarantee scheme, and the acknowledgment of the right to employment as a fundamental right. The BJP repeatedly reaffirmed its dedication to the Swadeshi economy in 1996, but in reality, it stole the Congress's liberalisation platform. The B.IP's policies as a major coalition partner in the NDA administration made it very obvious that it supported liberalisation measures. The BJP made a point of abandoning the objectives of militant Hinduism and Swadeshi in 1999 at its convention in Chennai. By consenting to caste-based reservation, the BJP has embraced the idea of justice for all. In both the parliament and state assemblies, women will receive a 33% reservation.

11.16 The Social Foundation

In India the Hindi Belt has been a stronghold for the BJP, just like it was for its predecessor, the Bharatiya Jana Sangha. Additionally, it is well-established in Gujarat and Maharashtra. The party has been attempting to enter south India since 1989. Upper castes, small and medium-sized business owners, and traders made comprised the BJP's traditional basis of support. The majority of Sikhs vote for it among minorities. Most people think of it as a Hindu Party. Since the 1990s, both rural and urban areas and more diverse social groupings have become part of its base.

11.17 The Organization

The BJP has a Party President, a National Council, and a party plenary or special session at the national level. The state-level organisation of the party is composed of a Council, a State Executive, Regional Committees, District Committees, and Block Committees. The Bharatiya Janata YuvaMorcha and the Bharatiya Janata MahilaMorcha are examples of the BJP's front groups. They operate in accordance with the National Executive's directives.

11.18 The Communist Parties

The Communist Party of India (CPI), the Communist Party of India (Marxist), sometimes known as the CPI(M), and various Naxalite organisations are the main communist parties that exist in India. In 1925, the CPI was founded in Kanpur. With regard to the nature of the Indian state, the freedom struggle, the question of how to bring about revolution in India in accordance with the tenets of Marxism and Leninism, and the future course of action, there emerged two political lines within the Communist Party of India at the time of Independence. One position supported by P.C. Joshi, who was the CPI secretary at the time, was that the Communist Party should support Nehru because it believed that the Independence was true. B.T. Ranadive and GautamAdhikari, on the other hand, believed that this was not true independence. Only under the leadership of the Communist Party of India was true independence possible. They therefore believed that the Party should oppose the Congress Party. The Soviet Union's attitude toward Nehru and the Congress government underwent a change in the early 1950s. The Communist Party of India's stance also changed as a result of this. Building a broad anti-feudal and anti-imperialist front that included nationalist bourgeoisie led by the working class was encouraged in the CPI's draught party platform. The two lines within the party reemerged in 1962 after the Chinese attack on India. In the interest of proletarian unity, a faction within the CPI even refused to denounce the Chinese attack, and another faction backed the position taken by the Indian government. The CPI finally broke up into the Communist Party of India and the Communist Party of India in 1964. (Marxist). After 1964, the CPI and CPI(M) were perceived as being more similar to the Communist Party of China and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, respectively. In 1968, a faction of the CPI(M) that supported the use of force in a revolution split away. They were known as Naxalites because they began their experiment with armed revolution to seize power in Bengal from a location called Naxalbari. CliaruMazumdar, the leader of the Naxalites, established the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist). Not all the Naxalite factions joined this party. The CPI began taking part in elections as early as the first one, which was held in 1952.

In the general election, the Communist Party of India continued to receive about 9% of the votes. Even after the two Communist Parties were split in 1964, they continued to poll at roughly the same

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rate. In the elections of 1989 and 1991, the CPI(M) won 33 and 35 seats, respectively. In each of these elections, the CPI received 12 seats. In the 1996 elections, the CPI(M) won 33 seats, compared to the CPI's three. The CPI(M) won 32 seats in the most recent Lok Sabha election, while the CPI received only five, in 1999. So far as the state assembly elections are concerned the Left parties have done well. In the three states of Kerala, West Bengal, and Tripura, the left-leaning national and regional parties have performed well. In Kerala, the CPI took control following the 1957 election. West Bengal has been governed by the left front, which is led by the CPI-M, for approximately 20 years.

11.19 The Ideology

According to the communist parties in India, the country can only address its issues with backwardness, inequality, ignorance, and poverty by establishing a socialist society based on the revolutionary ideals of Marxism and Leninism.

By seizing political power, the working class can accomplish this objective. They thought that for India to succeed, a democratic anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution was required. In light of this comprehension, the CPI evaluated the Nehru administration and backed the Indira Gandhi administration, especially in times of emergency.

After the disastrous 1977 election, the Communist Party of India reevaluated its place in Indian politics and its relationship with the Congress Party. After 1977, anti-Congress sentiment became a cornerstone of CPI policy. Even in 1996, the CPI joined the coalition government at the centre in keeping with its mission of national democracy. The CPI(M) favours the construction of a People's Democracy and the total abolition of the Indian state. This goal might be accomplished by forming a front led by the working class. The poor and middle peasants, as well as agricultural labourers, will be part of this front. The CPI(M) resolved to support an anti-authoritarian front that included the BJP at its 1982 Vijaywada Congress. The party has acknowledged note of the danger posed by Communalism. It has emphasised the requirement for India to have a self-sufficient economy, unencumbered by the World Bank and IMF. The CPI(M) has called for the establishment of the People's Front as a secular democratic alternative to the NDA at the federal level in its 17th Congress, which was held in Hyderabad in March 2002. The CPI(M) has made the decision to work with the Congress Party without joining forces with it. The Party has also maintained that the best way to combat extremism among the mass is not to embrace it yourself.

11.20 Social Basis

The Communist Parties have pockets of power in a few other states, including Bihar, Andhra Pradesh, UP, Punjab, Maharashtra, and Tamil Nadu, in addition to their traditional strongholds of Kerala, West Bengal, and Tripura. The middle class, agricultural labourers, small farmers, and members of the working class are the main supporters of the communist parties.

11.21 The Organization

The CPJ and CPI's top party organ is the Organization All India Party Congress (M). It is called by the Central Committee for the CPI(M) and the National Council for the Communist Party of India, respectively. The National Council report, in the case of the CPI, and the Central Committee report, in the case of the CPI, are both discussed and addressed by the Party Congress (M). The Party line is also determined by the Party Congress. The National Council and the Central Committee are, respectively, the top two executive bodies between Party Congresses for CPI and CPI (M). It chooses a Polit Bureau from among its members to function in between the Central Committee's two sessions. Similar to this, the CPI National Council elects a Central Executive to continue the National Council's activities in between its two sessions. Both the Central Committee of the CPI(M) and the National Council of the CPI elect a secretary for their respective communist organisations.

11.22 Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP)

On April 14, 1984, Kanshi Ram created the BahujanSamaj Party (BSP). The party describes itself as being the BahujanSamaj or the majority segment. This claim is based on the Party System and Elections Assumption that India 85% of the population in India is made up of castes and minorities. They make up the majority of India's BahujanSamaj. The BahujanSamaj has been used as a means of control by the minority high castes, according to the BSP. The BSP works to impose the

BahujanSamaj's rule since democracy dictates that the majority should have the power. The BSP was a social and cultural organisation before it became a formal political party. Examples include the BAMCEF (All India Backward and Minority Employees Federation) and DS4 (Dalit SoshitSamajSangharshSamiti). When Mayawati, a BSP candidate, ran in a by-election from the Uttar Pradesh district of Bijnore, the BSP entered the race. After the Congress and Janata Dal candidates, the BSP candidate finished third. However, the BSP candidate's speech was very hopeful.

She received 6,504 votes compared to 1,28,004 for the Congress candidate and 1,22,004 for the Janata Dal candidate. The BSP did not gain any seats in the U P legislature that year, but it received a plurality of votes. The BSP received 9.33% of the popular vote but only 13 seats in the 1989 UP assembly elections: The BSP has gradually emerged as one of the key players in both national politics in general and the politics of states like Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, Haryana, and Punjab in particular. This party received 20% of the vote in UP during the 1996 Lok Sabha election. 3% in Rajasthan and 8% in MP. In the 1998 Lok Sabha election, this party won five seats from UP and one from Haryana. In the 1999 Lok Sabha elections, the BSP took home 14 seats from UP. In the 1999 Lok Sabha elections, the BSP took home 14 seats from UP. This party has been expanding its support base by distributing seats to upper castes, backward Muslims, and not just dalits. The BSP's strategy in the 2002 UP assembly election was very successful. Out of 403 assembly seats, the party has secured 98 seats.

11.23 Regional Parties

Regional parties may emerge as a result of cultural, economic, or political factors. Depending on the political environment, one of these factors may have a more significant impact than another. It might change occasionally and from instance to case. The country of India is multilingual, multireligious, and multiethnic. Cultural minorities might worry that they will blend into the majority culture and lose their unique identity. The regional movements led by the Akali Dal, the Jharkhand MuktiMorcha (JMM), the All India Anna DravidaMunnetraKazhagam (AIADMK), and the DMK have their roots in a desire to preserve this cultural distinctiveness. Politically, the regional parties may be seen as a movement against centralisation and in tune with the spirit of a true federation.

11.24 The DravidaMunnetraKazhagam (DMK) and The All India Anna DravidaMunnetraKazhagam (AIADMK)

The anti-Brahmin campaign in the Madras presidency at the beginning of the previous century is where the D M K got its start. The Brahmins were thought to be using the Congress as a tool to maintain their hegemony over the government and other professions. The non-Brahmins came to the realisation that the Brahmanical dominance needed to be controlled in order for them to advance socially. Such consciousness led to the creation of the Justice Party in 1923–1924 to compete against the Congress Party in elections, the Non-Brahmin Manifesto of 1916, the South India Peoples' Association of 1917, and other movements. In 1925, E.V. RamaswamyNaicker established the Self-Respect Movement.

The Self-Respect Movement merged to create the DravidaKazhagam under the leadership of Naicker. Due to its hostility to the Congress, anti-north India sentiment, and the decision to observe the day of independence celebration as a day of sorrow, a segment of the youth was alienated. In 1949, these alienated individuals left the DravidaKazhagam and established the DMK under the direction of C. N. Annadurai.

The DMK has always put the interests of the lower castes and classes as its main priority. It has also taken on the role of the Tanlil identity's forerunner. The DMK attributed the backwardness of the Tamils on the Aryans and the northern Indians. It has opposed forcing Hindi on people. In 1956, the DMK made its debut in the Lok Sabha. After winning the assembly election, Hindi became mandatory. The removal of MGR, a Tamil movie star and the party treasurer, caused the DMK to split in 1972. This made it possible for AIADMK to be established in Annadurai's honour. It won the 1977 Assembly election by adhering to the electoral alliance principle with the national party. In the Lok Sabha elections of 1984, it garnered twelve seats. The DMK was not doomed to political obscurity as a result. The two Tamil parties kept switching off in power. Karunanidhi is presently in charge of the DMK.

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The AIADMK adopted populist policies to distribute largesse to the poor and programmes to appease Tamil pride under the direction of MGR. After MGR's passing in 1988, AIADMK also experienced divisions. The DMK, led by Karunanidhi, won the 1989 assembly elections. In the 1991 assembly election, the AIADMK was reinstated to power thanks to the unity of its split parties under the direction of Jayalalithaa and a coalition with the Congress Party. The DMK won the election in 1996. Despite the numerous corruption allegations against Jayalalithaa, her party won the 2001 election for the state assembly.

11.25 The Shiromani Akali Dal

At response to the unethical business practises of the Mahants in the Gurudwaras, the Sikh community formed the Shiromani Akali Dal (SAD) in the 1920s. The Sikh Gurudwara Act was passed by the government in 1925. This Act granted the Shiromani Gurudwara Parbandhak Committee the authority to manage and oversee Gurudwaras (SGPC). By claiming that the Church and the State have never been separate in Sikh tradition, the Akali Dal attempted to maintain a tight grip on the SGPC. The SAD positioned itself as the sole advocate for Sikh interests, fighting for their advancement and redressing injustices committed against them, first by the British and afterwards by the Indians. The SAD leadership desired a safe environment for Sikh religion. As a representative of the SAD, Master Tara Singh sought the Punjabi Suba in 1966. In November 1966, the central government divided Haryana and Punjab to form a state with a majority of Sikhs. The demands for complete regional autonomy for Punjab, the defence and advancement of the interests of wealthy farmers, a better agreement in the allocation of river waters, and the designation of Amritsar as a holy city are some of the other topics that the SAD has occasionally brought up.

The Anandpur Sahib statement of 1973 placed a strong emphasis on giving Punjab additional autonomy. According to this declaration, the central government should only be in charge of the military, foreign policy, communication, and money. Even the idea of secession from the Indian Union was advocated by some members of the Akali Dal. The anti-Sikh riots and Operation Blue Star in the wake of Indira Gandhi's murder damaged the Sikh mentality. The Rajiv Longowal Pact was unable to make the Sikhs feel better. The SAD broke into the Badal and Tohra groups, both of which made the same demands, including the release of the Jodhpur detainees and the transfer of Chandigarh to Punjab.

As United Akali Dal, led by Joginder Singh, the father of Bhindrawale, was formed, the fragmentation of the Akali Dal continued. Similar to this, Simaranjeet Singh Mann's Akali Dal (Man) campaigned in the 1989 Lok Sabha election. This group won ten out of the 13 seats in Punjab by openly endorsing militancy.

The BJP and Akali Dal won the 1997 assembly elections together. The Congress Party won the 2002 assembly election, defeating the Badal-led Akali Dal. The Congress Party's Captain Amrinder Singh has been appointed as the next chief executive.

11.26 The National Conference

The political unrest in the state of Jammu and Kashmir in the 1920s and 1930s, when a Hindu Maharaja governed it, is where the National Conference had its start.

In 1921, a group by the name of Anjumane-e-Islamia was established with the goal of advancing the social and educational welfare of Muslims. The Muslim Conference was established in 1931 to represent the interests of the state's predominantly Muslim population. Sheikh Abdullah opened the Muslim Conference to non-Muslims in 1939, influenced by nationalist leaders, and the party's name was also changed to All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference. Later, the National Conference was given to it once more. Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah rose to prominence as this party's most potent leader, fending off a tribal invasion by Pakistan and helping Jammu and Kashmir join the Indian Union in 1948. In the same year, the National Conference (NC) administration took office. The elimination of large landed estates and the insertion of Article 370, which grants Jammu and Kashmir practically a semi-autonomous position within the Indian polity, were two of the National Conference's greatest achievements. The Congress Party and the National Conference joined in 1965. As part of the Indira-Sheikh agreement, Abdullah relaunched the National Conference after his release from prison in 1975. The NC formally rejected the two-nation thesis and reaffirmed its support for socialism, democracy, and secularism. Before he passed away in 1982, he arranged for his son Farooq to be chosen as the National Conference's president in the manner of dynastic succession. Farooq was appointed Chief Minister upon the passing of his father.

The Congress Party and G. M. Shah, the Sheikh's son-in-law, worked together to overthrow Farooq's administration. Farooq led National Conference in both the 1984 parliamentary election and the 1987 assembly election, demonstrating the group's ongoing control over the Kashmiri people. In 1990, Farooq Abdullah's administration was overthrown, and President's control was imposed in Kashmir. After winning the assembly elections in 1996, the National Conference regained political control of the state.

11.27 The Telugu Desam Party (TDP)

The Telugu Desam Party (TDP) was established in 1982 by the matinee idol N T Ramarao (NTR) in Andhra Pradesh. In 1983 assembly election it came to power in state assembly elections. Because of widespread public dissatisfaction with the Congress as a result of the central leadership's imposition of unpopular Chief Ministers in the state, extensive corruption, and the charismatic leadership of N T Ramarao, the TDP has experienced a spectacular increase. The advent of the TDP is also viewed as the Kamma caste gaining political power in Andhra politics at the expense of the Reddies and Brahmins. Following in the footsteps of EV RamaswamyNaicker in Tamil Nadu, NTR spoke of restoring the Telugu pride that had been damaged by the Congress administration. N. T. Ramarao believed that a regional party was necessary to comprehend the state's problems' complexity. He favoured low-cost rice, land reforms, urban income caps, and other populist policies. The independence of Andhra from the Indian Union has never been discussed by the Telugu Desam. It joined the National Front administration at the centre in 1989. In the same year that it lost the assembly elections, it only took home one of the twenty-two Lok Sabha seats. In the assembly elections held in 1994 and 1999, the party beat the Congress party.

The son-in-law of NTR, Chandrababu Naidu, was appointed Chief Minister in 1995. The TDP benefited from its electoral partnership with the BJP by winning the 1999 assembly election and increasing its representation in the Lok Sabha. The TDP has been a significant force in national politics in the period of coalition politics.

11.28 The Assam GanaParishad (AGP)

The All Assam Students Union (AASU) and its political arm, the All Assam GanaSangramParishad, were in the forefront of a powerful student movement that produced the Assam GanaParishad (AGP) (ASGPC). The students brought up the widespread migration of Nepalese, Bihari, and Muslim Benglis from East Pakistan, which became Bangladesh in 1971, to Assam. They began to acquire a fear of being overrun by immigrants in their own country. They were upset that the migrants were being used as a voting bloc by the Congress party and the federal government. The Assamese educated middle class' goals were symbolised by the AASU and the AAGSP. Due to Bengali dominance in the administration and Marwari dominance in the business, they discovered that opportunities for upward mobility were constrained. The Assamese people's cultural, social, and linguistic identity and history are to be protected, preserved, and promoted, according to a 1985 agreement between the central government and the Assamese Association for Gender Studies and Policy. In 1985, the Assam GanaParishad was established. Under the direction of Prafulla Kumar Mohanta, it ran in and won the assembly election in 1989. The 1996 assembly election was won by the BJP and AGP coalition. The AGP only garnered 20 members in the 2001 assembly elections, while the Congress regained control with 71 seats.

11.29 The Jharkhand Party

The Adivasi Mahasabha, which was established in 1938 to preserve Adivasi ethnic identity and to safeguard and advance their economic interests, is where the Jharkhad Party's origins can be discovered. They believed that British rule was the primary cause of their social and economic underdevelopment. Additionally, they blamed the contractors and moneylenders for their exploitation. The government was also at fault for its indifference to their actual issues. To create a separate state for the tribal people, the Adivasi Mahasabha was renamed the Jharkhand party in 1950. In the elections for the Bihar legislative assembly in 1952, 1957, and 1962, the Party became the main opposition party. The Jharkhand Movement suffered a great deal from the 1963 merger of the Jharkhand Party and the Congress Party. Many splinter groups and individuals tried to reorganise the party to combine them in order to successfully realise the long-cherished dream of a separate state, but they were unsuccessful. Many parties formed in the post-1963 era, including the Jharkhand Party of India, the All India Tehrdia Party, The Hul Jharkhand Party, the Jharkhand

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MuktiMorcha, and the Jharkhand & Coordination Committee. In the general election of 1980, the Jharkhand MuktiMorcha emerged as the dominant party and won the majority of the seats it ran for. To continue the fight for a separate state, the JMM reorganised with the Jharkhand Party.

Summary

In this section, you have read about six regional parties in addition to four sets of national political parties. These national parties are the BahujanSamaj Party, the Communist Parties, the Bharatiya Janata Party, and the Congress (I). The DMK and AIADMK, the SAD, the NC, the TDP, the AGP, and the Jharkhand Party are among the regional parties covered in this unit. The Congress (I) has a social base that is primarily made up of high castes, minorities, and Scheduled Castes and is committed to the ideas of socialism, secularism, and democracy. Recently, its social foundation has changed. The BJP, which is the Bharatiya Jana Sangh's successor, adheres to five ideologies, including nationalism, as well as value-based politics, democracy, constructive secularism, Gandhian Socialism, and national integration. The communist parties support the creation of a socialist society based on the Marxist and Leninist revolutionary tenets. If the working class seizes political power, this is feasible. The working class, middle class, poor peasants, and agricultural labourers make up the majority of the communist parties' social base. The BahujanSamaj, or majority segment of society made up of dalits, OBCs, and minorities, is what the BSP advocates for.

The regional, cultural, and developmental elements have a greater impact on the regional parties' programmes and mobilisation tactics.

Keywords

Election, Politics, Political Party, Congress, Ideology, Policies, Participation.

Self Assessment

1. Which of the following is a national party:
 - A. National Conference
 - B. Communist Party of India
 - C. Jharkhand party
 - D. AamAadmi Party

2. What is the number of national level parties at present in India.
 - A. 7
 - B. 3
 - C. 11
 - D. 24

3. What is the minimum time period required for a political party to be recognised as a regional party:
 - A. 5 years
 - B. 10 years
 - C. 25 years
 - D. 50 years

4. What is the number of unrecognised/unregistered parties in in at present:
 - A. 1000
 - B. 3000
 - C. 3500
 - D. 2000

5. When was the Indian National Congress founded:
 - A. 1800
 - B. 1885
 - C. 1945
 - D. 1900

6. The first prime minister of India Jawahar Lal Nehru belonged to which party:
 - A. TeleguDesam Party
 - B. Bhartiya Janta Party
 - C. Indian National Congress
 - D. Communist party

7. Which party won the 2014 national elections in India:
 - A. TeleguDesam Party
 - B. Bhartiya Janta Party
 - C. Indian National Congress
 - D. Communist party

8. The Bhartiya Jana Sangh was founded by
 - A. Narender Modi
 - B. Atal Bihari Vajpayee
 - C. Syama Prasad Mukherjee
 - D. Indira Gandhi

9. What is the Youth wing of BhartiyaJanta Party called?
 - A. BhartiyaYuvaSangh
 - B. BhartiyaJantaYuvaMoracha
 - C. ABVP
 - D. MahilaMoracha

10. The Communist party of India belongs to which of these ideologies:
 - A. The Left Wing
 - B. The Right Wing
 - C. The center Wing
 - D. None of the above

11. The ShiromoniAkali Dal party is based in which state of India:
 - A. Jammu and Kashmir
 - B. Himachal Pradesh
 - C. Punjab
 - D. Gujrat

12. The Indian National Congress was founded in which of the following places:
 - A. Delhi
 - B. Kolkata
 - C. Bombay

- D. Hyderabad
13. The election in India are conducted by:
- A. Home Ministry
 - B. Election commission of India
 - C. NITI Ayog
 - D. Reserve bank of India
14. Which of the following is a state/regional party?
- A. Indian National Congress
 - B. Bhartiya Janta Party
 - C. All India Trinamool Congress
 - D. TeleguDesam Party
15. Which party has a strong Marxist belief:
- A. Indian National Congress
 - B. Bhartiya Janta Party
 - C. Communist Party of India (M)
 - D. Telegu Desam Party

Answers for Self Assessment

- | | | | | |
|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| 1. B | 2. A | 3. A | 4. D | 5. B |
| 6. C | 7. B | 8. C | 9. B | 10. A |
| 11. C | 12. C | 13. B | 14. D | 15. C |

Review Questions

1. Write a detailed note on the ideology & basis of Indian National Congress?
2. What are the types of Political parties in India? Describe them in detail.
3. White detailed description on the regional and national parties of India?
4. Write a short note about any three regional political parties of India?
5. Write a short note about any two national political parties of India?

Unit 12: Electoral Politics: Participation and Contestation

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- In this topic we will try to understand the concept of electoral politics in India.
- We will study how an individual participates in the elections.
- We will also study how a citizen can contest the elections.

Introduction

Politics that takes place in the setting of elections is referred to as electoral politics.

Election politics begin even before elections are held, even though they happen at a specific time. Consequently, electoral politics encompasses not only the holding of elections but also the methods used by political parties and leaders to mobilize their supporters to cast ballots. The success of democracy is determined by how free and fair elections are conducted and how many members of various social groups participate. With a few exceptions, every adult in India who is 18 years of age or older can now vote in elections and, after reaching a certain age, can run for office thanks to the introduction of the universal adult franchise with the ratification of the Constitution in 1950. In India, it was not until the general election of 1951–1952 that every adult was able to vote.

Prior to it, there was only restricted franchise available in India.

It means that only specific groups of people—those who were wealthy, paid rent to the government, and had educational credentials—were allowed to vote and run for office. There are two types of elections that affect voter participation: direct elections and indirect elections. People choose their representatives in direct elections. In indirect elections, voters choose their representatives by way of MLAs or MLCs at the state level or MPs at the national level. For the positions of President, Vice-President of Politics, or Rajya Sabha Members, indirect elections are held. You will read about the political climate surrounding direct elections in Indian states in this unit. The Lok Sabha, Legislative Assemblies, and institutions of local governance, such as Panchayati Raj Institutions in the rural areas and municipalities in the urban areas, are the three types of institutions into which members are elected in India. Between 1951 and 1971, general Lok Sabha elections and legislative assembly elections were held concurrently in India. They have been

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held apart since 1971. Elections to the Lok Sabha and state legislative assemblies have been held more often in India throughout the years, particularly since the 1990s.

The hallmark of liberal constitutional democracy is elections. India adopted a federal form of government, and one of its provisions is the establishment of the Election Commission, which is responsible for organizing and conducting free and fair elections. The elections for the Indian Parliament as well as the state legislative assemblies and councils are covered under Part XV of the Indian Constitution. The organization in charge of managing elections in India is the Election Commission of India, as stated in Article 324. Election Commission of India is the institution responsible for the management of elections at the union and the state level. Article 170 of the Indian constitution has provisions about elections for the state assemblies.

12.1 Explaining Electoral Politics in Indian States

A good amount of literature has been written about Indian electoral politics, party structures, and political leadership. The field of research for elections is called psephology. We can learn about the broad characteristics of Indian electoral politics from the literature. State politics as a field of study rose in popularity in India after the Congress' demise by the late 1960s, as you may have read in unit 1. And at this time, state level parties had formed in a number of states, as you may have read in unit 9. Some of these were established by well-known figures with solid followings in their respective states. Many of these emerging figures have previously served in the Congress. The rise of various social groups and their goals in various states are reflected in the emergence of regional level leaders and parties. The majority of these ambitions were influenced by things like area, caste, language, religion, and culture. During the 1990s, these political parties – also known as regional or state parties – gradually came to play a significant position in national politics.

Some of these figures were influential in shaping national politics and policy at that level. The case of Charan Singh is crucial in this regard. He had previously influenced politics, policymaking, and leadership in his home state of Uttar Pradesh until the 1960s. Later, he played a significant role in the creation of national policies (especially during the Janata Party regime in 1977-1979), as well as in the politics of north Indian states like UP, Haryana, and Bihar. In addition, he served briefly as Prime Minister of India. Agrarian policies were effectively shaped and the issue of OBC reservation in central government institutions was brought to light by Janata Party leaders like Charan Singh and the socialists. Through their efforts, the Janata Party government, which was led by Prime Minister Morarji Desai, appointed the Mandal Commission in 1978. The Janata Party governments in UP and Bihar implemented reservations for OBCs in state government employment at the time, reflecting this trend. Since the 1990s, there have been more state-level political parties and leaders. The emergence of the BJP and the BSP, both of which Kanshi Ram founded, in the northern Indian states has focused attention on the issues of social justice and the place of religion in electoral politics. In addition, as you read in unit 9, each Indian state has multiple political parties. The sort of party system is implied by the number of parties. And there are essentially two sorts of party systems in India: multiparty systems and two party systems. Election politics are characterized by two types of party systems: two party system or multiparty systems. Competition between them is a characteristic of electoral politics. It is significant to remember that state-level or local parties do not exclusively control electoral politics in the states. Participating in them are even the national parties. As a result, both national and state parties take part in electoral politics in the state, either on their own or in coalition with other parties at the local, state, or federal levels.

Since the 1960s, elections in India have been researched. To analyses elections in India, primarily three methodological stances have been taken: survey research, "ecological" analysis, and fieldwork or ethnography. In India, Rajni Kothari and Myron Weiner were the first to conduct survey-based election studies. Election studies have gone through several stages since the 1960s. With the analysis of the 1984 Lok Sabha election by David Butler and Prannoy Roy, election studies saw a resurgence in popularity after a lapse of about 20 years (Singh 2021; Ch. 4). Politics was studied by various academics in various states. Since then, efforts to understand politics have persisted. These studies concentrated on many facets of state politics, such as elections, parties, leadership, and mobilisation patterns. From the 1990s onward, election studies gained in popularity. The Centre for the Studies of Developing Societies is in charge of overseeing election studies in India.

Additionally, individual academics do their own election research.

In addition to election research, a poll on voting behavior is a topic of analysis. Opinion surveys and election research are not the same. The former's focus is broader and tries to connect the election process with social, economic, and political settings or issues. The latter is limited to learning voters' perspectives on how they intend to cast their ballots.

12.2 Electoral Politics and Democratization

Since the final decade of the 20th century, India's electoral politics have undergone two significant changes. First, more people from different social groups participated in the election process. Women, tribals, Dalits, OBCs, and rural classes made up the majority of these groups, which were also mostly excluded from society. Election participation has increased as a result of a watchful election commission and a development in political awareness of the importance of voting. Second, there have been notable changes in the characteristics of the people's representatives in the state legislative assemblies. The majority of the people's representatives in the first several decades following independence belonged to socially and economically more favored classes. The late 1980s saw a change in this pattern, and the parliament's makeup significantly broadened. In addition to the high castes, the participation of OBCs, Dalits, women, and other groups has significantly expanded.

They are not all the same across the states, though. Rise of the Plebeians, a collection of essays from several states compiled by Christophe Jaffrot and Sanjay Kumar (2009)? The Changing Face of Indian Legislative Assemblies demonstrates how caste, gender, age, career, and age profiles of people's representatives have changed. It has a higher proportion of plebeians. Nevertheless, this pattern differs in different Indian states.

Electoral politics in India, according to some observers, have increased democratization. In academic and popular discourse, weaker groups including Dalits, OBCs, women, and religious minorities are sometimes referred to as "bahujans" (majority groups). Yogendra Yadav refers to the increase in their electoral participation over the latter two decades of the 20th century as their "second democratic outburst" (2000).

12.3 Election Commission

1. To direct and control the entire process of conducting elections to Parliament and Legislature of every State and to the offices of President and Vice-President of India.
2. To decide the election schedules for the conduct of periodic and timely elections, whether general or bye-elections
3. To decide on the location of polling stations, assignment of voters to the polling stations, location of counting centres, arrangements to be made in and around polling stations and counting centres and all allied matters
4. To prepare electoral roll and issues Electronic Photo Identity Card (EPIC)
5. To grant recognition to political parties & allot election symbols to them along with settling disputes related to it
6. To set limits of campaign expenditure per candidate to all the political parties, and also monitors the same
7. To advise in the matter of post-election disqualification of sitting members of Parliament and State Legislatures.
8. To issue the Model Code of Conduct in the election for political parties and candidates so that no one indulges in unfair practice or there is no arbitrary abuse of powers by those in power.

12.4 According to the Citizenship Act, which provides the citizens of India with protection under the 15th Amendment, all citizens have the right to vote, regardless of their race, colour, or history of servitude.

According to the Indian Election Commission, citizens can cast ballots if they meet the following requirements:

1. Every citizen who is 18 years old on the qualifying date (January 1 of the year in case) unless disqualified, is eligible to be enrolled.

2. Enrollment only at ordinary place of residence.
3. Enrollment only at one place.
4. Overseas Indian deemed to be ordinarily resident at the address given in passport.
5. Service voters deemed to be ordinarily resident at their home address.

12.5 Who cannot vote:

Those citizens who have been declared by the law that they are unstable to vote or barred due to corrupt practices or any illegal act relating to elections are not entitled to be a voter.

A person who is not a citizen of India cannot be registered in the electoral rolls.

Once a citizen is eligible to vote and has enrolled as a voter, a voter slip from the election commission will be issued which confirms the citizen's name on the voter list. This slip, along with a photo ID proof recognized by the Election Commission, can act as a voter card. If the resident fails to get the voter slip, they can check online or call the helpline to find out.

12.6 Identity-proof

The ECI has made voter identification mandatory at the time of polls. In order to cast your vote, you have to show your Voter ID Card issued by the ECI or any other proof allowed by the ECI.

If a person does not have a voter ID card, they can use other documents specified by the Election Commission. To register as a voter, you need the following documents:

1. A filled voter registration form
2. Copy of proof of residence
3. Copy of proof of age and identity
4. Two recent passport-size photographs

12.7 Right to Vote in India

- 'The right to Vote' in India is a **Constitutional right**.
- The rights that are enshrined in the Indian Constitution and conferred on the citizens of India, and do not fall under the domain of Part III, are known as constitutional rights.
- The Right to Vote is guaranteed by the Constitution of India under Article 326 of the Indian Constitution. Every citizen has to attain the age of 18 to exercise this particular right. Full voting rights were guaranteed to the citizens of India under the concept of 'Universal Suffrage' in 1950.
- The 61st constitutional amendment of 1988 reduced the voting age for elections to Lok Sabha and State Legislative Assemblies from 21 to 18 years.
- However, unlike Fundamental rights, Constitutional rights do not apply to everyone. They are applicable on certain grounds. If any law shows inconsistency with the Constitutional rights, the law itself is declared null and void.
- Fundamental rights are the basic rights guaranteed by the Constitution to every citizen irrespective of caste, creed, religion, sex, or place of birth. However, some Fundamental Rights include foreigners.

12.8 Contesting Elections in India

Qualification:

The Parliament has laid down the following **qualifications** (for contesting election) in the RPA, 1951:

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A person must be an **elector in the constituency**.

The person must be a member of a **Scheduled Caste or Scheduled Tribe** in any state/UTs if he/she wants to contest a **seat reserved** for them.

The minimum age for becoming an MLA/MPs (Lok Sabha) is **25 years**.

At the panchayat and municipality levels, the minimum age limit for contesting elections is **21 years**.

Self Assessment

1. What is the minimum age for person to contest an election for a legislative assembly seat?
 - A. 18
 - B. 35
 - C. 25
 - D. 21
2. What is the minimum age for person to contest an election for a panchayat or municipality seat?
 - A. 18
 - B. 35
 - C. 25
 - D. 21
3. Voting is a _____ right in India.
 - A. Birth
 - B. Fundamental
 - C. Educational
 - D. None of the above
4. Which constitutional amendment reduced the voting age for elections to Lok Sabha and State Legislative Assemblies from 21 to 18 years.
 - A. 61st
 - B. 60th
 - C. 59th
 - D. 58th
5. The Right to Vote is guaranteed by the Constitution of India under which Article of the Indian Constitution?
 - A. 323
 - B. 326
 - C. 325
 - D. 324
6. In which year Full voting rights were guaranteed to the citizens of India under the concept of 'Universal Suffrage'?
 - A. 1945
 - B. 1950
 - C. 1955
 - D. 1960

7. What is the maximum age to contest elections in India?
 - A. Sixty
 - B. Seventy
 - C. Eighty
 - D. None of the above.

8. Which identity proof is given by election commission of India to vote in an election?
 - A. Aadhar Card
 - B. Passbook
 - C. Voters Id Card
 - D. Ration card

9. If a person is not a citizen of India can he vote in the elections?
 - A. No
 - B. Yes

10. The organization in charge of managing elections in India is the Election Commission of India, as stated in Article _____?
 - A. 321
 - B. 322
 - C. 323
 - D. 324

Answers for Self Assessment

- | | | | | |
|------|------|------|------|-------|
| 1. C | 2. D | 3. B | 4. A | 5. B |
| 6. B | 7. D | 8. C | 9. A | 10. D |

Review Questions

1. Write a detailed note of the Election Commission of India.
2. Write a detailed note on the contestation of elections in India.
3. What is right to vote? Explain in detail.
4. Write in detail the qualification for contesting elections in India?
5. Describe the electoral politics in India?

Unit 13: Election and Emerging Trends in India: Representation and Emerging Trends in India.

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Summary

Keywords

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Review Questions

Objectives

- In this chapter we will try to understand different types of representations.
- We will look into the methods of representation of people in India.
- We will also try to understand different trends in the Indian elections.

Introduction

The main characteristic of politics is that it always evolves in response to changing circumstances and the passage of time. This is also the position of Indian politics. Before independence, Indian politics had a different nature, but since independence, many modifications have been made to it. After assessing its performance since independence, we discover that a large number of new tendencies have evolved, profoundly altering the essence of Indian politics. India is a diversified country, and as a result, different castes, faiths, minorities, and individuals who speak different languages have influenced Indian politics, leading to the emergence of numerous new trends. A brief summary of these trends is provided below.

13.1 Representation through elections

The representation of people in India is done by leaders through electing them. At the national level through electing their representatives for the Parliament and at the state level by electing their representatives for the legislative assemblies.

With a parliamentary style of government and a constitutional democracy, India is committed to holding free and fair elections on a regular basis for representation of the citizens.

Elections in India are incredible spectacles of political mobilisation and organisational complexity, determining the make-up of the government, the membership of the two houses of parliament, the state and union territory legislative assemblies, and the Presidency and vice presidency.

13.2 First Past the Post

In this system, voters elect one representative, and the winner is determined by the candidate receiving the most votes.

- The winning candidate does not have to receive a majority of the votes in order to be declared the winner in this system; rather, whoever receives more votes than all other candidates is deemed the winner.
- The First Past the Post (FPTP) system is the name of this procedure.
- The Plurality System is another name for this strategy.
- This is the electoral process that the Constitution mandates.

13.3 Proportional representation

- Each party selects the number of its nominees from a preference list that was made public prior to the elections in order to fill the number of seats that are allotted to it.
- According to this system, a party receives the same number of seats as its share of the vote.
- For indirect elections, we have limited use of the PR system in India.
- For the selection of the President, Vice President, members of the Rajya Sabha, and Vidhan Parishads, the Constitution establishes a third, more complicated PR method.

13.4 Comparison between First Past the Post and Proportional representation

First Past the Post

- Constituencies and districts are the smallest geographic divisions within a country.
- A single representative is chosen by each constituency.
- The voter selects a candidate.
- In the legislature, a party may receive more seats than votes.

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- The winning candidate may not receive a majority.

Example: India and the UK

Proportional representation

- Constituencies are defined as broad geographic areas.
- One constituency may be the entire nation.
- A constituency may elect more than one representative.
- The voter selects the party.
- According to its share of the vote, each party receives a certain number of seats in the legislature.
- The winning candidate receives a majority of the vote.

Netherlands and Israel are two examples.

13.5 Why India Chose the First Past the Post system?

- The FPTP system's success and popularity can be attributed to its ease of use.
- The entire electoral process is quite easy to comprehend, especially for regular voters who may lack expert political and electoral knowledge.
- A decision that was made very obvious to the electorate at election time.
- Depending on the nature of actual politics, voters may either attach greater significance to the party or to the candidate or balance the two.
- Voters merely have to endorse a candidate or a party while casting a ballot.
- Voters have a choice under the FPTP system between particular candidates as well as parties.
- In a constituency-based system like the FPTP, people may hold their own representative accountable because they are aware of who they are.

13.6 Why didn't India choose the Proportional Representation System?

In a parliamentary system, PR-based elections might not be appropriate for producing a stable administration.

This system necessitates a majority in the legislature for the executive.

Because seats in the legislature would be distributed according to vote share, the PR system might not result in a clear majority.

A PR system would encourage each community to create its own national party in a diverse nation like India.

13.7 Why FPTP system?

- The largest party or coalition typically receives additional bonus seats under FPTP, beyond what their percentage of the vote would permit
- By assisting in the development of a stable administration, this approach allows for the efficient and effective operation of parliamentary government. The FPTP method has shown to be straightforward and well-known to regular voters, while the FTPT system encourages voters from various social groups to band together in order to win an election in a locality.
- Larger parties have benefited from it by winning resounding majorities at the federal and state levels.
- Political parties that receive all of their votes from a single caste or group have been discouraged by the system.

13.8 Reservation of constituencies

- All voters in a constituency are able to cast ballots under this system, but the candidates can only come from the community or social group for which the seat is designated.
- The Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are given seats reserved in the Lok Sabha and State Legislative Assemblies under the Constitution. Due to subsequent constitutional modifications, the original 10-year duration of this provision has been increased to 2020.
- When the reservation time expires, the Parliament may decide to further prolong it. Who determines which electoral district will be reserved? What criteria was used to make this decision?
- Taken by an independent body called the Delimitation Commission.
- The Delimitation Commission is appointed by the President of India and works in collaboration with the Election Commission of India.
- Selected to create the boundaries of the various constituencies across the nation.
- Depending on the percentage of SC or ST residents in a State, a set number of constituencies must be reserved in that State.
- The Delimitation Commission examines the demographics of each seat after drafting the borders. The ST are only allowed in the districts with the largest percentage of Scheduled Tribe residents.
- The Delimitation Commission considers two factors when deciding how to divide up Scheduled Castes. It chooses congressional districts where the number of Scheduled Castes is more prevalent. However, it also disperses these constituencies over the State's several regions. Because the population of Scheduled Castes is often distributed equitably across the nation, this is done.

13.9 Emerging Trends in the Indian Elections:

Unholy and Unprincipled Alliances

It has been clear over the past few years that political parties are preparing to establish alliances with all other political parties in order to gain and maintain political power. Politics of opportunism and expediency can sometimes result from political parties joining together even when they do not share the same ideologies.

For instance, the BhartiyaJanta Party and the BahujanSamaj Party ran against each other in mudslinging during the election campaign in Uttar Pradesh's assembly elections in February 2002. However, following the election, the BhartiyaJanta Party and the BahujanSamaj Party came together to establish a coalition government, which was led by Ms. Mayawati.

13.10 Pre-Poll and Post-Poll Alliances and Coalition Governments

After the decline of Congress, both in the Centre and the States, the period of the politics of alliances began in India. Generally, the bases of these alliances have been political opportunism and not ideological. This arrangement started in the states in 1966 and in the Centre in 1977. In 1966, Congress Party lost its monopoly over political power in many states. As an alternative to it the different political parties joined together and formed the governments of United Front, but this experiment did not succeed.

As a result, practically all political parties now appear to be forced to form electoral alliances. Even while gaining political power is the goal of each and every one of these coalitions, we can nonetheless categorise them into two groups: pre-election alliances and post-election alliances. Pre-poll alliance formed by the Congress Party, Nationalist Congress Party, DMK, Trinamool Congress Party, National Conference, JMM, and other political parties to run in the 15th Lok Sabha elections. But occasionally, a few parties come together to create an alliance to form a government after the ejections, and this is known as a post-poll alliance. Even though both of these alliances share the same goals, pre-poll partnerships are still preferred above post-poll ones.

13.11 Politics of Defection

In India, political parties are plagued with the evil of defection, which promotes opportunistic and unscrupulous politics and causes political instability. This crime started in 1966. As a result of the Congress Party losing its monopoly on political power in the states, coalition governments were formed, which proved to be rather unstable. In order to sustain these governments, other parties were urged to defect.

There were 438 defections in a single year. The pace of defection slowed down after the 1972 elections. However, with the declaration of emergency in 1975, members of several political parties sought safety within the Congress Party.

However, the Janta Party formed the government in the Centre when the Congress Party lost the 1977 elections. Numerous members of the Congress Party joined the Janta Party as a result of this. Similar situations have occurred in numerous other instances, and on January 1st, 1985, the 52nd Constitutional Amendment was made to curb the evil of defection. However, it was unsuccessful because the legislation already allowed for wholesale defection.

With the intention of making defection more challenging The 91st Constitutional Amendment, passed in December 2003, stipulated that only two-thirds of lawmakers from a political party might join another political party.

13.12 Communalisation of Politics

The British planted the seed of communalism, which has since blossomed into a large tree with deep roots in the soil of India. Following independence, India was proclaimed a secular state and the people were given the right to religious freedom under Articles 25 to 28 in an effort to eradicate communalism.

Additionally, the concept of joint electorates was established and communal representation was eliminated.

Thousands of racial conflicts have broken out up to this point, resulting in thousands of fatalities and the destruction of property worth billions of dollars.

Numerous racial events had occurred in Aligarh Muslim University in 1961, Srinagar in 1963, Maharashtra in 1966, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal, and Assam in 1968, Allahabad in 1969, Bhiwandi in 1970, and Delhi, Allahabad, etc. in 1979.

In fact, different political parties want to keep alive such issues, so that they are able to exploit the innocent people in order to promote their political interests. In these days' religious slogans are being raised in the parliament and instead of their loyalty towards country, they express their loyalty towards their religion. The religious symbols are being used as political tools and secular India is watching all this as a silent spectator.

13.13 Criminalisation of Politics

While democracy and violence are incompatible, India is increasingly turning to violent tactics to advance its political objectives. Numerous politicians have been killed to this day, and numerous religious and political figures sit in legislative bodies.

According to the information released by Election Commission, more than 40 members of 11th Lok Sabha and about 700 legislators were such against whom some sort of criminal cases were registered. Such people by becoming the members of parliament and legislatures enjoy so many privileges and some time the law finds itself helpless in reaching upto such persons. Even today, many legislators of Uttar Pradesh were in jails but they play politics from jails through their mobile phones.

13.14 Politics of Casteism

Despite the fact that caste, colour, creed, religion, and other forms of discrimination have been outlawed by the Indian constitution, caste politics still appear to have a significant influence in India. Caste is the most significant political party in India, thus we can say that caste in India has been politicised, according to Jai Prakash Narayan.

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Caste politics still seem to have a large impact in India, despite the fact that caste, colour, creed, religion, and other types of discrimination have been outlawed by the Indian constitution. According to Jai Prakash Narayan, caste is the most important political party in India, therefore we can conclude that caste in that country has become politicised. In the states of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Haryana, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, etc., the caste conflict is still very pronounced today. However, all of this is detrimental to Indian politics. The negative effects of this are fairly obvious as caste, religion, race, and other factors are increasingly used to further divide Indian society.

13.15 Growing influence of Money Power on Politics

The influence of financial power on Indian politics is also present; wealthy citizens have a significant impact on it.

They provide financial support to political parties prior to elections and get rewards afterwards. Although the Election Commission has set the maximum amount of money that can be spent during elections, in practise much more money is spent than is allowed, and a large chunk of this money comes from black money, which feeds politics.

Politicians today want to acquire as much money as they can using legal or illegal ways, thus it is impossible to rule out the possibility that they were involved in significant frauds. They utilise financial influence to gain nominations, and once they do, they must spend millions of dollars on the election. After winning the election, they must once more win over their party's leaders in order to advance to ministerial positions, etc. The politicians aim to raise as much money as they can for the upcoming elections after being assigned to prominent positions. They turn their self-serving into public service in this way. Therefore, it is necessary to remove money power's negative impact from politics.

13.16 Personality cult in Politics

Our economic, social, and political system was founded on feudal principles prior to independence, and not much changed even thereafter.

Even now, a few wealthy and elite individuals still have a say in politics and political institutions. Indians appear to have a strong sense of personality cult and place more faith in their leader than in the party's ideology. Votes are requested in the candidate's name and party supporters are urged to support the candidate's position as leader. Even the names of many political parties in India are based on the party leader's name.

13.17 Politics of Vendatta

Over the past few years, India has seen the improper spread of Vendatta politics. In recent times, situations that occurred in Punjab, Tamil Nadu, and Uttar Pradesh serve as examples of how the leaders of the ruling parties continue to strategize how to punish their opponents rather than providing the people with clean government. During his time as chief minister, Sh. K. Karunanidhi, the leader of the D.M.K., detained Ms. Jayalalitha, the head of the AIADMK, on suspicion of corruption. However, the D.M.K. party lost the subsequent assembly elections, and A.I.A.D.M.K. took the helm. The procedure was then repeated by Ms. Jayalalitha. She ordered the arrest of K. Karunanidhi and a few other D.M.K. Party leaders after assuming the position of Chief Minister, and the Centre Government had to step in to restore order. Due to Ms. Mayawati's numerous corruption cases against Sh. Mulayam Singh Yadav, a similar situation arose between her and the latter in the state of Uttar Pradesh. Many critics believed that the Congress government in Punjab was more interested in teaching a lesson to its rivals than in reducing corruption, and the same was true of the current SAD-BJP government.

13.18 Populistic Politics

To win elections, political parties use populist tactics. By evoking populist phrases, the leaders prey on the people's compulsions. For instance, the Congress Party proclaimed "GaribiHatao" in 1971 and again in 1975 in an effort to win over voters using a 20-point platform.

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The Janta Party ran on the platform of "Democracy V/s Dictatorship" during the 1977 Lok Sabha elections, whereas the Congress Party ran on the platform of "Stability V/s Anarchy."

Similar to how the Congress Party ran on a platform of "Stability and Development," the Bhartiya Janta Party ran on "Ram, Roti, and Naya," while the Janta Dal ran on "Social Justice." However, there was no particular wave in support of any political party other than that of gaining some notoriety.

13.19 Politics of Mass Rallies

Mass-rally politics have carved out a unique place for themselves in Indian politics. Public rallies are held by the ruling parties to demonstrate their support and power. The opposition parties also organise open rallies to expose the inadequacies of the administration. In reality, the politics of large gatherings started in 1975 when Indira Gandhi declared a state of internal emergency. To support the declaration of an emergency, Smt. Gandhi's supporters organised large protests in Delhi. Prior to this, Jai Parkash Narayan led large-scale rallies around the nation with the intention of drawing attention to the shortcomings of the government. In response, the Congress Party organised large-scale rallies to demonstrate its widespread support, and this process of gunmanship persisted for a considerable amount of time. These days, it appears that the politics of mass demonstrations has grown to be a significant and indispensable aspect of Indian politics. The various political parties now stage large-scale demonstrations to mark the conclusion of one, two, five, etc. years of their respective parties' rule, and the leaders' birthdays are widely observed. For\seg: The National Democratic Alliance conducted a big demonstration in Delhi's Ram Lila Ground in March 2003 to mark the end of the Vajpayee administration's five years in office. The Congress Party then held a similar event in response. The general public had to deal with a lot of discomfort as a result of these large-scale protests, and occasionally when these protests turn violent, property worth crores of rupees is destroyed and numerous priceless lives are lost. But the authorities pay it no mind. Their exclusive focus is on demonstrating their large support base and exalting their leadership.

13.20 Decline of Value based Politics

Many people gave their lives to maintain the beliefs and ideas on which the liberation movement was built. Thousands of patriots were slaughtered, and millions of people were imprisoned.

As their goal was the development of their fellow beings rather than their own development, the leaders of the first batch played a significant role in the restoration of the nation after independence. They believed that political power should be used as a method to improve the welfare of the populace and the development of their nation. But over time, politics' aim or purpose remained intact.

The leaders' main goal now is to gain political power, and to do so, they are prepared to use any strategy, good or evil. Election-winning strategies openly include the use of money, muscle, and preparation for the employment of any number of unethical tactics.

They form unholy and unethical partnerships and are constantly prepared to overthrow the opposition political parties. The parties engage in caste politics, utilise religion as a weapon, and engage in personal attacks on one another. Numerous scams are also a result of this phenomenon. Politics is employed to further the principle of self-aggrandizement, which has taken over life.

13.21 Practice of Outside Support

Along with the custom of coalition governments in India, the custom of outside assistance for the government has also begun. The BJP and Left Parties provided outside assistance for the 1989 V.P. Singh government. Again, the Congress Party provided outside backing to the Chander Shekhar government that was established in 1990. The Congress Party once more provided outside assistance to the governments of Sh. H.D. Deve Gowda in 1996 and Sh. Inder Kumar Gujral in 1997.

The Telugu Desam Party and Left Front both provided outside support to the governments led by Sh. A.B. Vajpayee and the United Progressive Alliance, respectively. On July 8, 2008, this support was withdrawn due to the nuclear deal with the United States.

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Political parties that support the government from outside but do not participate in it are in a position of power without accountability. They claim entire credit for the government's successes even when they are not to blame for the shortcomings of the government.

Utilizing outside assistance fosters opportunism and fosters instability.

13.22 Decline of the position of the parliament

India practises parliamentary democracy, which is predicated on the idea that the Parliament is supreme. The Council of Ministers is accountable to the lower chamber of the Parliament and remains in office until it has the support of the majority in the lower house. The members of the Parliament are the actual natives of the people who were chosen by them on the basis of universal adult franchise.

In addition, Parliament serves as a forum for debate and policymaking on matters that affect the nation. The opposition has the opportunity to express its own viewpoint and hold the administration accountable. However, over the past few years, the Parliament's standing has declined. For instance, the Lok Sabha only met for 46 days in 2008, the shortest period in India's independent history. In addition, 125 members of the 14th Lok Sabha had criminal proceedings filed against them; in the 15th Lok Sabha, that number rose to 150, which was a stain on the otherwise honourable reputation of Indian democracy. National Election Watch reports that 37 members of the Council of States have a questionable record. On November 30, 2009, Smt. Meria Kumar, the Lok Sabha Speaker, had to terminate the question period an hour early since 31 of the 38 members who had submitted questions were not present.

13.23 The Erosion of Power of the Prime Minister

The Prime Minister occupies a unique role under parliamentary administration. He is considered to be the sun that all the planets circle around. He has entire authority over the Council of Ministers' life and death and is completely independent when it comes to the selection of his Council of Ministers, allocating ministers' portfolios, and removing ministers from office. However, the Prime Minister's authority has decreased since the coalition era in Indian politics began. He must now consider these issues and the suggestions of his coalition partners while forming his Council of Ministers, limiting his ability to do so. The list of the ministers to be included in the Council of Ministers is prepared by the leaders of the coalition partners. They also put pressure on the Prime Minister to get the portfolios of their choice. Beside this, the Prime Minister is bound to follow the Common Minimum Programme and also to consult the 'Chairperson of Alliance' almost on all the issues.

Even though Dr. Manmohan Singh personified the strength of the Prime Minister's position following the results of the 15th Lok Sabha when he formed his Council of Ministers in May 2009, the Prime Minister still needs to make a lot of concessions because the coalition government is unstable and could collapse at any time.

Summary

It can be stated that the Indian Political System has been impacted by the numerous unfavourable trends that have evolved in Indian politics. Despite making up 50% of the population, women currently represent only 14.39% of the Lok Sabha.

Many times, attempts have been made to introduce and pass constitutional amendment legislation with the goal of allocating 33% of the seats for them in the State and Federal legislatures. However, these efforts were unsuccessful, and even today, about 26% of the population lives below the poverty line, necessitating the provision of social and economic justice. India still has a 35% illiteracy rate. Similar to this, many Indians pass away without receiving prompt medical attention, and all of these issues pose difficulties for the Indian political system. In order for India to become a true welfare state, the politicians must put aside the Mandir and Masjid controversy and focus on finding solutions to the issues of food, clothing, and housing.

Keywords

Representation, Election, Politics, India, Votes, Democracy, Parliament.

Self Assessment

1. Which organisation in India is responsible for conducting elections?
 - A. Election Commission of India
 - B. Reserve Bank of India
 - C. NITI Aayog
 - D. University Grants Commission

2. How many constituencies of Lok Sabha are there in India?
 - A. 243
 - B. 434
 - C. 543
 - D. 345

3. Proportional representation system isn't not correct for which of the following:
 - A. Lok Sabha
 - B. Rajya Sabha
 - C. C) President
 - D. Vice president

4. First past the post system exists in which of the following countries?
 - A. USA
 - B. China
 - C. Russia
 - D. India

5. Reservation of constituencies for election is done by which body?
 - A. Home ministry
 - B. Delimitation Commission
 - C. Reservation Commission
 - D. Parliament

6. Delimitation commission is appointed by whome?
 - A. President
 - B. Home Minister
 - C. Prime Minister
 - D. Vice President

7. What is the full form of FPTP?
 - A. First Past The Post
 - B. First Post Then Past
 - C. Fast Post To Past
 - D. First Past to Post

8. The Vice president of India is elected through:
 - A. Personal representation
 - B. Professional representation

- C. Proportional representation
 - D. First Past the Post.
9. Who decides the boundaries of constituencies?
- A. State Government
 - B. Delimitation Commission
 - C. Rajya Sabha
 - D. Prime Minister
10. The 91st constitutional amendment stipulated that only _____ of lawmakers from one party can join another party after they are elected.
- A. 1/6
 - B. 2/3
 - C. 4/5
 - D. d)1/2
11. Who is considered responsible for sowing the seeds of communalism in India politics:
- A. British
 - B. Mughals
 - C. Portuguese
 - D. None of the above

Answers for Self Assessment

1. A 2. C 3. A 4. D 5. B
6. A 7. A 8. C 9. B 10. B
11. A

Review Questions

1. Write a short note on Communal politics in India?
2. Write in detail about proportional representation?
3. What do you understand by FPTP. Explain in detail.
4. Write a short note on reservation of constituencies?
5. Explain in detail the emerging trends in Indian the Election?

Unit 14: Political Processes in India, Challenge and Solution

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Objectives

- To understand the challenges faced due to regionalism
- To understand the challenges faced due to communalism
- To understand the challenges faced due to ethnic upheavals

Introduction

India is known to be the largest democracy in the world. It is also considered to be one of the most complex in character. During last about 60 years of independence India has witnessed both success and failures in running the democratic processes. The country has achieved success in many fields. The Constitution of India has been functioning successfully. We have been able to evolve a viable democratic political system. Our federal system, despite occasional frictions and debates has been a fairly durable political arrangement. On the same token, we can be proud of setting up a strong democratic tradition. We have also achieved a relatively self-reliant economy. There has been commendable breakthrough in science and technological research. Over the years, the country has witnessed a steady coming together of diverse races and ethno-lingual groups, without, however, destroying their larger identities in terms of Indianness. A vast multi-religious, multi ethnic and multi-cultural country has thus been carrying on its democratic experiment fairly successfully. Indian democracy has at the same time been facing serious challenges from some negative trends that have crept in over the years. Of late there has been stagnancy and decay in the political field. Economic development remains controversial. Caste-based, communal, regional and ethnic tensions are growing in such proportions that the unity of the country sometimes appears to be threatened. As responsible citizens of the country we have to go deep into the roots of these problems and intervene for maintenance of harmonious social order and the functioning democratic process. For that, first it is important to understand the nature of challenges - why, where and how these have emerged. The purpose of this unit is to make you aware of some of these serious challenges and to enable you to participate in the system as responsible and proud citizens of a great democratic nation.

14.1 Communalism

Among the various challenges that Indian democracy is facing today, one surely is the rise of narrow communalism. The term communalism in general means the tendency of a socio-religious

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group to attempt to maximize its economic, social and political strength at the expense of other groups. It is also used to describe an organization that seeks to promote the interests of a section of the population, presumably to the detriment of the society as a whole. If we take dictionary meaning of communalism, then we find that it comes from the word 'community'. The term communalism means individual's attachment, or identification with the community to which she/he belongs. In this sense, the term communal is a positive term. What is worrying is the modern phenomenon of communalism that seeks to turn itself into an ideology of political allegiance to a religious community. By 'politicizing' religion, the particular religious groups consider other religious communities as opponents and enemies. Before we discuss the causes and factors behind communal politics it is important to clarify that adherence to a religion is not communalism. Even indulgence in ritualism, superstition, obscurantism, magic, charm and occult practices is not communalism. They are merely irrational, and unscientific orientations of individuals related to themselves and their behavior due to conformist traditions and fear of own. What is wrong in communalism is the subversion of religion itself by misusing it for political purposes. In this process, one religious community is mobilized against another, reducing religion to a political power game. It is also important to note that communalism and communal violence and riots are two distinct stages or aspects. Communalism may not necessarily lead to communal violence. As already mentioned, in communalism the primary factor is creation and consolidation of prejudices among communities. This existence of prejudice may not always lead to violence. Nevertheless, it produces divisiveness and stands in the way of free association of individuals and groups which is a major requirement of democracy. Therefore, it is important to note that it is not only communal violence or communal riots that pose a challenge to social harmony and democracy; it is the very ideology and system of communalism itself that poses problem for healthy democratic functioning.

Communalism is a many-faced phenomenon with diverse causes. It reveals itself in different forms under different sets of circumstances. An analysis of the growth of communalism and communal politics before and after independence points out that the determining role has not been played by religion and culture but by non-religious and non-cultural forces operating in the political and economic system. Seen in historical context, British imperialism used religion as part of its policy of divide and rule. In independent India, politicians are using religion for narrow political purposes - to create vote banks and vested interests in order to fulfill their economic and power interests.

As is well known, the basic objective of British colonialism was economic exploitation of India. For that purpose, they made some changes in the existing economic system and structures. They also introduced English education and new professions and job opportunities. These measures somehow affected different communities differently. To begin with Muslims in particular could not make use of these opportunities. As a result, in due course, the new Muslim middle class found increasing disparity between themselves and the Hindu middle class. But it was too late to come up by themselves. They therefore started looking towards the government for help. The government of the day was keen to consolidate its own position and check the forces of emerging nationalism. It found in this an opportunity to keep the society divided and avoid a united challenge to their power. The imperial government therefore, nurtured and promoted religious differences. They first projected social and cultural variations among different communities and then promoted political divisions by playing up rival social, economic and political claims of Hindus, Muslims, Tribal and lower castes. It is in this historical context that communalism came to acquire the meaning of being opposed to national identity. The response to colonial rule was the rise of national movement. No doubt, the pioneers of the Indian National Movement were great men who hoped to develop political nationalism to secure political ends, irrespective of religious differences. They wanted to keep religion strictly at personal level and away from political principles. The national leaders also adopted the policy of bringing unity from above. Whenever there was a question of any difference on certain issues concerning religion, only the top leadership, not necessarily representatives of communities, were consulted. The national leaders thought that every community in India was homogeneous and well knit, and the communal leaders could easily understand and explain the problems of the community. Masses were never taken into confidence. This method encouraged communal leaders to keep their communities in angry mood. It was easy for them to make use of that to bargain their own positions. The real concern of these leaders was not welfare of their communities but protection of their own vested power and political interests. As such, both British colonial administrative policies and failure of national movement to counter that on a firm social and secular basis, helped in many ways to consolidate the communal, caste, tribal and linguistic identities. Most serious consequence of this was the partition of India and its aftermath in independent India.

As has already been mentioned, communalism in its present form is a modern phenomenon and its roots lie not in religion but in politics and the processes of socioeconomic development. In this, as seen above, the seeds of communalism on religious lines were sown in the early British period. The

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'divide and rule' policy followed by the British was largely responsible for creating a communal divide and later hatred amongst the different communities in India. With the Constitution of India establishing a secular state, providing respect for all religions and ensuring equality for all, it was expected that people will get involved in the working of the new democratic system and will participate in the processes of development. But unfortunately both democracy and the developmental process themselves became causes of raising differences rather than reducing them. At the time of Independence resources were limited and expectations were very high. In this situation planning was introduced to ensure balanced development. But planning could not fully achieve the desired goals. Soon, there emerged a competition for limited resources. In this competition the vested interests found an easy way to mobilize people on caste, communal and regional bases to demand larger share. The propertied and the ruling classes found religion most useful for reinfusing their dominance and control over the common people. It may be mentioned here that no religious community is a homogenous community. In every community there are poor and rich, unemployed and underemployed. In fact, the poor, underemployed and suppressed in every community, have common grievances against the rich and the powerful. The rich and the powerful, therefore, have a vested interest to keep people divided on religious basis rather than allow them to unite on class or economic basis. Similarly, the political parties and those in power, having failed to fulfill the expectations of people, use religion and tradition to divert people's attention from the genuine socioeconomic problems of poverty, ill-health, illiteracy and so on. Almost all political parties having failed to keep their promises for removing inequalities or poverty and afraid of peoples' wrath in elections turn to create and raise communal issues. Some parties tell the minorities that they are being discriminated against by majority dominated governments while others tell majority that governments are engaged in minority appeasement and are neglecting their interests. The frustrated, educated unemployed or underemployed youth, full of energies to act, are particularly targeted to keep them busy in divisive politics. It is in this context that a sizeable portion of the youth in India today has fallen prey to communal leadership and shows greater religious fervor, fundamentalist attitude and nearness to communal identities than ever before. It is not a coincidence that the period of economic crisis that is the decades of 1980s and 1990s has also been worst in terms of communal violence. Poor are not poor because they belong to religion A or religion B. Youth are not unemployed because of their religious background. Majority from all religions are poor and unemployed due primarily to lack of development. They, however, are made to believe that their poverty, or unemployment is due to discrimination on the basis of religion. Thus economically, socially and politically, the powerful groups in society keep common people divided and themselves enjoy the benefits of development. Along with this is the fact of failure of the State to consolidate secularism and formulate policies of multiculturalism req- in a plural society. India is a multi-religious country. The believers of each religion are very proud of their religion and are concerned about maintaining their religious identity. In this socio-religious context, the functionaries of the secular state have to maintain equal distance from all, and at the same time they have to harmonies inter- religious social relations. While the constitutional framework provides a strong basis for the separation of democracy and religion, the actual practice Democratic in India: Challenges old democracy has revealed that the political parties and governmental functionaries have not been able to genuinely internalize the constitutional framework.

It is needless to say, introduction of universal adult franchise was a bold and revolutionary step on the part of the founders of the Indian Constitution. But unfortunately, soon after independence, political parties and politicians rather than strengthening democratic traditions of competing on the basis of programmes and ideologies, started looking for easy ways of mobilizing voters. They found in religion and caste easy factors to strengthen their "vote banks". The law in India does not debar political parties to be organized on the basis of caste or religion. Political parties and leaders evolve strategies for acquiring power in a shortest possible time and in the easiest way. Thus, most political parties have carefully carved out combinations of support bases in which the units of mobilization remain principally community, caste, language or religion. Political parties and leaders evolve strategies for acquiring power in the shortest possible time and in the easiest way. Thus, most political parties have carefully carved out combinations of support bases in which the units of mobilization remain principally community, caste, language or religion. Political parties and leaders evolve strategies for acquiring power in the shortest possible time and in the easiest way. Thus, most political parties have carefully carved out combinations of support bases in which the units of mobilization remain principally community, caste, language or religion. As mentioned above due to continuous failure of planning in fueling peoples' socio- economic aspirations, the people have been getting alienated from the system. Political parties are also exploiting this sense of alienation of the people. Consequently, the use of religion in electoral politics and in nomination of candidates and campaigning on communal appeal has accentuated the process of communalism to a serious level. In consequence, today the coming together of

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politics and religion has led to the growing incidents of communal violence. Communal and quasi-religious groups are emerging as political organizations. Religious passions are being used for the sake of gaining political power. Communal issues are being given importance and real issues of socio-economic development and transformation are being sidelined. The need of the hour is to face this challenge to democracy, development and social harmony in a united way. The conscious, the educated and concerned citizens should take the lead; and make the people aware of the evil designs of vested interests. Those who are exploiting ordinary peoples' emotions, their religious beliefs and ignorance need to be exposed. In fact, true religion teaches respect for others and tolerance; it does not teach violence. Existence of different religions, therefore, does not lead to 'fundamentalism' and 'communalism' that is at the root of debasing religion and distorting democratic politics. It is time for the State and government also to realize that ultimately the anti-social elements, the communalists and the criminals, rather than serving the interest of democratic politics and smooth governmental functioning have themselves started staking claims to power. Communalism, therefore, should be very firmly dealt with. The government should not yield to communal pressures. The formation of political parties on communal lines should not be encouraged. Political parties should either evolve a code of conduct not to use religion for electioneering or let the Election Commission or Parliament enact such a code. We need State machinery that is efficient, strong and / or impartial enough to put down communalism and communal violence and ensure safety and equity to all sections of society.

14.2 Regionalism

Another challenge that Indian democracy faces is that of extreme varieties of regionalism that at times comes closer to separatism. It needs to be made clear that regionalism as a desire for development by inhabitants of a compact area and making demands for that through legitimate political and democratic movements is not antithetical to national unity and integration. To an extent in a large and plural society like ours, regionalism is a natural phenomenon. India, as we know, is a vast plural country, full of diversities of religions, castes, languages, tribes, cultures etc. A number of cultural and linguistic groups are concentrated in certain territorial segments, to which they are attached emotionally and historically. A sense of belonging to that territory and desire for development of the same is natural for them. A sense of discrimination or competition on economic, political or cultural grounds, desire for justice or favor gives rise to solidarity among the people of that area or region. On the part of such people, any demand or movement against discrimination or for justice can be described as 'regionalism' that is acceptable in a democratic pluralist society. In a plural society such as ours, culture, language and other ethnic considerations are generally the starting points for the emergence and growth of regionalism. In this sense, the regional communities in their relationships with the state and other regional communities can describe regionalism as an ideology and practice of asserting respective territorial identities. In some cases, regionalism may develop purely on territorial basis. In the Indian context, feeling of regional identities can coincide with state boundaries like those of Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, West Bengal, Punjab etc. It can also be manifest in parts of more than one State as it happened in the case of Jharkhand movement claiming parts of Bihar, Orissa and West Bengal. Depending on the territorial status and feeling of discrimination, regionalism manifests itself in many ways. These include demand of people of a 'region' for secession (in extreme cases) from the Indian Union, demand by certain states for autonomy or more Democratic Process in India: Challenges powers, demand for separate statehood, demand by people of union-territories for full statehood, demand for favorable settlement in inter-state disputes like exclusive or better possession or use of resources like river waters, minerals etc. On the basis of objectives of the claimants and the subjective factors of regional identity formation, regionalism can broadly be divided into two broad categories: sociocultural regionalism and politico-administrative regionalism. In many cases, the two overlap. Multi-cultural regionalism draws its sustenance primarily from the social composition and cultural, religious or ethnic contours of the region. The basic issues involved here are related to identity that is protection, promotion and welfare of socially defined group. Regionalism in Kashmir, parts of North-Eastern states, one time in Punjab in the past etc. fall in this category. Politico-economic regionalism is primarily in the nature of center-state or Inter-State disputes. Examples of this are the border dispute between Maharashtra and Karnataka, water dispute between Tamil Nadu and Karnataka, Punjab and Haryana etc. Complaints of insufficient grants or allocation of funds or resources to a state by the Union Government also come under this category. As already mentioned, in many cases the two overlap.

Regionalism is a multi-dimensional phenomenon. The driving force for regionalism is political and cultural, but economic factors are also involved. We can divide the factors responsible for the growth and development of regionalism into three broad categories i.e., cultural, economic and

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political. Needless to say in operational terms these three are inter-related and sometimes overlap with each other. Therefore, it is difficult to say that which of them plays the primary role. The factors that play primary role in fomenting regional movements would vary from situation to situation.

It has been already emphasized that both for geographical and historical reasons India has continued to be a multiethnic, multi religious, multi-lingual country. Therefore, the apprehension of cultural minorities of being absorbed in majority culture is natural and universal. Cultural minorities are only too aware that failure to maintain themselves politically, economically and socially would lead to an erosion of cultural identity. This means that ability to protect cultural identity very much depends upon economic and political power. This becomes more important in India, because in view of scarce resources the conviction that minorities are vulnerable to discrimination, exploitation and suppression by those who control the state and its resources is easy to grow. Religious, linguistic or cultural groups concentrated in a territory, therefore, become keen to have control over economic and political power in those territories. It is important to note that demand for more autonomy for States come from States like West Bengal, Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, Kerala, Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir. In in these States one or other ethnic, religious, linguistic or cultural groups is concentrated. It is also substantiated by the fact that most regional parties have taken roots outside the large Hindi belt. Thus, one important aspect of demand for autonomy embodies a quest for self-identity and self-fulfillment on the part of various cultural groups reflecting a psyche of relative deprivation not necessarily always amenable to rational economic analysis. In this sense it can be said that sub nationalism has become an irresistible force, for historical reasons, in particular regions such as Tamil Nadu, Jammu and Kashmir, Punjab and north-eastern region embracing Nagaland, Mizoram and Assam. Each of these had, from time to time, thrown up its in Social Sciences own regional political movements. In terms of widening the basis of consent within the new democratic order loyalties along ethnic lines have had mixed consequences. The political demands of some groups have sometimes threatened the geographical unity of the country, but in the main their effect has been marginal. In most instances the demands have simply been for more benefits and facilities for a particular ethnic group. In addition, while loyalty to the ethnic community by itself is of paramount significance, some common economic interests often strengthen it. Though there is rarely complete occupational and income uniformity within the communities, there is often enough unity to cement further the ethnic ties. It is in this context that we see along with regionalism phenomenon of ethnic revivalism, which gets impetus from economic factors.

In a way the economic component is the crux of regionalism. In Indian situation there are three aspects of economic problem: (a) slow development, (b) regional imbalances and (c) paradoxes of adopted path of development. During independence struggle the people were fed on the idea that all their suffering and miseries were due to foreign rule and once the British would leave the country there would begin an era of plenty. All their sufferings would then come to an end. On the basis of this promise, people in general gave their total support to the nationalist leadership and the dominant party. However, in spite of many achievements, India still has not attained the level of development that can fulfill minimum basic needs of all. The resources are scarce and demands are disproportionately heavy and ever growing in the wake of continued population explosion. There is acute competition among individuals, groups and regions. The conditions of the masses particularly have deteriorated and they have started feeling that perhaps, benefits of development may be difficult to attain at the national level. Hence, they started looking towards local and regional level leadership. This leadership both for polemical reasons as well as development purposes raises the question of center-state relations particularly the sharing of finances and regional discriminations. Second; in spite of acceptance of the goal of removal of regional disparities at ideological and programmatic levels, and inclusion of these ideas in the constitution, the plan documents and in several policy measures, after more than 55 years of independence the regional inequalities and disparities not only continue but also in many cases have increased. There is virtual unanimity on two major points among scholars who have analyzed inter-regional disparities in India: one, the disparities have in reality increased and two, central policies on resource transfers have not only been unable to prevent the increasing gap between the rich and poor States, but may have contributed to accentuating the disparities. Existence and continuance of regional inequalities and imbalances create various types of tensions. In a country that is multi-ethnic and multi-religious with groups concentrated in some States, in many cases these disparities also become cause of social conflicts leading to political and administrative problems. Sometimes the situation becomes so explosive that the very integrity and unity of India become at stake. In recent times, you should be able to recall, there have been two powerful regional movements leading ultimately to separate state formation within the Indian Union: the Jharkhand movement and the Uttaranchal Movement. Another significant case is that of 194 Telanganainvolvement.

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Third, apart from sense of deprivation in the neglected States or regions the development efforts and benefits concentrated in certain areas or States have also given birth to vested interests, particularly in the rural parts of the developed States. For instance, in areas where Green Revolution was introduced and has been successful the new class of rich farmers has become economically and politically important. They are now interested in perpetuating the concessions and facilities which were given to them to usher in the Green Revolution. In spite of agriculture having become quite profitable they want subsidies to continue even at the cost of neglect of other area! As a result, regionalism and regional parties are growing, and there is emerging a rural-urban conflict. Also tensions between developed and undeveloped regions are becoming severe. Another aspect of unbalanced development is that because of development only in limited areas or regions, the work force from relatively 'undeveloped' areas or regions keep on flocking to the developed areas in search of jobs and employment. Continuous large-scale migrations of industrial labor from South India and other part; of the country to Mumbai, from Bihar and Orissa to Kolkata and agricultural labor from eastern Uttar Pradesh and Bihar to Punjab, for example, have been creating two types of tensions. On the one hand it is affecting the cultural harmony of those areas. Second, it is generating ill feeling in the local work force, as they are often unable to get jobs. Even the local labor force smarts under the feeling that migratory labor's willingness to work at lower rates dampens their economic prospect and stands in the way of bargaining effectively with the local employees. This gives birth to the sectional organizations and 'sons of the soil' agitations. Similarly, expansion of education, particularly higher education, unaccompanied by industrialization and other job-creating institutions is increasing the army of educated unemployed youths in the backward regions. The movements against the inflow of people from other countries and States allure these frustrated young men. One of the basic reasons behind Assam agitation has been this. Similar developments are surfacing in parts of Bihar and Orissa. On the other hand, these unemployed youths are also attracted by the caste, communal and other sectional agitations fighting for the projection of rights on sectarian lines. Conflicts on caste lines, particularly for reservation of jobs in Bihar and Gujarat, growth of increase in communal conflicts, in spite of so-called modernization and expansion of education are, to an extent, because of this reason.

The Indian political elite that had won power from the British in 1947 took steps to create a new political order in which power was deliberately dispersed and democratized. The expanding activities of government, the dispersion of power, and the democratization of power have resulted in the growth of popular participation in local, state and national politics. This has caused the emergence of what Myron Weiner called, have political cultures, operating at different levels in Indian society. One culture is in the districts. It permeates local politics, both urban and rural, local party organization, and local administration. It is an expiring political culture that reaches out into the State legislative assemblies, state governments, and State administrations. Enough it is generated with traditional elements, it is not wholly traditional, for it has modern components. The second political culture predominates in New Delhi. In days' planners, many of our national political leaders, and the members of the superior administrative cadres personify it. It is a defensive political culture. It is critical of the enlarging, more popular mass political culture that, in large measure, is its own creation.

According to Weiner, the first political culture can be characterized as an emerging in Social Sciences mass political culture, and the second, as an elite political culture. The conflict between the two is reflected in regionalism. Added to that is the continuous process of constipation and misuse of union government's powers (we, for instance, the imposition of president's rule in States). This obviously creates apprehensions and doubts among regional elites as also various ethnic, cultural or linguistic groups in States about the motives of union government in respect of sharing of power. From the above analysis, it becomes clear that an aggressive regionalism may develop from varying apprehensions and threats. These may be real or felt. There may be economic competitions leading to fears about possible shrinking of job-market. This is especially true on the part of working class and the lower middle class. We may cite the example of Telangana's apprehension against the Andhra migrants. Then, there may be status-threats posed by the migrants to the social status of the middle class. There may be political fears of some social classes of threats from migrants to the social status of the middle classes. There may be political fears of some social classes imagining heats from migrants to their long-term interests. Bengali influx into Assam over a long period, may also explain the demographic reasons of nativism. At a given time, the rate and volume of migrants passes this level of tolerance, giving rise to native apprehensions and opposition. The psychological frustration of social life may aggressively be displayed against the migrants if the latter is easily distinguishable and can be easily made a scapegoat for self-failure. Further, nativism develops if the native population is likely to be immobile relative to other groups in the population. For instance, Assamese, Maharashtrian and Andhraites - who have indulged in sub-national movements, are less mobile linguistic groups in India. Regional aspirations arising out of these

grievances are finally deliberately used by the political elite for their own power struggle and as techniques for bargaining. In this context the geographer V. Prakash Rao points out that there is a cycle of regionalism. The cycle begins with the revival of poetry and language and ends with the plans for the economic invigoration of regional agriculture and industry, with prospectus for more autonomous political life. Its concrete manifestation can be found in regional parties and regional and ethnic movements.

14.3 Ethnic Assertion

Ethnic assertion is a process of mobilization of a group of people who share common attributes in the of culture, language, religion, history etc. The term ethnic is generally used as a designation of social unity based upon common or separate language or dialect, historical living in a defined area occupation and mode of life, cultural and social traditions, customs and folk lore. Sense of ethnic identity and mobilization can be ca the basis of a single attribute or on more. There are differences among scholars with regard to the real nature of ethnic assertion. Some include in this communal, linguistic, tribal or even caste mobilization, while others describe it as movements specifically of those groups who seek sovereignty, self-determination or at least separation in a comprehensive sense. In general in India, those movements are considered 'ethnic' which demand separation or right to self-determination on the basis of a distinct identity. Movements in parts of North East India like in Nagaland, Mizoram, Assam etc. are particularly included in that. Some in this category also mentions separatist movements like in Kashmir. Tribal movements demanding separate states or autonomy like those in Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh etc. are also included in these by some observers.

In a very general form, it can be said that ethnic movements are most aggressive manifestation of regionalism, tribalism etc. One point of view is that these movements are primarily in the nature of protection of identity by the marginalized groups who fear either domination or assimilation by socially dominant groups and institutions and processes associated with them The differences in language, culture, customs, economic conditions of the people or the social cleavages are manipulated by the elites of the ethnic groups also to generate ethnic consciousness and start ethnic movements. Thus, there are both real and imagined reasons for the consolidation of ethnic groups and generation of ethnic movements.

Some suggest that separatism is a result of the presence of religious, linguistic or ethnic minorities, concentrated in border states and lack of their loyalties to the nation. A number of studies in India as well as outside have clearly proved that it is not the presence of religious or ethnic groups that in itself is a natural source of conflict. It is a sense of alienation that comes in a group because of various reasons that makes the group available for use by vested interests within and outside the country for separatist movements. These causes can be: (i) exclusion from employment opportunities because of Language or religious requirements. (ii) denial of land ownership or refusal to recognize traditional land ownership. (iii) economic development projects in minority regions that benefit the majority instead of minority. (iv) lack of developmental activities and absence of employment opportunities. (v) refusal by the authorities (those who are in power) to use: minority language hi public schools and administration. (vi) suppression of movements expressing democratic aspirations or grievances. (vii) similarity of culture, language, values, traditions, etc. with the people across the border.

Any of these reasons may cause a sense of deprivation or neglect in the people. This sense is often filled by propaganda by external forces interested in the destabilization of the country because of strategic, military, ideological or economic reasons. Small in Social Sciences groups from these communities assisted and encouraged by external forces, use violent means and even terrorist tactics. All his results in alienating the minorities further, Political populism and divisive forces exploit this alienation or sense of discrimination, real or perceived. People start feeling that in a new country, so called their own country, they will have everything for themselves. They do not realize that the political elite is using them for their own vested interests. There are many such examples of what can be called misguided ethnic movements that ultimately do not really serve the interests of the poor and the marginalized in whose name the movements had been originally started. In understanding ethnic separatism, the extreme form of communalism and regionalism, it is important to keep in mind that no religious, cultural or ethnic community is homogeneous. Every community is divided along several lines like caste, class, culture, language, economic development etc. It is also important to note that several studies have shown that the real carriers of communalism, regionalism and separatism are those belonging to the educated middle class. . And most of these middle class people happen to be not so enthusiastic about religion or traditions. But at the same time they have reasons to resent as they find the existing system detrimental to their

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interests as well as their prospects of development. They, therefore, seek a place for themselves and look for support from their communities. There also are apprehensions among minority groups because of the behavior of certain sections of the majority, who, with a wrong understanding of nationalism and patriotism, attempt to impose their own religious or cultural values on the whole society or nation. Thus, ethnic separatism arises from a variety of causes that include unbalanced development, elite competition, use of religion and culture by vested interests, weakening of secularism, abetment, support and encouragement by external forces and powers etc. The process of separatism generally starts with expression of grievances, movements for autonomy or better treatment, moving to extreme regionalism or fundamentalism and separation. Competent and well-researched studies all over the world have made two things very clear. One, separation or secession is no solutions to complaints of injustice, deprivation or discrimination. In fact, in most cases of separation problems have multiplied. Second, suppression of regional or ethnic movements in the name of administrative convenience or law and order situations has proved counter-productive. What is needed, therefore, is both (i) a genuine approach towards balanced development, social justice, plurality, accommodation and decentralization; and (ii) a firm handling of terrorists, fundamentalists and communalists ' without distinction of religion or community, political patronage and ideological preferences.

Summary

India is a vast country consisting of various cultures, languages, religions, castes and tribes. These have been co-existing in a harmonious manner for centuries providing India a composite culture and sense of unity in diversity. During colonial period, in general, there emerged a stronger sense of loyalty to the nation among various opportunities. At the same time due to colonial policy of divide and rule, competition for resources and jobs in emerging modern economy, apprehensions about loss of identity in new social order, there also was emerging group consciousness among various communities. After independence because of various factors including regional imbalances, non-fulfillment of expectations of masses in terms of developmental goals, lack of clear language policy, exploitation of peoples' sentiments by political groups for electoral purposes, divertive and divisive tactics used by vested interests to maintain status-quo and designs of external powers to keep India destabilized, underdeveloped and weak, there had been emerging regionalism, linguisticism, communalism and separatism. In a vast and diverse country like India, regionalism is neither a matter of surprise nor a threat to national integrity and unity in itself. Regionalism can have both positive and negative aspects depending on the causes of its emergence and how it is dealt. In India too, we have both these experiences. In many cases, regionalism by providing people a mechanism to express their grievances and getting concessions from the government have helped in strengthening the process of integration. In some cases, having become tool in the hands of vested interests and abetted by external forces, it has taken the shape of separatism, using terrorist techniques. Indian society therefore, has to understand the issues of regionalism and ethnicity in an objective and dispassionate manner, looking into social, economic and cultural aspects. Societies characterized by cultural pluralism have a built in tendency of conflicts but are not necessarily prone to disintegration. India has a long history behind it that provides its strength and sustenance. What is required is efforts to build a modern society based on full respect for human liberties, pluralism, and a better social (legal for all, a society that does not succumb to communalism, fundamentalism and terrorism of any kind.

Keywords

communalism, regionalism, ethnic assertion, cultural pluralism, democracy

Selfassessment

1. Which one of the following laws was enacted by the Government of India in October 2005?
 - A. The Right to Property Act
 - B. The Right to Education Act
 - C. The Consumer Protection Act
 - D. The Right to Information Act

2. Which one of the following is a foundational challenge of democracy?
 - A. Empowering women
 - B. Keeping military away from controlling government
 - C. Ensuring greater power to local governments
 - D. Empowering minority groups.

3. Which one of the following is an indicator of deepening of democracy?
 - A. Installation of democratic government
 - B. Keeping military away from controlling government
 - C. Strengthening of the practices of democracy
 - D. Inclusion of women in party politics

4. Which legal act is the best to empower people to carry out democratic reforms?
 - A. The Right to Information Act
 - B. The Right to freedom
 - C. The Right to education
 - D. The Right to move freely

5. Every established democracy faces
 - A. challenge of expansion
 - B. challenge of deepening of democracy
 - C. foundational challenge
 - D. dictatorship

6. Looking at the expanded definition, which one of the following statements is not correct about democracy?
 - A. The rulers elected by the people must take all the major decisions.
 - B. Elections must offer a fair choice to the people to change the current rulers.
 - C. The choice should be available to all people on an equal basis.
 - D. To exercise this choice government must not be limited by basic rules of the Constitution and citizens' rights.

7. Democracy does not stand for:
 - A. Democratic Right
 - B. Elections
 - C. Violence
 - D. Accommodation of diversity

8. What is the tempting way of reforming politics?
 - A. Legal ways
 - B. Illegal ways
 - C. Both a and b
 - D. None of the above

Answers for Self Assessment

1. D 2. B 3. C 4. A 5. A
6. D 7. C 8. A

Review Questions

1. Trace out the communal upheavals in India after independence.
2. How regionalism acts as a challenge to Indian democracy?
3. What are the reasons for ethnic assertions in India?
4. What are the reasons for communal riots in India and how it can be avoided?
5. Trace out the caste based assertion in India?

**Further Readings**

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