

ISSUES IN INDIAN POLITICS

STUDY MATERIAL

SECOND SEMESTER

CORE COURSE : POL2C07

For

M.A.POLITICAL SCIENCE

(2019 ADMISSION)



UNIVERSITY OF CALICUT

SCHOOL OF DISTANCE EDUCATION

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MODULE I

DIALECTICS OF CASTE AND CLASS

INTRODUCTION

Caste and Class occupies a major role in the debates on Indian political system. It was one of the pivotal operating tool that guided the political development in the state. The Indian political structures are deeply rooted in the caste structures of the society. This has created larger marginalizations and exclusions in the society and these exclusions are clearly reflected in the political order. The idea of caste emerged with the concept of 'Chaturvarna', which is aimed at functional specialisation. Each individual is classified in the context of his functions and later the functional organisation of social life became more crystallised into four major functions. Thus the Brahmins emerged as the superior caste in the structure. Following Brahmin is Kshatriya, Vysya and then Sudra. The Sudra were the lower caste people in the hierarchy and were subjected to all kinds of discriminations.

CASTEISM

Casteism may be defined as a phenomenon by virtue of which persons belonging to a certain caste group are either discriminated against or shown favor regardless of their merits and demerits. The discrimination is operated simply on the basis of the caste to which the individual belongs. Risley defines caste as "a collection of families or groups of families bearing a common name; claiming a common descent from a mythical ancestor, human or divine; professing to follow the same hereditary calling; and regarded by those who are competent to give an opinion as forming a single homogeneous community". It can also be defined as an endogamous and hereditary subdivision of an ethnic unit occupying a position of superior or inferior rank of social esteem in comparison with other such subdivisions. Caste name is generally associated with a specific occupation and, is a closed stratification.

The origin of the Indian caste system is explained by many theories. Some of them are religious, while others are biological. The religious theories explain that according to the Rig Veda, the primal man, Purush, destroyed himself to create a human society and the different parts of his body created the four different varnas. The Brahmins came from his head, the Kshatriyas from his hands, the Vaishyas from his thighs, and the Shudras from his feet. The Varna hierarchy is determined by the descending order of the different organs from which the Varnas were created. The biological theory claims that all existing things inherit three one of three categories of qualities. Varna means different shades of texture or color and represents mental temper. There are three basic Gunas: Sattva, Rajas and Tamas. These in combination of various proportions constitute the group or class of people all over the world with temperamental differences.

Historically, it is believed that the caste system began with the arrival of the Aryans in India around 1500 BC. The Aryans came from southern Europe and northern Asia with fair skin that contrasted with the indigenous natives in India. When they arrived, their main contact was

with the Dravidians. The Aryans possessed a particular principle of social ordering called Varna Vyavastha, which was based on the four hierarchical divisions of function in society. They were placed in order of decreasing importance: religious and educational functions, military and political functions, economic functions, and menial functions.

The caste system which presumably originated in the division of labour in the ancient society has become a more or less rigid group classification, based on birth. The most detrimental and inhuman aspect of the caste system is the practice of untouchability. This has led to segregation of so called low castes or 'Dalits', depriving them of education and other social benefits. The Dalits have been typically performing menial labour and some of the hardest physical work in society. Many writers understand casteism in terms of loyalty to the caste translated into politics. It is criticized as an over-riding blind and supreme group loyalty. This group loyalty ignores the healthy social standards of justice, fair play, equity and universal brotherhood.

Andre Beteille has outlined the basic features of caste model.

- i. Caste system is based on the ideas held and expressed by certain sections of the people and not on observed behavior.
- ii. It attaches kind of primary and universal significance to caste in India as this has been conceived in the classical texts.
- iii. The entire system is viewed as being governed by certain more or less explicitly formulated principle
- iv. The different castes which are the basic units in the system are conceived as fulfilling complementary functions, and their mutual relations are seen as being non-antagonistic

Marxian thinkers are of the view that the caste system is also a system of economic relations. It has worked as a very systematic tool of exploitation and oppression. One of the functions of the system has been to prevent the formation of classes with any commonality of interest or unity of purpose. It is argued that caste is a system of exploitation rather than a system of interdependence and reciprocity.

CASTE AND CLASS DIALECTICS

The class system is generally a resultant of the economic system. It operates on the principles of economic production and ownership, rather than birth and tradition. Class was a product of large-scale economic and social changes of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Before the rise of modern industry writers on society spoke of ranks and orders.

Max Weber, saw social classes as aggregates of people possessing the same life-chances. To him, the major attributes of a class are;

- (1) a number of people have in common a specific causal component of their life chances.
- (2) this component is represented exclusively by economic interests in the possession of goods and opportunities for income, and
- (3) is represented under the conditions of the commodity of labour markets..

In the West, the social division is class based and this class division is an open ended social system. The members of a social class may upgrade their class through economic empowerment or by acquiring political power. The class is also a flexible norm and was having historical linkage rather than dogmatic foundations like religious practice. In the case of caste system, it has become a close ended structure whereby the individual acquires his membership to a particular class by birth and is not in a position to alter the status. The economic changes or even a political revolution cannot change one's caste.

Caste is a very complex system. It is not simply a system of power relations and economic activities. If it gets weakened in one aspect, it also gets strengthened in another. It can be found that the class system is operating inside a caste system. There is a class basis rituals, pollution - purity and other non-material aspects of social life. For example, an organization like Jat Sabha is not a simple caste association, but in effect, it is simultaneously an organization of peasants.

The dialectics of Class and caste can be identified in three dimensions

1. The caste system operates as an effective system of economic exploitation. The dominant caste uses the system to become the powerful class in society. The members of the lower caste also become a class by virtue of their identities. The identity politics also plays a significant role in strengthening the class- caste dialectics.
2. There is a linkage between class conflicts and caste conflicts. Many of the caste up risings seems to be a class movement also. For example, the movement for reservation by one particular caste is moved by a class interest also.
3. Caste and religion often operates together to perpetuate a particular class ideology and structure. Caste identity and separations are supplemented by the religious sanctions, which operates on the basis of text interpretation. In India the caste system maintains close links with religion. It is more or less the creation of religious customs and teachings. On the other side religion is aligned with the class ideology. This renders higher validity to the caste- class interactions in society.

The Indian concept of Varna can also be understood as an instrument of social re-organisation rather than as a description of historical facts. The Brahminical peoples were confronted in the past by the presence of many communities with whom they came into contact. These communities were frequently marked off from the Vedic people by sharp contrasts of language, beliefs or social customs. Brahmins had already developed a system of preserving the text of the Vedas by relegating sections of it to the keep-had worked perfectly, and it can be imagined that its success led them to transfer the pattern to the economic organisation of society as well. It is believed that they established a rule that separate communities or jatis should be in charge of separate technological processes, or of services like priestcraft, trade, defence and so on. In order to bring a system into this chance conglomeration of jatis, social legislators tried to reduce them ideally into a scheme in which only four Varnas were recognized.

It is found that the upper classes have succeeded in retaining their positions of advantage, by usurping positions of authority in other ways. In the past, they did so by ownership of land and

an alignment with the ruling powers. Now the same upper castes have taken advantage of modern education, and progressively westernized themselves so as to join the ranks of the new ruling class. This they do by joining the administrative services, or by alliance with one or other of the political parties as they come into power. The uppercastes have thus adapted themselves to change, and still form the upper class; while those who are below, because of poverty, lack of education and social subordination retain their attachment to castes ancient values.

MAJOR CHARACTERISTICS OF CASTEISM

Generally, casteism shows blind caste or sub-caste loyalty. It either ignores or does not care for the interests of other castes. For a casteist this caste is the embodiment of right and wrong. In the context of politics, casteism undermines the basic tenants of and the spirit of democracy. It involves a submission to one's sense of justice, fair play and humanity to the interest of his caste. Consequently, the idea operates against the lofty ideal of the constitution. Thus, it becomes a hurdle in the path of nation-building and national integration. It becomes venues of exploitation as the higher caste people use their power to dominate others. This domination is expressed in the most inhumane ways including untouchability and unseeability. Political venues are badly affected with the intervention of castes since elections are fought on the basis of caste and inter-caste conflicts results in political violence.

DR. AMBEDKAR AND THE CASTE QUESTION

Dr. Bhimrao Ramjee Ambedkar was one of the well acclaimed political thinker and social reformer that India has ever produced. Ambedkar fought hard for the democratic rights of millions of downtrodden masses in India. For a long period in history these people were subjugated to multiple levels exploitations and were never given any political or social significance in the system. Being a cog in the big 'caste machine', the lower caste people in India, were denied access to political venues and opportunities. It is in this context, Ambedkar debates social democracy. Ambedkar viewed democracy not as a form of government but as a larger social organization. The roots of democracy are to be found in social relationship in terms of the associated life between the people who form the society.

Dr. B R Ambedkar was a major opponent against the evils of caste system in India. As a social reformer Ambedkar was much moved by the position of lower caste people in India. The rigid caste system made the lower caste people lesser human beings and accorded less dignity. They were subjected to many exploitations and were given no venue for advancement. Ambedkar was against the class society and argued for distributive justice. In his classic work 'Annihilation of Caste', Dr Ambedkar argues that an India of unequal's is not fit for political freedom and true freedom comes with equality and social justice. Ambedkar expanded the meaning of political freedom by incorporating in its fold the issue of freedom from internal colonialism – caste based social exclusion. He assigned special importance to the principles of social democracy by championing the cause of the socially excluded sections of the Indian society. He wanted to strengthen the emerging sphere of political democracy in India by substantiating it with the institutionalization of social democracy.

The basic argument of Ambedkar in the *Annihilation of Caste* is that the caste system is the debilitating institution of the Indian society which instead of doing any good has wrought irreparable loss to the untouchables and, therefore, needs to be eradicated without any repentance. He begins by exposing the inherent nature of the caste system which has been found to be grounded in false notions of division of labour in conjunction with the gradation of labourers as well. Indefensible on the basis of overtly ridiculous notions like biological purity, caste remains an irrelevant factor in so far as the economic efficiency is concerned. The system of caste has not only gone to exclude the aboriginal tribes from within its fold but also created wedges amongst various sub-caste groups as well. Consequently, the Hindu religion risks the chance of losing its missionary zeal and any sort of efforts at organizing the people in the name of it is bound to fail. Thus, to Ambedkar, the caste system has been found to be a blot on the Hindu religion and instead of acting as the fulcrum to hold it in the highest of spirit and impeccable ethics, its cumulative effect on the Hindu society is that of a genie out to destroy its own creator.

Taking his argument to the very root cause of the problem, Ambedkar tries to unmask the hidden motivations behind the idea of *Chaturvarnya*. He argues that as a system of social organization, *Chaturvarnya* appears to be impracticable and harmful, and has turned out to be a miserable failure. Even from the practical point of view, *Chaturvarnya* seems to be surrounded by a number of difficulties like explaining and establishing the basic difference between caste and the principle underlying varna; ignoring the uniqueness of every individual and by strait-jacketing all the individuals into just four classes would be like killing the ingenuity of each individual; negating of the idea of a penal system to deal with all the people equally; and finally ignoring the position of the women in such a system. Ambedkar, therefore, asserts that even if *Chaturvarnya* becomes a practicable system, it is bound to be the most vicious one.

Having exposed the inherent fallacies of the caste system and its conceptual construct *Chaturvarnya*, Ambedkar exhorts people to go for transforming the Hindu social order. He maintains that various methods have been suggested in this regard but most of them appear inadequate in themselves. For instance, the idea of changing the social order by abolishing sub-castes would not suffice as it would not necessarily lead to the abolition of caste. Similarly, inter-caste dining would serve only limited purpose as it would not succeed in killing the spirit and consciousness of caste. The abolition of caste, thus, argues Ambedkar, can be achieved only by intermarriage.

CAUSES OF CASTEISM

1. Religious Dogmas

The Indian caste system is strongly affiliated with the religious practices. Majority of the lower caste people were denied the facility of education and thus they are easily influenced by religious superstitions and blind beliefs. In the name of 'Jati Dharma' or 'Kula Dharma', they preserve their own caste interests and stick to their caste prejudices. The advocates of caste system defend the practices on the basis of religious texts. The 'Varna' system has evolved as a religious structure and always acted in favor of the priestly and wealthy class in society.

2. Sense of caste prestige

Sense of caste prestige constitutes an important cause of Casteism. The people belonging to a particular caste try to enhance the prestige of their caste. In so doing they do not hesitate to employ undesirable and lethal methods. The upper caste people defines caste as a permanent system and it is also proposed as a closed system. The higher caste is always in an advantageous position in the caste game and they obstruct any cross entries so as to keep the caste prestige. This is also relevant in the sense that caste has a functional purpose in the Indian society. This functional argument holds some functions as superior and these are allocated to the higher caste. Thus, caste becomes a matter of prestige.

Under the traditional caste system, the people belonging to the higher castes maintain social distance from that of the lower castes through restrictions of inter-caste marriage, inter-dining etc. The ideas and ideologies of an individual are conditioned exclusively by his caste norms and values. This state of affairs has given rise to Casteism.

3. Social Conditions

Under the traditional Indian caste system, multiple social disabilities to the members of the lower caste operates as reason for the continuation of the evil of caste system. The lower-class people have limited opportunities for the betterment of their life and they also suffer from limited social mobility. Their children are not allowed to avail educational facilities available to upper caste children. In course of time they begin to feel that they are being suppressed and oppressed. They become more and more united and try to protect their caste interests which in turn lead to Casteism. On the other side the upper caste people will become unified against the dilution of caste system since they are not ready to share the social advantages earmarked by the system.

4. Urbanization and modernization

Growing urbanization and modernization also act as a reason for the promotion of Casteism. With modernization and development, people migrate from rural areas to urban areas in search of employment. In the urban scenario, they live in an impersonal world and hence feel insecure. The insecurity in the urban life demands psychological security and this in turn compels them to stay in a cluster formed on the basis of caste. Further, they form associations through which they can protect their caste interests. All these lead to promotion of casteism.

Increase in the means of both transport has also led to the establishment of relation between members of a caste who were previously separated because of distance. The caste units become more coherent and unitary due to the frequent social contacts. The evolution of newspapers and mass media tools also strengthened the caste feelings. They continuously spread new propaganda that promote caste feelings and sentiments.

5. Endogamy

Endogamy signifies that marriage is solemnized within one's own caste. Since people practice endogamy, it is quite natural that they develop a deep sense of belonging towards one another. This obviously promotes Casteism. Inter caste marriages are not promoted and purity of caste is kept even in the lower caste sections of society.

CONSEQUENCES OF CASTEISM

1. Threat to democracy

Democracy is a political system which works on the principles of liberty, equality and justice. It also demands free participation of people in the affairs of the state. Casteism poses a serious obstacle in the functioning of democracy. By promoting narrow loyalties, Casteism has weakened the modernization of the polity. Casteism has played a negative role even in the democratic political processes. In fact, casteism has become notorious as a strategy of exploitation of caste consciousness for narrow political gains. The caste system acts against the roots of democracy. The democratic facilities - like fundamental rights relating to equality, freedom of speech, expression and association, participation in the electoral process, free media and press, and even legislative forums - are misused for maintaining casteist identity.

The making of a secular society is obstructed by creating islands of caste groups which insist on internalized norms and practices. These internalizations, at times work against the general interests of the larger society. In the electoral process, caste considerations stand in the way of a free and fair election. Even illegitimate and immoral practices are resorted to in securing the interests of one's own caste. Caste vote banks are created and manipulated for the interest of particular groups.

2. Division of Society

It is found that casteism hinders the growth and development of nationalism. It has divided the society into a large number of groups and subgroups. There is also division in the same caste. Very often there occurs both inter-caste tension and intra-caste tension which lead to national disintegration. With the caste system the state is no more a unified entity, rather it acts on the basis of narrow loyalties. The national integration projects are badly affected by the social divisions in society. Unlike the class divisions in modern society, caste divisions are more deep and sharp. It invokes antagonism in various sections of people.

3. Obstructing national development

The operation of casteism crumbles down the process of development. By encouraging corruption, nepotism, favoritism and blind caste loyalty, Casteism arrests the implementation of developmental programmes. It is found that casteism plays a major role in the spread of public corruption. Inspired by the sense of Casteism people try to provide all kinds of facilities and benefits to their own caste men. This is very particular to the higher caste since most of the higher caste people occupy key positions in government and society due to their caste advantages. They operate for the promotion of their own caste interests at the cost of lower castes. The result is lopsided national development, with a majority outside the developmental projects.

CONCLUSION

Casteism has become a major problem in India. It gained a deep entry into the social structures. Even though the constitution of India, through its various provisions tries to bring a

model democracy, characterized with liberty, equality and justice the caste system acts a stumbling block in the attainment of the democratic project. Casteism has made the life of the lower caste miserable and their social progress is badly affected.

It is argued that spread of education and promotion of ideals like inter caste marriages and co-education can eliminate some of the evils of the practice. It should be coincided with the creation of economic and cultural equality in the political sphere. Dr. BR Ambedkar argues for the creation of a social democracy as the suitable remedy for easing the troubles of casteism. Public opinion and propaganda should be relentlessly directed against Casteism through press, radio, television and educational institutions in order that the feeling of untouchability finds no place in the minds of the people.

Since India's independence from Britain in 1947, there has been considerable relaxation of rules related to the caste system. There was more sharing between members of the middle and upper castes, but those in the lowest castes continued to suffer. There was also a significant change in occupational goals and pursuits among men. Earlier, most men were dedicated to their traditional caste related jobs, but currently the scenario has improved particularly with the introduction of affirmative policies by the state. Although some caste-based prejudice and ranking still existed, wealth and power was now less associated with caste. Caste became a lot less significant part of daily lives of people who lived in urban areas compared to rural areas, but its significance still varies by social class and occupation.

The caste- class dialectics in India should be a complex scenario. The both seems to be inseparable. But the Indian caste cannot be explained in the framework of the western class model. E. M.S. Namboodripad observes;

"There is a certain amount of intermingling between the two factors, class and caste. In the pre-capitalist society such as ours, caste is the main form through which class manifests itself. Low castes and low class has almost become synonymous. Thus, the once untouchable castes of India are commonly called "depressed classes" .

MODULE II

NATURE OF PARTY SYSTEM

INTRODUCTION

Political parties are the inevitable foundations of modern democracy. It reflects the different aspirations and demands of the citizens. Party system is also acts as a facilitator of democratic process by introducing channels of participation and venues of debates. The earliest traits of party system can be found in the British system which follows a twoparty system. The United States of America also followed the British pattern of party system by introducing two major parties. In these systems, nation is divided into two political camps with opposite ideologies. The minor players in the political scenario gets lesser attention and parliamentary representation. The multi-party system, on the other hand accommodate numerous groups, with different ideologies and different social histories. In the western context, these parties are mostly the response to identity politics and minority politics.

The party system in India differs from its counterparts in the region. The state is having a vibrant party system and the success of Indian democracy can be rightly attributed to these political parties. They make democracy and its institutions workable. They effectively represent the various groups and subgroups in the country. The issues debated ranges from secularism to corruption. Thus India has a wide range of parties ranging from Congress to communists. Parties with no mass base also surfaced in state politics and won power. Thus the AamAdmi Party, which originated in the anticorruption movement of Anna Hazare also gained public acceptance and became successful in establishing a government in the capital city of Delhi. .

Even though the constitution is silent with regard to political parties, political parties became a strong pillar of the state and constitutional mechanisms. The plural and federal character of our polity has been asserting itself in the party domain. The era of multi-party democracy had set in within two decades of Indian Independence. In some major States the national parties are marginalized or have become adjuncts to the regional parties. During the past two decades, most parties have performed the role of ruling as well as opposition parties at different levels. After the flux and uncertainty of the 80s, a two-coalitional party system has set in at the Union level, in which a large number of parties share power.

Throughout the years parties played an immense role as mediating agencies in bringing about democratic transformation of this country in a relatively peaceful manner, in a relatively short span of time, and under conditions that were considered not very conducive for democratic development. They were instrumental in taking governments closer to the people. Today, all parties contest elections in the name of securing the common good. They maintain that they are committed to protect and promote the interests of the poor, marginalized and the socially disadvantaged. Parties have exhibited a good deal of ideological flexibility. This has been the strength as well as weakness of parties. All parties profess adherence to some kind of egalitarian, secular, socialist and democratic principles. The representative character of parties also has increased over time. They drew more and more sections of society into the arena of politics.

IDEOLOGY AND SOCIAL BASE OF MAJOR POLITICAL PARTIES

The ideological basis of Indian political parties can be traced back to the nationalist movement and the different perceptions for the attainment of independence. With regard to Indian national Congress, this ideological linkage is very clear. From 1920s onwards, Nationalism, socialism, secularism and democracy were the main planks of the Congress. The party sticks to the same policies till now. During the nationalist movement there was a tendency to emphasize the need to forge a new nationalist identity based on the rejuvenated Hindu values and thought. The communists wanted to unite the freedom struggle with social revolution leading to the establishment of the rule of the proletariat and peasantry guided by Marxism-Leninism. These were the three broad ideological tendencies during the formative years of political parties in India.

The congress party claims themselves as the true inheritors of the nationalist movement. They stood for national values. The party policy gives a big role to the state in regulating, directing and changing the national economy and raising the public sector to the commanding heights. The license-quota-permit raj of congress governments testifies this argument. The party affirmed its commitment to democratic values and socialism way back in 1950's. In the 90's the party appeared as ardent champions of Liberalization, privatization and globalization. In foreign policy side the party holds the Nehruvian Panchsheel with a clear tone of non-alignment. In the International scenario the party suggests a policy of cooperation and co-habitation.

The split in the Congress in 1969 was a break between those who stood for socialism, known as radicals led by Mrs. Gandhi, and the conservative elements, led by the old guard of the party, called the Syndicate. The socialist parties are against the theory and practice of communism. The formal adoption of the objective of building a socialistic pattern of society by the Congress made their positions more near to the congress. The most vigorous opposition to the Congress on the basis of ideology came from the communists. Soon after Independence, they waged an armed struggle in some parts of the country to overthrow the Indian state. They soon gave up that course and participated in the first general election. The ideological debates on the character of the Indian state, path to revolution in India, and strategy and tactics led to several splits in the communist party. However, their participation in elections and success in forming and running governments at the State level firmly placed them in the arena of parliamentary politics. India is the only country in the world where a communist party could come to power through parliamentary means and control governments within capitalist state. At present the communist parties are strongly against the liberalization policies of Congress. They oppose the globalization initiatives and neo-liberal economic reforms initiated by successive congress governments. The party stands for consolidation of the marginalized and better avenues for the working class.

The rise of the BJP and the strategies it adopted to augment its electoral base became an important theme in the study of political ideologies in India. The main ideology of BJP is Hindutva. The attempt of the BJP to forge unity among the Hindus based on the fears that the Indian State and political leaders, especially that of the Congress, were indulging in policies and programmes to appease the Muslims and that the Hindu culture and religion are in the danger of getting marginalized. During the 1980s the BJP returned to militant strategies and could

efficiently implement them. . During the 1990s it played down its Brahmanical image in favour of militant nationalism. It kept the momentum by combining ethno-religious mobilization with appeals to sectional interests.

In the working of parties, caste, religion, language and region also have acquired ideological overtones. Religion has been an active element in party domain before and after Independence. Today we have parties that claim to represent the interests and culture of specific religions. Origins of some of these parties can be traced to the pre-Independence period. The Muslim League during the freedom struggle instilled in the minds of Indian Muslims that they constitute a separate political community. Their position as minority and the rise of Hindu communalism in the North made some Muslim elites to capitalize on their sentiments. But after the partition, a large number of Muslims remained in India, constituting a large chunk of world's Muslim population. The Muslim League was revived in 1948, although there were splits in it later. In Punjab, the rise of the Shiromani SAD had its roots in religion and its membership is restricted to Sikhs only. In Sikhism religion and politics seem to be inextricably united. The leaders of the SAD believe that the Sikhs constitute a separate political community. There are Christian parties too in the country, as in Kerala. However, one positive feature of parties in India is that despite of the existence of the parties claiming to represent people of specific religious beliefs, the followers of those religions did not support such parties en masse. There are substantial sections of the Sikhs who support the Congress, Communist parties and the BSP.

Sometimes, language and region also acquired the nature of ideology. India has some of the highly developed and rich languages of the world. Most of the regions of India are coterminous with linguistic nationalities. It is sometimes difficult to distinguish between the terms "region" and "nation" in some of the Indian languages. Some regard India as a nation of nationalities or a multi-national country.

All parties in India are secular, socialist and democratic. Legally it is mandatory for the parties to declare true faith in these principles while they register with the election commission. Even parties that appeal to people on the basis of caste and religious identities and are founded to promote the interests of particular communities regard themselves secular. Similarly almost all parties in India claim to be socialist or egalitarian. But every party has their own version of these principles. BSP understands it as the emancipation and empowerment of bahunans. Congress has its own enigmatic brand of socialism. Several State parties too stand for socialism. The multi-cultural nature of the Indian society and internalized Indian psyche makes parties secular. The widespread poverty, backwardness, illiteracy, etc. make parties socialist.

THE MYTH OF IDEOLOGY

Except in the initial years after Independence, ideology did not become a bar to forge alliances among parties. The Communists and the Muslim League fought elections in Kerala together. Both the Congress and the CPI forge alliances and together they could arrive at electoral understanding with caste based parties in Kerala. The coming together of the socialists, former Congressmen, and the Jana Sangh to form the Janata party showed that ideology is not a hindrance in party politics. Parties are always ready to make compromises due to electoral compulsions and

political vicissitudes. The coalitional arrangements change as per the requirements of the situation. Some of the socialists joined hands with the BJP in 1998 and they were happily together since then. DMK or the ADMK switch sides between the NDA and the UPA. In UP, the BSP formed government with the support of the BJP. SAD and National Conference became partners in the NDA.

SOCIALIST TRADITION

Socialist parties played a major role in Indian Politics. During the freedom struggle, socialists had put up a spirited advocacy of socialist policies and could influence the Congress position to some extent. Socialist groups sprang up in various parts of the country during the 30s and they continued till 1948 as part of the Congress with an objective to bring change in the policies of the party that would emancipate people from foreign rule as well as native exploitation. Thereafter the socialist party underwent several splits and reunions. In 1951 Kripalan formed the KMPP, but after the 1952 elections, the KMPP and the SP merged to form the PSP, so that an anti-Congress non-communist leftist opposition could be forged. In 1955 Lohia left the PSP and revived the old Socialist party. Again in 1964 SSP was formed as a result of the merger of the Socialist party with the PSP. The relation between the Congress and the socialists was always ambiguous. There were differences on cooperating with the Congress, which were in a way responsible for the splits in the Socialist party. Their ideological stands made them closer to the Congress. Narendra Deva and Lohia opposed any tie up with the Congress. In 1953 talks were held between Nehru and Jaya Prakash Narayanan on cooperation between the Congress and the PSP. In 1962 Ashok Mehta was expelled from the PSP and he joined the Congress Government as a Cabinet Minister at the Centre. However, in later politics the socialist groups were marginalized.

SUPPORT BASE OF PARTIES

Parties draw their support largely from specific social classes. In circumstances where the support from one section is not sufficient to cross the threshold to win an election, they strive to keep the primary base of the party intact and win elections with the support of others. In India, the multi-structured society with different regions at different stages of development, the continuous redefining of social relations, the presence of religious minorities, identities based on caste and the large number of dalits make the political structure complex. Over the past years the social bases of parties had undergone some changes – both at the all India and State levels. More than class or gender, caste seems to be an important factor to understand the social bases of parties. Although most societies are known to have social inequalities of some kind, in India such inequalities have come to be settled in the form of caste within a hierarchical order. Industrial development, urbanization, occupational mobility, spread of education and egalitarian values, equality of opportunity through a system of reservations in education and employment, etc. have virtually broken down the caste system. The democratization process and the elections reinforced the caste identities in the political arena.

The Congress received support from all the castes, communities and classes for almost three decades after Independence. The communists traditionally got considerable support from workers, peasants and agricultural labourers. The socialists and the Swatantra received support

primarily from the middle castes and classes. During mid 70's the middle castes provided the central core of opposition to the Congress in most States. In response the Congress under Mrs. Gandhi adopted the strategy of uniting the opposite extremes of the social spectrum – the upper and lower (dalit) castes – against the middle castes. The victory of the Janata party after emergency could be seen as the reassertion of the middle segment. When the Janata experiment failed, these sections extended support to the regional formations. In the 80's electoral decline of the Congress party was not a result of the mobilization of new social groups but rather was due largely to the elements of its coalition that had once supported it now opted for different parties. The replacement of one-party dominant system by state-specific parties was explained as resulting from pre-existing social cleavages that are state specific. Since the cleavages were state specific, only state-based parties could emerge.

After the 1980s, attempts were made in some States, especially in Bihar and UP, to forge parties mainly on the basis of overwhelming support from certain castes. With the emergence of an urban middle class among the lower castes, largely due to the state policies of land reforms, reservations in education and employment, consolidation of horizontal identities among them and given their numerical strength, the elites from these castes broke away from the mainstream parties and formed caste-specific parties to stake their claim for power. The Mandal and the anti-Mandal agitations brought this issue to the fore in the late 1980s and early 1990s. The rise of the BSP, with a solid support from the dalits and that of the SP in UP, the Samata and the RJD in Bihar, the PMK and Puthiya Tamilagam in Tamil Nadu can be understood in this context. They could come to power on their own or in alliance with others. The decline of the Congress in UP and Bihar was mainly attributed to the walking out of various caste groups from the Congress fold in favour of caste-based parties.

The BJP has developed a political support base of the upper strata comprising the upper castes and upper classes. While the BJP succeeded in drawing heavily from its smaller core constituency and supplementing it with selective support from other sections in different parts of the country, the Congress support in its wider constituency had thinned down. Moreover, the Congress was restricted to picking up the remainder vote of those communities that were not courted and captured by other parties.

THE EVOLUTION OF PARTY SYSTEM

The evolution of parties and party system in India after Independence can be divided into four phases;

1. Period of Congress consolidation and dominance (1952-67)
2. Consolidation of opposition parties and emergence of multi-party system (1967-89)
3. period of flux (1989-98);
4. Shaping of coalitional party system (1998-2014),
5. BJP Era (2014 to present).

Most discussions on political parties in India start with the emergence of the Congress dominance during the 1950s and its breakdown during the 60s and 70s. During this period the

Congress party acted as dominant party and acquired legitimacy through its tradition of national movement. Congress party was also having strong leaders, many of whom were associated with the nationalist movement. With Indian partition, the main rival to the Congress, the Muslim League, was removed from the electoral scene.

Electoral politics that replaced the politics of freedom struggle had severely constricted the space available to non-Congress parties. The small parties were also suffering from structural deficiencies, which made them non entity. They were further rendered feeble under the first past the post electoral system followed in India. It enabled the Congress to gain two-thirds majority in the legislatures. The multiplicity of parties and the presence of large number of independents enhanced the chances of victory for the Congress. Thus the presence of other parties in legislatures was much below their popular support. As the Congress eclipsed the non-Congress liberal parties, those who aspired to continue in politics had to seek space within the Congress fold. During this time Congress enjoyed exclusive control over governmental power at the Centre and in most of the States. Neither the pre-Independence non-Congress parties nor the newly emerged parties could present a viable alternative to the Congress. India thus produced a 'one-party dominance' model. This one party dominance system is however different from one-party system. Congress was not against other parties, but the numerous opponents failed to command public trust and legitimacy in Indian politics.

The consolidation of the Congress and the weak opposition led to a belief that the Congress system was invincible. However, the beauty of democracy lies in its ability to provide ground for the working out of the opposition to the dominant idea or institution. Alongside the blossoming of the Congress dominance, a second phase appeared. New opposition parties began to emerge in the 1950s and 1960s. Several leaders within the Congress, who were either disgruntled with the policies of the party or denied access to power went out of it and formed separate parties – Socialist parties, Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party (KMPP), Krishikar Lok Party (KLP), Bangla Congress, Kerala Congress, Jana Congress in Orissa, Swatantra, Bharatiya Kranti Dal, etc. Other parties, rooted in long-standing anti-Congress orientations, also began to gain strength: SAD in Punjab, Muslim League in Kerala, DMK in Tamil Nadu, National Conference in Jammu & Kashmir, etc. The Communist party too split on the question of support to the Congress party and those who took a vehement anti-Congress position, saying that defeat of the Congress was necessary for the advancement of people's democracy in the country.

The emergence of new parties is well evidenced with the history of CPM. The party was born in 1964. Within three years it became the ruling party in Bengal and Kerala. Together with this the late 60s and 70s saw the consolidation of the non-Congress parties. Although the Congress retained power at the Union level in the 1967 elections, the party citadels began crumbling in several States. Opposition parties forged alliances and formed governments in eight major Indian States. Biju Patnaik, who formed the Utkal Congress in 1970, advocated the theory that future belongs to provincial parties which championed the hopes and aspirations of the people of their respective regions. Visions of a federal government comprising representatives from different States began to appear on the political horizon. For the first time since independence the

Congress suffered massive defections, as the Congress leaders who were dissatisfied have other parties to look to. It is in this background Rajni Kothari spoke of the dominant party model giving way to a more differentiated structure of party competition. Morris-Jones (1978) joined Kothari when he observed that the new situation brought a number of opposition parties fully into the market place, and competition that had previously occurred within the Congress was now brought into the realm of inter-party conflict.

EMERGENCY AND NEW PROTEST

The agitations led by Jayaprakash Narayan, the imposition of Emergency, and finally the formation of the Janata party in 1977 brought far-reaching changes in the structure of party competition. The Janata party came through the merger of different parties – Socialist Party, Bharatiya Lok Dal, Bharatiya Jan Sangh and the Congress (O). The Congress for democracy under the leadership of Jagjivan Ram joined the party after the election. The emergence of a viable non-Congress party and its capturing of power at the Centre raised the hope of a two-party system taking shape. But this experiment soon fizzled out with leadership quarrels in the Janata party. After a gap of nine years the non-Congress parties once again came to power in 1989, under the banner of National Front. But it too collapsed within two years. The leaders of these parties, although very experienced and talented, were unable to work out a broad programme to aggregate political groups and to overcome the deep-seated party identities. Thus, the non-Congress alliance was unable to consolidate the significant support it received from the electorate and continue in power. However, the Janata and National Front experiments proved that it was possible to displace the Congress if the non-Congress parties could come together.

THIRD PHASE

The 1980s was a period of great flux. It saw the emergence of more and more new parties. Several National and regional parties were born as the Janata party began to fall apart. Some old parties took new name, such as the BJP (formed in 1980), which began to gain strength as the major opposition to the Congress at the national level and in some States. The Bahujan Samaj Party began to take shape in the North as the representative of the dalits. New regional parties sprouted, developed and captured power in States: such as the TDP (1983) in AP and the AGP (1985) in Assam. As a result of reconfiguration of politics numerous small parties began to gain strength or emerge: All India Muslim League (1948), Shiva Sena (1966), Jharkhand Mukti Morcha (1972), Manipur People's Party, Mizo National Front (1965), J&K Panthers Party, Nagaland People's Party, Nagaland People's Council, Sikkim Sangrama Parishad, Indian People's Front, etc. are examples. The pluralistic nature of India's federal polity began to assert itself in the party domain. Here national parties were forced to bank on regional and small parties. It should be noted that earlier these regional parties were accused of parochialism and kept aside from the mainstream. Now the nationalist parties eagerly made election arrangements with small and regional parties. The regional parties gained a voice in national politics. They demanded for a more federal government and more autonomy to the States. Yogendra Yadav terms it as a "post-Congress polity". Congress was no longer the pole against which every polity formation was defined. The constraint on voter to vote for or against it was no more there. Even in those States where there

was a direct race between the Congress and its rival, the Congress was no more the natural party of governance. The political space was occupied by three forces: the Congress, BJP and others. The third space became the spring of political alternatives. As people at all levels of society became increasingly aware of the logic of electoral politics, a new awakening occurred among the great mass of India's voters. They became more assertive and their difficult to govern.

This period of flux also saw a decline in the capacity of institutions to respond to pressures from society. This decay affected most political parties. The awakening of the electorate and the decay of parties combined to generate two major tendencies: (i) the way the elections were won or lost, and (ii) growing divergence between the logic of politics at the national level and the logic of politics in various State-level arenas. Thus this period was marked by greater competition among parties and also by greater instability within many parties. It was a time characterized by abundant alternation between parties in power at the State and national levels.

This shift was necessitated by certain contingencies in Indian politics during this period. Firstly, the nature of development and the policies pursued by the government during three decades of independence saw the emergence of new political forces. The rise of the aspiring political elites from among the intermediate peasant communities is one major factor that added to the dynamism of state politics. With Mrs. Gandhi's attempts to reduce her dependence on the prominent leaders in States due to her experience during 1967-69, to undercut the leaders in States by resorting to populist politics and attempts to directly communicate with the masses, disenchantment set in among those who began to exercise power in their regions. As a result of the popularization of democracy and superimposition of leaders on State units by Mrs. Gandhi, people who belonged to the intermediate castes began to look for non-Congress parties where they offered a viable alternative to the Congress or formed new parties. Secondly, people of certain castes are coterminous with the geographical boundaries of States. This also contributed to the rise of regional parties. The growth of non-Congress opposition and regional parties in Punjab, Jammu and Kashmir, Orissa, Maharashtra, Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Kerala, etc. can be explained on this thesis. Wherever the non-Congress regional parties already existed (such as the SAD or the DMK) they got consolidated and quickly rose to power. The leaders who founded regional parties claimed that the national parties in India did not give due importance to regional aspirations. In terms of parliamentary presence in the Lok Sabha, the Congress for the first time in 1996 became the second party, behind the BJP.

ERA OF COALITIONS

The growth of the BJP after 1989 and its coming to power in 1998 marked a turning point in the history of party politics in the country. The rapid expansion in the electoral support for the BJP and sudden increase in the number of its MPs in the Parliament, and its ability to forge alliances with several parties to come to power marked the party politics of the 1990s. It inaugurated the emergence of bipolarities in the States and at the Centre. While in the States it is in the form of a competition between two parties or between two competing alliances, at the national level it was mainly a competition between competing alliances. As the BJP gained strength, the effort by the Janata Dal and other regional parties of the United Front to work with

the third alternative proved to be in vain. The tri-nodal party system that raised hopes in the 1990s got slowly melted away. The formation of alliances and coalition governments at the National and State levels ushered in a new phase in party competition and cooperation. The NDA government at the Centre during 1999-2004 had about 25 partners in it. Wallowing in its former glory, the Congress party wanted to come to power on its own. But on the eve of 2004 Lok Sabha elections it finally realized that it could not do so and forged alliances with 16 parties. The ability to rope in the support of the regional and small parties and their electoral performance decided the fate of the National parties. In 2004 elections, a loss of few allies and the poor performance of two or three of its partner State parties caused an electoral disaster for the NDA.

In 2014 general elections the BJP led alliance won 282 seats and sidelined Congress with 44 seats in Lok Sabha. It was the first time after 1984 general elections that a party won enough seats to rule alone. The 2014 election also signifies a major shift in the Indian party system. BJP emerged as the single major party. In the following years BJP established their presence in majority of the states. By the assembly elections in the states of Tripura, Meghalaya and Nagaland in 2018, BJP and its allies gained power in 20 states. Congress party was limited to five states.

NATURE OF INDIAN PARTY SYSTEM

Party system in India is of special significance since it offers a unique model. It is a result of long term evolution.

Multiparty system: As of now India follows a multiparty system. The number of relevant parties at the national and State levels has enormously increased. The number of parties represented in the Lok Sabha had increased three-fold between 1957, the year in which parties got stabilized, and 2004. In 1989 there was a big jump in the number of parties participating in the Lok Sabha elections.

Dominance of state parties: Most of the parties designated as National parties and State parties at the time of first general elections did not exist after 20 years. In the first general elections there were 14 national parties. But only four of them retained the National party status by the time of second general elections. The birth and death rate for the State parties is high. They have seen not only serious ups and downs in their electoral fortunes, but several of them lost out in the race to be recognized as State party and some parties slowly died out. Some State parties are more stable, such as the SAD, DMK, National Conference, JMM, MGP, Sikkim Democratic Front, ADMK, RSP, FB, Muslim League, Kerala Congress, and later the TDP, AGP, Shiva Sena, SP, RJD, Trinamool Congress, splinter groups of the Janata Dal and the BJD.

Electoral strength of regional parties: The vote share of the National parties had declined considerably. Most of this was due to the decline of the Congress vote. The year 1996 could be the watershed as far as the relative share of votes and seats for the National and State parties are concerned. In that election, the National parties lost 11 per cent vote and 75 seats, whereas the State parties gained 9 per cent vote and 78 seats. Their vote and seat share had increased since 1996. The vote share of the State parties had gone up by more than 20 percent between 1952 and

2004. They grew in strength at the expense of the National parties. State parties today not only play a crucial role in the victory and defeat of the National parties, they control power or function as the opposition, and in some cases as main opposition parties, in all most all the major States.

Power sharing by major parties: Most of the major parties in India had captured power at one or the other level. There are no more permanent ruling or opposition parties. Some parties play the role of ruling party at the Union level and that of opposition at the State level or the vice versa. Of the 50 odd regional parties, 43 had so far ruled or shared power either at the Union or State level or both. Indian polity has reached a situation where no single party is in a position to form governments at the national level. This resulted in the emergence of a two-coalitional party system, in which the two leading national parties, with more or less equal electoral strength, act as central pillars to the rival coalitions.

Peaceful transformations: Party system in India has seen peaceful transfer of power among parties. There are only very few exceptions when parties refused to participate in elections or refused to recognize the election result as legitimate. When the Janata party won elections in 1977 the transfer of power was smooth. The parties could put behind the Emergency experience and bring democratic politics back onto the rails. Indeed, there was intolerance towards opposition and it became evident within a decade after Independence. When the communist party won the mandate in Kerala in 1957, it was allowed to form the government, but a “liberation struggle” was launched to destabilize and later to dismiss the government. In many occasions the Congress, misused the Art. 356 to dismiss duly elected governments at the State level. However, in most cases the aggrieved parties chose to launch democratic struggles.

Movement against corruption: A recent phenomenon in India is the movement against corruption. Normally this can operate as a social movement. But in India they consolidated as a political party under AamAdmi. The victory of AamAdmi Party in Delhi evidences a new shift to the Indian party system. It demands more accountability in public fields and use innovative method for operation. The new social media was effectively used by the party in its propaganda work and administration. This compelled major political parties to shift their modalities of operations.

B. ALL INDIA PARTIES

India is a land of multi-party system with recognition accorded to national and state and District level parties. All the political parties that wish to contest elections are required to be registered by the Election Commission of India (ECI). Registered parties are upgraded as recognized national or state level parties based upon objective criteria. As per latest data from Election Commission(2017), the total number of parties registered was 1841, with 7 national, 49 states and 1785 unrecognised parties. A registered party is recognised as a National Party only if it fulfils any one of the following three conditions:

1. The party wins 2% of seats in the Lok Sabha from at least 3 different States.
2. At a General Election to Lok Sabha or Legislative Assembly, the party polls 6% of votes in four States and in addition it wins 4 Lok Sabha seats.

3. A party gets recognition as a State Party in four or more states.

There are seven national parties in India. They are the Congress, the Bharatiya Janata Party, the Communist Party of India (CPI), the CPI (M), the BahujanSamaj Party, TrinamoolCongress and the Nationalist Congress Party.

C. REGIONAL PARTIES

India is a land of regional parties. Regional parties are parties, whose main holds are in one particular region or state. They generally limit their operations within the territorial limits. Some prominent regional parties include Dravida Munnetta Kazhakam (DMK) in Tamil Nadu, Telugu Desham Party (TDP) in Andhra Pradesh, Shiromani Akali Dal (SAD) in Punjab, Shivasena in Maharashtra, Kerala Congress in Kerala, National Conference in Kashmir, HariyanaVikas Party in Haryana, Manipur Peoples party in Manipur, Sikkim Democratic Front in Sikkim, Misso National Front in Mizoram. These regional parties have considerable influence over national as well state politics. With the coming of coalition politics most of the regional parties acquired national significance. This can be explained in connection with the weakening of the Indian National Congress and emergence of new political demands, priorities and polarities in the Indian polity.

Some authors argue that regional identity is constitutive of Indian national identity as a whole. Rajni Kothari says that the India's nation-building process is driven by two simultaneoustrends: administrative-political re-structuring and the inter-penetration and growth of multiplepower centers as well as new elites through a re-configuration of social and economicstructures.

The regional party ascendance is a part of an ongoing process of party systemchange in India since 1967. In the early phase of post-Independencepolitics India's party landscape was dominated by the Indian National Congress. This phasewas characterized by the Congress Party's winning the largest vote shares and seat shares inboth the national and State level elections. During this period, voters had no strong incentives to vote for opposition parties since in most districts the opposition candidates receivedsignificantly lower vote shares than most Congress candidates, making it unlikely that theywould ever be elected. This division ensured that the Congress remained the winning partyacross the States throughout India. Talented politicians alsohad no incentives to run as opposition candidates since the status of the INC as the party ofthe freedom struggle and its effective political machines throughout the regions made runningagainst Congress candidates a risky strategy. In consequence, opposition politicians frequentlyjoined the Congress party between elections or even during election campaigns to availthemselves of this Congress advantage. The fluidity of the party systemincreased significantly after the 1967 national and State elections. In the Lok Sabha electionsof that year the Congress Party suffered losses in both seat and vote shares. In the Stateassembly elections of the same year, it lost power in seven of the eight States holdingelections that year. Most of the parties winning the State elections in 1967 were splinterfactions of the Congress.

One of the consequences of the ascent of regional parties over the last three decades has been the slow erosion of national party preeminence in the national party system. This erosion has led regional parties to become viable if volatile coalition partners in national coalition governments between 1977 and 1979 and again after 1989 in a number of minority coalition cabinets. With the shift from the old "Congress system" to a competitive multi-party democracy at the regional, as well as at the national levels, the once dominant Indian National Congress (INC), has mostly become relegated from the dominant to a mere formateur status in the process of government formation after regional or national elections.

Reasons for the emergence of several strong and viable regional parties during 1980s and later received good attention of political scientists. The new party equations might have evolved out of several incidents. Firstly, the nature of development and the policies pursued by the government during three decades of independence saw the emergence of new political forces. The rise of the aspiring political elites from among the intermediate peasant communities as one major factor that added to the dynamism of state. Secondly, people of certain castes are coterminous with the geographical boundaries of States. This also contributed to the rise of regional parties

The regional parties are vital for the health of democracy. They offer alternative policies and programmes. They ensure effective representation of all regions and interests in representative institutions. The regional parties can have better access to the concerns of the local people and minorities. In the context of the diverse structure of Indian polity the regional parties also relieve the national parties from their burdens. Better inner party democracy is also possible in regional parties. It facilitates better constituency representative communications. However critics are in legion and they argue on grounds of national unity and disintegrating tendencies. To many regional parties destabilize Indian polity and result in political stalemates and crises. But this argument is not validated through the Indian experience. In India the ever increasing number of political parties and regional groupings might have resulted in hanging parliaments and minority governments, but they positively promoted the cause of Indian democracy. The test of a political party is their public acceptance and in India the regional parties effectively mobilized public support and became legitimate champions of public will.

MODULE III

ELECTORAL POLITICS

INTRODUCTION

Elections are the most important and integral part of the politics in a democratic system of governance. Democracy sustains on the consent of the governed. This consent is rightly expressed through elections. India has the distinction of being the largest democracy of the world. Part XV of the Indian constitution deals with elections. The very fact that elections have been discussed in the constitution and itself and made an integral part of it indicates that the constitutional makers fully well appreciated the need and the necessity of free election. For successful working of democracy, it is essential that elections should be free and impartial. While politics is the art and practice of dealing with political power, election is a process of legitimization of such power, democracy can function only upon this faith that elections are free and fair and not rigid and manipulated, that they are effective instruments of ascertaining popular will with in reality and in form and are not mere rituals to generate illusion of difference to mass opinion.

Article 324 to 329 in part XV of the Indian constitution make the following provisions with regard to the electoral system in India. By article 324 the constitution provides for an independent election commission in order to ensure free and fair elections in the country. At present the commission consists of a chief election commissioner and two election commissioners. The article provides that there is to be only one general roll for every territorial constituency for election to the parliament and the state legislature. No person is to be ineligible for inclusion in the electoral roll on grounds only of religion, race, caste sex or any of them. Further, no person can claim to be included in any special electoral roll for any constituency on grounds only of religion, race, caste or sex or any of them. The elections to the Lok Sabha and the State assemblies are to be on the basis of adult franchise. Parliament may make provision with respect to all matters relating to elections to the parliament and the state legislatures including the preparation of electoral rolls, the delimitation of constituencies and all other matters necessary for securing their due constitution. In exercise of this power, the parliament has enacted the following laws.

- a) Representation of the people Act of 1950 which provides for the qualifications of voters, preparation of electoral rolls, delimitation of constituencies, allocations of seats in the parliament and state legislatures and so on.
- b) Representation of the people Act of 1951 which provides for the actual conduct of elections and deals with administrative machinery for conducting elections, the poll, election offences, election disputes, by elections, registration of political parties and so on.
- c) Delimitation commission Act of 1952 which provides for the readjustment of seats, delimitation and reservation of territorial constituencies and other related matters.

Besides the three laws there are other laws and rules in respect of elections.

The state legislatures can make provision with respect to all matters relating to elections to the state legislatures including the preparation of electoral rolls and all other matters necessary for securing their due constitution. The constitution declares that the validity of any law relating to the delimitation of constituencies or the allotment of seats to such constituencies cannot be questioned in any court. The constitution lays down that no election to the parliament or the state legislature is to be questioned except by an election petition presented to such authority and in such manner as provided by the appropriate legislature.

Article 323 B empowers the appropriate legislature to establish a tribunal for the adjudication of election disputes. It also provides for the exclusion of the jurisdiction of all courts (except the special leave appeal jurisdiction of the supreme court) in such disputes. So far, no such tribunal has been established. It must be noted that in Chandra Kumar case (1997), the Supreme Court declared this provision as unconstitutional. Consequently, if at any time an election tribunal is established, an appeal from its decision lies to the high court.

POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Participation is the principal means by which consent is granted or withdrawn in a democracy and rulers are made accountable to the ruled. Thus political participation involves criticism of the government. Therefore, the rulers always take care to rule according to the public opinion. Political participation does not depend upon the democratic political system alone but is also influenced by so many other factors.

ACTIVITIES OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

According to J.L. Woodward and F.R. Robert political participation involves the following activities;

1. **Voting at the polls** – In a democracy the adult males and females have a right to participate in elections. This is mainly carried out through voting. The age of participation varies in different states from 18 to 21 years.
2. **Membership of pressure groups**- An important activity of political participation is the active membership of political pressure group.
3. **Communication by legislators**- Modern democracies are generally indirect, since the number of people is so large they cannot directly participate in the political activities. Hence, in most of the countries the people elect members of legislatures. Before elections, the candidates contact the voters, educate them and ask for their votes. Thus the political participation of the people does not end with the elections but the political activities constantly go on between the voters and the legislators on the one hand and the legislators and local leaders on the other. The legislators who fail to do so or who do not maintain public contact should not hope for victory in future elections.
4. **Participation in political party**-Every democracy has two or more political parties. Each political party has a specific ideology and it constantly propagates it. This propagation is done

by political workers who are active members of a political party and some of them are whole time political workers. Most of the political parties have their network of workers in every nook and corner of the country. This is particularly true about a political party at the national level. Democracy allows people to from political party and activity participate in any political group.

5. Propaganda of political opinion. Before election and almost all the time after it every political party tries to propagate it's ideology. Each party has a right to propagate it's ideas everywhere through newspapers magazines and other means of communication. Before election the speed of political participation increases. From time to time the local and national political issues are taken up to maintain activity. Not only the political issues but many non-political problems becomes the basis of political movements. Meetings are organized, processions taken out, memoranda submitted and demonstrations held.

According to L.Milbrath, the activities included in political participation may be divided into-gladiatorial activities, transitional activities and spectator activities.

1. **Gladiatorial activities.** This category includes the activities which are part of routine of the political parties such as elections to political post, participation in the elections to legislature, gathering fund for the party, movements to increase membership and organization of meeting to form public opinion etc.
2. **Transitional activities.** These include activities of the helpers and well-wishers of the political parties such as hearing the lectures of the leaders, donating to the fund of the party and maintaining contact with the leaders of the party.
3. **Spectator activity:** This category includes voting, influencing other's vote, participating in political debates, being influenced by political stimuli, wearing badges of the political party and distributing leaflets etc.

The classification of political participation is of two types: active and passive. This classification is based upon time, energy and means utilization.

Passive – all the people do not want to devote time, energy or money in political activities. They are only spectators.

Active - Those who create the spectacle are the active political participants.

Another classification of political participation is based upon purpose. From the point of view of purpose political participation is of two types; **Instrumental:** In instrumental political participation the persons aim at achieving definite purposes such as victory in the elections by the political party, enactment of a bill in the legislature or increasing the field of influence of a particular leader, **Expressive:** Expressive political participation does not have definite objects. It only aims at the satisfaction or the release of a feeling. Some persons vote to achieve the victory of a particular candidate whereas most of the voters vote for the satisfaction or the use of their voting right.

POLITICAL APATHY.

Some people do not participate in political activities. This in activity generally termed as political apathy. It is a serious issue in the participation debates. This make heavy burden on the democratic processes. Political apathy is not sign of democracy alone. It is found in some forms or the other even is non-democratic systems. It is a type of political passivity, which may provides support for the regime. But it enables the individual to avoid the politicization of his whole being. Some people do not participate in political activities due to absence of information and lack of interest in the political field. This apathy is not optional. It is generally found in illiterate, lonely and poor member of society. There are various causes of political apathy.

REASONS OF POLITICAL APATHY.

Political apathy may be due to the following reasons.

- 1. Absence of reward:** The chief cause of political apathy is that, as compared to other human activities, political activity is less rewarded. For example helping the relatives and friends or gathering means of material enjoyments provide satisfaction. It is more than the reward of the political participation. In other words, such a person finds political participation of very low value. This devaluation may be psychological or social. In Indian situation there are many taboos associated with political participation. Thus women and marginalized often shut off from politics.
- 2. Consciousness of political helplessness:** A significant cause of political apathy is the consciousness of political helplessness among some people. Wherever citizens feel that their political activity does not give significant results, they reduce political participation.
- 3. Satisfaction with the political system:** If a person is satisfied from the present political system and finds it absolutely efficient and effective, he may be apathetic to political participation. It is due to the belief that the political system will continue even he if does not participate in political activity.
- 4. Dissatisfaction with the political system:** On the other hand, if some person are absolutely disillusioned of a political system, they also leave political participation. In their absolute dissatisfaction, they think that the political system is so corrupt that his participation will bring no significant changes. He believes that it cannot be reformed or they have no power to reform it. Therefore they think it better to save themselves from corruption, keeping themselves away from politics. Sometimes this kind of political apathy becomes an ideology

DETERMINANTS OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

The important determinants of participation change are as follows.

(A) Psychological factors: political participation very much depends upon psychological factors. Common political beliefs lay the ground work for shaping equivalent emotions of anger sympathy and distress. Common interests improve the opportunities for small talk, common activities create bonds of friendship, politics may offer to lonely more new opportunities for association with

others. Politics participation is also determined by unconscious conflicts and tension. Man always seeks power because he feels happiness in being powerful. Generally the urge to power is active on the unconscious level. Consciously or unconsciously the ego of the political leader seeks satisfaction from political activities.

(B) Social Factors: Besides the psychological factors, social factors are important determinants of social participation. Social factors are part of the social environment of a person influencing his social status. The most important such factors are education, occupation, income, age, residence, mobility, sex, religion, race and class, etc. It has been found that political participation has a high rate among individuals belonging to dominant caste, high class, dominant religion, minority having high education, high occupation, high income, male sex and stable residence. Education is the most important social factor influencing political participation. This influence is due to the fact that education widens man's field of interests. The educated person is more self-confident. Therefore, he can easily propagate his ideas. Thus he has more ability of political participation.

Occupation plays a key role in participation. The traders and the professional persons have to attend political development since their occupations are influenced by parties. In some occupations most of the persons have to face identical problem which brings them near each other. These people take more part in politics. Besides education and occupation, income has an important influence upon political participation. Higher income provides more leisure, diminishes anxieties and gives more occasions for political contacts. Therefore, in many countries in the west, the political leaders belong to higher income groups. However, in poor countries, the political leaders come from middle and lower classes.

Social status also influences political participation. Ordinarily, persons belonging to a lower social status show lower rate of political participation as compared to occupants of higher social status. Females are generally more conservative, detached and less interested in politics. This is also due to the reason that the females have higher ethics, more stability and higher cultural values which makes them misfit to certain range of politics. Religion also occupies a key role in deciding participation levels. Certain religions are apathetic to politics whereas some religions advice their followers to involve in politics. Race also influenced political participation. In countries distinguishing between white and black races, the white people show more political participation in comparison to black persons.

(C) Political factors: Besides the social factors the following political factors are important determinants of political participation.

1. Attitudes of government : The rate of political participation is lower in a country where the field of politics is so vast that transport and communication between all the corners is impossible – on the other hand in a country where competition for power is open, the rate of political participation is high. National and international crises increase political participation.

2. Political parties : Political parties also play an important role in political participation. The political parties take the opinion of the people to the government. They are the media of the expression of the demands of the people

ELECTORAL REFORMS

Electoral reforms means the change in electoral systems to improve electoral process. Since 1988, a number of reforms have been introduced in Indian electoral system.

Electoral reforms before 1996

The 61st constitutional Amendment Act of 1988 reduced the voting age from 21 years to 18 years for the Lok Sabha as well as the assembly elections. In 1988, a provision was made to provide that the officers and the staff engaged in preparation, revision and correction of electoral rolls for elections are deemed to be on deputation to the election commission for the period of such employment. Another reform in 1988 is that the number of electors who are required to sign as proposers in nomination papers for elections to the Rajya Sabha and state legislative council has been increased.

In 1989, a provision was made to facilitate the use of electronic voting machines (EVMS) in elections. The EVMS were used for the first time in the general elections (entire state) to the Assembly elections of Goa in 1999. This was a significant reform as it replaced the existing paper ballot system. The use of EVM make election process more smooth and electoral result vey early. The possibility of tampering is also low. Another issue attended by election commission during this period was the conduct of fair polls. During this time electoral violence was taking place in many parts of the country. Booth capturing was also frequent. In 1989, a provision was made for adjournment of poll of programme if booth capturing is reported. Booth capturing includes seizure of a polling station and making polling authorities surrender ballot papers or voting machines taking possession of polling station and allowing only one's own supporters to exercise their franchise.

Electoral reforms of 1996

In 1990, the national front government headed by VP sing appointed a committee on electoral reforms under the chairmanship of Dinesh Goswami, the then law minister. The committee was asked to study the electoral system in detail and suggest measures for remedying the drawbacks in the system. The committee, in it's report submitted in 1990, made a number of proposals on electoral reforms. Some of these recommendations were implemented in 1996.

a. Increase in security deposit

The amount of security deposit to be paid by the candidates contesting elections to the Loksabha was increased from Rs 500 to Rs 10,000 for the general candidates and from Rs 250 to Rs.5000 for SC and ST Candidates. Similarly, the security deposit in the case of elections to the state legislative assembly was increased from Rs.250 to Rs.5000 for the state legislative assembly was increased from Rs.250 to Rs.5000 for the general candidates and from Rs.125 to Rs.2,500 for the SC/ST candidates.

b. Listing of names of candidates

The candidates contesting elections are to be classified into 3 categories for the purpose of listing or their names. They are.1,Candidates of recognized political parties.2,Candidates of registered – unrecongised political parties.3,Other candidates.Their names in the list of contesting candidates and in the ballet papers has to appear separately in the above order and in each category they have to be arranged in the alphabetical order.

A person who is convicted for the following offences under the prevention of insult to national honor Act of 1971 is disqualified to contest in the elections to the parliament and state legislature for 6 years.

1. Offence of insulting the national flag
2. Offence of insulting the constitution of India
3. Offence of preventing the singing of national Anthem

No liquor or other intoxicants are to be sold or given or distributed at any shop ,eating place ,hotel or any other place whether public or private with in a polling area during the period of 48 hours ending with the hour fixed for the conclusion of poll. Any person who violates this rule is to be punished with imprisonment upto 6 months or with fine up to Rs.2000/- or with both.

Earlier, in case of death of a candidate before the actual polling ,the election used to countermanded. Consequently, the election process had to start all over again in the concerned constituency. But now,the election would not be countermanded on the death of a constituency candidate before the actual polling. According to the new reforms bye -election are to be held with in six months of occurrence of the vacancy in any house of parliament or a state legislature. But this condition is not applicable in two cases.

1. Where the reminder of the term of the member whose vacancy is to be filled is less than one year, or
2. When the election commission, in consultation with the central government ,certifies that it is difficult to held the by – election with in the said period.

The registered voters employed in any trade ,business, industry or any other established are entitled to a paid holiday on the polling day. This rule applies even to the daily wages. Any employer who violates the this rule is to be punished with fine upto Rs.500. however ,this rule is not applicable in the case of a voter whose absence may cause danger or substantial loss in respect of the employment in which he is engaged.Entering into the neighborhood of a polling station with any kind of arms is to be a cognizable offence. Such an act is punishable with imprisonment upto two years or with fine or with both.The minimum gap between the last date for withdrawal and the polling date has been reduced from 20 to 14 days.

ELECTORAL REFORMS AFTER 1996

In 1997 , the number of elections as proposers and seconders for contesting election tom the office of the president was increased from 10 to 50 and to the office of the vice-president from

5 to 20. Further, the amount of security deposit was increased from Rs.2,500 to 15,000 for contesting election to both offices of president and vice president so as to discourage frivolous candidates.

In 1998, a provision has been made where by the employers of local authorities , nationalized banks, universities, LIC ,government undertakings and other government aided institutions can be requisitioned for deployment on election duty. In 2003 , the facility to opt to vote through proxy was provided to the service voters belonging to the armed forces and members belonging to a force to which provisions of the army act applies

Declaration of criminal antecedents, assets,

In 2003 the election commission issued an order directing every candidate seeking election to the parliament or a state legislature to furnish on his nomination paper the information on the following matters.

1. Whether the candidate is convicted or acquitted or discharged in any criminal offence in the past
2. Prior to 6 months of filing nomination, whether the candidate is accused in any pending case, of any offence punishable with imprisonment for 2 years or more ,and in which charges were framed or cognizance was taken by a court
3. The assets of a candidate and his/her spouse and that of dependents
4. Liabilities ,if any, particularly whether there are any dues of any public financial institution or government dues.
5. The educational qualification of the candidate

In 2003 two changes were introduced with respect to elections to the RajyaSabha. Domicile or residency requirement of a candidate contesting an election to the RajyaSabha was removed. Prior to this, a candidate had to be an elector in the state from where he was to be elected. For elections to the RajyaSabha open ballot system was introduced. This replaced the old secret ballot system .This was done to curb cross-voting and wipeout the role of money power during RajyaSabha elections.

In 2003 the central government raised the maximum ceiling on election expenditure by candidates for Lok Sabha. It was also provided that the travelling expenditure incurred by the campaigning leaders of a political party shall be exempted from being included in the election expenses of the candidate. According to another 2003 provision, the government should supply, free of cost, the copies of the electoral rolls and other prescribed materials to the candidates of recognized political parties for the Lok Sabha and assembly elections. With another provision the political parties were entitled to accept any amount of contribution from any person or company other than a government. company. They have to report any contribution in excess of Rs.20000 to the election commission for making any claim to any income tax relief. Under a 2003 provision, the election commission should allocate equitable sharing of time on the cable television network

and other electronic media during election to display or propagate any matter or to address public. In 1998, the BJP led govt. appointed an 8 member committee on state funding of elections under the chairmanship of Indrajith Gupta. The committee submitted its report in 1999. It upheld the cause for introduction state funding of elections. It stated that state funding of elections is constitutionally and legally justified and is in public interest

NONE OF THE ABOVE (NOTA)

According to Conduct of Elections Rules there was a provision for rejection vote. Conduct of Elections Rules 1961 rule 49-O states that “If an elector, after his electoral roll number has been duly entered in the register of voters in Form-17A and has put his signature or thumb impression thereon as required under sub-rule (1) of rule 49L, decided not to record his vote, a remark to this effect shall be made against the said entry in Form 17A by the presiding officer and the signature or thumb impression of the elector shall be obtained against such remark.” According to this provision secrecy of the ballot is violated as the voter has to inform the presiding officer and an entry is made against his name in the voters list. Such voters are in danger of being victimized by some candidates or political parties. The numbers of such entries have to be mandatorily recorded in Form 17-A. Election Commission has directed that the entries should be compiled and recorded constituency wise and sent to the Commission. This information may also be obtained through Right to Information Act.

Before the introduction of EVMs, there were easy methods to by pass this regulation as the individual can mark no name in the list or can consciously make his vote invalid. It provides an option to the voter to reject all candidates. It also helps to keep a check on bogus voting as someone else will not be able to impersonate and vote in place of him in favor of any candidate. But the introduction of Electronic voting machine made such a short cut impossible.

In this background the Election Commission of India has received proposals from a very large number of individuals and organizations that there should be a provision enabling a voter to reject all the candidates in the constituency if he does not find them suitable. In many countries people were given right to register their dissent and reject the candidates placed by the political parties. The election commission of India was positive to these proposals. The Commission recommended that the law should be amended to specifically provide for negative / neutral voting. For this purpose, Rules 22 and 49B of the Conduct of Election Rules, 1961 may be suitably amended adding a provision that in the ballot paper and the particulars on the ballot unit, in the column relating to names of candidates, after the entry relating to the last candidate, there shall be a column None of the above, to enable a voter to reject all the candidates, if he chooses so. The ECI received no response to the proposal for amending the said rule, although the Minister in charge needed neither the Union Cabinet’s nod nor Parliament’s assent. In 2004, the then Chief Election Commissioner, T.S. Krishnamurthy, reiterated the proposal after naming the button as ‘none of the above’ but, for the first time, clearly articulating that it was to “to enable a voter to reject all the candidates, if he chooses so.” By then, the peoples union for civil liberties had

already moved the Supreme Court in the matter. The case came up for hearing in 2009. But heated arguments continued and the case was decided in positive.

On 27 Sept 2013, in an important decision Supreme Court mandates the use of NOTA button on EVMs and Ballot Papers. On 13 Oct 2013, The ECI ordered the Chief Electoral Officers of all States and UTs to provide for NOTA option in electronic voting machines and ballot papers. NOTA votes will also be counted and shown in final results. Moreover, ECI introduced NOTA in 2013 Legislative Assembly elections in Delhi, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Chhatisgarh and Mizoram. During these elections around 1.3 million people voted for NOTA. In these elections in some seats, the number of votes from people who rejected all parties was also higher than the number of votes received by the candidate who came in third. However it was provided that if NOTA votes outnumbered all the candidates contesting elections then in that case, candidate with most number of votes will be declared as winner. So, in other words, it is not a right to reject.

VOTER VERIFIED PAPER AUDIT TRAIL (VVPAT)

Voter Verified Paper Audit Trail is a verification system which enables voters to ascertain whether their votes were cast correctly or not. As of now with the electronic voting machines the voters are not in a position to identify the status of their vote. In this connection a Public Interest Litigation was filed seeking implementation of VVPAT to arrest election frauds and to ensure verification of choice of candidates by the voter. In 2013, the Supreme Court of India has directed the Election Commission to implement the VVPAT in a phased manner on an all India basis in the above case (Dr. Subramanian Swamy Vs. Election Commission of India, 2012). VVPAT was experimentally introduced in some booths during the 2013 state assembly elections. The project will soon be rolled in throughout in India. VVPAT systems usually consist of a thermal printer attached to an EVM with a spool of ballots enclosed within the machine. Each voter is to inspect his or her paper ballot to verify it matches the electronic record before casting the ballot. These paper records can also be used for a recount. When a voter casts his or her vote using the EVM, a ballot slip containing the serial number, name of the candidate and poll symbol will be printed thereby allowing the voter to verify whether his vote was recorded correctly or not. This ballot slip will be visible to the voter for about 5 seconds behind a ballot slip viewing window. After this, the slip will get cut and will fall into a compartment.

ISSUES IN ELECTORAL POLITICS

The election at present are not being conducted in ideal conditions because of the enormous amount of money required to be spent and the muscle power needed for winning the elections. The major hindrances which come in the path of electoral system in India are:

1. Money power

Money power plays in an electoral system distinctive role affecting seriously the working of periodic elections. It leads to all round corruption and contributes mainly to the generation of black money economy which rolls at present our country. The elections in India are becoming

increasing expensive and the gap between the expenses incurred and legally permitted expense is increasing over the years.

2. Muscle power

Violence, pre election intimidation, post election victimization, booth capturing both silent and violent are mainly the products of muscle power. They are prevalent in many parts of the country like Bihar, western Uttar Pradesh, Maharashtra etc.

3. Misuse of govt. machinery

It is generally complained that the government in power at the time of election misuse official machinery to further the election prospects of its party candidates. The misuse of official machinery takes different forms, such as issue of advertisement at the cost of government and public exchequer highlighting their achievements, disbursements out of the discretionary funds at the disposal of the ministers, use of government vehicles for canvassing etc.

4. Criminalisation of Politics

Many criminal elements enter into electoral politics. At one time politics hired criminals to help them win elections by booth capturing. But later these criminals themselves came to the political arena as contestants.

5. Non-Serious Candidates

In recent years there has been a steady increase in the number of candidates in elections. Many of these candidates are not serious about elections and they have no ideologies and proposals.

6. Political Instability, Hung Parliaments

There has been a great deal of political instability during last decades. The result has been unstable administration and unstable politics, the hall mark of minority governments..

7. Casteism

Although there is hardly any instance in India of a political party being totally identified with any particular caste group, yet there are cases of certain castes lending strong support to particular political parties. If the caste group is dominant and the political party is an important one, this interaction is all the more prominent.

8. Communalism

The emergence in India of the politics of communalism and religious fundamentalism in the post independence period has led to a number of separate movements in various states and regions of the country. Caste and religion have in recent years enlarged as rallying points of gain electoral support. There is also a tendency to play upon caste and religious sentiments and field candidates in elections with an eye on the equations and communal configurations.

9. Lack of Moral Values

There has been very sharp erosion in the ideological orientation of political parties. Party dynamics in India has led to the emergence of valueless politics much against the ideals of the father of the nation, Mahatma Gandhi. The Gandhian values of the spirit of service to the nation has become extinct from the present day politics.

SUGGESTIONS FOR REFORM

The following suggestion are be taken into consideration for making electoral systems free and fair .

- a) At present. the Election Commission is at the mercy of the government for its requirements. The CEO should not be at the mercy to executive and parliament for it's requirements. He should have separate and independent election department to enhance it's objectively and impartiality.
- b) Political corruption should be stopped by providing funds to genuine candidates through political parties whose account should be auditable.
- c) For having a true democracy the registration and recognition of the political parties should be fair and without any kinds of influence.
- d) Mass media should play a non-partisan role in election and as safeguard of democracy
- e) The secrecy of voters preference to any candidate should be maintained.
- f) The election machinery must function honesty and impartially at every stage.
- g) The names of the voters may be included in the electoral rolls even at the time of casting of voters by the polling officer, when he finds a genuine case.
- h) Unearth and confiscate black money, which is widely used for buying voters.

Election system has allowed the voters not only to freely choose representatives, but also to change governments peacefully both at the state and national level. Elections have becomes a part and parcel of our democratic life. The election at present are not being held in ideal conditions, because of the enormous amount of money required to be spent and large muscle power need for winning the elections. Through many of its positive interventions the election commission gained public confidence. Now a days the country is able to conduct more peaceful elections. The voter in India has gained confidence. The election observers are appointed by election commission to check any misbehavior from the part of candidates and parties. The legitimacy of the election commission has increased in the eyes of the people. If the election process becomes more flawless, voters and citizens would be able to share more effectively in this carnival of democracy and make it more meaningful.

MODULE IV

CHALLENGES TO SECULAR POLITY

INTRODUCTION

Secularism is defined as the principle of separation of government institutions and persons mandated to represent the state from religious institutions and religious officials. Accordingly, public activities and decisions, especially political ones, should remain uninfluenced by religious beliefs and practices. Secularism draws its intellectual roots from Greek and Roman philosophers. The purposes and arguments in support of secularism vary widely. In Western states, it has been argued that secularism is a movement toward modernization, and away from traditional religious values. The term "secularism" was first used by the British writer George Jacob Holyoake in the year 1851. This notion was associated with free thought. Secularism is often associated with the Age of Enlightenment in Europe and played a major role in Western society. The principles of separation of church and state in the United States and in France draw heavily on secularism. Secular states also existed in the Islamic world during the Middle Ages .

In political terms, secularism is a movement towards the separation of religion and government. This may refer to reducing ties between a government and a state religion, replacing laws based on scripture with civil laws, and eliminating discrimination on the basis of religion. This is said to add to democracy by protecting the rights of religious minorities. Modern Democracies are generally recognized as secular. This is due to the near-complete freedom of religion and the lack of authority of religious leaders over political decisions.

SECULARISM AND SECULARIZATION

The mere institutional separation of state and religion cannot be the distinguishing mark of secular states. Institutional disconnection is a necessary condition for secular states and, especially in states with long tradition of strong establishments or theocracy. But separation by itself does not install as secular state and is not the distinguishing feature of political secularism. Bhargava identifies three levels of disconnection. A state may be disconnected from religion at the level of a) ends b) at the level of institutions and c) the level of law and public policy.

A secular state is distinguished from theocracies and states with established states by a primary, first-level disconnection. A secular state has free standing ends. It is clearly disconnected from the ends of religion or conceivable without a connection with them. States with established religions have something in common with secular states- at least a partial institutional disconnection. But secular states go further in the direction of disconnection; they break away completely. They withdraw favours or privileges that established religions had earlier taken for granted. Finally, a state may be disconnected from religion even at the level of law and public policy. Such a state maintains a policy of strict separation. The dominant self-understanding of western secularism is that this third level disconnection is crucial. When a state is disconnected from religion at all three levels, a 'wall of separation' has been erected between the two. On the

wall of separation conception of secularism, the state must have nothing to do with religion. Religion must be outside the purview of the state, and in this sense, it must be privatized. But there are two other modes of relating to religion at this third level. The state may either be strictly neutral, with religion or it may even go beyond neutrality: A secular state is to be distinguished not only from theocracy but also from a state where religion is established.

A non-theocratic state is not automatically secular because it is entirely consistent for a state not to be run by priests inspired by 'divine laws', but to have a formal alliance with one or more religions. Nor is a state separated from church necessarily secular, because church-state separation is incompatible with the establishment of religion. A secular state goes beyond church-state separation. To go beyond it is to refuse to establish religion. Therefore, a secular state follows principle of non-establishment. Thus, in a secular state, a formal or legal union or alliance between state and religion is impermissible. Official status is not given to religion. No religious community in such a state can say that the state belongs exclusively to it. Nor can all of together say that it belongs collectively to them and them alone. This does not mean that a secular state is anti-religious but it does imply that it exists and survives only when religion is no longer hegemonic. No one is compelled to pay tax for religious purposes or to receive religious instruction.

Secular states aim to end religious hegemony, oppression and domination and to do so by separating them from their structure. There are two reasons for separating state from religion. First, states may do so simply for self-aggrandizement, for example when states wish to maximize their own power and wealth. These states are not motivated by values such as peace, liberty or equality. Usually, such states are imperial and autocratic. Another category of secular state is value-based secular states. It is a non-self-aggrandizing secular state with several important and substantive values. The first of these is peace or rather the prevention of a society from its regression into barbarism. The second is toleration, i.e. the state does not persecute anyone on grounds of religion. Thirdly, a secular state is constitutively tied to the value of religious liberty.

SECULARISM IN INDIA

In India, secularism was a way of life to the ancient Indians. The Indian religious tolerance is well known all over the world and India is hailed a host to any number of religions. In this way foreign religions came to India and established themselves in the land. To many early king's religion was a matter outside state. However, since the early decades of the twentieth century, the politicization of religious identities has inexorably propelled religion into the public sphere. By the 1920s, at the very time when Mahatma Gandhi set out to forge a major mass movement that could take on colonialism, the politicization of religious identities, whether in the form of the Muslim League or that of the Hindu Mahasabha, could have hampered the project of building a pan-Indian freedom struggle. Mahatma Gandhi looked for a principle that could bind people who subscribed to different faiths together, and which could weld them into a mass movement.

NEHRU AND SECULARISM

Nehru's preferred notion of secularism was that of *dharma nirapekshata*. The public debate on the issue has been polarized between those who subscribe to the Nehruvian meaning of secularism, and those who subscribe to the meaning that Gandhi gave to the concept. Pandit Nehru continued to believe that the state could abstract the domain of policymaking from that of religion is debatable. For, the recurrent communal riots which culminated in the frenzy of the partition proved that religious prejudices, more than religious sensibilities, had become a constituent feature of Indian politics. To ignore this would have been bad historical understanding as well as bad politics. In the process of coming to terms with this reality of Indian politics, Nehruvian understanding of secularism came much closer to the notion of *sarva dharma sambhava*. Nehru, who by that time had become India's first Prime Minister, made this clear on various occasions. To him Firstly, secularism did not mean a state where religion as such is discouraged. It means freedom of religion and conscience, including freedom for those who may have no religion' secondly, for Nehru, the word secular was not opposed to religion.

To many secularism means something opposed to religion. To others it is a state which honors all faiths equally and gives them equal opportunities; that, as a state, it does not allow itself to be attached to one faith or religion, which then becomes the state religion. For Nehru, the concept of the secular state thus carried three meanings: (a) freedom of religion or irreligion for all, (b) the state will honor all faiths equally, and (c) that the state shall not be attached to one faith or religion, which by that act becomes the state religion. The creed of secularism therefore discouraged fears that one group had the right to stamp the body politic with its ethos, even if it is in a majority. Conversely, religious group would not be disprivileged in any way even though it happened to be in a minority. In effect, the meaning that secularism acquired in the Indian context is qualified with equal treatment of all faiths.

SECULARISM IN INDIAN CONSTITUTION

The constitutional discourse in constitutional assembly does not insist on a wall of separation between religion and politics. The former Chief Justice of India P.B Gajendragadkar, interpreted secularism as

- (a) the state does not owe loyalty to one religion;
- (b) it is not irreligious or anti-religious;
- (c) it gives equal freedom to all religions; and
- d) that the religion of the citizen has nothing to do in the matter of socio-economic problems.

Secularism is more than passive attitude of religious tolerance. It is a positive concept of equal treatment of all religions'. Accordingly, the judges ruled that the destruction of the Babri mosque by mob, was a clear violation of the equal treatment principle. Secularism, ruled Justice Sawant, was a part of the basic structure and the soul of the Constitution, and could not be

infringed in any way. For these reasons the court upheld the dismissal of four state governments ruled by the BharthiyaJanatha Party (BJP), and the imposition of President's rule in these states.

RIGHT TO RELIGION AND SECULARISM

The Constitution of India recognizes the freedom to profess, practice and propagate the religion under Article 25. Part (1) of Article 25 secures to every freedom of conscience: and the right to (i) profess religion; (ii) practice religion; and (iii) propagate religion. The term 'religion' has not defined in the constitution but Supreme Court of India defined religion in *Commissioner, H.R.E. Vs L.T.Swammiar*. Accordingly, religion is a matter of faith with individuals or communities and it is not necessarily theistic. A religion has its basis in a system of beliefs or doctrines, which are regarded by those who profess that religion as conducive to their spiritual well-being. A religion may not only lay down a code of ethical rules for its followers to accept, it might prescribe rituals and observances, ceremonies and modes of worship, which are regarded as integral parts of religion and these forms and observance might extend even to matters of food and dress.

The Constitution thus declares that every person has a fundamental right not only to hold whatever religious belief commend themselves to his judgement, but also to express his beliefs in such overt acts, as are prescribed by his religion and propagate its tenets among others. The exercise of this right is, however subject to 'public order, morality and public health.' In fact, the framers of the Indian constitution attempted to establish a delicate balance between 'essential interference and impartial interference' on the part of the state. They kept in consideration the possibilities of arising out of circumstances in which the government may have to impose restraints on the freedoms of individuals in collective interests.

Accordingly, Article 25 (2) provides broad sweeping power of interference to the state in religious matters. This Article imposes drastic limitations on the rights guaranteed under Article 25(1) and reflects the peculiar needs of Indian society. It is important to mention that law providing for the very extensive supervision by the state about temple administration has been enacted by virtue of this provision. Extensive modification of Hindu personal law (marriage, divorce, adoption, succession etc.) has been effected by legislation based on the provision permitting measures of social welfare and social reform. In a case on the validity of the Bombay Prevention of Hindu Bigamous Marriages Act of 1946, where the validity was upheld by the Bombay High Court the court observed that the enforcement of monogamy among Hindu is a measure of social reform which the state is empowered to legislate by Article 25 (2) (b) 'notwithstanding the fact that it may interfere with the right of a citizen freely to profess, practice and propagate religion'.

The same constitutional provision permits legislation opening Hindu religious institutions of a public character to all classes and sections of India. Harijan temple entry laws have been enacted by many of the state legislatures. The Central Untouchability (Offences) Act of 1955

provides that any attempt to prevent Harijans from exercising their right to enter the temple is punishable with imprisonment or fine or with both.

THE EQUALITY DEBATE

India's civil society is constituted in major part by the presence of religious communities. The Indian version of secularism is grounded in the principle of equality of all religions, and not in that of the separation of the state and religion. In the United States it is least possible to envision a clear separation of Church and state, in which religion and politics are maintained as distinct areas of human striving, and where the neutrality of equal treatment is broadened to require a hands-off policy for governing the relations between secular and religious institutions. But such an arrangement is inconceivable in India, where, upon initial analysis, religious and secular life are so pervasively entangled that a posture of official indifference cannot be justified either politically or constitutionally.

In this context the Indian stand on secularism can be well understood within the broader framework of the nation's commitment to social reform. Meaningful social reform required attention to the critical role of religion in Indian life. Article 25 of the Fundamental rights chapter of the Constitution makes this quite explicit: subject to public order, morality, and health...all persons are equally entitled to freedom of conscience and the right to freely profess, practice, and propagate religion. The second section of Article 25 states that nothing in this Article shall affect the operation of any existing law or prevent the state from making law regulating or restricting any economic, financial, political, or other secular activity that may be associated with religious practice, or in providing for social welfare and reform, or the throwing open of Hindu religious institutions of a public character to all classes and sections of Hindus. This is only case where the right to religion has been prefaced by numerous restrictions.

MINORITIES AND SECULARISM

In the 1920s, the political project of incorporating secularism was accompanied by an overlapping project, that of commitment to the rights of minorities to their own culture and religion. This commitment formed part of the Nehru Constitutional Draft of 1928, the Karachi Resolution of 1931, and later documents issued by the Indian National Congress. In one way the Partition of India signified the failure of the secular minority right project. The Congress leaders failed to convince the leadership of the Muslim League that the members of the Muslim community would be armed with equal citizenship rights as well as constitutional protection to their own religion in post-Independence India. The Constituent assembly met amidst wide-scale rioting, atrocities heaped by one religious community on another, massacres, and looting of property, country had been partitioned in the name of religion. But on the face of these adversaries the makers of the Constitution stood firm in their commitment to secularism as the explicit principle underlying the Constitution. It was not even considered necessary to mention secularism in the Constitution. It was only in 1976 that the Emergency regime of Prime Minister

Indira Gandhi inserted the word secular along with the word socialist into the Preamble of the Constitution.

The framers of the Constitution held fast to their commitment to the rights of minorities to their own culture and religion. The right of minorities to their own culture and the right to run their own religious institutions was granted vide Article 29, and more importantly by Article 30, of the Fundamental Rights chapter. These Articles have to be read along with Article 25, which provides for freedom of conscience and the right to freely profess, practice, and propagate religion. In sum, whereas Article 25 grants individual rights, Article 29 and 30 recognize groups as bearers of rights.

The grant of minority rights was accompanied by a special concession made to the minorities. They could retain their own personal laws. It is interesting to note that whereas the colonial government codified criminal and procedural law in India, it held back from codifying personal laws of Hindus and Muslims.

D.E. Smith suggested that the liberal democratic theory of secularism carries three connotations: (a) liberty and freedom of religion, (b) citizenship and the right to equality, non-discrimination, and neutrality, and (c) the separation of state and religion. In India, argued Smith, the first two principles have been for secularism, and as important constitutional values in their own right. However, the right of the state to intervene in the affairs of religion has deeply compromised these two principles. The core of the problem of Indian secularism, lies in the non-separation of state and religion. On the other hand, V.P. Luthera argued that since the wall of separation between religion and the state does not exist in India, the country is not and cannot be secular. In time, this academic debate was paralleled by an overlapping debate in political circles. The Hindu right, capitalizing upon the selectiveness with which Congress government have intervened in religious affairs, accused the government of practicing pseudo-secularism. It is not that the Hindu dismisses secularism. The argument goes deeper; if secularism means equality of all religions, the minority rights and retention of personal laws violate the basic precepts of secularism. Arun Shourie argued that first, the individual and not religion or caste or region should be considered the unit for state policy, and second, that nothing should be conceded to other groups.

UNIFORM CIVIL CODE

A uniform civil law is in many ways at the heart of the secular political system. How is a uniform law to be introduced in a society that has been regulated for ages by parallel systems of 'personal' law is one of the greatest challenges met by the Indian society. This difficulty was seen as early as during Macaulay's time when he argued the need for a uniform *lex loci* in India. While the Law Commissions, initiated by Macaulay, were able to unify criminal law, hopes of the regulation of Civil Law were not realised. It is argued that in order to establish a secular state in

the future, the state is forced to abandon secularist principles of noninterference with religion at least temporarily.

The Shah Bano case was a major turning point in the minority debate. The case was not the first of its kind in independent India. But in the 1980s the decision of the court and the subsequent passage of Muslim women's Bill by Parliament, aroused a storm of protest from the Muslim community, particularly from the patriarchal sections. Shah Bano who had been divorced by her husband, appealed to the high court of Madhya Pradesh that her former husband should pay her maintenance under section 125 of the Criminal Procedure Code. According to this section, the former husband is liable to pay maintenance to divorced woman if she is destitute, and if she possesses no means for her own survival for as long as she lives or until she remarries. The high court ruled in favor of Shah Bano. However, Shah Bano's husband, moved the Supreme Court on the ground that he was not obliged to pay his former wife maintenance beyond the traditional three-month period of *iddat* under personal law. The Supreme Court confirmed the Judgment of the MP high court, and stated that Article 125 of the CrPC overrides all personal laws, and that it is uniformly applicable to all women. The bench also called upon the Government of India to enact a Uniform Civil Code under Article 44 of the constitution.

The leaders of the Muslim community opposed the judgment on the ground that it constituted a disregard for the personal laws of the Muslim community, which are based on the shariat. They argued that since the Shariat is divinely sanctioned, it can neither be tampered with nor interpreted by the Court. The controversy snowballed into a major political problem. Ultimately the government introduced a Bill in Parliament that sought to exempt Muslim women from the protection provided by Article 125 of the CrPC. 1986. This legislation raised many questions on the authority and sustainability of minority rights in the background of article 14 and 44. Later the supreme court of India decided in favour of uniform civil code in a much debated case in 2017. The court was of the view that the personal laws should run subsidiary to state laws.

PROSPECTS OF SECULARISM

The practice of secularism cannot be detached from the historical context in which it is embedded, and evaluated in against an ideal that has been formulated in other societies. If secularism is the conceptual and the practical opposite of the theocratic state, then it carries certain connotations: (a) freedom of religion or all (Article 25), and (b) non-discrimination and equality of treatment (article 14). Given these core features, secularism in India appears fairly close to the ideal. Secularism cannot be understood in abstraction from democracy and its attendant principles because it derives its essential meaning from these antecedent moral concepts. Locating secularism in the principle of democracy and equality has one further advantage: it will ensure that both inter-group as well as intra group relations are regulated by the norms of equality. We can defend minority rights in order to protect minorities from assimilationist quest for unity.

ISSUES IN SECULARISM: CAESTISM, COMMUNALISM AND RELIGIOUS FUNDAMENTALISM

CAESTISM

In India, the caste system developed and is prevalent since ancient times. It is believed to have been adopted by the Brahmins to express their superiority and to maintain it. Then the Aryan races swept into India they wanted them to be superior to the insiders and so they maintained the prevalent caste systems. Gradually the caste system became formalized into four major groups, each with its own rules and regulations. The caste system finds its origin in functional groupings, called varnas, which have their origins in the Aryan society. This caste system became fixed and hereditary with the emergence of Hinduism and its beliefs of pollution and rebirth. The Laws of Manu (Manusmitri), refer to the impurity and servility of the outcastes, while affirming the dominance and total impunity of Brahmins. Those from the “lowest” castes are told that their place in the caste hierarchy is due to their sins in a past life.

Caste system does not allow an individual for upward mobility in society. If a family comes from the lower economic strata, in a society based on a caste system, that person would need to remain within that restricted level. Caste system is filled with inequality and injustice. This division of society into so many religions, castes and sub-castes comes in the way of the unity and integrity of the Indian nation. The idea of secularism is largely threatened by the caste system. It puts people in water tight compartments and the individual mobility is limited across the social structures. Caste and religion reigns supreme in the structure. Toleration and religious accommodations are not accepted. The ideas of equality and justice are also in trouble.

The caste system is a great social evil. It is a deep-rooted problem which has defied all solutions so far. The problem has persisted largely because of the illiteracy and ignorance of the people. Their ignorance makes the people conservative and superstitious. Hence, they do not accept any social change. They want things to continue as they are. Every measure of social reform is strongly opposed and is considered to be an attack on their religion by the religious fanatics.

COMMUNALISM

Communalism arises among the society when a particular religious or sub-religious group tries to promote its own interests at the expense of others. In simple terms, it can be defined as to distinguish people on the basis of religion. At present communalism is a grave threat to Indian political system. The stagnant economy of India during the British rule was an important factor for the growth of communalism in India. It was deeply rooted in and was an expression of the interests and aspirations of the middle classes in a social set up in which opportunities for them were inadequate. The communal question was, therefore a middleclass question par excellence. According to Bipan Chandra communal politics till 1937 was organised around government jobs, educational concessions and the like as also political positions- seats in legislative councils, municipal bodies, etc.- which enabled control over these and other economic opportunities.

In India the communalization of society has been paralleled by the communalization of the polity. Communalism developed as a weapon of economically and politically reactionary social classes and political forces. Communal leaders and parties were in general allied with these classes and forces. The vested interests deliberately encouraged communalism because of its capacity to distort and divert popular struggle, to prevent the masses from understanding the real issues. The British government used communalism to counter and weaken the growing national movement and the welding of the Indian people into a nation. It was presented by the colonial rulers as the problem of the defence of the minorities. Hindu-Muslim disunity was sighted as the reason for the continuation of the British rule. They favoured one community against the other in services and promotions. The British policy of acting late to crush the communal violence also contributed to the growth of this phenomenon. The British policy of separate electorate was another factor.

During the national movement, a strong religious element was introduced in nationalist thought and propaganda. Hindu idiom was introduced to its day-today political agitation. Thus Tilak used Ganesh puja and Shivaji festival to propagate nationalism; and the anti-partition Bengal agitation was started with dips in the Ganges. A communal and distorted view of Indian history, particularly of the ancient and medieval period, was also responsible for its growth. A beginning in this regard was made by the British historian, James Mill in the early 19th century, who described the ancient period of Indian history as the Hindu period and the medieval period as the Muslim period. The basic character of the polity in India was identified with religion. Hindu communal view of history relied on the myth that Indian society and culture had reached ideal heights in the ancient period and fell into permanent and continuous decay during the medieval period because of the Muslim rule and domination. In turn the Muslim communalism harked back to the 'golden age of Islamic achievement' in West Asia and appealed to its heroes, myths and cultural achievements. They tended to defend and glorify all Muslim rulers.

According to Asghar Ali Engineer the partition deeply wounded the Hindu psyche. The resurgence of Hindu-Muslim economic competition fueled a communal ideology. Political parties, prompted by political considerations, take decisions, which promote communal violence. Communal disturbance necessitates a communalised context and intervention by a political party. A communally surcharged ambience is often the result of a political tug-of-war between secular and communal parties for the votes of majority and minority communities. A partisan police aggravates the breakdown of law and order, through incitement, active participation, and letting rumors fester and fly. The slightest indication of minority communalism fans a multi-fold release of majority communalism.

Efforts should be made by the citizens to discourage the communal and caste-based forces from the social, political and electoral process in order to make these forces irrelevant. They are to be opposed not to be appeased. Communal carnage and caste wars should be dealt strictly with new strategies. To usher an era of social equity the people of India should not mix religion and

caste with politics to attain the goal of common brotherhood for the unity and integrity of the nation.

Characteristics of Communalism

- (i) Communalism is an ideological concept,
- (ii) It is a complex process,
- (iii) It has a broader base which encompasses social, economic and political aspects for its manifestation.
- (iv) It causes rivalry, violence and tension among masses,
- (v) Communalism is simply engineered by opportunistic political and economic interest of contending groups and factions within a political party or by political parties.
- (vi) It strikes at the roots of democracy, secularism and national integration.

RELIGIOUS FUNDAMENTALISM

The word Fundamentalism came into common vocabulary in 1920 in relation to the Christian group who earlier published a set of twelve booklets under the title, Fundamentals. These booklets opposed the application of modern critical historical approach to the Bible and the traditional dogmas of Christianity, because in their opinion, it would destroy their supra-national and supernatural elements which belong to their very essence. It is found that Fundamentalism and Modernism, Faith and Reason, were separated into two water-tight compartments. In the 80s when the Fundamentalists emerged in USA they formed the Moral Majority movement with a conservative ideology backing Reagan's policies of laissez faire economics and dismantling social welfare entitlements and of opposition to equal rights. At this point, Religious Fundamentalism became a political project.

Religious fundamentalism is a serious threat to the operation of secularism in India. The Indian subcontinent had a chequered history of communal conflicts and inter-religious dissensions. In pre-partition era, the British policy of divide and rule was in large measure considered to be responsible for interfaith divide. After the partition India emerged as a heterogeneous society with strong divisive influences. At the same time, it is understood that India is a country of religions and faiths. The religious faith coincided with large scale inequality in the country result in religious fundamentalism. Religious fundamentalism is basically a blind faith in the religion and its text. The fundamentalist will go to any extent for practicing the textual instructions and practices. Communal violence and religious conflicts are operated on the basis of the blind faith in ones religion. Religious fundamentalism never tolerates other religions and go against the basic tenants of secularism.

Religious fundamentalists normally have a political agenda. Fundamentalism identifies a list of family resemblances. This list includes five ideological and four organisational characteristics:

Ideological:

1. Reaction to the marginalisation of religion in the context of secularisation. They feel that the religion is not given its due place in the larger social fabric.
2. Selectivity in their response to modernity and in highlighting their own traditions.
3. Moral dualism – dividing the world into black and white, right and wrong. There is golden mean and people are subjected to the judgement of moral dualism.
4. Absolutism and inerrancy in their interpretation of the scriptures and belief in core fundamentals. The texts are taken as divine and no deviations permitted.
5. Millennialism and messianism or belief in the end of time and victory for the faithful and just.

Organisational:

1. Elect membership – the belief that the faithful, who are ordained by God, will prevail over the unfaithful masses. This argues that only one group is capable of understanding religion. Others are described as outsiders and normally enemies. This is the root cause of violence.
2. The drawing of sharp boundaries between those who are born again, those who are saved and those who have been damned.
3. Authoritarian organisations and belief in charismatic leaders such as Bin Laden. In such a situation the organization is part of the core belief. The faithful are under strict discipline and are supposed to be subjects of organization.
4. Behavioural requirements that adherents follow a strict code of discipline including the expectation that the individual member's identity is subsumed into the larger collective identity.

It is found that the fundamentalist principles overthrow democratic ideals. Their major target is secularism.

CONCLUSION

Secularism is a founding principle of democratic society. It is held in high esteem by the makers of the Indian constitution. Secularism in India must mean three things: the right to freedom of worship, the primacy of citizenship, and then non-affiliation of the state to any religion and impartiality. In India, major religious traditions do not assume any radical antinomy between the sacred and the secular. For the inhabitants of the region, religion establishes the place of individuals in society, and because it gives meaning to their lives. These beliefs must be taken seriously, and the religious should be given the same place in society as the non-religious. The denial of the legitimacy of religion in social and political life serves to provoke fanaticism or fundamentalism on the part of zealots. Traditions of religious pluralism can help us carry forward inter-religious harmony.

MODULE V

MARGINALISED SECTIONS

LINGUISTIC AND ETHNIC MOVEMENTS

The term ethnicity is derived from the Greek word 'ethnos' which means 'heathen' or 'pagan'. It means someone outside the main category or group. The outside people are considered suspiciously. In the United States of America, it was used throughout the Second World War to mean Jews, Italians, Irish and other groups of people inferior to the dominant groups. According to Paul R Brass, "any group of people dissimilar from other people in terms of objective cultural criteria and containing within its membership, either in principle or in practice, the elements for complete division of labour and of reproduction forms an ethnic category". An ethnic group is generally marked by the language or dialect, distinctive dress or diet or customs, religion or race. This classification emphasizes the cultural basis of ethnicity and distinguishes ethnic categories from other social categories based on class, gender or age groups. Max Weber defines ethnic group as "those human groups that share a subjective belief about their common descent because of similarities of physical type or of customs or both, or because of memories of colonization and migration; this belief must be important for the propagation of group formation; conversely, it does not matter whether or not an objective blood relationship exists. The major features of an ethnic group consists of

- A common proper name to identify and express the 'essence' of the community,
- A myth of common ancestry,
- Shared historical memories,
- One or more elements of common culture,
- A link with a homeland, which will create attachment to the ancestral land,
- A sense of solidarity among the people of the community.

It is argued that this sense of common identity which is motivated by political community tends to persist even after the disintegration of the political community. Like race, ethnicity also involves the element of descent. But while race is not culture based, the ethnic group is based on cultural identity. It creates internal cohesion and differentiates from other groups.

Many of the ethnic movements in India are motivated by poverty and lack of social security provisions. For example the situation of poverty in the poor urban areas of Gujarat and Mumbai has made ethnically divisive political parties indispensable to poor people's lives in both cities. It has been argued therefore that this politics of dependency, which falls along ethnic lines, creates the circumstance for ethnic violence to take place. The mix of poverty and the ethnically-sectarian organisations that promote hatred via resource channels can explain to a great extent the virulence of ethnic violence in the slums of Mumbai and Gujarat.

WOMEN AND CHILDREN

The issues of women and children deserves a special mention in the discourses on national politics. In India traditionally the women's movements were less promoted and less heard of. The

traditional society put many limitations on women's freedom and liberties. Women's movement in India can be divided into three waves: the first wave saw social reform movements that began in the 19th century and mass mobilization of women in the national movement. After Independence, between 1950 and 1960, we find the growing legitimacy and power of the post-colonial state and various development plans that overpowered the other aspects of society. As a result, there was a lull in the various campaigning and political activities on the part of women.

The period from the late 1960s onward can be called the second wave, which saw the resurgence of political activity from women. The very futility of the economic policies by the government that led to growing unemployment and price rise in India led to mass uprising. In the 1960s, women dissatisfied with the status quo joined the struggles of the rural poor and industrial working class. The activities of women during this period included in the Participation in Naxalbari movement, anti-price-rise demonstrations, Navnirman Movement in Gujarat and Bihar, rural revolt in Dhule District in Maharashtra and Chipko.

But at the same time, with the splintering of the Indian left by the early 1970, there was a questioning of the earlier analysis of the revolution. The Shahada movement in the Dhulia District of Maharashtra saw an active participation of women who began to take action against physical violence associated with alcoholism. The period also saw the emergence of various women's organizations which included urban middle-class women as well working women of various strata. The Self-Employed women's Association (SEWA) and Working Women's Forum in Madras were formed in this period. The phase of women's struggle was associated with movements which were anti-feudal, anti-capitalist and anti-state in character as well as the beginning of women's organization in the informal sectors apart from formal party lines.

While this second wave saw mass in popular upsurges against the government and the power structures in general, but the third wave, which can be said to emerge in the late 1970s, had a specific feminist focus. By the mid-1970s, devaluation of life had become an everyday experience for women. This point was driven home by the report on the status of women in India. The major difference that one could encounter in the women's movement during the 1970s and more particularly in the mid-1980s is that we see women's voice were raised not for freedom for all or in relation to questions of land or class issues but specifically for women; women as an autonomous group raised issues specific to them. Thus, the women's movement during this period had participants that cut across class character and had women from elite, poor and middle class sections. The issue that brought them together was not class but gender relations. Again, it does not mean that the class character vanished but rather it was given a new dimension, that is, women as a class was largely an economically dependent class- and that became an issue of protest. During this period the issue of violence against women became a focal point of many of these debates. The governments came with various legislations that protect women against private and public violence. These laws range from dowry prohibition act to act against domestic violence.

The Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act 2005 was brought into force by the Indian government from October 26, 2006. The Act was passed by the Parliament in August

2005 and assented to by the President on 13 September 2005. The Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act 2005 differs from the earlier law, in that it explicitly defines domestic violence in addition to dowry-related cruelty. Domestic violence is defined as: (a) habitually assaults or makes the life of the aggrieved person miserable by cruelty of conduct even if such conduct does not amount to physical ill-treatment; or (b) forces the aggrieved person to lead an immoral life; or (c) otherwise injures or harms the aggrieved person.

The act is mainly intended to provide protection to the wife or female live-in partner from domestic violence at the hands of the husband or male live-in partner or his relatives. However the law gives further extension to domestic violence by extending protection to women living in a household such as sisters, widows or mothers. Domestic violence under the act includes actual abuse or the threat of abuse whether physical, sexual, verbal, emotional or economic.

WOMEN PARTICIPATION IN ELECTIONS

The right to equality in voting is a basic human right in liberal democracy. Women enjoy this right to equality in voting, and by casting a vote they make a formal expression of their individual choice of political parties, representatives or of broad policies. The fact that more women are voluntarily exercising their constitutional right of adult suffrage across all states in India is testimony to the rise of self-empowerment of women to secure their fundamental right to freedom of expression. This is an extraordinary achievement in the world's largest democracy with 717 million voters of which 342 million voters are women. However there is an evident gender gap in various sectors of democracy including participation and voting. Women suffer low representation in parliaments, representative bodies, political leadership and in policy making mechanisms. This leaves the majority in the system as powerless spectators in the game of politics. There were many measures adopted by governments and political parties to overcome this issue. The constitutional amendments with regard to Panchayati raj provided for 33% women reservation in local self government. The women reservation bill is a concrete move in this direction. The bill also mandates reservation of seats to women in state and central legislatures.

Despite a steady improvement in the sex ratio of India's electorate, there are still more male voters being registered than female voters. Women formed 41 per cent of first-time voters aged 18-19, though they make up 47 per cent of the population in that age group. Summary election data released by the Election Commission in 2014 show 96 lakh women aged 18-19 have been registered to vote, compared with 1.4 crore male voters. Nagaland is the only State where the newly registered female voters aged 18-19 outnumber male voters. Haryana has the most adverse sex ratio in this segment (just 28.3 per cent of the registered 18-19 year olds are female), followed by Maharashtra (35.5 per cent) and Punjab, Chandigarh and Gujarat (36.2 per cent).

Some of the Indian states are suffering from low women voter turnout. This may be because of social and political taboos associated with gender and voting. However the election commission of India is making concrete steps to educate the voters. They also provide special

ques to women voters. With these measures it is hoped that there will be more women voters and their presence may enrich the electoral process in India.

SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES

The *adivasi* tribal movements have a long history. Numerous uprising of the tribals have taken place beginning with the one in Bihar in 1772, followed by many revolts in Andhra Pradesh, Andaman and Nicobar Islands, Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Mizoram and Nagaland. Tribal movements in early India had their origins in religious upheavals like Buddhism and Vaishnavism, for example, Meitei in Manipur, Bhumij in West Bengal, Nokte Naga in Assam, Bathudi in Orissa, and Kols and Bhils in Rajasthan. Then in the 19th and 20th century, the British also faced tribal movements when they stopped head hunting human sacrifice or slavery in north-eastern India. There were movements against oppressive landlords, moneylenders and harassment by police and forest officials in Bihar, Bengal, Orissa and the central Indian states.

The *adivasi* and their areas largely remained out of the purview of the administration in the pre-independence period. But the 1930s saw the emergence of a new discourse on tribal development. Sections 52 and 92 of the Government of India Act, 1935 provided for tribal majority areas to be demarcated into the excluded areas. This meant that these tracts were to be administered by the Governor outside the framework of the constitution, and norms and procedures of governance in the Fifth and Sixth Schedule areas were to be different from the rest of the country. The assumption of this policy was that tribals have suffered a great deal during the colonial rule and that their cultural and economic rights should now be protected. The Nehruvian view essentially was that the economic life of the tribals had to be upgraded and modernized even as their culture needed protection.

The left, had in general, support the Nehruvian position on both modern tribal development and the need for protection of tribal from the market forces. The tribal activists have also backed the idea of Nehruvian protectionism for tribal but only to the extent that it should help in the revival of traditional tribal institutions. But their ideal is significantly different from the Nehruvian dream of slowly drawing the tribals into the mainstream of bourgeois democracy. The Left position also recognizes the importance of democratization of the tribal society, but wanted to develop a different type of democracy was thus dependent not only on political freedom and self-governing institutions but also on correcting the inequities between the tribal region and the dominant political economy.

Nehru's ideas formed the basis of the tribal policy in Independent India and he argued that modern ideas should be allowed to permeate the institutions of everyday life through the education and employment of tribal. The bulk of allocations for STs were as grants for education and social services. The tribal movements may be classified into three groups ;

- (1) Movements due to exploitation of outsiders (like those of Santhals and the Mundas,
- (2) Movements due to economic deprivation (like those of Gonds in Madhya Pradesh and the Mahars in Andhra Pradesh), and

(3) Movements due to separatist tendencies (like those of Nagas and Mizos).

The tribal movements may also be classified on the basis of their orientation into four types:

- (1) Movements seeking political autonomy and formation of a state (Nagas, Mizos, Jharkhand)
- (2) Agrarian movements,
- (3) Forest-based movements, and
- (4) Socio-religious or socio-cultural movements (the Bhagat movement among the Bhils of Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh, movement among the tribals of south Gujarat or Raghunath Murmu's movement among Santhals).

All the above mentioned tribal movements in India were mainly launched for liberation from (1) oppression and discrimination, (2) neglect and backwardness, and (3) a government which was callous to the tribals poverty, hunger, unemployment and exploitation. Here, it is also important to mention that the withdrawal of the State from the social sector and its increasing tendency to privatize common and natural resources have further jeopardized the future of displaced people who are mainly adivasis.

The Dalit movement in India began around the mid-19th century. It was Jyotirao Phule, a middle caste, social revolutionary from Maharashtra, who questioned the caste system and its evil practices. By the end of the 19th century, there were a number of anti-caste movements in various parts of India. This includes Phule's Satyashodhak movement, Namashudra movement, the Adi-Hindu movement, the Adi Dharma movement, the Ezahava movement of Sree Narayan Dharma ParipalanaYogam, the Sadhu Jana ParipalanaSamajam and the PulayaMahasabha. These movements were largely socio-religious in nature. Later, Dalit movements got politicized in the early decades of the 20th century, and especially, when the Britishers introduced the system of a separate electorate in the Minto-Morley reforms of 1909. By 1917, Dalit movements got separated from non-Brahmin movements.

By the 1930s, Gandhi and Ambedkar had emerged as competing spokesmen and leaders of the depressed classes in India. Gandhi thought that untouchability was a moral issue, which is internal to the Hindu religion and that there should be a peaceful and gradual abolition of untouchability. On the contrary, Ambedkar found untouchability to be a political and economic issue. He attended the dalit issue as an immediate concern and demanded affirmative action. To him dalit emancipation is not a matter that can be set aside, but needs more pragmatic approaches and fruitful policies. For this purpose political organization is a must for the down trodden. A true dalit consolidation is possible with the awakening of dalit consciousness in India. It is in this context he attempted to establish political organization for the dalits. This started with the Indian labour party and later Republican Party of India. The republican party is now divided into various groups. A major group is The Republican Party of India. After 2004 election, it has a small representation in the Lok Sabha and was a constituent of the ruling United Progressive Alliance. Its presence is limited to Maharashtra. Recently, all factions of RPI except Prakash Ambedkar's

BharipaBahujanMahasangha reunited to form a united Republican Party of India. RPI is also merged in this united RPI. In 2011 the party has aligned itself with the BJP-led NDA.

Dalit Panthers:

The first wave of the new anti-caste movement began with the emergence of the Dalit Panthers in 1972. It mainly comprised ex-untouchable youth of Maharashtra. The formation of the Dalit panthers took place against the background of continued atrocities by the upper-caste elites and 'such oppressive developments-namely, the repeated failure of the Republican party to fulfill any of the hopes of the Dalits, rising of tensions on the countryside and of the revolutionary inspiration provided by the Naxalbari insurrection, which was crushed by the State.

The movement was largely concentrated in cities like Bombay and Poona, which began with the publication of creative literature (in socialist magazines such as *sadhna*). It was militant and aimed at power in its manifesto, yet it did not really carry any political strategy. However, the Dalit Panthers fought their battle on two fronts: at the symbolic level against Hindu peasants and artisans who were directly responsible for numerous atrocities committed against 'ati-shudrs'. But like many earlier Dalit movements, it too got engulfed in party politics. There was a split in the organization when Raja Dhale and NamdevDhasal (two prominent leaders of Dalit Panthers) developed differences of opinion. Differences arose over whether Dalits Panthers should be a caste-based movement of Scheduled Castes or a class-based movement including the poor people of all classes. As far as the Dalit panthers were concerned, it was more symbolic and cultural in focus. Though militancy continued against the atrocities inflicted on Dalits, but at the broad political level, 'Panthers like earlier Dalit leadership continually fell victim to Congress blandishments and Congress progressive rhetoric: both Dhasal and Dhale supported Indira Gandhi during Emergency and even the recognized Panthers gradually came to be a kind of political reserve army of the Congress'.

Dalit consolidation:

The 1980s can be seen as a period of Dalit and OBC unity. It was prominently marked by the emergence of the BahujanSamaj Party (BSP) as the party of Dalits, backwards and minorities. BSP emerged as a political wing of the Backward and Minority Communities Employees Federation (BAMCEF), launched by Kanshi Ram in 1978. It made its appearance particularly in the northern states of India, such as Uttar Pradesh (UP), Rajasthan, Bihar, Delhi, Punjab, and Madhya Pradesh (MP). The primary agenda of the party was to acquire power through the electoral process, which it did achieve considerably. But it lacks a wider social, economic or political programme of action beyond uniting the SCs, STs OBCs, and minorities. Later, by the end of the 1990s, it also became a part of coalition politics and even went on to join the BJP.

BahujanSamaj Party (BSP)

After the failure of RPI as a Dalit political party, the 1970s and 1980s were crucial for the DalitMovement in UP. The state witnessed a very animated and path breaking movement under the leadership ofKanshi Ram who had put Dalit Politics in mainstream politics in the state. It was

also there when the Dalit Panthers emerged. It was a gathering of Dalit youths with a more militant approach to voicing their concerns. Kanshi Ram, however, was not influenced by these waves of extremism and paved the way for a wholesome political movement. He had a broader view than any other Dalit leader in the past of a movement that could unite all the social sections affected by the discriminatory social arrangement of Hindu society. Kanshi Ram argued that only 15 per cent of the upper castes was ruling over the 85 per cent backward and lower castes along with religious minorities. Therefore, the fraction of 85 per cent should come together and take the advantage of democratic politics. Kanshi Ram used the basic principles of representative democracy, which had been criticised by the early Dalit leaders for not giving space to the Dalit community, i.e. rule of the majority as a political strategy. Kanshi Ram's view of an egalitarian society was not an idea of absolute equality but of the 'rational distribution' of the power based on the population strength.

Kanshi Ram established a category called Bahujan, which comprises 85 per cent of the society. He used this category explicitly as a political tool for the Dalit mobilisation. The BSP has been very successful in grasping the Dalits votes in UP. At the beginning of its political career, the BSP could make its presence felt only marginally, but very soon it occupied an influential place in state politics. The BSP's political strategy was mainly based on caste rather than classes. It was heavily dependent on the lower castes and could garner political support only from the Scheduled Castes and not other sections of society.

DALITS AND LAND ISSUE

Land is a major problem that leads to discontent and sufferings in the marginalized groups. This is very particular in the case of Dalits and tribals in India. In the state of Kerala around 30 per cent of the tribal households are landless.

As the successive waves of non-tribal immigrants pushed the Adivasi to inferior lands, the proportion of cultivable land to the total area possessed progressively declined. The Gothra Maha Sabha is an organization which stands for the land rights of tribals in Kerala. It operates in the tribal areas of the state. C K Janu and M Geethanandan were the prominent leaders of this organization. In the initial stages the organization effectively motivated the tribals on their fight to right to land.

MODULE VI

DEMOCRACY, DEVELOPMENT AND GLOBALIZATION

INTRODUCTION

The spread of globalization, during the last quarter of the twentieth century and the first decade of the twenty-first century, has coincided with the spread of political democracy across the world. Many new democracies emerged and many of the existing regimes shifted to democratic political models. For economists, globalization refers to the expansion of economic transactions and the organization of economic activities across political boundaries of nation states. It can be defined as a process associated with increasing economic openness, growing economic interdependence, and deepening economic integration in the world economy. However its implications and consequences are not confined to the economy alone but extend to polity and society. The geographical spread of democracy is notable across many parts of Asia, Latin America and Africa. The development of democracy also gave birth to new dimensions of development. The developmental questions became multidimensional and demanded inclusiveness in all sectors of state.

DEMOCRACY

Democracy is a form of government in which all people have an equal say in the decisions that affect their lives. Ideally, this includes equal participation in the proposal, development and passage of legislation into law. It can also encompass social, economic and cultural conditions that enable the free and equal practice of political self-determination. Democracy implies that form of government in which the sovereign power of the state is vested in the people as a whole and the government derives its ultimate authority from the people. People are the ultimate source of the state power and they take part in the government directly or through their representatives. Democracy is considered by the larger majority of the people around the world as a superior form of government. It may be noted here that democracy is based on freedom, equality and social justice. The citizens in a democracy enjoy certain basic civil, political and legal rights and freedoms. At the same time, a democratic government must create equal opportunities for all in the socio-economic spheres. In this context, democracy has been defined as a society based on equal opportunity and individual merit, rather than hierarchy and privilege. It has also been described as a system of welfare and redistribution aimed at narrowing social inequalities. Democracy is more than just a set of specific government institutions; it rests upon a well-understood group of values, attitudes, and practices.

- Democracy is government in which power and civic responsibility are exercised by all adult citizens, directly, or through their freely elected representatives.
- Democracy rests upon the principles of majority and individual rights. Democracies guard against all-powerful central governments and decentralize government to regional and

local levels, understanding that all levels of government must be as accessible and responsive to the people as possible.

- Democracies understand that one of their prime functions is to protect such basic human rights as freedom of speech and religion; the right to equal protection under law; and the opportunity to organize and participate fully in the political, economic, and cultural life of society.
- Democracies conduct regular free and fair elections open to citizens of voting age.
- Citizens in a democracy have not only rights, but also the responsibility to participate in the political system that, in turn, protects their rights and freedoms.
- Democratic societies are committed to the values of tolerance, cooperation, and compromise. In the words of Mahatma Gandhi, Intolerance is itself a form of violence and an obstacle to the growth of a true democratic spirit.

According to the principles of liberal democracy, elections should be free and fair, and the political process should be competitive. The Liberal democracies usually have universal suffrage, granting all adult citizens the right to vote regardless of race, gender or property ownership. The liberal democratic constitution defines the democratic character of the state. The purpose of a constitution is often seen as a limit on the authority of the government. The Anglo-American political tradition emphasises the separation of powers, an independent judiciary, and a system of checks and balances between branches of government. Many democracies use federalism—also known as vertical separation of powers—in order to prevent abuse and increase public input by dividing governing powers between municipal, provincial and national governments.

The Marxist view of democracy is fundamentally opposed to liberal democracy, to them the capitalist state cannot be democratic by its nature, as it represents the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Marxism views liberal democracy as an unrealistic utopia. This is because they believe that in a capitalist state all "independent" media and most political parties are controlled by capitalists and one either needs large financial resources or to be supported by the bourgeoisie to win an election. Lenin believed that in a capitalist state, the system focuses on resolving disputes within the ruling bourgeoisie class and ignores the interests of the proletariat or labour class which are not represented and therefore dependent on the bourgeoisie's good will. He argued that democracy is only for a few people in society.

Like any other form of government democracy has also a few deficiencies and drawbacks. Some philosophers propose greater democracy to correct the ills of the democracy. They suggest that reforms should be introduced in the electoral system. Ultra-democratic devices like referendum, initiative and recall should be employed. These popular checks will keep democracy in proper health. Economists like Milton Friedman have strongly criticized the efficiency of democracy. They base this on their premise of the irrational voter. Their argument is that voters are highly uninformed about many political issues, especially relating to economics, and have a strong bias about the few issues on which they are fairly knowledgeable. The 20th Century Italian

thinkers Vilfredo Pareto and Gaetano Mosca argued that democracy was illusory and served only to mask the reality of elite rule. Indeed, they argued that elite oligarchy is the unbendable law of human nature.

Democracy is also criticised for not offering enough political stability. As governments are frequently elected on and off there tends to be frequent changes in the policies of democratic countries both domestically and internationally. Frequent policy changes with regard to business and immigration are likely to deter investment and so hinder economic growth.

1. Democracy ignores the role of organized groups, leaders or emotions in political affairs.
2. Public opinion as the basis of government is a democratic myth.
3. Democracy becomes a competition among the elite rather than the masses with the advent of the party system.
4. It is based on political equality and economic inequality.
5. According to Marxists, liberal democracies exclusively serve bourgeois interests. It tries to perpetuate the economic division of society

DEVELOPMENT

Development is a multidimensional process. It involves the systematic use of scientific and technical knowledge to meet specific objectives or requirements. It is also a process of economic and social transformation that is based on complex cultural and environmental factors and their interactions. In another sense it is identified as the process of adding improvements to a parcel of resource like land, access, roads, utilities etc. The term "development" encompasses the need and the means by which to provide better lives for people in poor countries. It includes not only economic growth, but also human development which includes providing for health, nutrition, education, and a clean environment.

Traditional welfare economics had focused on incomes as the main measure of well-being until Amartya Sen showed that that poverty involved a wider range of deprivations in health, education and living standards which were not captured by income alone. His 'capabilities approach' provided a novel tool for redefining development. Later he argued that freedoms constitute not only the means but the ends in development. Development must be judged by its impact on people, not only by changes in their income but more generally in terms of their choices, capabilities and freedoms. According to Amartya Sen, development is concerned with the achievement of a better life. The better life is where people value their ability to do certain things and to achieve certain types of beings such as being well nourished, being free from avoidable morbidity, being able to move about as desired, and so on. The purpose of development, in addition, is to create an environment in which all people can expand their capabilities, and opportunities can be enlarged for both present and future generations. Development also carries a connotation of lasting change. Development is closely bound with ideologies and values;

1. **Neo-liberalism:** A capitalist perspective – no development action is needed except to have free markets. The resulting perpetual economic growth will ‘trickle down’ so everyone benefits. Neoliberals see history as the result of individual rational actions.
2. **Structuralism:** The state is in control - history is the result of political and economic struggles. Development is mostly the responsibility of the state and aims for a modern industrial society.
3. **Interventionism:** A perspective that recognises there are losers as well as winners of capitalist progress. Development action tries to help the ‘losers’. More recently, a concern of the negative impacts of capitalist growth on the environment has been considered. In some cases intervention is to remove barriers to modernisation, in others it is to influence the direction of change.
4. **Alternative Development:** This is based on the belief that all humans can reach their potential. Development involves empowering groups and individuals to make their own choices. Individuals and social movements are the agents of change.
5. **Post-Development:** This perspective argues that development is not a good thing – in this view development agencies and governments use ‘doing good’ as an excuse to maintain power and control.

In the matter of development, the problems facing developing countries revolve around “structural constraints” to development. First among these is geography. Countries with small populations may have trouble developing and gaining access to markets, while landlocked countries may struggle to integrate with global markets and expand their economies. Other common constraints on development are poverty, hunger, high mortality rates, unsafe water supplies, poor education systems, corrupt governments, war, and poor sanitation. World Bank sums up these factors under the title “poverty traps”. It is argued that countries can avoid poverty traps, with strong policies. This may include: Investment in education and health, Increasing productivity, Improving infrastructure, developing an industrial policy to promote manufacturing, Promoting democracy and human rights and ensuring environmental protection.

THE RIGHT TO DEVELOPMENT

The right to development is an inalienable human right by virtue of which every human person and all peoples are entitled to participate in, contribute to, and enjoy economic, social, cultural and political development, in which all human rights and fundamental freedoms can be fully realized. The human right to development also implies the full realization of the right of peoples to self-determination, which includes, the exercise of their inalienable right to full sovereignty over all their natural wealth and resources. The Universal Declaration on Human Rights contains a number of elements that became central to the understanding of the right to development. It attaches importance, to the promotion of social progress and better standards of life and recognizes the right to non-discrimination, the right to participate in public affairs and the right to an adequate standard of living.

The concept of right to development was seriously considered for the first time at the International Conference on Human Rights Tehran, 1968. The Conference expressed its belief "that the enjoyment of economic and social rights is inherently linked with any meaningful and profound interconnection between the realization of human rights and economic development." It recognized "the collective responsibility of the international community to ensure the attainment of the minimum standard of living necessary for the enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms by all persons throughout the world." In the next year the UN General Assembly, in its resolution (1969) adopted the Declaration on Social Progress and Development, which states that social progress and development shall aim at the continuous raising of the material and spiritual standards of living of all members of society.

The right to development was proclaimed by the United Nations in 1986 in the "Declaration on the Right to Development" which was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly. The Right to Development includes the following elements

- i. Full sovereignty over natural resources
- ii. National self-determination
- iii. Popular participation in development
- iv. Equality of opportunity and
- v. Creation of favourable conditions for the enjoyment of other civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights

The right to development can be invoked both by individuals and by peoples. Moreover the right imposes certain obligations both on individual States and on the international community. The individual state is to ensure equal and adequate access to essential resources. On the other hand the international community has an obligation to promote fair development policies and effective international cooperation.

The right to development belongs to everyone, individually and collectively, with no discrimination. The pursuit of economic growth is not an end in itself. The right to development puts people at the centre of the development process, which aims to improve "the well-being of the entire population and of all individuals on the basis of their active, free and meaningful participation in development and in the fair distribution" of the resulting benefits. The right to development is to be understood in a context of widening poverty gaps, food shortages, climate change, economic crises, armed conflicts, rising unemployment, popular unrest, and other pressing challenges. The right to development, which embodies the human rights principles of equality, non-discrimination, participation, transparency and accountability as well as international cooperation, can guide human responses to the contemporary issues and challenges. The right to development is about enablement and empowerment. The Declaration identifies obstacles to development, empowers individuals and peoples, calls for an enabling environment and good governance at both national and international levels, and enhances accountability of duty bearers.

The right to development is generally characterized as an emerging or "Third Generation" human right. Many believe that it is of embryonic, formless, primordial soft international law. But there exist criteria to determine the legal force to be accorded an international instrument. This includes international morality and principles of natural justice. These principles can be found in many forms in national constitutions or international covenants. The state and international actors were forced to accept the rules of the game because their democratic national priorities. It follows that the right to development cannot be set aside all together by the state or society. Much of the driving force behind the sanction of right to development lies outside the official system. At local, national and international levels, activists, popular groups, professional organizations and parliamentary bodies have been pressuring the implementation of these rights. These rights are being translated into action.

GLOBALIZATION

The idea of globalization can be traced back to the European discovery of the new world and the sea passage to Asia around the Cape of Good Hope. Since the beginning of 19th century, no political entity in any part of the globe has been able to isolate itself from international and transnational forces. The period before First World War saw net capital flows on a larger scale than ever before or since. It was only later that they developed sophisticated national systems of finance. The roots of newly emerging forces of globalisation however, have been traced in specific economic and political developments in the late 1980s or early 1990s. These events include the end of cold war, dismantling of state socialism in the USSR. From 1988 to 1998 almost all governments, regardless of ideology, downsized their activities while private sector expanded their hold. All this has given rise to new markets, new actors, new rules and norms and multilateral agreements. By the beginning of 90's globalization was accepted as a social system and cultural process.

The term globalization is defined in terms of rapid integration of markets and societies. The 1999 Human Rights Development Report defines globalization as shrinking space, shrinking time, and disappearing of borders. It involves increased human mobility and interaction, creation of a single or integrated market, and development of common norms and values. There are three aspects of globalization;

- 1) Increasing interaction among people
- 2) Integration of markets, and
- 3) Development of common norms and values.

These aspects are offering greater opportunities for nations and people. Globalization has made a borderless world in the sphere of economics and culture. There has been an erosion in its economic space but not in its political space. At the same time, democratic politics is an aspiration that is on the rise everywhere. The spread of political democracy has coincided in time with the advent of market economy. Globalization resulted in the creation of more democratic regimes.

Democratic politics, which has gathered both momentum and strength in the recent past, is increasingly a prior, as there is a rights consciousness among citizens.

On the other hand market-led globalization eroded the state capacity and will interfere with state autonomy with regard to promoting the public good, regulating private economic activities, providing services, and investing in improving the quality of life and human development. Thus, the impact of globalization seems to be increased unemployment; rising poverty and inequalities in income and wealth; and a decline in labor rights. The issues of globalization also reduced the state commitment and ability to deliver social welfare to citizens. International monetary agencies like IMF also urge the states to shift into more profitable policies. This results in large scale reduction of social spending and increases human sufferings. Together with this economic globalization introduced transnational and multinational corporations. They are the drivers of economic globalization and enjoys special powers and privileges. They demand convenient and flexible labour laws. Trade unionism and collective bargaining is discouraged and thus the political and civil rights of employees are in danger. This in turn reduced the democratic space in politics.

David Held and Anthony McGrew have divided this debate over globalization into three positions:

The hyperglobalists: They take the extreme view that globalization will spell the end of the nation-state. One of its major advocates, Eric Hobsbawm says that this spectre of globalization has changed the entire economic scenario and the salience of the nation states has come to be tested in a very severe way, putting a question on their role and relevance now. The old order failed to uplift the masses from the morass of hunger and destitution and globalization is today perceived as the method of quicker upward economic mobility.

The skeptics: This school argues that there is nothing unprecedented about current levels of national interdependence, and the nation-states will remain the primary political and economic actors in international affairs for the future.

The transformationalists: These groups take the middle view. They reject the claim that globalization will render the sovereign state obsolete but accept that states will not remain as strong as ever. Since the state forms change, the future remains unpredictable and in contest. Demise of the welfare state is one other area of concern.

Globalization has turned the state into a profit making institution. The state is retreating mainly from the realm of welfare and social entitlement. Due to the withdrawal of states from the core sectors of social life the marginalized section of society has been exposed to the atrocities of market. The national governments are supposed to protect its people from the pressures of intensifying international competition. The state has also lost its control over the flow of people and ideas within its territory. Globalization has led to greater movement of people across borders.

People are migrating to foreign destinations for better education and job prospects. Thus state is losing control over its human resources,

Globalization has reduced degrees of freedom for nation states in the economic sphere. The space for, and autonomy to formulate policies in the pursuit of national development objectives is significantly diminished. This is so for two reasons: unfair rules of the game in the world economy and consequences of integration into international financial markets. In a world of unequal partners, the rules of the game are asymmetrical in terms of construct and inequitable in terms of outcome. The strong have the power to make the rules and the authority to implement the rules. The contrast between the free movement of capital and the unfree movement of labour across national boundaries lies at the heart of the inequality in the rules of the game.

Globalisation is not an inclusive form of internationalism. It is rather a successful worldwide expansion of a few localisms, economic, political and social. The mix of material and ideological elements that make this expansion possible makes globalisation a hegemonic process. It has integrated rich, affluent, and educated classes, but has fractured working classes and marginalised the poor, who do not have the skills and economic capacity and skills to profit from open markets. Thus rendering them incapable of dealing with the harsh terms of fair trade.

There is an evident tension between the economics of markets and the politics. In a market economy, people vote with their money in the market place. The underlying principle of market is one-dollar-one-vote. But a political democracy works on the basis of one-person-one-vote. The distribution of votes, unlike the distribution of incomes, is equal. This tension may be compounded by a related asymmetry between economy and polity. The people who are excluded by the economics of markets are included by the politics of democracy. Hence, exclusion and inclusion are asymmetrical in the field of economics and politics. This is the crisis of globalization. However this crisis can be overtaken with strong policy prescription in the line of post neoliberalism. Public space along with public investments and social welfare should be promoted. The inequality in the competitive market place should be compensated with equity and affirmative actions. This gives a sensible compromise between the economic directions that the market sets on the basis of purchasing power and the priorities that a political system sets on the basis of one-person-one-vote.
