

POST-COLONIAL INDIAN POLITICS

MA [Political Science]

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Reviewer

Dr Nivedita Giri

Assistant Professor, Jesus & Mary College, Delhi University

Authors:

Neeru Sood, (Units: 1, 2) © Reserved, 2017

Aditi Sharma, (Unit: 4) © Reserved, 2017

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• Website: www.vikaspublishing.com • Email: helpline@vikaspublishing.com

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Post-Colonial Indian Politics

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INTRODUCTION

The term politics describes the activities associated with the governance of a country or area. In India, such activities are done under the direction of the glorious document called the Indian Constitution. The Indian Constitution is the document that was created after the long struggle of India's independence. It embodies the ethos of the Indian freedom struggle and the dreams of the Indian people. The Constitution of India envisions India to be a democratic secular socialist republic. It lays down the laws of the land, provides the framework for administration of governance and also gives direction to policies to be undertaken by the governments at the state and the central level.

After 70 years after the end of colonial rule, political activities today impact the everyday life of Indian citizens. In fact there is no area in the personal or professional life of citizens that remains untouched or uninfluenced by the political conditions of the country. There are a wide variety of political issues in India; some of them are national while others are regional. Many of these issues have linkages with colonial period in India. This book, *Post-Colonial Indian Politics*, analyses various issues related to the Indian state in the post-independence period.

This book is written in a self-instructional format and is divided into four units. Each unit begins with an 'Introduction' to the topic followed by an outline of the 'Unit Objectives'. The content is then presented in a simple and easy-to-understand manner, and is interspersed with 'Check Your Progress' questions to test the reader's understanding of the topic. A list of 'Questions and Exercises' is also provided at the end of each unit, and includes short-answer as well as long answer questions. The 'Summary' and 'Key Terms' section are useful tools for students and are meant for effective recapitulation of the text.

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UNIT 1 INTRODUCTION TO POST-COLONIAL INDIAN POLITICS

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Structure

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

The modern Indian society cannot completely break itself from the old traditions. No society can do that, nor is it necessary for India. Her past is remarkably rich and varied, capable of providing a starting point for modernity. Indian tradition offers numerous instances of the spirit of free and critical inquiry of the highest intellectual order, determination to pursue truth regardless of where it leads a positive and secular approach to life and a tradition of abstract thought necessary for the growth of modern knowledge.

In this unit, we have discussed the legacy of the national development brought about by the arrangement of a famous majority rule and mixed-class state after the year 1947. We have also discussed the impact of modernity in the Indian state along with the important questions of politics.

1.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Analyse the lineages of the post-colonial state with special reference to changes in economy and democracy
- Discuss the working of the cabinet and the judiciary
- Describe the features of public administration and bureaucracy
- Analyse the nature of the Indian state and discuss the concept of liberalization

1.2 LINEAGES OF THE POST-COLONIAL STATE

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The legacy of the national development brought about the arrangement of a famous majority rule and mixed-class state after the year 1947. The exact class adjust in the state or its class character was to be formed by the techniques of political assembly and gathering of social support developed by the voting classes. Similarly as the broad nature of the national development created a way for its class introduction to be modified for or against any class or different group of classes, it was something similar to the famous law based national groups that it brought forth.

A basic legacy of the national development was hostile to colonialism and upkeep of national dominion. The prominent leaders known to have established the Indian national development by the last quarter of the nineteenth century were able to build a force against the prevalent government domination. These were the same people who were against the existing dominion and the so-called development structure. They were in-fact known to keep a check upon the working of the current government and were able to guide as to how the working of the said leadership should be. Still, the criticism did not foster any development as it hindered the progress and was not able to improve the structure or add anything positive to the private enterprises.

At the same time Karl Marx prior to Hobson and Lenin charted out a point-by-point financial scrutiny of the means of development or the developmental analysis theory. The long battle against government, the nonstop overhauling and refining of its values and the conveying of these thoughts to the masses has created a significant impact. With this it can be said that the post-colonial state has stood generally firm or unchanged still.

The Triple Alliance

Before we begin, it is essential to understand the triple alliance that began in many parts of Latin America and even in some parts of East Asia. The alliance was formed between global capital, state and neighbourhood capital. This alliance became the integral part of the industrialist advancement in Latin America and even in many parts of East Asia. However this financially did not make a difference to India. This was all because the global funding was comparatively less that time. In India, the worldwide capital was not something that was in any way a part of decision class coalition or the Indian state after freedom. The dealing with worldwide capital did not happen inside the state or the decision coalition of which global capital was a section. However between a free state like that of India that comprised of mixed race and decision makers from different classes that formed coalition the impact of global capital was less.

An Indian variation of the triple organization or alliance comprised, that the Indian state after autonomy is commanded by the middle-class, the upper-middle class and the proprietors. All these are progressively teaming up with outside fund capital. Often this new alliance with mixed race within was supported by the left too.

It is likewise contended that the entrepreneur class which came to control at the time of autonomy was bargaining with government. This makes it clear that the post-colonial Indian state was neo-colonial as it was not completely independent. Having accepted the reliant way in which the government was being controlled by the entrepreneurs or the capitalists the progress was thwarted.

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1.2.1 Changes in Economy and Democracy

The condition of the country during colonialism ever since the 1920s has changed dramatically after the era of colonialism. The industrialist class was and is involved in the primary decision making power of the government. With this it is easy to say that the business people were particularly part of the agreement at freedom. This meant that to pave a path for India on the way of arranged, confident financial improvement without capitulating to radical or outside capital control. Thus, self-sustaining economy post-colonial rule was something that was being continually emphasized by the leaders of India. Actually, one of the focal destinations of the procedure was to free the Indian economy of remote mastery and reliance or to rid India of its dependence on the global grants. A target which was acknowledged to a much more noteworthy degree under the then administration of Indira Gandhi when, the part of outside capital in India was conveyed down to immaterial levels. Likewise, it might be noticed that however the common laborers unionized on an extensive scale it lead to the formation of corporate political groups eventually. Many political parties were against it and with it they were infact seen in a negative light among the average workers or the working class. At the end of the day, the inevitable would happen, that the upper class would go against this formation of government and would seek support from outside the government. The question of national development rested on the shoulders of the business class who were in majority. With this things began changing on the economic front with vast changes in the land reforms and would leave many with nothing.

Critics or the political analysts were giving their support to the Left, with some impact in Indian scholarly world. They acknowledged that the year 1947 did not mean an exchange of force that was taken back from colonial rule to a neocolonial state. This later on began with the leadership of Nehru as the running lead of the government. They occasionally talked about any move towards progression or being exposed to the outside world, subordinate nature of the Indian state and progression of India rising to the top. This was something that did not come to light until the mid-1960s. This was the same year when the country was under a noteworthy monetary emergency. The value of rupee was down and some trade related progression was quickly seen through.

This feedback on Indian financial and progressive analysis stayed hidden for a few years with Indira Gandhi's formulation of the monetary policies in the late 1970s. This was a smart move as it left India empowered for years to follow by helping India lessen her basic reliance on oil imports by gigantic increments in indigenous oil generation. It is to be noted that this global grant taken by India during the leadership of Indira Gandhi was not exhausted for

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years to come. Post 1991 the endeavours at changes including advancement and a more dynamic investment in the globalization procedure have been viewed as a negative impact of the approach since decolonisation. An arrangement which had indicated relative self-governance from the capital was now seen something that was not at all for the good of the public. It has been viewed as for all intents and purposes a radical venture. It was a move where the strategies of the country state, rather than having the self-governance that decolonisation guaranteed are directed by the global capitalists who were only after seeking their own good. The private sector started thriving on these funds and began growing rapidly; so this was hardly a move that was taken into consideration for the improvement or the interest of the common people.

The formation of agreement that has developed in India as of late, is not something that was ever formulated to bring about a so called positive change. Another thing to note is that these were hardly anywhere near to the changes that were proposed or kept in perspective at the time of independence. The regular requirement for a progressive move that is far from the self-centred and self-preservation or self-gain technique is required. If not so then it would only be prompting to an unsafe fall in proficiency and efficiency levels of the people in power controlling the state decisions. All this prompted to the rise of an expansive agreement for change. This was an agreement reminiscent of the prevalent leadership stage, both as far as the destinations and the inclusion of support.

In this specific situation, it is intriguing to see the real move made by the previous Left Dependency scholar F.H. Cardoso. He called attention to how the way of outside capital had changed and could be utilized for indigenous advancement of underdeveloped nations. He contended that globalization was a reality that couldn't be overlooked, and in this manner the issue is not whether to globalize but rather how to globalize so that a superior deal is accomplished for the developing nations and an appropriate launch pad given to the poor with the goal that they are not slaves to the system or the government that would dictate their lives. It should be more of a view which the supporters of change from the left in India and additionally the business pioneers have for the most part acknowledged. Significantly, he also included that grass-root level activation and group work would be important to guarantee that poor people will be able to live a comfortable life. He felt that the conventions made by Mahatma Gandhi in this regard give India a reasonable favorable position over numerous other countries that are yet to develop.

The third significant legacy of the national development has been the selection of democratic government as a principal objective by the Indian state. By any universal guidelines, India has a completely flourishing democratic rule government, and not only a formal or halfway one, as contended by a few. It is not a democracy rule government which is kind of support of its first class to the masses nor is it support of the British. It is a result of a long battle of the Indian individuals amid the national development and henceforth has firm footing in the Indian culture. The majority rule base has been broadened with a generally

high rate of prominent support in cast races and more up-to-date formation of political groups and classes getting effectively included in just establishments.

It is observable that India has endeavoured its trade change inside a fair structure, a remarkable experiment for which there is no point of reference. This is regardless of the propelled entrepreneur nations of the West, the communist nations or the recently industrialized nations of East Asia. All this occurred when the political conditions were still deprived of full vote based rights or democracy. This somehow was creating a divide between area developments in relation to Britain, constrained collectivization such as that of Soviet Union, high land assess of taxes like in Japan, servitude as compared to US, add up to concealment of exchange union rights like the one seen in East Asia and others, and pioneer surplus extraction and so forth. All these nations were however not open to vote based India.

The system of democracy guaranteed that in India the move to industrialism was not to be upon the regular workers and the lower class, drawing surplus for venture from them. The common labourers made significant advances through aggregate bartering and there was a net exchange of assets to farming after freedom as opposed to the other way around. Majority rule government or the democratic government and a free Press made it possible. Something similar was to be seen in China, where the world came to know numerous years after the severity of starvation hit by famine claimed the life of many between 1959 and 1961. In India a free Press lead to an efficient rule that would keep a check upon deflecting any shortage circumstance and real starvations, a normal element in colonial times.

Democracy became a positive force to the poor helping them voice out their needs during the time spent in the process of advancement. In the mid-1950s the prices were falling rapidly and the pattern rate of inflammation would only reach up till 8 for every penny for each year this was especially between 1956 and 1990 regardless of two oil spills and a few dry seasons of droughts. Notwithstanding when essential adjustment and basic alterations were embraced amid the post-1991 changes, these measures which make the poor especially powerless through constriction of open consumption, vote based system guaranteed that they were not at all left unattended or ignored by the government. Their troubles thus, were addressed and they were in a better light despite the natural disasters and the ongoing season of famine. Much needed measures to overcome poverty were extended and a speedy inversion of the ascent in destitution that happened amid the initial two years of changes was accomplished. In the predicament between monetary judiciousness and populist responsibility, democracy rules system guarantees it all.

The fourth real legacy of the national development has been its value and positive poor orientation. The Indian state was absolutely affected by this legacy; however its maximum capacity was a long way from figuring it out. The effect of this legacy can be found in the way that each of the nine Five-Year Plans since autonomy regarded expulsion of destitution as a key goal however the degree of giving importance on removal of poverty and addressing the destitute

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differed between Plans. It is not coincidental that even the conservative political developments have over and over again thought that it was important to work for the poor.

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The Indian state was focused on boundless land changes at autonomy. The lower class was basically liberated from the power and mastery of the medieval sort proprietors. In spite of the fact that it was for sure extremely respectable that India accomplished land changes inside the structure of popular government. By and by the changes happened in a way that at first the moderately destitute or poverty stricken areas of the lower class got to be included in a favourable position from it as contrasted with the actual poorer segments. This happened incompletely in light of the fact that the class adjust at the ground level and in the points of view of many state devices, for example, the legal, the police and organization, especially at the lower levels, was not working in harmony with the current legislature. It was far less ideal to poor people, and the administration in a vote based system could not compel its direction.

After some time, different governments, in any case, held on with these measures and from the mid-1970s there was a momentary wave of land changes. This was soon joined by a few organizations and NGOs focused on endeavours to achieve the advantages of the Green Revolution technique to poor people. The outcomes were estimable, however, much still needed to be seen through and there was a lot before one would see the project move to a successful direction or completion. There is no correlation between the poverty confronted by the non-urban poor everywhere throughout the nation. A condition where even two suppers a day were not ensured and what still prevails today in many parts of the nation is what one needs to observe. Radical researchers like Daniel Thorner and different analysts announced, on the premise of field studies, a subjective change in the lives of the non-urban poor. The land changes, the spread of the Green Revolution to most parts of the nation, and focused on against destitution programs, especially since the late 1960s, have given help to immeasurable masses of the poor in the rural India.

Poverty and the Indian State

There were significant accomplishments, yet in spite of this advancement India still faces the horrendous circumstance where more than 300 million of its kin remaining underneath the line of poverty and about a large portion of the populace is uneducated. The continuation of destitution in spite of significant advances is halfway a consequence of moderately slower development. It is mostly due to the way of the Indian state operations and the inability to adequately modify its class adjust or cast system changes for the poor through well-known preparation. Nonetheless, progressively it creates the impression that the last mentioned scenario is the more critical reason for the dramatic increase in destitution. It is huge that regardless of fast development for more than a quarter century, in the coming time, India's positioning in the worldwide Human Development Index really fell in the vicinity of 2000 and 2004.

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The government, vote based national system that appeared at the time of independence was multi-class in nature. However, it was quite clear in its approach with regard to the class adjust among the constituent classes could be changed. The Indian national state at the end of the day was confronted with class conflict from those who were being ignored by their policies. This would comprise the business people in trade, industry and fund, the upper segments of the lower class, a wide white collar class comprising of experts and administrative staff or information specialists, the sorted out common labourers. Additionally, it also included the rural or the non-urban class and urban poor comprising of farming specialists, poor workers, trivial artisans, disorderly urban specialists. The way in which this opposition for the given scenario would get settled was to rely upon how the different classes were politically prepared and which class point of view could practice a more noteworthy ideological authority or contract over society overall.

From the earliest starting point the planned government lead procedure of development with value had accepted that well-known preparation from the grass root level would be important. This was essential to viably execute radical measures that would be pro poor people, started by the administration as lead by Jawahar Lal Nehru. The issue, in any case, was in finding an office which would play out this assignment. With autonomy, the Congress party with Jawahar Lal Nehru at its head got changed from a group of struggle and development to a party of administration. Endeavours to make Congress specialists play out the previous part, as opposed to attempt was basically unsuccessful. Nehru attempted to fill the void by making a formative administration by including the masses while formulating policies that would deeply impact all in a positive way. This somehow made India a byzantine organization or a nation that was ideal to all whose principle reason progressively seemed, by all accounts, to be that of moving forward and encouraging itself towards progress.

The undertaking was basically political and the administration could not just be a substitute. Truth be told, Nehru had expected the left would go ahead with what he established during his leadership. And he attempted more than once, however unsuccessfully, to earn its footing so that radical government projects could be executed and a progressive social change and a modifying of the way of the state affairs could occur. The Left had, nonetheless, at first portrayed Nehru someone given into colonialism and thus normally to be contradicted and dismissed it. When the Left surrendered this position, regardless, it declined to participate as it saw such an undertaking as reformist. This would just protect the middle class state, while their part was to get on with the inconsistencies that thrived within the rule and get ready for an overthrow. The Left accordingly deserted the right that they acquired by the diminishing democratic structure of the Indian state especially not accepting the voting system. They did little to either attempt and modify the class adjust in different state devices, for example, in the administration, media, legal, instruction framework and so on., or to assemble the poor so they had a more noteworthy say inside the current state structure.

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However, without perceiving the transformative conceivable outcomes of the Indian multi-class national state, it took its stand, and still holds up. It is all from a certain point of view, interminably for the developing of the disagreements so that the overthrowing of the state power can happen. This disappointment of the Left, and a prevalent comprehension of the way of the majority rule state by different powers, for example, the Indian business pioneers, has prompted to an industrialist formative point of view with a deficient expert poor, welfare introduction beating the society overall. It has additionally prompted to the democracy based system progressively getting possessed by those favouring the casts and shared inclinations which were bad for the poor people, despite the fact that the poor are regularly in influence of the communal forces.

The political space for preparation for the poor has along these lines to a great extent stayed undiscovered. However, straightforward democratic calculations has secured the poor a few concessions as every single political development need to look for their votes. Sporadic and scattered non-governmental associations have regularly given hopeful youth a platform to such movement. However, these endeavours, without their speculation through more extensive political intercession, can have just restricted outcomes. The current endeavours to engage the local and rural self-representing foundations with the Panchayati Raj alterations to the constitution offer much guarantee. Late mainstream political preparations prompting to dynamic enactments like the National Rural Employment Guarantee Act and the Right to Information Act made the conditions for further extending democratic system. All these were established in the light to give much guarantee of connecting with and engaging poor people and underprivileged. The success of this outreach program will rely upon what degree the dynamic political strengths attempt to possess this law based space accessible at the grassroots level.

While the ongoing trouble of poverty has been the most essential disappointment in India's post-autonomy improvement, the survival of the democracy based structure has been its most fabulous achievement. The further extending and developing of this vote based structure is an essential stride toward addressing the necessities of the underprivileged.

The very accomplishment of India's democracy rules system has prompted to developing requests on the state by different classes and groups including the destitute populace. To suit these requests every single political development, since the late 1970s, started to enjoy aggressive nationalism utilizing state assets to ensure that different constituent classes of the Indian state including the poor would be satisfied monetarily. When it came to expanding trade relations the endowments regularly were decreasing expenses of the buyer to zero. All this was done for the purpose of sustenance, manures, diesel, exports, power, etc. However, it all multiplied to unsustainable levels pushing the nation to the edge of monetary mayhem.

It is to be observed that the survival and development of the government, democratic based Indian state, requires a solid state. Solid not as opposed to

democracy government, decentralization and strengthening of the general population. However, solid as in it can, while pleasing moderate deviations, conflicting ideas or opposing forces that undermine popular government by working outside its points of confinement would still be able to sustain itself even with the prevalent unlawful or threatening means.

A solid state can teach capital which does not perform intensely. Additionally, it can become an instrument to make things right in much needed areas politically and economically which do not perform at all or perform underneath the logically acknowledged models of profitability – solid state, without fall back on nationalism yet keeping social equity as one of its focal destinations. All this designed to be able to manage the economy on to a way of fast improvement and modernization, in light of the progressed logical leaps forward of the contemporary world. A solid state can partake in the globalization procedure in a way which does not decrease its power as well as builds it – a difficult thing to establish, yet positively not past the calibre of the Indian individuals who have crossed probably the most troublesome turning points respectably over the course of recent years.

Disarray within Governance

Among the most noteworthy elements of the nation's political improvement has been the dedication of its politicians to democratic rules system, national solidarity and financial advancement. All this joined by their capacity to build up the important political organizations, this would comprise the state and common society. It was in a light to establish them in Indian culture at the end of the day, to make and keep up the structure of a vote based state. These foundations have been supported notwithstanding quick social change, with new social groups routinely entering the political field and stating their rights. The rehashed progressions of governments at the Center, realized calmly and intrinsically, have been an indication of the fundamental internal quality of this just structure. Nonetheless, the political framework has been under a state of stress, confronting an inevitable internal conflict. Added to the fuel, the confusion of numerous political parties based on the cast system, a weakening in political foundations lead to a complete disarray. Not being ready to react satisfactorily to the difficulties postured by financial improvement and social change. This for sure developed a political dissatisfaction among the general population that included their stirred up issues and unmet rising desires. Another thing that created conflict was the refusal of the persecuted and the burdened to acknowledge their social condition, and the developing class and fight for gaining power among the newly formed social based political parties. With this evident state of chaos, particularly in the wide open arena of political conflict, each party would now strive for a bigger share of political power.

The greater part of the political foundations that were supposed to shape up the political scenario of the nation was at complete loss when it came to ethics. Another notable feature that points out the disarray within the system was the lack of a dedicated government body to oversee its working in any event, hard

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to administer well. This emergency of manageability takes various structures such as, temperamental governments, hasty decisions and changes of dramatic appointment of political seats. One must observe how it led to powerlessness of the government in essential matters of state concern and instead incited internal conflicts. Now the government would comprise of various social gatherings and classes, debilitating of lawfulness, developing common conflict and unsettling influence within the political scenario. It was now a mixed bag with the extents of uprising, shared brutality, expanding negative response of individuals to rough and additional undesirable actions of the given governmental structure, poor state of affairs, and most importantly, the disappointment of the administrations at the Center and the states to actualize their approaches or to give successful administration.

In the meantime, it is inappropriate to assume that the political framework or its foundations have been disintegrating or that India has been experiencing an emergency of the state. Regardless of every one of their shortcomings, the political framework and its organizations have turned out to be very strong and have figured out how to work. It is despite the fact that insufficiently; they have likewise held their authenticity, to some extent as a result of their old established political foundations and beliefs. However, substantially more on account of the more noteworthy cooperation by the general population in the political procedure, particularly in races, the political scenario of India is still in the process of improvement.

Without a doubt, aside from the uncertain financial structure, the real guilty party for the debilitation of the political organizations continues to be the nature of political authority. It is the nature of political authority which assumes a basic part in country building and the advancement of political organizations. More than an emergency of the state or the political framework, there has unquestionably been an emergency of initiative that is lacking to be put to action from the Centre and in the states. The same has been going down throughout the years.

For a very long while now, the political authority has worked with no key plan or point of view, philosophy or well-planned strategies for dealing with the political framework. Best case scenario, it has taken response to such strategic measures as artful coalitions and automatically different political gatherings, or assembling of station and public coalitions or the centralization of the political groups and government forms through support from other regional parties. Thus, even significant groups and political parties have been carrying on a low key presence. They can win races or form government, yet from that point are neither ready to represent nor keep up their power. Indeed, even the most popular leader Indira Gandhi was not ready to check the disintegration in foundations like the political party, parliament and the administration.

Maybe the most exceedingly awful component of Indian organization is uncovered in its dealings with average citizens. Government workers, particularly policemen, are by and large rude, oppressive, unhelpful, degenerate, wasteful and

self-assertive in their approach towards the common public. Also, obviously, the topic of their responsibility to the native cannot be raised. Utilizing democratic rules system and their voting power, the general population, in their urgent journey for a better, genuine, agreeable and insignificantly effective organization is responsible for making dramatic changes in the government with regard to every election that takes place.

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The Deterioration of Parliament

By decisions and common freedoms, parliament involves a vital position in a parliamentary majority rules system. In India, parliament and the state councils are the pillars of the administration, as well as the preeminent part for policy formation, directing their execution, and all in all acting as the watch guard authority over the working of the legislature. Shockingly, throughout the years, there has been a dip down in its execution, and indications of dilapidated state of affair in the organization.

Jawaharlal Nehru worked perpetually to introduce regard for parliament and guaranteed that it worked with decency and obligation. He gave careful consideration to the perspectives of the Opposition parties, approached them with deference as an essential part of the equitable procedure, and frequently let them impact and even make amendments with the government strategies. The Opposition parties, acted capably, maintaining the parliamentary tenets. The framework kept on working great in the time of Jawaharlal Nehru and even with years to follow his rule. Steadily, throughout the years, parliament began getting to be distinctly inadequate in its workings. Its role started to decrease and its strategy making forces were given to decay, soon its procedures started to decline in the late 1960s. From that point on, parliamentary systems have been routinely disregarded and parliaments and the political discussion sessions have been set apart by inappropriate conduct; this would include bad conduct even towards the prime minister. Additionally, unruly conduct and frequent shut offs are now a part of the individuals inside parliament and lawmaking bodies and other problematic strategies. Sadly all this chaos has dynamically replaced contemplated contentions or intentions of improvement and amicable parliamentary exchange of ideas among various political parties.

Not at all like in the Jawaharlal Nehru time frame, as of late, by and large it is observed that once an administration gets a greater part in the lawmaking body it plans and tries to execute its strategies, independent of the perspectives of the Opposition. The most obvious scenario would be that it restricts government arrangements and activities regardless of their legitimacy. Parliament and state governing bodies from time to time witness an encounter of carefully considered options. There happens a lot of criticism yet minimal important civil argument happens. Frequently, the value and viability of an administration choice is tried not in parliament or a state governing body but rather in the public avenues or platforms of discussion and in the media. The platform of political discussion like the Question Hour, later on deteriorated into a yelling slugfest and is again frequently suspended.

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Politicians crossed floors, changed parties, and toppled governments, not for political or ideological reasons but rather for individual gains and for resolving their ulterior motives. This instigated quick changes of governments, got to be distinctly normal in the states after 1967. At the Centre, the chaos within the government was reflected in the toppling of the common government in 1977. It clearly shows the one phase that the whole parliamentary framework would be transformed into a non-serious or indifferent arena when a couple of deserting MLAs or MPs could make or unmake governments. The circumstance was, nonetheless, spared and the administrations given more prominent steadiness when a new bill was introduced that was the counter defection law of 1985.

The counter defection law or the anti-defection act was formed by the government of Rajiv Gandhi and included within the Indian constitution in the year 1985. This law stated that the ministry would be able to disqualify the elected members on the grounds of defection to another political party.

This may have bought a temporary relief to the government structure. However, as of late separation of organizations together and coalitions have again turned out to be regular with unsatisfied political parties. They operate within the law without going against the well-defined boundaries of e-counter defection law.

In general, the wasteful working of state assemblies and parliament since the late 1960s, parliamentary foundations have been not working to its ideal image. It has declined in establishing or commanding authority by the general population and has been assuming a lesser part in policy formation and administration.

All things considered, they have not turned out to be absolutely incapable. They keep on performing, however insufficiently, the part allotted to them under the constitution, despite everything they give some voice to the general public opinion and mirror the well-known mind-set of the public at large. Nonetheless, even with these changes, the administration still fears the opening of an assembly session.

The Cabinet

The cabinet picked and headed by the leader and constituted by the authoritative ministers, frames the successful official branch of the Indian political framework. The basis of its functioning lies on the aggregate duty. The quality of a legislature is measured by the quality of its cabinet. Shockingly, the part and centrality of the cabinet as a strategy and basic leadership establishment has additionally been declining with the beginning of the year 1969, that is, ever since with the leadership of Indira Gandhi's administration. From that point onwards the cabinet has regularly been checked upon and overlooked by the head administrator, especially when it is related to the formulation of a policy. The cabinet, has regularly acknowledged this position, communicating their dispute and no more on some minor issues. Besides, there has barely been an inversion of the prime predominance over the cabinet under the much weaker political identities that have possessed the executive's seat consequent to Indira Gandhi. Cabinets

functioning individually continued to pass on some influence all depending on the calibre of each one of these cabinets, with relation to the political support as the basis of it and with the extent of popularity that they would bring to the ruling power.

The second biggest factor adding to the disintegration in the cabinet has been the rise of the Prime Minister's Secretariat, referred to prevalently as the PMO, as an autonomous and basically parallel official that infringes on and usurps the forces and elements of individual services and the cabinet. The PMO assembles data, gives counsel, starts strategies including monetary and foreign policies, directs their execution, and grasps a turn in choosing arrangements and advancements of high regulatory authorities.

This grouping of force in the hands of the head administrator has been fairly undesirable and has deleteriously affected approach making and also administration as a rule. While it is essential that the nation and the administration is given a solid initiative, such solid authority is not to be likened with the convergence of force in the hands of one person. A solid cabinet additionally empowers an assortment of interests and areas and social zones to share power and take a compelling part in basic leadership.

The Judiciary

One political organization that has held its ground in all basics is the legal. The highest legal authority, particularly the Supreme Court, has completely used its privilege and commitment to uphold and translate the constitution. It has set exclusive requirements of autonomy from the official and administrative arms of the legislature. It has additionally been playing an important role and keeping a check or the guard of Fundamental Rights. Hence, it appreciates high authenticity and regard among the general population.

A vital feedback of the Indian legal has been concerning its socially moderate character. With this prevalent moderate characteristic one may assume that it is rather uncaring to social issues and developments. This may have to some extent brought about its hindering radical financial enactment for the sake of the safeguard of individual rights. For instance, for a considerable length of time the Supreme Court translated the privilege of property to nullify arrive changes, nationalization of banks, and so on. It additionally had a tendency to overlook the Directive Principles of State Policy set down in the constitution. These traditionalist decisions of the Supreme Court were to a great extent corrected due to the simple methodology change in the constitution that led to revision of its arrangements. This strategy was over and over utilized by Jawaharlal Nehru and Indira Gandhi to twist the stick the other way.

In addition, as of late, the Supreme Court itself has turned out to be rather sensitive to social issues, from the privileges of ladies, labourers and minorities, to environment, human rights, social equity and value and social segregation. A case of its social activism has been the presentation of open debate and discussion under which even if someone approaches with an open letter or a PIL (Public Interest Litigation) it is dealt with as a writ appeal. This does not imply that poor

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people and the oppressed have really gained simple access to the higher courts. In any case, it has opened a window that was totally closed before. However, even with all this there are still some negatives of the legal framework.

Quite possibly the two most negative elements of the Indian legal framework today are:

- The over the top postponements in the agreement of equity as a case can delay for quite a long time and even decades. The overabundance of the cases in the High Courts alone adding up to a few lakhs.
- The high expenses of getting equity, in this manner restricting access to the courts just to the well-off.

As of late, the Supreme Court has additionally been blamed for legal imperialism or giving into the political influence by giving into the powers which are vested in the official or the governing body by the constitution. Legal activism, some have proposed, can go too far.

In contrast to it all, two other sacred foundations, specifically, the President and the Election Commission, have likewise performed great in autonomous India. The Presidents have worked with nobility and in a non-questionable way and inside the generally acknowledged elucidation of presidential powers as included in the constitution. Correspondingly, the Election Commissions have all in all satisfied with credit their protected commitment to fair election. It includes the reasonable races including a large number of voters, almost a million surveying stalls, and a huge number of competitors in state and central elections.

Public Administration and the Bureaucracy

Maybe the most vital institutional emergency in India is that of the nature of open organization and the administration. The weakening of organization, even while its part in the life of the resident has developed a complex structure. It lies at the centre of the emergency of manageability in India, including the breakdown of formulated rules and increase of wrongdoing in a few states and vast urban communities. Indeed, even the best of social and formative enactment and strategy measures are invalidated over the span of their usage.

The Indian administration is, in addition, inflexible, essentially preservationist, master the norm, and impervious to social change, particularly as to strengthening of underprivileged or constructive measures. It supports the overwhelming social gatherings and powerful people, particularly in rural sectors. With its non-execution character and document pushing systems, it is likewise not equipped to go up against the new undertaking of financial improvement and including the general population in its procedures. In addition, notwithstanding for routine work the managerial framework has barely any instrument for implementing discipline and rebuffing wastefulness and poor execution or checking defilement and compensating exemplary work and trustworthiness.

Indeed, even at the centre and larger amounts of administration is in complete state of confusion, due to complex guidelines, controls and strategies, and the expanded individual and optional forces. The most prevalent force is

wastefulness of resources, undue postponements, low norms of respectability, and defilement prevalent within the system. The quantity of skilled proficient and legit authorities may, in any case, be bigger than prevalently accepted.

In the meantime, there has been an over-the-top development of the administration, which is totally out of extent to its value or efficiency. Thus, the focal, state and neighbourhood government organizations have come to assert too expansive a share of expenditure on public and government assets. It is yet, prompting to the disregard of development and welfare exercises.

One positive component of the Indian administration that is still present is its custom of political non-partisanship. This also includes the civil servants actualizing approaches of the legislature in power independent of their own conclusions. It is essential to observe that the Communist governments in West Bengal and Kerala have not grumbled of the higher administration deterring or disrupting their arrangements on political, thoughtful or class grounds.

The segregation and division of the power within the organization as of late has not been on ideological or in relation to the political grounds but rather has been utilitarian in character. On account of their reliance on ministers, MLAs and MPs for their arrangement to swell up the postings, advancements, exchanges, expansions in administration, postretirement business, have been progressively embroiled in political interest. The steps taken are related to individual interest and in actualizing the individual or political motivation of their own workers within the party. Political obstruction with the organization and the police has prompted to the destruction of their discipline and adequacy and the ongoing scenario of reduction of quality performance among them. The administration no longer has that old pride in its administration or even a feeling of solidarity, obtained from normal interests and duties.

Without a doubt the toppling of the current rigid bureaucratic authoritative framework is unrealistic. Another thing to note is that to be freed of administration is a farfetched dream. The requirement that the current scenario calls for is a radical change, recovery and rebuilding of the structure. In order to make it a reasonable instrument for good government and advancement of the nation, a change is to take place that would be the catalyst without the disregard of the administration. Strangely, the ills of the regulatory structure, and also the required corrective measures, have been over and again examined by a few authoritative change commissions. The analysis taking place also includes a system of open organization specialists and experienced and educated civil servants. The only thing that is preventing a complete change is just the political will to attempt these measures that has been deficient with regards to overcome it all until this point. Two different parts of the part and effect of organization might be alluded to here. The bureaucratic qualities, mindset and structures have spread to almost all political and non-political circles or arenas. These are the same forces that are now ruining the scholarly and logical organizations and are to a great extent causing an adverse effect upon the researchers and the academicians. This in turn is causing their potential to be unseen or unheard of, all due to the lack of proper administrative means to either support them or promote them.

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Correspondingly, bureaucratization and bureaucratic control of people in general part endeavours, consolidated with political intervention is causing hindrance to their solid advancement and working.

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The Armed Forces

The Indian military has kept on being an exceedingly genuine, self-disciplined and proficient non-political group. It is known to have kept up the custom of regarding vote based establishments and working towards or in servitude of the Indian citizens with matchless quality and control. While the military works on their self-guided rules and the strict guidelines with full force utilizing their planned strategy every now and then, the only problem they face is with the political forces.

This advancement of the military–civil expert relationship was not something on the non-serious note. In fact it was painstakingly thoroughly considered by the national initiative of autonomous India from the earliest starting point of the formation of independent India. Even with it there was an ongoing debate as to what if India may likewise go with the method for the vast majority of the Third World nations in being dominated to some type of military control. Additionally, not having any desire to redirect assets from the earnest work of financial advancement, was a noteworthy motivation. The reason supporting it could be why Jawaharlal Nehru and different leaders of the time kept the numbers as likewise the figure of the military very low till 1962. After the war between India–China, the extent of the military was expanded however as far as the nation’s populace it keeps on being less than that of China and Pakistan or even South Korea, Indonesia, the US and the majority of the European nations. India has likewise kept its guard spending low as far as its proportion to the national wage. The point has been to guarantee that India’s resistance powers are sufficient to meet dangers to its security while at the same time without causing a financial burden or growing into a force that would delay the overall financial advancement.

Indian political gatherings have likewise kept up the custom of not letting issues related to defence and the military turn into a matter of divided political civil argument or come up between political battle. The objective part of the military has likewise been fortified by the solidness of India’s equitable establishments. The military is seen in the most positive light with the state of authenticity they appreciate among the general population.

Soon after achieving autonomy, there came huge changes within the governing structure and allotment of positions. The prevalent system during the colonial with relation to positions and officers of the military was done away with. No longer were the people of prominence or specific class involved in serving in the military. They are currently enrolled from various social strata and standings, religions and areas. This has given the Indian military a heterogeneous one and alongside its preparation has conferred it a pan Indian, national point of view, and made it a drive for national solidarity and honesty. It is to be observed that with these changes it is now not possible for any specific segment or specific

officer corps to consider overthrowing the power of the military or arranging for a conflict within the military. There is no way that the military would serve for political purpose or fulfil the whims and fancies of a specific political group.

While there is less threat of military mediation in political undertakings, a troubling element that has risen as of late is that of the glorification of the military and the military ethos by certain political powers and in the media. However, the power and the force of military stands tall and clear of any blemish or external power till date.

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Centre and State Relations

Looking at the Indian federalism with its fine harmony between the forces of the Centre and states, as imagined in the constitution, has stood up well regardless of periodic disruptions. It is prevailing with regards to complying with, and additionally ensuring, the assorted qualities of the Indian individuals.

It is, obviously, genuine that from the earliest starting point India's government framework has been founded on a solid Centre as precisely accommodated in the constitution. In the real working of the framework, the central government steadily procured more prominent impact over the states. In addition, in the main decades after freedom, a similar party controlled the focal and the state governments, which gave the executive and the focal Congress authority a specific use over the state governments. This was a leverage that was not utilized adequately by Jawaharlal Nehru, particularly to push through land changes, and was utilized regularly, yet not admirably, by Indira Gandhi and Rajiv Gandhi. Then again, as throughout the years to follow, the states progressively came to be controlled by parties other than Congress. Perhaps with this reason the focal impact over state governments has declined. The disassembling of the permit standard framework and the lesser part of focal arranging have additionally had a comparable impact.

Throughout the years, the requirement for a solid focal government with more authority to impact state organizations has been felt in certain significant areas. In a multi-religious, multilingual and multi-ethnic nation such as our country, the Centre has the basic part of ensuring minorities of various sorts as likewise the hindered gatherings, for example, the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, ladies and the landless. A solid Centre is additionally required to alleviate or possibly keep the development of intense territorial variations by utilization of various means. A solid Centre has likewise been discovered important to manage divisive station, collective and territorial strengths and interregional clashes.

In the meantime, it is inappropriate to state that the government character of the Indian political framework has endured disintegration after some time. The states have kept on getting a charge out of the self-sufficiency as given by the constitution, as is apparent from the working of the states governed by party other than the one sitting at the Centre. The state governments in the current scenario is getting better by implementation of full self-governance in the fields of culture, training, farming improvement, water system, social insurance and water supply

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and different regions of open welfare, neighbourhood government and modern advancement. With the exception of enormous businesses and remote venture for which focal licenses were required till as of late, things are moving in the right direction. In addition, the schemes formulated by the central government and plans of financial and social improvement and welfare have been executed well or seriously through the states' regulatory authorities.

Sadly, specific states are said to be not ruled properly and are lingering behind in financial improvement and welfare exercises, this also included lack of any support from their so called followers. However, this was not as a result of focal mediation or absence of state self-rule but due to the sorry state of administration by the governments of the specific state. For instance, reforms related to land were hindered or did not in any way profit the landless in a portion of the states due to the determination of their state organizations. All this was regardless of the ongoing political pressure as exercised from the central government. Then again, the Kerala and West Bengal governments did not have much trouble in presenting positive changes for the peasants in relation to the land reforms regardless of their decision parties having little say in the central government.

The main genuine infringement by the Centre on the states' unavoidable situation ensured the careless utilization of the sacred arrangement under Article 356 to implement a forceful central rule that is more than often referred to as the President's Rule in a state. This power was intended to be practiced once in a while and in remarkable conditions, for example, the non-functionality of proper organization or established government in a state.

It is to be observed that a political league is not a weaker type of a Union; it is a type of a solid Union reasonable to a various society. So also, a solid Centre and solid states are not contradictory to each other within a league. This was likewise the finish of the Sarkaria Commission that came out in the year 1980 to inspect Centre-State relations. The government guideline requires that both the Centre and the States ought to be sufficiently solid to play out their capacities and to convey on their projects and guarantees. Nor is there any inconsistency between a solid country state and decentralization of force. Majority rules system, national attachment and improvement in a various society such as our own country does not require noteworthy centralization but rather more prominent devolution of force and decentralization of basic leadership and choice execution.

The more prominent decentralization and devolution of energy to the third level of government, that is, or more like the self-government, was an essential piece of the national development's political administrative motivation as similar to the established outline of free India. Therefore, an endeavour was made in the second half of 1950s; this was done for the purpose of transferring the local administrative power to choose region parishads and town panchayats, with a view to create grassroots majority rules system and empower viable political investment by the general population. Additionally, this would also mean including them in the arranging and usage of different formative plans or

developmental work. The consequences of this endeavour were, notwithstanding, totally baffling in light of the fact that these three-level establishments were soon minimized and smothered by the organization and utilized by the class that was having power over the land. In order to improve the power they as of now practiced control over land and more prominent access to state organization and local administration. Moreover, the state governments were hostile towards separation with any of their forces or allies that formed an essential part to the foundations of local self-government.

The main states where the Panchayati Raj proved to be fruitful in the 1980s were Karnataka and West Bengal. The panchayats were then rebuilt on a sounder balance everywhere throughout the nation as of late and are starting to show better outcomes. One million of their three million individuals are ladies. Then again, the metropolitan government in the vast majority of India's urban areas and towns keeps on being wasteful and degenerate and ailing in compelling regulatory power. With this there has been a constant decrease in urban offices, for example, streets, parks, road lighting, water and electric supply, sewage, social insurance and sanitation, tutoring and control of wrongdoing and contamination.

Conclusion

Notwithstanding a specific confuse and crumbling in some of India's political establishments, they have kept on working and demonstrated a versatility that has shocked numerous political researchers and daunted the prophets of fate. In spite of ineffectual government, flimsy focal governments as of late, more prominent uprising of the public against the government things still kept going on within the government. The debasement in organization and political life, rot in political groups and group framework were an ongoing conflict that were still prominent within the governing body. The predominance of conflicting ideology and pessimism with respect to legislative issues and political foundations, India's democratic rule government has indicated surprising progress and keeps on prospering. Similar thing can be seen with its establishments that have taken profound root. The professionals of the voluntary framework have gone unchallenged till now. Competition for the electoral seats within political parties were led under the vigilant gazes of an autonomous Election Commission; this is the most authoritative governing and controlling body that still approves formation of new parties and existing political groups. The system of vote is valued and unreservedly utilized by the general population, particularly poor people and the scholarly people, to express their political choices. Voting rights are given to demonstrate their inclination for specific political arrangements and to vote out the non-performers at the voting station the individuals or the political representatives who guarantee improvements however, do not convey in the real sense.

The main disastrous part is that, as in different popular governments, the Indian political framework does not have a component through which the heading and execution of the strategies favoured by the electorate can be implemented.

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There is, in this manner, a solid need to change and reinvigorate both political and managerial establishments to meet the changed needs of the time. It is particularly in relation to the requests of the poor and the distraught for a more noteworthy inclusion in the process of improvement. The organizations as they have worked so far have been formed due to the support of the societal position or the affluence class or the one who can influence the political scenario. It is their dependability and with these reasons they have failed to deliver what is expected of them. However, with the given scenario it is important to understand that change is required and the current system need to be reshaped further. All this is essential to attempt the new two assignments of monetary advancement and social change. It is as, ordered by the general population that is more often painted in the light of bringing about political unrest every now and then. However, advancement is achieved by the national development and the working of democratic rules system. At the same time, there was and is additionally the need to make tight structures and organizations through which the general population's energies are used as a source for above mentioned two essential undertakings. Unmistakably, the part of political gatherings and political leaders is basic in this regard. While political initiators of the sort and the capacity that often come into power through the system of flexible government election cannot be at any point perfect in their governance. The eventual fate of the Indian individuals depends on the incredible arrangement of the political scenario and the politicians' ability to deliver and imitate a fundamental social and political responsibility. All this is in the light to the goals that are often highlighted by the opportunity battle or the voting system and is included in the constitution.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. What was the third significant legacy of the national development?
2. State the noteworthy elements of nation's political improvement.
3. What are the two most negative elements of the Indian legal framework?

1.3 MODERNITY AND THE INDIAN STATE

The state, obviously, is not a free reality in the sense that it is not an autonomous body of governance. It is comprised of the foundations that are, thus, identified with the universal economy. Thus, in spite of its dependence upon the global help with monetary and trade reliance, native improvement in India is coordinated by the affluent and powerful classes of India's state entrepreneur framework. To be specific – the bureaucratic first class and a decision of the national middle-class including the private businesses, the armed force, well off labourer ranchers, little merchants and cash loan specialists.

The perfect plan of advancement embraced by the state has been incredibly affected by Western methods of improvement, development and modernization to a limited extent. It sees rural improvement as an issue of part improvement. It is

acting more like a subordinate upon a trade urban economy. Indian improvement of national affairs has, taken after entrepreneur industrialization or taken the way of improving trade that has concentrated business, assembling and development inside India's biggest urban areas. It is with this reason that majority part of the population is relocating to the urban areas. It is to be observed that due to this relocation of masses to the metropolitan cities the scenario is such that only limited development is seen and that too in some states where trade and industrialisation is at its peak. Another thing to notice is that the reliance of trade is still on the external innovation and in imports from outside. With the means of adapting the Western improvement models, India has become an important part of a modernization procedure that is also taking roots in the West. The unequal monetary trade that exists between the advancing trade countries and the trade creating countries is full of an uneven social trade that stresses. With the given trade scenario the Western inclination is obvious in the significance related to the innovation inside the advancement procedure in India. It is now full of innovation with a fruitful improvement process and customary frameworks of learning.

State-supported and coordinated improvement and state-claimed logical learning and innovation are more important. All this is done ignoring the conventional set up and unreasonable practices that are against the overall growth. Without a doubt, the three essential purposes behind the presence of the advanced state in India have turned into the support of national security, the execution of improvement and the obtaining of and resulting administration of present day science and innovation. Together, these capacities have modernized and changed the Indian financial structure and the society. They have likewise encouraged the state control over common and money related assets; merged the influence of those coordinating and profiting by the state intervention. The insensitively ignored indigenous or mixed societies with their own ethnic science and innovation, characterizing lack of influence to advancement as social slack or false consciousness.

Advancement and Culture

The Indian advancement implementation reflects, partially, the relationship amongst state and culture. Culture is made to add to the sustenance and development of the state. Emphasis was less on the state being made to address the issues of the survival and enhancement of culture. This procedure has been complemented as high Indian culture and has turned out to be progressively westernized. It is an exceptionally concentrated, modernised country state with a rhetorical cultural background, it has supported its vision of innovation and advancement that is based upon the variety of qualities present in the Indian culture.

Social survival has turned into the support of prime experiments of science, education and social change. Although all this was supposed to bring about a catalytic change but the opposing forces and the inability to completely accept the development in different fields completely lead to chaos within the state. At times of political and social upheaval, the state went through a situation of

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emergency. Whatever was named as the Emergency, the Indian state has, over the previous decade, progressively utilized the governmental issues of restraint to maintain its control, power and strength through the political control of social division; through the presentation of Dark Laws, for example, the Preventative Detention Act, the Anti-Encroachment Bills, the Terrorist Act and the Special Powers Act and through the coercive migration and social interruption of endless non-political or anarchic groups and urban groups, the Indian state was slowly progressing toward the Bureaucratic-Authoritarian model.

Advancement as Cultural Destruction

The guide to development of India gives troubling demonstration of the attack on customary groups that the improvement procedure has caused. The Narmada River Valley Project, a plan to assemble 30 noteworthy dams, 135 medium dams and 3,000 minor water system plans, extending from the Sardar Sarovar Dam in Gujarat to the Narmada Sagar in Madhya Pradesh will involve the submergence of 375,000 hectare of woods and around 80,000 hectare of ripe horticultural and touching terrains. Not exclusively will this prompt to an irreversible loss of exotic wild vegetation. However, because of the venture more than 1 million of the population would need to relocate. In Orissa, the Balipal National Missile Testing Range will disrupt an expected 40,000 individuals that will cause a chaos to their lifestyle. The Rengali Dam has as of now removed more than 11,000 individuals. In Bihar, the hydroelectric venture debilitates the business of roughly 15,000 Adivasi families in around 100 towns.

Keeping in mind the end goal to completely understand the ecological and social effect on neighbourhood groups of such relocation, it is important to consider in detail the Inchampalli-Bhopalapatnam Dam which traverses the conditions of Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh, and the Singrauli modern improvement programme in Madhya Pradesh.

Situated in the Gadchiroli region of eastern Maharashtra, the Inchampalli Dam has been executed by both the focal and the state legislatures of Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh. This uneven, dry, vigorously forested territory is occupied by tribal societies - as indicated by the 1981 evaluation, 41.5 per cent of the aggregate populace is involved planned tribes. The place was devoid of any industrialization in this locale and most of the populace is subject to subsistence horticulture and the woodland for its vocation.

The water system offices will just financially be an advantage to the individuals who claim it as a part of their relocation. The tribes in this district have neither vast property to benefit from the utilization of the water system offices nor the ability to pay for them. A large portion of the gifted and incompetent work for the dam's development is being acquired from outside the district done to establish a union. For the purpose of gains the neighbourhood tribal have just been utilized.

Biologically and socially, the venture will bring about the loss of exotic forests and the trees in it and its related widely varied vegetation. It also includes the customary natural surroundings of the tribal groups. The woodlands are

occupied by different tribes – Madias, Raj Gonds, Parshans and Kolam. The vast majority of them practice self-sustenance through the forest and the natural resources present in their area. Yet in contrast to it there is a segment of the Madias, possessing the remote tracts of the Bhamragadh region, still work on moving development despite government plans to compel them to practice irrigational development resulting from the building of dams. All these tribes and the aboriginal people are referred to as the people of the forest or the timberland occupants who have occupied the woods for a considerable length of time, their financial and social life being inseparably connected to the backwoods. With this it is clear that even through the government aims to provide development and progress through their projects, especially building dams, little are they bothered to look for the population living there. Additionally, what good is a developmental work that destroys or threatens the local flora and fauna including the exotic woodlands that are part of the rainforests. Disturbing the natural ecological balance would only lead to displacement of the rich soil there and the vegetation, loss of the livelihood of the aboriginal people and no means of sustenance for them. Charting out a careful plan for the development process whether it is related directly or indirectly to the masses, it is essential that the planning should be done and executed for the good of all and not focussed on profit for one segment.

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Impact of Modernity

Advancement and modernization has influenced the tribal culture in two ways. To start with, the exercises of business ventures, for example, the Maharashtra Forest Development Corporation and Ballarpur Paper Mills have carried the tribal into contact with a money economy and oppressive connections. Expanded timberland directions have shortened their prior access to the backwoods and its items. Their way of life, in view of settled development in relative detachment, has turned out to be progressively minimized. More than often the forests and the operations related to such a region comprising vast wilderness is controlled by untouchables and through the process of a wage-work economy. Second, the evaluated removal of individuals by the improvement plans and schemes will require the evacuating of the tribal groups and their restoration outside their customary countries into a non-timberland territory, for example, the Nanded locale.

Such removal brings up difficult issues concerning the future support, development and enhancement of the tribal societies. Regardless of whether the new condition will give them an adequate business and whether they will have the capacity to socially conform to non-forest situations, these are the inquiries that are not given much consideration from the focal and state government organizers. Recommendations to repay the tribal for the land under development are subject to the tribal societies owning enlisted categories for that land. Despite the fact that they have developed the land for eras, a hefty portion of the tribal don't claim such titles and are probably not going to get remuneration. Besides their expulsion from an economy in which many sub-classes and class structures are created. It is to be observed that the presence of a semi-feudal economy with a

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very much characterized system of class relations along with the evident position or power conflict within is what is causing all the chaos for the tribal people. This is something that is responsible for cutting them off from the mainstream progress and giving rise to a specific culture based politics. Their relocation to another place that is not rich in providing them the basic natural sustenance will only lead to the destruction of their rare cultural heritage and further deteriorate their condition. The impacts of the improvement procedure on the tribal or the gypsy groups of the Singrauli region are a striking contrast to the tribal of other areas. The Singrauli area is full of landscapes and natural beauty full of slender valleys encompassed by the Kaimur slopes that lie between the two Indian states. Until thirty years back, the locale used to make a living out of agricultural means, of combing, and woodland items; these formed a part of their livelihood.

Industrialization started in the district in the year 1961 with the working of the Rihand Dam, which dislodged 200,000 individuals, out of which almost 50,000 of whom vanished, leaving no hint of their relocation or their settlement. In the late 1960s with the beginning of coal mining, trailed by the development of three super-thermal control stations in the 1970s, removed several thousands more individuals from their properties and homes. With another three power stations under development, these mechanical undertakings and their related exercises have stretched out over a region of 18,000 km², influencing almost two million individuals spread more than 3,306 towns.

Just as the Gond tribals, the agrarian groups of Singrauli intensely rely upon timberland assets for their job. In reality, the majority of the tenants of the range subsist from two to four months a year on timberland produce. The woods give both nourishment and fuel to the nearby groups. In the neighbourhood lingo fuel wood most of the time referred to as *razai* or stitch is of utmost significance to the tribal culture.

Tribals have discovered to their disappointment that it is not possible to sustain within the given conditions and that with continuous invasion to their woodlands the quality of their life would deteriorate. The promised better life with relocation outside their own land would not be able to give them the expected quality of life. On the other hand their incompetence to be able to fulfil the place for skilled workers is conveyed to the territory. Whatever is expected of them to become a part of the structure through their input is lacking the proper skill or competency on their part. Modernization has additionally reduced the importance of local art, the tribal handicrafts and their abilities that cannot in any way form a part the advancement procedure. Moreover, the zone faces massive natural harm because of soil disintegration, water and air contamination and the annihilation of the woodlands.

The removing of woods occupants and the pulverization of the woodlands in both Gadchiroli and Singrauli are defended as being inescapable expenses of improvement. These are the analysis done by private contract companies who are minting profit through the implementation of the improvement plans such as the World Bank, temporary workers and the urban population and the urban rich. With all this it is easy to conclude that any such projects that are undertaken as

developmental works are in actual implemented by the elite decision makers or the political groups who are looking for their own profit. Undoubtedly with this kind of driving force, the development or the progress of the nation is nothing more than a personal venture of a handful of bureaucrats who are the decision makers and looking for their segmented gain in a given territory.

The local conventional societies are seen as obstructions to advancement and improvement. On the other hand it is the apparent monetary and political advantages that are for the personal profit to the urban and urban elites or the local governing bodies of the area. Though natural expenses are borne by the land, social and social expenses are borne by the tribal groups, but that is often overlooked. The extraordinary ecology of particular areas, the unique bond between the nature and culture, condition and group is hopelessly harmed by the so called modernization. Afterward, social interruption, social estrangement and ethnic and financial underestimation win above all. Confronted with the risk to their jobs and their way of life that the improvement procedure has induced, many local groups all over India have started to form in order to sustain themselves. They have instead started becoming a part of the process of the advancement plans. These local groups are supported by the administration and private organizations guiding them.

1.3.1 Social Movements and Cultural Survival

The rapid rise of social development schemes in India can be viewed as both a reaction to the improvement procedure and the insufficiency or refusal of the state to give sufficient answers related to development. All this includes questionable influenced groups and lack of an endeavour to make political choices outside the domain of composed political groups. These developments have been sorted out around specific political, social, financial, natural and instructive issues. Due to this developments exist contrary to a large portion of the real advancement plans that are at present still in progress in India. A large portion of the labourer and tribal-based developments are environmentally spurred, focusing on the conservation of their condition, employment and culture. Nonetheless, the concentration of a significant number of these battles is that of restoration and resettlement after the advancement procedure has occurred as opposed to direct restriction to improvement ventures and their motivation. For instance, in the Singrauli region, a great part of the aggregate resistance has focused on the relocation issue. Tribals in the region, working with deliberate associations, have requested that land be allotted to them and to landless families before they submit to clearing from the regions that are to be overtaken. On the other hand, in the Gadchiroli area, Gond woods occupants have organised themselves under the pennant of the Adivasi Kisan Shetmajur Sangathana (AKSS), which is driven by the Communist Party of India.

This organization is against the extension of the Inchampalli Dam. As their impact has spread all through the locale, the Maharashtra government has started enormous police constraint against them. These developments have had just restricted accomplishment as of recently mainly in the zone of

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radicalizing tribal occupants and raising consciousness. All this brings to light different environment developments in India that have been more fruitful. Arranged in the Garwhal district of the Himalayas, this is basically a ladies driven development. It has dissented the social ranger service projects of the legislature, that is, planting business trees, for example, eucalyptus and teak in the place of variety of blended timberlands. At the point when confronted with the deforestation of their living space the ladies continued to embrace the trees to preserve them from felling. This was followed by more sorted out decision by the government, far reaching results were seen of this movement and direct activity against the Forest Department so as to safeguard their condition. This peaceful resistance has been unbelievably effective in this district where they proceeded with activities of the Chipko development in the course of recent years. All through India, battles for social survival have gone up against with the apparently unyielding procedure of improvement. It also includes the indifferent officials, negative attitude, ongoing process of abuse, control and suppression that goes with it. The previously mentioned are quite recently a few cases of a dramatization that keeps on unfurling. A state-arranged culture that is centralist, pioneer and elitist in viewpoint shows itself practically keeps on coming against the bureaucratic forces and elite decision makers. The pro-environmentalists are now standing against the abusive structure who are living with most important reason or purpose, that is the safeguarding of national security. It comprises the administration of science and innovation and the execution of the advancement procedure. At a given level the state is making all the efforts that are directed to preserve the culture and to make it safe. Culture then is diminished to ethnic expressions, music and dialect, which are co-selected by the rich as cases of how developed they are. On another level the state utilizes the oppressive solidarity of force, control, relocation and demolition to evacuate the hindrances to advance that indigenous or the backward societies. These are every now and then believed to exhibit their presence. Confronted with such an invasion numerous political and private groups see the mass reaction and battle of social developments as their lone plan of action. With this social survival turns into their lifestyle. It is essential to note that such survival does not suggest the disconnection and conservation of a specific culture, the conservation of a primitive way of life and economy for its own purpose, but instead the protection of tribal culture inside the setting of an improvement procedure occurring inside that culture's own condition and within its control.

Nature of the Indian State

To comprehend all about the contemporary Indian state, it is likewise essential to view the state from its chronicled development from the pre-colonial, division period and then following the post-colonial Indian state. European private enterprise had completely infiltrated to India once the entire Indian subcontinent got to be distinctly under the control of British and other European forces. This all was done through the means of ancient colonisation and development of the industrialist generation relations was one of the features for this stage.

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1. The surplus or the profit income that was removed from India was contributed outside India. It is to be noted that accordingly free enterprise or free trade was not able to rapidly advance or able to develop amid this period. However, after the principal world war there were cases of noteworthy residential advancements, the Indian entrepreneur class began developing and they had their profits made out of the sudden economic changes. These changes were unconventional to itself as they were forced by colonial control. The entrepreneur improvement in India was a later improvement in examination with the other propelled industrialist nations. With the given scenario they (the business class or the entrepreneurs) continued their battle against the colonialism for control over the residential market for which they consulted for the exchange of force without much unsettling influences in the basic linkages that existed. After the colossal sorrow and different emergencies confronted by British colonialism, somehow the chaos cleared the route for the development of the local private enterprise in India. While they were at first supporting the flexibility development however later Indian entrepreneur obtained a permission to make trade decisions in the development process. They would now become an essential part of the decision making process by going against the earlier business norms especially with the post colonization. India was now a post-colonial nation which was to be industrialized by the arranged advancement that was beneficial for its residential development. There is greatly improved investigation on the post pioneer states in the third world in connection to the global industrialist framework. The local middle-class of these small entrepreneur nations was basically involved within the time spent on common re-authorization between global specialization and unequal worldwide trade. There is likewise contention of subordinate private enterprise in the post freedom India. It was in years to follow that the discussion on the method of generation and overwhelming method of creation opened route to open questioning about the way of Indian state. In any case, the British dominion have safeguarded their interests and additionally crushed the states of India's pre-industrialist economies; it quickened and impeded the improvement of free enterprise in India.
2. Educated people with access to the legal system are of the opinion that, the majestic capital achieved an interior structure that included the framework of pre-colonial and pre-entrepreneur economy of India. Additionally, it comprised the outer explanation of it into an overall structure of colonialism. In any case, there was likewise expression of a more influential state with native middle-class with more self-rule from the remote capital where two prevailing classes got importance in the social development. This would include, agrarian bourgeoisies or the affluent farmers or entrepreneur agriculturist class and the industrial class bolstered by huge capital.
3. The investigation on the class structure in India concludes that, the modern class as the central recipients of the state approaches in India

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was with support of this class that the economy improved. For example, the strategy of import substituting industrialization, exchange limitations which will give an ensured local market. The state ought to be viewed as an independent performer. Another thing to be kept in mind is that the state has amassed forces of direct proprietorship and control of the economy to a degree unparalleled in Indian history both in the circles of dissemination and of production straightforwardly. This helped in fabricating a great part of the capital merchandise. The self-rule of the state is evidently present more frequently in the administrative part than the formative part. The majority of these interventions and mixed reactions that arise as a result of shared communication in a nation have created enough pressure within the government. As a result of the open communication and a dialogue with the decision makers the intervention with the hoarding and administration elements is now a regular feature. The independence of Indian state is reflected all the more regularly in its regulatory authority as compared to the developmental role. In any case, the state control was essentially intended to make conditions for fast advancement of private enterprise. It was also set up with the intention to keep the over the top focus and restraining infrastructure of monetary power. The policy that were included by India following the freedom additionally approves this.

The monetary schemes, particularly the five year schemes strove for a financial advancement where open segment was given a prime part. Nonetheless, the Indian economy still saw tremendous emergencies and turbulence amid the three years during the given time frame. It was in the second half of 1950s that a situation was created where remote offices and governments could control the economy specifically outside trade emergency and different issues that economy was experiencing. This principally made way for the entry of IMF (International Monetary Fund) to include their strategy solutions to the economy that helped clear the underlying foundation of progression. Further the crisis that happened during the Indira Gandhi administration in 1970s was intended to further support Indian and foreign monopoly capital model that too without addressing the structural problems of the nation. Afterward, the open arrangements in 1980s saw the significant strides which changed the political economy of Indian state in many ways. This is likewise the time India began being more coordinated to the world entrepreneur framework and reacting to the changes that were occurring on the industrialist framework.

1.3.2 Indian State and Liberalization

Indian economy has seen the extensive scale advancement. Privatization is seen as a major aspect of the globalization approaches which were embraced in the late 1980s and afterward quickened amid the 1990s. The most imperative policy changes that were received by the Indian state were the vast majority of the PSUs or Public Sector Undertaking endeavours that were sold to the private players. Authorization was changed for the benefit of businesses, effectively reassuring FDI's or Foreign Direct Investment all over the segments, free stream

of merchandise, administrations, innovation, work and capital was supported and advanced beyond the borders. Additionally with this, environmental and different clearances were changed too. SEZ or Special Economic Zones and private financial sectors were created, large MNCs were assigned land for the purpose of setting up their factories. However, this was done overlooking the sanctions or keeping in mind the interest of native populace and the local people.

The most important dramatic change that occurred during this time was that this period began with anticipating national improvement with relation to the GDP or the Gross Domestic Product of the nation for which a significant market analyst have additionally pooled in the required efforts. Presently, this accounted for broad outcomes to the Indian economy, society and country alike. Most recent three decades where the times of advancement where state gradually pulled back from its fundamental administrations like wellbeing, instruction and free market takes up the customary parts which were assumed to be completed by the state. The state's financial approaches were impacted massively by the universal establishments like IMF or the International Monetary Fund and other such financial global organizations to which states are depended to on different ways.

There are various arguments about how the entire scenario of the Indian state is dramatically changing ever since the movement. All the political and economic approaches were included in India as an element of the liberalization project. One of the routine dispute about the state in the post-independence era is of the limiting role of state. There is a kind of vacuum left by this limitation. It also includes the overall affiliations, sub-national clusters, non-administrative affiliations and other radical social affairs. In any case, there is in like manner a fragment of people which battle off the growing importance and the centrality of the state. The movement has been to some degree engaging and is giving rise to a new procedure for the states where an open economy set apart by composed trade and mobility of capital, markets are most reasonably administered by rules based organizations held tight by the sole governing power.

When we refer to the independence of India, especially the time from Independence 1947 until the year 1991, the state involved the alleged directing statures of the economy, guaranteeing that it is capable of taking on the weights of the nation's advancement challenges. At last, a sincerely extremist state mediation in the economy implied the focal officialdom controlled financial cooperation's at all levels through an inescapable arrangement of directions, bureaucratic controls, appropriations and regulatory fiats. It additionally implied an extremely limited part for business sectors and private enterprise. Even after the beginning of the process of liberalisation the state was not at all powerless, yet rather adjusted to the demand of globalization or all the more nearly, to the process of capitalism. As sceptics may even contend that the withdrawal of the state, inferred by financial change, is currently more adequate to the high societies and positions. This is in light of the fact that the administrative and interventionist State has turned out to be excessively troublesome for the Indian economy.

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All this rests on the grounds that these classes and ranks are presently losing their control over state control. It is notwithstanding the increasing number of low castes, and trying out for better lifestyle in the emerging private sector. Additionally, the perplexing way of the rising forces and losing out of the conventional predominance that propertied class has been one of the striking element. In the meantime through the use of contextual analyses of different nations from the current scene recommends that, from 1980 the Indian state definitively moved in a firm industrialist heading. That is, as the resulting disappointment due to the Nehruvian statist model or the vision of Jawaharlal Nehru with regard to that of advancement as portrayed by state mediation and import-substitution industrialization that got to be distinctly apparent. The state elites turned out to be more open to showcase market thoughts. The focal and sub-national or state-level governments, business arrangements, started to create respectable development rates all through the 1990s. The business classes turned out to be additionally trusting of the Indian state.

In this manner, the monetary Globalization has pushed the Indian state into embracing a much smaller decision framework, into a durable majority rule entrepreneur state. The new part for the state is to implement financial discipline and to guarantee the straightforwardness in the market. However, how far state is competent for this, is again a matter that must be further pondered upon and seen. Another point of view is that, while the exclusive class made advantage out of the progression policies and the opposing masses of the nation feels that this specific class shared the products of the advancement. These advancement strategies obviously brought about a lot of discontent especially coming from the general population of India, particularly from those whose land and employments were taken away. They activated themselves against land acquisition of the state, huge improvement ventures, relocations, privatization and different measures which were stifled to a great extent by the individual states utilizing outrageous severe measures. This drove the rise of thousands of individuals' developments throughout the nation over requesting the fundamental privileges of the groups and local individuals, developments were relevant to the locales. The issue based throughout the nation as the voice of the masses that need to be heard and acted upon.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

4. How is the rapid rise of social development schemes seen in India?
5. What were the most imperative policy changes received by the Indian state?

1.4 QUESTIONS OF POLITICS

It is said that imperialism is only the inconvenience of one's thoughts on another through coercion. What affect did that have on India in financial and political

setting? For the British, controlling India was looked upon as the prime method for staying at the highest point of the politically influential nation structure. In spite of their strategy of specific monetary advancement, our country saw significant change in money related wellbeing by supplanting the handful of bureaucrats with bureaucratic-military foundation.

Powerful administration compelled the lessening in financial shortage with a more noteworthy share of national item made accessible to the business people and segments of expert classes. The undertaking of framework advancement was then taken up by the colonial rulers. With sincerity, they put resources into railroads and water system that prompted to a boost in automatic farming and farming yield. The colonial predecessors would bring light to the fact that the British had watchfully taken after a strategy of de-industrialisation. As indicated by observers of history and financial analysts, it was the self-centred business strategy that demoralized indigenous or the aboriginal or the tribal producers keeping in mind the end goal to support the development of manufacturers in England. Indeed, Nehru had additionally contended that the de-industrialisation strategy was the genuine and principal reason for the abject poverty of the Indian population.

Limitation of Secularism

It is easy to portray the development of present day India with the restricted one-sided presentation of current accomplishments of the West by the British. As expressed in Edward Said's *Orientalism*, Occident and Orient portrayed the self and the picture of the other in their relationship of shared reflection. In the like manner, made ruler-ruled thoughts and organizations. The eighteenth century era when Britain started controlling India, and the nineteenth century, when it won firm control of the region, clashed with the time amid which the West came to build up the philosophy of rule by reason, or reason-focused thought.

The possibility that even religion could be fused into the arrangement of reason developed in the nineteenth-century streams of thought. One should observe that it is this reason that the nation saw the process of development and progress; this was able to add up to the objective reasoning amongst the masses and influence their thinking. This arrangement of thought sprung from the nineteenth century, when individuals lived inside a reason-administration within a limited scope. All this introduced a noteworthy philosophical move from the eighteenth century, when the reason began the process of improvement in the given scenario as ruled by religion.

The colonial era unfurled within the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and as can promptly be envisioned. The Western experience with the non-western world acted as the foundation of solidly confirming the philosophical move, that is, the foundation of reason focused thought inside the West. The detachment of Church and State in the seventeenth-century West did not really mean partition of the state as reason versus religion as contradictory to reason. This was the same time when the state directing legislative issues and the beginning of judgment by reason, made way for the partition of governmental issues and religion.

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The theoretical change in the nineteenth century created a path for the market economy, democratic rules system and secularization in the twentieth century. Present day country states, made it an essential arrangement that was to be included especially after partition of legislative issues and religion.

For the sake of modernisation, country states additionally underestimated the change that was bought about by the monetary advancement and democracy rule government that were indivisible. Since the fall of the Cold War structure, a great self-analysis is prompted. It is regarding the once firm conviction that the market related entrepreneur framework – a result of Western modernisation would ensure boundless advancement. The inevitable difficulty of such advance has tossed the world into a halt. Individuals now work between the unwillingness to forsake advancement and the truth of the world's constrained assets and irreversibility of ecological changes. This is not just an issue of material breaking points. Since the World War II popular government, upholding flexibility and correspondence for the individual remained without any guidance by the philosophy of advance. It turned into a misguided tool for constantly putting off achievement of opportunity and balance to a future time.

When questions are raised about such vote based system, the political upheavals and absence of free opportunity to choose the right candidate for improving the political scenario is terrible. The general population of the present day time who have looked for their identity in endless development and advance have been dissatisfied with the development myth that was further filled with a rush of instability in the political scenario. Because of a feeling of getting stuck up within the circumstances, religious restoration developments have emerged and there was a rise in ethnic clashes all over the world. The oversimplified desire that democratic rule government would be achieved and religion would go into decay have been disrupted. The progress of the time of reason has incited an opposite force against it, fuelling disordered conditions as religious and ethnic conflict.

With these given conditions, some analytics are supportive of feasible advancement as the confirmation for the arrival of improvement. Yet the test is the manner by which to assemble thoughts and methods of character building that are free from so-called pictures of improvement. Seeing religious movement or restoration as a risk to the democracy based system, some are with full force going against the political groups to resist the change. However, the question now is that, to what degree should these hostile voices be given power to reason and put forth a request to balance politics and religion. These out in the open opinions have for some time been smothered by futuristic reason, and are firmly identified with character building. It is essential to find out, most importantly, that the issues we confront today are difficult to handle out in the open or through a smooth dialogue. It is to the point that they cannot be tackled by only catalyst re-creation of present day reason and its applicability. Current system sees autonomous people as great and imagines a free society that comprises such people. In any case, the truth of the matter is that such reason, truly, smothers individuals and leads them to move in the opposite direction of opportunity

and take refuge in an environment where they are supported. Often it is seen that people with conflicting belief towards another group form their party. The thrusting of reason upon individuals gives rise to an opposing force against it, which often backfires.

Twisted Political Relations

The issue related to politics and religious conflicts have always been there in the political scenario. It is ever since the rule of the British and the trend continued throughout the time of post-freedom. This trend is still prevalent till date. This issue, in India's specific situation, can be depicted as a portrayal of a complex relationship of secularism and communalism. There is extensive civil argument over the use and meanings of these terms, yet here we are only discussing the most popular applicability of it in the given context of political scenario. It is enough here just to point out two focuses. In the first place, seeing an alternate religious gathering as a conflicting force includes an endeavour to make things perfect in the religious contrasts. Disregarding different other social components, and communalism, which is more often seen and interpreted as religious belief, is significant as far as it talks about this personal perspective.

When it is in relation to secularism, which implies partition of religion and legislative issues, contemplation have been done of the particularly Indian utilization of secularism. In the Indian scenario the context is not quite the same as secularism in its unique Western sense. The unpredictable character of secularism is what is discussed here in this section. Neither of the given terms, communalism and secularism, can be utilized straightforwardly. With such reservations, it is often utilized to establishing and managing the substance of the issues confronting the current Indian culture. This segment concentrates on how the conflicting structure of the complex relationship amongst secularism and communalism was on a very basic level framed amid the British rule period.

During the British rule, from the beginning of the eighteenth-century illumination period was loaded with inward clashes among the Asian position and class conflicts which confirmed the peculiarity of Indian culture and society. While there was a western group that was all for establishing their rules to universalise the estimations of British society and apply them to India. The Orientalists or the Asians, as it seemed to be much closer to social relativism on the grounds that the previous group only attempted to comprehend the qualities innate in Indian culture, but was not able to understand it or apply it to the fullest. In this scenario of uncertainty and political conflicts between the two different groups the colonial strategy was stuck between the conflict and the negotiation. The overseeing strategy, in this manner, was a trade-off blend of superior and native standpoints. The colonial government's essential comprehension of Indian culture was communicated in its great religious division of the Indian populace into Muslims, Hindus, and tribal people groups. These were late on further separating the larger part Hindus into different castes. With this it was evident that during the British rules the division of cast and religion was prevalent at that time and this division further lead to communalism.

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All the changes that came into the socio-economic structure thus included the divide amongst Muslims and Hindus as indicated by religious diversity; partition of tribal people groups from the Hindus. Subsequently it also included the joining of the respectable aboriginal class with conflicting interests and intentions to Hinduism. This was the time when all the social stratification was done on the premise of the possibility of Varna classes. In every one of these divisions, they were then being identified through characterization from over, the above all position of the authority. Just when the divide took place, similarly many religion based parties too started emerging, each group had its own vision that was supporting its own religious or communal cause.

There was a rapid rise in social pluralism in which institutionalized social traditions were affirmed for each group, and it got to be distinctly important to manage the new circumstance. In particular, the rule of individual law, regarding the standard law of each of the different groups, was acquainted with the courts by Warren Hastings the Governor of Bengal in the year 1772. This permitted the law related to Hinduism to be connected to Hindus and the Islamic law to be applied to Muslims. Since, such standard law was made some portion of the system of the modern day legal system, co-ordinating standard law and current judicature later turned into an extremely troublesome undertaking. At the end of the day, an opposing structure of non-mediation was fused on a useful level into the overseeing framework. It ought to be remembered that relative freedom was collaborated as per the religious groups. Just as with the instance of presentation of individual law by the political rationality of secularism that isolated state legislative issues from religion. Additionally, by the existence of the colonial ruler, Great Britain, as the weight that kept between conflicting beliefs from becoming too strong for that moment.

Genuine inconsistencies and conflicting beliefs hence got to be distinct disagreements beginning from changing religious groups into social units and building a decision structure on the basis of the detachment of governmental issues and religion. For whatever length of time that relative freedom was formally given to religious groups potential communalism was unavoidably included.

This structure, formed by provincial administrator, proceeded to fundamentally decide the social states of free India in the period that followed after the colonial rule. In that sense, we cannot dismiss the individuals who went against the colonials for the tormenting of communalism in India toward the close of the twentieth century. However, this is something that is evident during the provincial lead a conceivable way toward communalism was built.

When it comes to religion it was a lot different during the colonial time and before it too as is in the present day scenario when division between the profound and common, amongst legislative issues and religion, was advanced. Under the administration of earlier day leadership, religion more likely than not has got to be the core of individuals' everyday lives. In the advanced period brought by colonial control, by differentiation, the way things began shaping up on the communal front and they were able to influence the life of the people.

The duality of communalism at that time and the separation of religion from common issues and to see it at a specific place of division was inevitable.

Religion, at the end of the day, turned into a question of conscious control and a decision. This is where paradoxes began shaping up. The framework isolating the Indian populace into Hindus and Muslims a framework that made religion look as though it were the most imperative component of individuals' personality, took its root. A secularization of religion, that is, religion no longer concurring with the whole character of the general population, was likewise in on the path towards its progression. Secularization, obviously, lessens religion to a fragment of life. Individuals are in this manner put in a twofold spot religiously. They lie stringing between the fundamental recommendation of secularism that religion ought to pull back from government, an express that does not meddle in the matters of religion and the suggestion that religion is utilized as the measure for division into social groups. When it comes to a secular state, an answer for this double sided circumstance is for the most part to partition the life of a man into private life and open life, and to designate religion to private life. Usage of this arrangement, definitely leaves individuals with a feeling of mistreatment, since it is unnatural that a man ought to draw such a reasonable distinction between the private and public parts of life. In our country it seems that, this general arrangement can work all the less, in light of the fact that the official acknowledgment of religious divide is regulated. Hence, British run in India brought into being a mainstream state framework which utilized religion institutionally at their own particular ends and within it was hard to keep up adjusted balanced organization.

Through the medium of this twofold tie state framework, secularism cleared the complex path way to communalism. The imposing issues that confronted the opposite British patriot development that stepped up for autonomy towards the near end of the nineteenth century can be assigned to the way of a state that used religion. The issue was that the opposing forces to British patriotism was corrupted and modulated against Muslim communalism. The improvement of Indian patriotism continued one next to the other with the Hindu development. This blend of patriotism with communalism was a depiction of the everyday consciousness that surfaced under British administration, and back to the time of the Muslim triumph of India. This extend of creative energy was essentially quickened by the British strategy that was primarily run by religious division. It reinforced religious divisions to such a degree, to the point that patriot pioneers responded delicately to the differentiated religious small groups of government and in the end prompted to Partition.

It ought to be remembered that aversion as against British developments are adept to take after the system of the governing structure. Activists who are involved in it this manner tend to shape their associations along the lines of religious divisions when the leadership uses religion, and alongside of caste related divisions. It is when the decision making side uses the caste framework. As on account of the heightening of Hindu patriotism from against British to becoming hostile to Muslim, the vitality of resistance acknowledges group

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related divisions from above. It then expects a prompt enemy in that, anticipating a false picture. On simpler terms the chaos of religious divide and the British rule, the only thing that emerged was that they were against Muslims that often meant their support for Hindus. However, this was the political strategy of the British to widen the divide between the two prominent religious groups at that time. Intentionally or unwittingly, lawmakers make compelling utilization of this component of false projection in inspiring individuals. This is the means by which religion energized by patriotism comes to fruition.

In the midst of the dynamic cross-roads of contrasts between religious groups, including that of castes, and between districts dialects, against border patriotism has been manipulated in different ways. To refer to yet one effectively noticeable case in history is adequate to gather the multifaceted nature of the circumstance. Westernized Indian elites, who got their training in Britain, experienced internal battle over the topic of how to construct India as a free current state against colonial or provincial strengths. Jawaharlal Nehru can be one such illustration who is second to none. A visionary man whose brain worked like a cutting edge Western pragmatist, Nehru's profound appreciation for Mahatma Gandhi, who may at times had appeared to be unique and often out of this world, even impossible was evident. Things were confounded on the grounds that Gandhi was torn inside himself amongst the perfect and the reality and amongst Hindus and Muslims. Such internal split created even with the complex secularism-communalism relations that were established in the twofold governing structure talked about before. Those complex and confusing relations were continued to post-autonomy India, and have been recreated.

1.4.1 Religion and Politics

At the point when the Indian Constitution was implemented on 26 January 1950, India turned into a republic and the Congress Party came to control with Jawaharlal Nehru who was made the Prime Minister of India. An incredible test for free India was the manner by which it was to adapt to the unpredictable circumstance brought about by extension of the social structures in light of stations and religious division built up under the rule of the colonials after the colonial pressure from above, which had shielded the people from religious chaos groups, was lifted.

After World War I the political history of India has been partitioned by Hiroshi Sato into three periods:

- The first period that is more about paving the way to freedom in 1947.
- The second time frame that begins from 1947 to the fourth broad race from that point, held in 1967, in which the Congress Party endured a devastating annihilation.
- The third period from that point ahead. As per Hiroshi Sato, the primary time frame can be inclusive of Mahatma Gandhi, the second includes Jawaharlal Nehru, and the third by Indira Gandhi.

Mahatma Gandhi, a fervent supporter of Swaraj for India, intermediated between radicals requesting early autonomy and conservatives who joined more significance to social change, and prevailing with regards to the inclusion of the urban working class as well as the farmers in the patriot or the nationalist development. He additionally assumed a pivotal role in growing the support base of the Indian National Congress Party, sorted out as a pacification measure under British government, into a fully-fledged association of Indians themselves. As with the establishment of the Congress Party, the three classes namely the labourers, working class, and business people joined strengths, preparing for an arrangement of parliamentary vote based system as driven by the Congress Party in post-autonomy India. Mahatma Gandhi himself, notwithstanding, saw the substances of post-autonomy Congress Party governmental issues as hostile to just and called for change to support a voluntary service (independent political party) formulated for the public. In the beginning of the year 1948, in the midst of the political upsurge of shared feelings with relation to the partition, he was assassinated by a young fellow who was said to be associated with a voluntary organization (an independent political party), it was more like the Hindu communalist association.

Based on the legacy of the principal time frame was the Nehru government of democracy the second time frame. There were two prime considerations that managed the Indian individuals' visions for democracy rules system and advancement amid this period. The nearness of a social agreement for country working through modernisation and the reasonable probability of understanding a communist society epitomized in a blended economy. Due to this agreement and vision, in the early phases of autonomy, India could manage the issue of communalism easily and was able to control it too.

The development of differing Hindu communalist bunches, mostly amid the third time frame, shaping a Hindu oriented group that was divided into many sub-groups was not disconnected to the episode of continuous communal conflicts. A communal conflict that marked the period lead to the huge transformation to Islam of previous untouchables in a town situated in the State of Tamil Nadu in southern India. Accordingly, a Hindu communalist association that was connected to a big Hindu group propelled a development to change them back to Hinduism. This case demonstrates the early example in which Hindu communalist associations started to spread all over India. To convey the record cutting-edge to the present day, we may include the faith in communism and modernisation. In the unsettled time of reflexive modernisation, as individuals started understanding that their visions were fanciful, the shaky and sensitive relationship amongst religion and legislative issues started to take aggressive structures. At the end of the day, the opposing structure natural in the complex relationship amongst secularism and communalism started to re-emerge in new structures.

Misunderstanding within the Political Scenario

Stressed over the present upsurge of communalism, many contend that secularism ought to be ensured with a specific end goal to protect vote based system. This

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approach, obviously, places communalism in direct opposite to secularism. However, can such an approach truly give us any understanding about what's to come? Can it bargain soundly with the issues push before us by the tide of religious revival and communalism in the present day?

There are realities that undermine the ordinary view that secularism and communalism are at the opposite sides. Accomplishment of real secularism is incorporated among the boards of the political decision makers within the government plan. Some may state that such an announcement ought to be disregarded in light of the fact that it is just piece of the superficial talk of government officials. In any case, what was to be observed is that a communalist party upholding honest to goodness secularism. What conditions does this incomprehensible talk reflect? One is compelled to rethink the relationship amongst secularism and communalism, which at first glance appear to be alternate extremes, in light of the fact that the previous calls for detachment of religion and governmental issues and the last for solidarity of religion and legislative issues.

In the conflict between secularism-communalism, it appears that socially relativistic secularism, which abstains from making judgements about religious qualities, is debilitated by an absolutist communalism that states a particular religion as an all-inclusive esteem. In reality, nonetheless, both secularism and communalism have a relative comprehension of the conjunction of different religious groups all over, and are commenced upon a present day consciousness of mixed space that permits the drawing of a sectional religious guide. As such, theoretically speaking, with the arguments pertaining to secularism and communalism, they both seem to be relativistic. With regard to this, they are on the common grounds of secularized comprehension, an advanced thought that empowers them to see religion as a question, that is, an object to lie separate from governmental issues. It is on this common ground that the distinctions of secularism from communalism must be considered.

Secularism Vs Communalism

The distinction is found at the level of significant judgments. Secularism grasps moral relativism while communalism takes the position of good absolutism. The last approach prompts to separatism, deserting any productive exertion at disguised or compassionate comprehension of others. The biased separatism of communalism is a result of the union of epistemological relativism and absolutism.

Secularism shows common theoretical relativism and truest means moral absolutism as communicated in the possibility of Hindutva. The expression in the BJP's (Bhartiya Janta Party) administration motivation, in this way, can be viewed as an extremely open articulation of the BJP's belief system. Hypothetically because of its relativist position, it is difficult to effortlessly include honest to goodness to secularism, since this would toss secularism into an extremely troublesome position versus communalism.

For the most part, secularism has two constituent perspectives:

- The current state is entirely isolated from religion.
- The current state dependably watches a nonpartisan remain toward religion.

Particularly in India, where religious groups are used in the official structure of society, the second part of secularism emerges as a reasonable issue in managing strife among religious groups. Communalism, that is put to strategic favorable position of these two parts of secularism, is difficult to bring under control. In an extraordinary case, when a larger part religious groups are in control of national government, it can smother small percentage of religious groups for the sake of a present day state.

The circumstance might be less demanding to comprehend by taking critical view presented by analysts examination, which rejects the conviction that communalism and secularism are directly in conflict with each other, and shrewdly contends that the genuine conflict is amongst religion and communalism as said above. According to the analysts, the state-religion relationship as specified in the Indian Constitution is a result of the bargain of two constituent parts of secularism that seemed more like a trade-off that is not really negative. Secularism as characterized in the Constitution means two synchronous positions.

From the perspective of the early-Nehru-style secularism, the constitution with its different provisions or stipulations expresses that the administration is isolated from religion this is as mentioned to in the future as stipulation A. From one viewpoint, and, from a Gandhi's view, it expresses that the state government similarly bolsters all religions this is as mentioned to henceforth as stipulation B.

A perfect sought in the emergence of secularism later on, while the last compares to the conduct of communalists who powerfully and quickly request a uniform common code. As examined up to this point, obviously the opposing structure of a common state made up of religion-based social groups the complex relationship amongst secularism and communalism is not possible to be amended from the short-sighted viewpoint of secularism versus communalism.

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CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

6. What are the two constituent perspectives of secularism?
7. What were the changes brought forward by the theoretical changes in the nineteenth century?

1.5 SUMMARY

- A basic legacy of the national development was hostile to colonialism and upkeep of national dominion. The political forces that kept the foundation of the Indian national development had as of now by the last quarter of the

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nineteenth century more than ever not in favour of the present government and the free structure.

- Post-colonial rule, we have exhibited finally somewhere else the political and monetary autonomy of the Indian industrialist class and how it not just guzzled the counter cultural structure of the national development. However, all this was not positive in the light of the financial analysis of colonialism since the 1920s.
- Post 1991 the endeavours at changes or advancement of the nation including a more dynamic investment in the globalization procedure have been viewed as an adverse affect since decolonisation, an arrangement which had indicated relative self-governance from the capital.
- It is respectable that India has endeavoured its trade change inside a fair structure, a remarkable experiment for which there is no point of reference. The underlying period of primitive gathering, which formed the basis for the instinctive change of all the industrialized nations. All this is regardless of whether the propelled entrepreneur nations of the West, the communist nations or the recently industrialized nations of East Asia, occurred in conditions where there was a lack of democracy.
- In general, accordingly when it came to low-performance or meaningless working of state assemblies and parliament since the late 1960s, parliamentary proceedings and discussions have been said to be useless. It has for this reason lost its respectful standing or commanding authority by the general population and have been assuming a lesser part in policy formation and administration.
- There were significant accomplishments, yet in spite of this advancement India still faces the inevitable conflicting circumstance where more than 300 million of of the national population are still underneath the line of poverty and about a large portion of the populace is uneducated.
- The Indian administration is, in addition, inflexible, essentially preservationist, master the norm, and impervious to social change, particularly as to strengthening of underprivileged or redistributive measures. It supports the overwhelming social gatherings and powerful people, particularly in rural sectors.
- The perfect of advancement embraced by the state has been incredibly affected by Western methods of improvement, development and modernization, which, to a limited extent, see provincial improvement as an issue of part improvement, subordinate upon a trade urban economy.
- This Western inclination is obvious in the significance put upon innovation inside the advancement procedure in India; it likens cutting edge logical sanity and innovation with a fruitful improvement process and degrades non-present day societies and their customary frameworks of learning.
- Advancement and modernization has influenced the tribal culture in two ways. To start with, the exercises of business ventures, for example, the

Maharashtra Forest Development Corporation and Ballarpur Paper Mills have carried the tribals into contact-with a money economy and oppressive connections.

- Second, the evaluated removal of individuals by the improvement plans and schemes will require the evacuating of the tribal groups and their restoration outside their customary countries into a non-timberland territory, for example, the Nanded locale.
- At a given level the state endeavours to fossilize culture to make it safe. Culture then is diminished to ethnic expressions, music and dialect, which are co-selected by the rich as cases of how developed they are.
- The rapid rise of social development schemes in India can be viewed as both a reaction to the improvement procedure and the insufficiency or refusal of the state to give sufficient answers for the quandary of the influenced groups and as an endeavour to make political choices outside the domain of composed political gatherings.
- Powerful administration impelled lessening in financial shortage with a more noteworthy share of national item made accessible to the business people and segments of expert classes. The undertaking of framework advancement was then taken up by the colonial rulers.
- In the midst of the dynamic cross-roads of contrasts between religious groups, including that of castes, and between districts dialects, against frontier patriotism has been manipulated in different ways. To refer to yet one effectively noticeable case in history is adequate to gather the multifaceted nature of the circumstance.
- When it is in relation to secularism, which implies partition of religion and legislative issues, contemplation have been done of the particularly Indian utilization of secularism that is not quite the same as secularism in its unique Western sense.
- The issue distinguished in the past segment demonstrates the substance of a prickly issue imbedded in the operation starting with the approach of colonial rule in India, through the post-freedom time, and proceeding till today.
- The oversimplified desire that majority rule government would be achieved and religion would go into decay have along these lines been baffled. The progress of the time of reason has incited an opposite force against it, fuelling disordered conditions as religious and ethnic conflict.
- There was a rapid rise in social pluralism in which institutionalized social traditions were affirmed for each gathering, and it got to be distinctly important to manage the new circumstance. In particular, the rule of individual law, regarding the standard law of each of the different groups, was acquainted with the courts by Warren Hastings the Governor of Bengal in the year 1772.

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- The divide amongst Muslims and Hindus as indicated by religious contrasts; partition of tribal people groups from the Hindus subsequently of the joining of the myth of the respectable savage with hostile intentions to Hinduism; and rank social stratification on the premise of the possibility of Varna classes.
- In the conflict between secularism-communalism, it appears that socially relativistic secularism, which abstains from making judgements about religious qualities, is debilitated by an absolutist communalism that states a particular religion as an all inclusive esteem.
- Mahatma Gandhi, a fervent supporter of Swaraj for India, interceded between radicals requesting early autonomy and conservatives who joined more significance to social change, and prevailing with regards to the inclusion of the urban working class as well as the farmers in the patriot development.

1.6 KEY TERMS

- **Special economic zone:** A special economic zone (SEZ) is an area in which business and trade laws are different from rest of the country. SEZs are located within a country's national borders, and their aims include: increased trade, increased investment, job creation and effective administration.
- **Panchayati Raj:** In India, the Panchayati Raj generally refers to the system introduced by constitutional amendment in 1992, although it is based upon the traditional panchayat system of South Asia.

1.7 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. The third significant legacy of the national development has been the selection of democratic government as a principal objective by the Indian state.
2. Among the most noteworthy elements of the nation's political improvement has been the dedication of its politicians to democratic rules system, national solidarity and financial advancement. All this joined by their capacity to build up the important political organizations, this would comprise the state and common society. It was in a light to establish them in Indian culture at the end of the day, to make and keep up the structure of a vote based state.
3. The two most negative elements of the Indian legal framework today are:
 - The over the top postponements in the agreement of equity as a case can delay for quite a long time and even decades. The overabundance of the cases in the High Courts alone adding up to a few lakhs.
 - The high expenses of getting equity, in this manner restricting access to the courts just to the well-off.

4. The rapid rise of social development schemes in India can be viewed as both a reaction to the improvement procedure and the insufficiency or refusal of the state to give sufficient answers related to development.
5. The most imperative policy changes that were received by the Indian state were that the vast majority of the PSUs or Public Sector Undertaking endeavours were sold to the private players. Authorization was changed for the benefit of businesses, effectively reassuring FDI's or Foreign Direct Investment all over the segments, free stream of merchandise, administrations, innovation, work and capital was supported and advanced beyond the borders.
6. Secularism has two constituent perspectives:
 - The current state is entirely isolated from religion.
 - The current state dependably watches a nonpartisan remain toward religion.
7. The theoretical change in the nineteenth century created a path for the market economy, democratic rules system and secularization in the twentieth century.

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1.8 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. How would you describe the positive aspects of post-colonial India?
2. Define how Nehru made a difference in the political structure of India.
3. Describe the role of armed forces in the post-colonial era.
4. Describe the relationship between public administration and bureaucracy.
5. What are the key causes that support the development of India?
6. How would you describe the agricultural strength of India?
7. Describe the nature of the Indian state.
8. How did colonialism impact India? State the main points in brief.
9. What were the problems that led to troubles in the current political scenario?
10. What difference can you sight between secularism and communalism?
11. Is secularism a narrow concept and what are its restrains? Explain.

Long-Answer Questions

1. What were the changes in the economy and democracy that followed independent India? Discuss.
2. How will you define the centre and state relations? Were they in conflict?
3. What were the challenges that the government faced post-independence?
4. How would you describe the relationship of politics and poverty?

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5. What were the land reforms and what did the government do to better it?
6. How will you define the modern day development of India? Discuss.
7. Discuss the liberalisation that happened post-independence.
8. How did modernity impact India? Is it positive or negative?
9. What were the primary motives of the post-colonial India?
10. Was India able to keep it together during the post-colonial rule? Discuss the scenario.
11. Why was there an ongoing conflict within the political scenario of India?
12. How are religion and politics inter-related? Discuss.

1.9 FURTHER READING

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UNIT 2 NATIONALISM, DEMOCRACY AND CITIZENSHIP

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Structure

- 2.0 Introduction
- 2.1 Unit Objectives
- 2.2 Nationalism and its Discontents
- 2.3 The Democratic Paradox
- 2.4 The Citizenship Debate
- 2.5 Summary
- 2.6 Key Terms
- 2.7 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
- 2.8 Questions and Exercises
- 2.9 Further Reading

2.0 INTRODUCTION

Prior to the emergence of nationalism, India was not the same country as it is today, in terms of size and constituent states. Several provinces and civilizations existed but not as a collective whole with the name India. Indian society and culture is believed to have begun with the foundation laid by the great Indus Valley Civilization. The birthplace of Hindus is associated in the history rooted a thousand years back. All this is regardless of the possibility that the claim is valid, as observed by an analyst, 'countries don't make nationalism; it is the other way round: nationalism makes countries'.

The development of the country is dependent upon the capacity to envision a political group on the premise of normal interests. In India, this uniformity was brought on by the organized onslaught of colonial powers.

Previously, many kingdoms existed in India. These were the Mauryas, the Cheras, the Pandyas, the Chalukyas, the Mughals and the Bahmanis. These kingdoms could create dynastic patriotism, which is medieval excellence. This does not imply that the soul of patriotism did not draw upon the past; it did to a decent measure from history, culture, governmental issues and topography.

The rise of nationalism is hard to characterize. Its motivation lies in a variety of reasons. Regional patriotism, social and political situations led to the rise of nationalism. However, its rise is also attributed to the emergence of new classes in the society. Thus, patriotism has different ways of emerging in various nations. In Europe, it showed up through the development of country states, though in India its emergence is attributed to the battle that goes beyond colonialism. The common public of India rose in unity against the rule of the British.

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Aside from being a present-day marvel, patriotism was additionally a modern wonder. Its legacy was progressivism, established in the Enlightenment ideas of humanism, logic and universalism. This is the reason why the awakening in India was accompanied by a study of social and religious practices which were not in harmony with advancement.

The conventions, as communicated in the Hindu religious sacred texts and the lessons of the nineteenth century reformers and the commonality created among the general population through the religious-social connection, pointed to the idea of mainstream liberal democratic system. Radicalism was its political doctrine. The battle for freedom from the British rule was infused with ideas of progressivism.

Present-day India is a democracy. Democratic rule hypothetically is supposed to bring out the truest picture of free India. In a democracy, our delegates or the chosen political representatives are allowed to make choices to serve to their own advantages to obtain power and property of the general population for the sake of the general population. With this system that is prevalent as the democratic setup wherein the masses elect the chosen candidate in the political scenario, it is supposed to arrange for and make way for our concerns to be addressed. However, it is supposed to be democracy where the public has say in the political matters, but it is largely seen that the chosen candidate is serving their own ulterior motives in the political arena. We have seen that the Bills that are put forth in the parliament are largely of their interests in regards to their compensation and wages. Additionally, there are Bills that support the industrialists and corporate that are passed without challenge and restriction. It is just a pre decided way of the politicians to make a fool of the people by raising the common issues and the related Bills are raised in the parliament just before the time of election. With this it is evident that everything is pre-arranged for their own profit. Another thing to be observed is that the parliament session at that time is only full of a false picture. It is in the sense that they put up a pre decided issues and show the public that they are trying to do it for the betterment of the public.

Starting from the year 1858 till the time when India accomplished its autonomy in the year 1947, India was still ruled by the British Empire. Between 1 January 1949 and 25 January 1950, Indians were British dependents, through Section 18(3) of Indian Independence Act, unless they had formally acquired citizenship of United Kingdom or some other country.

With the establishment of the Indian Constitution on 26 January in the year 1950, the Indians were free from British rule. What's more, they savoured the experience of the status of Commonwealth, a status that would restrain a person from the use of a British universal ID, by restraint of their Indian citizenship and India's enlistment of the Commonwealth. In any case, different Indians did not increase Indian citizenship on start of the Indian Constitution and held British subject who were not having citizenship status, all this was a given with a reason that they had acquired citizenship of another Commonwealth country.

Near the end of the year 1961, India was able to include the states of Goa, Daman and Diu and Dadra and Nagar Haveli, after the military activity, which prior to this were captured by Portugal. The French territories of Puducherry, Karaikal, Mahé, Yanam and the town of Chandranagore, were gotten under settlement of surrender with France. Sikkim was additionally joined with India and changed into a constituent state with effect from the year 1975. Some of the areas in the eastern part of India, were added to Pakistan and Bangladesh respectively.

In this unit, you will learn about nationalism and its discontents, the democratic paradox and the citizenship debate.

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2.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Understand the concept of nationalism
- Discuss the consequences of democracy
- Explain various kinds of citizenship
- Describe the impact of identity politics in India

2.2 NATIONALISM AND ITS DISCONTENTS

At the point when nationalism was entering its strongest phase in the 1920s, the diverse elements that supported its rise were continuously put to test due to constant chaos. The interchange between Rabindranath Tagore and Mahatma Gandhi, in the wake of the brutality that emerged over the span of the civil disobedience development, indicated the chaos and the general unrest stimulated by violent nationalism. While Rabindranath Tagore underlined the significance of nationalism, Mahatma Gandhi attracted considerable attention towards its possible potential outcomes. Somewhat later, Jawaharlal Nehru attempted to investigate the authentic underlying foundations of nationalism in his exceptionally acclaimed work, *The Discovery of India*. Apart from these two occasions, there was no remarkable effort in this direction.

It is not clear whether different groups and individuals who participated in the battle against the colonialists were brought together by the patriotic spirit. There could be other scholarly and political reasons too that were still not clear or could not be validated with any evidence. For example, one would say that there were very few intellectuals at that time who could define nationalism with the same scholarly capacity of these three prominent individuals as mentioned earlier.

Sun Yat-sen Vs Mahatma Gandhi

China also encountered similar complex circumstances as India before independence. After the nationalist unrest that came up in 1911, with the warlords becoming powerful in various parts of China, the unity of the state had declined

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and numerous different groups of strength had risen. The country needed a united power to bring the general population together. At this point, Sun Yat-sen, the pioneer of the nationalist insurgency, explained the meaning of free stand to highlight the Chinese situation. He attempted to show the differences existing within the nation and the need to develop solidarity among diverse groups of the nation. The leader of the country aimed at uniting different forces and elements just for the sake of a unified nation. Keeping in mind the end goal to be accomplished, Sun Yat-sen believed that the consciousness of being a country must first be ingrained within the minds of the people of the country. With this objective in mind, he began travelling to explain and preach his philosophy to the citizens of the country. This somehow is similar to the trip that Mahatma Gandhi took all over India as soon as he returned from South Africa. One distinctive feature to be observed is that both these leaders took a nationwide trip to teach their philosophy that too with different reasons. Gandhi's trip aimed at disclosing the treatment meted out to the Indians in the foreign land (South Africa), while Sun Yat-sen's trip aimed at bringing the distinct elements of the country inside the socio-political rubric of patriotism. However, there is similarity in one aspect: both shared the conviction that their objectives can be met by making them comprehensive to the masses. In Lord Attenborough's motion picture about Mahatma Gandhi, there is a scene in which it is shown that Mahatma Gandhi is forgoing the need to wear upper body clothing. It is a typical portrayal which sets his character in sync with the common man. Sun Yat-sen could not connect with the masses in any such manner and, consequently, his nationalist extend could not cover the entire country. Gandhi, then again, understood poor people, very well and endeavoured hard to shape his way of life like the common man. It was this ability to connect with the masses which played an instrumental role in achieving freedom for India from the British rule. Hence, one can realize the rise of nationalism in the Indian freedom struggle from the British. With this it is evident that the foundation of nationalism was rooted during the times of Mahatma Gandhi when he attempted to go against the British in an endeavour to have a free India.

Rise of Religious Nationalism

In the meantime, the rise of religious nationalism also became the topic of discussion in the political arena. In 1947, Hindu communalism was among the first ideas to come into being with the creation of independent India. The RSS or Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh was created in 1925 with the intent of working together in the fight against colonialism. The assassination of Mahatma Gandhi by Nathuram Godse, belonging to a Hindu supported political group, made it a political standpoint that was not to be publically agreed upon. Until the circumstances that led to the rise of great emergency in India, the RSS was not ready to make much progress. What gave it a fillip and helped it to enter the mainstream society was the Emergency. The Emergency was not just a blow to the democratic form of government; but also opened the gateway for the rise of communal powers in the future.

The circumstances that followed post emergency helped extraordinarily the most popular Hindu centric political party to twist out of its political separation and immunity. It likewise earned political authenticity by being a piece of an arrangement made contrary to the emergency. The fundamental recipient of this entrance to state power was the strongest political party. The Hindu centric political party utilized this chance to increase its influence over territories which it was not able to access before. The decline of the Left front helped the Hindu-centric political party to accomplish its goal, with an underlying intention of gaining state power. In the past 50 years, the RSS party has spread its net far and wide by supporting different individual thoughts and people from all walks of social life.

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Nationalism and History of India

Indian culture is known for its diversity. The present day India can be separated into three main schools of thought, which are as follows:

- The colonial interpretation
- The nationalist interpretation
- The post-colonial interpretation

1. **The Colonial Interpretation:** The colonial interpretation of India was determined by the early times and rational discussions about the Orient that were rooted in the European culture. This brought about the generalization of the Indian culture which was always outside the European culture. In simple terms, India is not be recognized by similarities with any other culture as it is beyond what the West can perceive.

The second point to be noted is that, as the colonial power believed that learning is power, the historical backdrop of India was being formed as it were, in order to help in legitimizing European control over the entire country.

The two sub-schools under this framework are as follows:

Orientalist School of Historiography: This school attempted to draw a similarity between the historical backdrop of India and the historical backdrop of Europe. This was carried on by the investigation of languages as the European and the Indian dialects as both have a place within the branches of Indo-European dialects. They likewise attempted to draw a similarity between the scriptural writings of India like the Dharmashastras to that in Europe, which is, demonstrating the comparative starting point of both these civilizations.

This school additionally concentrated on the social structures existing in India. This was vital from the perspective of scholarly interest as well as due to authoritative significance, as this information was useful in facilitating colonial rule in India. This school, to a vast degree, considered India a fascinating civilization which focussed on perspectives like mysticism and other similar metaphysical ideas.

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One vital thing to be noted about this school is that it was the first to apply the Aryan mark to the Indian society, which again indicated a similar binding source of the Indian and European social orders. They intermixed station and race, and along these lines the upper ranks were viewed as Aryan. This was most probably due to the reason that they were progressive in nature and the lower classes were considered as non-Aryan. This school is said to have some prominent scholars of history like Max Mueller.

Utilitarian School of Historiography: According to this school, the European civilization was expected to make the dormant Indian culture dynamic. This idea was adopted from the oriental school's non-interventionist approaches. This school of historiography is responsible for the three divisions in the history included in the Hindu civilization, the Muslim civilization and the British rule.

This school made the idea of orient rule obvious, which again was applied to validate the urban sector of India. Here one needs to observe that this change in thinking likewise signified that there should be changes in the colonial arrangement as well. At this point, the colonial control of India was almost complete, and there was dire need of redirecting the methods of production. This would mean creating means that would allow India to be able to produce raw material, so that it does not become a consumer of English products.

It ought to be likewise noticed that the idea of Indian culture being different from the European culture, holds a vital place in this school of historiography. This is clear from the thoughts that are expressed in a textual format which is against the European method of modelling. This was utilized to impart authenticity to British rule in the smaller regions as it was important to break the old structure of the Indian culture. This, however, seemed to be valid as it was not wrong to break away from the old structure of Indian culture. This differentiation between the cultures of Europe and India has become a serious concern for scholars as well as the advocates of culture.

- 2. The Nationalist Interpretation:** This school developed towards the second half of the nineteenth century. This school advocated countering colonial development for freedom. Here, they were able to utilize history for two purposes, firstly, to identify the essential character of Indians and, furthermore, by proving the predominance of the past over the present.

This school was likewise responsible for the rise of religious patriotism in view of the differences between the Hindu and Muslim civilizations. It has been contended that this was the period where the idea of isolated nations one for the Hindus and the other for Muslims was actualized.

- 3. The Post-Colonial Interpretation:** This interpretation is largely governed by the following two schools:

Marxist School of Historiography: The Marxist scholars of Indian history have not applied the hypotheses of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels with respect to Asian history. The fundamental thing to be noted here is that the hypotheses of Marx depended on the investigation of the European culture and economy. Thus, the application of these hypotheses to Indian historiography was not sufficient. The concentration of Marxist historiography is on the social and economic history and it has tested the overall period based Indian history, and the same was articulated by John Stuart Mills.

Subaltern School of Historiography: This school highlights the need to concentrate on the interest of the subaltern groups. They likewise utilize oral tradition as authentic chronicled source material or the only genuine written text properly complete with dated events. The accompanying quote is helpful in understanding this school of thought:

They empower the examination of details of what goes into the making of an incident, of the creator, of the group of onlookers, of the belief. This sort of history then creates confrontational situation with regard to the legitimacy of making wide historical authentic speculations. However, each review is independent. In the long run, there are countless recorded reviews with minimal cross association.

Social and Economic Bases of Nationalism

Let us go through the social and economic bases of nationalism.

1. **Comprehension of Contradiction in Indian and Colonial Interests:** Individuals came to understand that the drain of Indian resources during the British rule was the real reason for India's economic backwardness. British rule helped in the development of nationwide sentiment among the Indians.
2. **Political, Official and Monetary Fusion of the Country:** Patriotic fervour developed effectively within the general population since India was bound together and unified as a nation during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The arrangement of a uniform and authoritative system of government by the British bound the nation together.
3. **Western ideas and Education:** The emphasis given by the British on the dissemination of English language and education made the Indians realize that they need to unite with each other against the British base of education.
4. **Position of Press and Literature:** With the rise of the cutting edge press, both English and Vernacular, the latter part of the nineteenth century saw an extraordinary development of Indian-owned English and Vernacular daily papers. The Indian Press assumed a prominent role in organizing public opinion, influencing political developments, battling out general feelings and advancing patriotism.

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5. **Dynamic Character of Socio-Religious Reform Movements:** These socio-religious reform movements aimed at improving the Indian society and culture. Since many movements drew their motivation from India's rich social legacy, these enhanced the patriotic fervour among Indians.
6. **Conservative Policies and Ethnic Arrogance of Rulers:** The limiting policies of the British towards the general public led the population to garner nationalist feelings against the British.

Weaknesses of Nationalism

In an exceedingly separated society like that of India, the reality is never obvious. There were many gaps in the public perception which influenced the political undertaking of national freedom. The most glaring of them was the exclusion of the lower strata of society. The thought that patriotism was the statement of an overall disagreement between the general population of India and imperialism may well be correct. However, the general population is a collective expression which comprises of a variety of social and political groups with clashing interests. At the point when the enthusiasm of any group supposedly is traded off, patriotism goes through a regression.

In spite of the fact that the national development took into account social distinctions, no arrangement was found to define the internal class and gender conflict. Due to this the marginalized sections of the society, similar to the tribal, low-casts, minorities and ladies, were not properly included into the system that was hostile to colonial rule.

Mahatma Gandhi attempted to beat this through use of different techniques like guidance, protest and by driving a dynamic program. However, it became difficult to resolve or even at any point settle their grievances about the restrictive nationalist governmental issues since its concentration was on the dual disagreement amongst individuals and colonialism.

The topic with relation to the place of minorities additionally produced strain inside the development. The narrative of the national development was not of a continuous upbeat trip to the common objective. Despite what might be expected, the advance of the national development was balanced by the concurrent development of religious community related awareness, among the two most prominent regional groups, such as Hindus and Muslims.

The foundations of this division can be traced to the group based religious movements in the nineteenth century. The early developments were universalist in their standpoint. However, later developments shifted towards differentiation. Their inclination to social protection against colonisation provided them with a social base. They assumed an effective part, especially in north India, in ensuring religion based solidarity among Hindus.

All the while, Wahhabi and Aligarh movements paved the way for Muslim religious awareness. In light of this establishment, a religious perspective of the country made progress with the development of political groups with religious

affiliation, similar to the Muslim League that was established in the year 1905 and the Hindu Mahasabha that came out in the year 1914.

In any case, nationalist movement attempted to separate itself from the religious aspect, however, it did not altogether succeed in this regard. The religious aspect was evident all through the national movement, and this happened between Muslims and Hindus. Could it be true that it was an after-effect of the failure to delineate the social from the religious? Nationalism put rather unjustifiable confidence on social mixing, though social contrasts in light of religion kept on intensifying. The India which rose out of the counter frontier battle was a cracked one, ripped into pieces by internal disagreements of religion, social standing and class.

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CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. What was the Subaltern school of historiography?
2. The present day India can be separated into three main schools of thought. Name them.

2.3 THE DEMOCRATIC PARADOX

Let us investigate the truth behind the paradoxical nature of democracy. In their clever rule the rich and monetarily advantaged minority group united to have a share of it. The World Bank caught the rule of the organization and the administration was now only playing the part of being an intermediary between the financial and the political arena. There was a time when India was under the British lead leadership straightforwardly, now the nation is under the rule of the multinational organizations and the corporate is working behind the scenes. For these reasons it can be said in a straightforward manner that we are not a free country, we are not autonomous. As all cultural, social and political frameworks fall apart definitely under a distant ruler, that is the reason it has transpired in a paradoxical democracy.

The multinationals and corporate houses from abroad are making inroads within the country and the financial system in a subtle and indirect manner. To begin with, they utilized political groups and people as their ways and instruments with direct supply of black money to their own pockets and borrowing legal cash through World Bank for the sake of the state. A noteworthy part of this monetary exchange is that with changing hands the colour of the money too changes and majority of it is black at any given time in various ways for the administration frameworks. This clearly means that the money in circulation is mostly black money where big financial exchange is involved. For the given time when our rulers and politicians are influenced by the foreign organisations they are just working under their influence. The politicians and the corporate houses thus are just actors who are actually being governed by the foreigners. The business, commercial or corporate division has no enthusiasm for managerial power as

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East India Company in light of the fact that there is as of now an organization which can be utilized without work and consumption.

Understanding the conspiracy of the government against all segments of the general population and how it functions requires a deeper look. Two things make individuals mindful and strong enough to battle against any foreign intrusion, these are health and education. In the event that health and education are not provided satisfactorily, individuals will not be able to decide or tell what is right from wrong and will remain oblivious to the truth. In simpler terms with the lack of proper education and access to educational means, the public would not be able to stand up for their rights as they are not aware about it them in the first place. When the masses are insensible and powerless then it turns out to be easy to manipulate them with lies fed by the politicians and other people in power. The public would suffer at their hands and harm would be done to them without any realization towards it at all. Take for example the drug industry, it works by selling essential drugs to people at higher prices and often they sell drugs or medications of higher pricing keeping the patient in dark about alternate therapy or alternate medication that is available at lower price. The administration is pressurized to hand over its vital division particularly health or health education to private and corporate segments. In making this move, there happen three things at any given moment. Through private doctor's facilities and nursing homes, health administration goes under the private and corporate segment being very unreasonable, Government specialists are pulled in to private health administration and enlisted to manage their unique obligations or duties in managing public health. The health administration weakens due to the pressure from the private institutions and then it is decided that the government health administration should go under full control of private players. With this many organizations are benefited financially. Working class is misused and the poor are denied healthcare. The class distinction or the gap between the rich who can afford health care and the poor including the middle-class increases. The entire system then turns out to be easy to rule through the divide and rule approach. Similar approach is seen in education sector.

As we see with opening of private and government funded schools, universities and educational organizations the state run foundations break down both in framework and quality. The poor are left with no option but to go with inadequate education resulting in being denied steady employments because private education turns out to be too expensive for them to afford for their children. The class contrasts keep widening in areas of health care, capital and education.

Organising Charity by Government

There is a large population of people living in below-poverty-line conditions in this country. Such a circumstance of hardship, class contrast, destitution, and abuse may turn into a reason for disappointment, fretfulness, and tumult among the general population eventually leading to conflicts within the nation, and require large-scale changes. To take care of and to put off this issue medications

of various types in various way are provided to people at large that are often named as medical charities. Different sorts of tranquilizers are made accessible to poor areas of the general population. Things like food and cooking gas are provided at subsidized rates to individuals who are below poverty line. There are numerous administration channels for the low and poor areas of the general population to keep them happy with their lack of knowledge and neediness.

The middle or working class is the one that is difficult to manipulate as they are highly responsive and aware of the ongoing circumstances. They constitute the greater part of the administration workers, small scale representatives, retailers, specialists, artists and composers, instructors and many more. The arrival of the multinational organizations on the Indian territory and their large ventures are prepared to supply all that they need. Most of the time the multinationals are welcomed with open arms. What's more, along with providing and fulfilling the bare necessities they supply numerous things that are enough to divert the middle-class. Often due to these distractions there is hardly any individual who is keen on innovation, scientific development or doing something great for humanity. At this time it seems that the respects and honours bestowed by the state and corporate to specialists and authors are just pretences by the government.

All about Democracy

The ancient Greek author called Herodotus, characterized democratic government as that type of government in which the power of the state emerges from the group or community in its entirety.

The most current meaning of vote based system was coined by President Abraham Lincoln, who expressed that democracy is the legislature of the general population, for the general population, by the general population. In the present time, democracy rule government has been acknowledged as the best type of government, in spite of the fact that its effective working relies on certain pre-requirements. Vote based system has been characterized differently by various experts. Sometimes, it has been portrayed as a type of society, sometime as a type of state and sometimes as a type of government.

When it is more about society, the democracy system has been expected to exist where all citizens are socially equal, regardless of their material riches and economic wellbeing.

When we see it as a state, the free form system implies that in a vote based society, every area of the general population is similarly spoken for in the governing body, provided it is a mature establishment.

When we see it as a government, majority rules system implies that in an administration people participate specifically or in an indirect way through their representatives.

Merits of Democracy

Genuine vote based system rejects all benefits meant only for a specific class of people. In a democracy rule government, the standards of freedom and

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uniformity are vital components. It is all because only the general population has the privilege of vote in favour of choosing their delegates depended with forces to run the administration of the state.

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In a vote based system, all are equal in the eyes of law. The general population themselves make the principles and arrangements of the state through their delegates for the welfare of all classes of individuals, yet not for a specific class. The values and contribution of each segment of the general population in a democratic state are satisfactorily defended.

Vote based system throws a recognizing impact on the psyches of the general population, in light of the fact that each citizen realizes that it is his own administration. In a fair administration, a feeling of humanity and responsibility is created in the mind of each resident. Most importantly, a democratic system offers more prominent individual opportunity to each subject of the land. It remains against any suppression of thought, speech or association. These are the very basics, which constitute a genuine popular government.

Popular government does not acknowledge the possibility that the state is an end within itself. The state is a means for the welfare of the general population. The best merits of democracy are that it stands out for the liberated advancement of the overall public and free expression of the general public.

Demerits of Democracy

There are numerous critics of vote based system who criticize it on different grounds. It has been said that the standards of democratic rules system are not fit for satisfaction. As it is said that for being a success, a genuine vote based system requires an exceedingly conscious social component having moralistic qualities.

Knowledge, control and goodwill are prerequisites for citizens to have a successful democracy. A majority of people do not have the ability to appreciate the interests of the group. All in all self-interest is dominant and a greater part of the general population is unwilling to consider the welfare of the rest of the society. Critics have expressed that it is an arrangement of government by the poorest, the most uninformed and the most unable. Thus, more than often it is seen that the political representatives are always trying to influence the poor for the purpose of winning elections.

Vote based system has been described by the critics as a self-interest government, as the unaware people are effectively replaced by corrupt fundamentalists. As per them democracy rules system produces large amount of representatives instead of value based representatives. This choice of the majority has now and again turned out to be the most inept and useless. Some have additionally accused the democracy system of encouraging class differences and a sense of intolerance.

Glorification and Dehumanization

After the reforms of 1991, various Indian governments have shown off in front of the world that the Indian economy was making strides financially and there

was an increase in the reserves of the country. However, the so called neoliberal economic approach to the economy has only increased the divide between the affluent and the poor; minimizing social unity, denigrating the importance of life and crushing ecological frameworks. The economic crisis brought about as a result reveals the dishonesty inherent in a setup that praises money and dehumanizes individuals by sanctioning greed. This money hungry culture decreases the value of human life, and unravels the good and natural quality of human progress. All this because no concern is given to the general public's well-being or their interests or to uplifting them.

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Indeed, even the present understanding of development has not created economic opportunity in any substantial way. Because of globalization and the open market economy, many changes have happened in the areas related to production. The life of the general population has been underestimated and human rights have been disregarded and the essential privileges of the normal individual are being ignored. After 1991, the economic divisions that were controlled by the state were now made available for private possession. Welfare measures were reduced to a large extent and work laws and approaches were redesigned. It was done for the most part in support of the market economy and to improve the beneficial limits of the particular areas. As a noteworthy share of national riches is in the hands of a constrained segment of individuals, a larger part of the populace is poor and reside in the rural areas or remote areas devoid of progress or development. The divide between the rich and the poor is ever widening.

The conditions created by such unbalanced economic steps have created new types of advancements within gender orientation, indigenous, position and at the group levels. For example, the so called 'lower' castes, who include very nearly 17% of the national populace, have an unimportant status in the formal economy. They reliably endure segregation concerning areas related to work and capital. The reliance of the low-castes on farming business for their livelihood for the most part as landless workers with wage rates that are very low have made their condition one of unending hardships.

The greatest threat that popular government is facing in India today is corruption. Regardless of having a guarded media, an open society and an unprejudiced judiciary, the most discouraging reality of Indian vote based system is corruption. Weakening of the democratic system in public life has been a significant worry in India. The corruption of the system exists at all levels including the political, bureaucratic and corporate segments. The abnormal state of unlawful practices within the administration in India has been generally seen as a hindrance in enhancing the nature of administration. Truth be told, degradation is an indication of political insecurity. What is more, institutional deterioration, challenging the legitimacy and appropriateness of administration is present too.

Lawlessness is a reality of Indian governmental matters today. This means that there is an intent to exploit legislative subjects or political power for unethical actions. Criminalization of legislative issues makes the values of democratic system null and void and has no place in a fair setup. The political

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parties and the legal bodies of the state are all similarly in charge of this. The corrupt linkages between legislators, government workers, and business houses affect public dealings and administration.

The crisis of administration in India today is an outcome of the breakdown of equitable foundations and the rise of an illegitimate connections between wasteful, degenerate government employees and vote-hungry legislators. Accordingly, even after six decades after independence there has been little human improvement. The fundamental texture of good administration does not happen by chance. Great administration comes from alert political authority and a common administration made of an expert code or regulations that are pro public. The presence of a strong common society including an independent press and independent judiciary are the pre-conditions for such great administration.

Challenges of Democracy

In spite of the fact that the democracy system has been acknowledged as the best type of Government in the progressive world, it has its own issues that are stated as follows:

- (i) **Growing financial and social disparities among the general population:**
The most critical issue in democracies is the developing social and monetary imbalance among the general population. Although all citizens have the privilege to vote and challenge decisions, only rich individuals have an opportunity to win it all. The poor are once in a while even compelled to offer their votes to satisfy their fundamental necessities of life like food, clothing and a safe house. For this reason the affluent individuals are chosen delegates in the assembly who make laws and casing arrangements which support them.
- (ii) **Corruption and wastefulness:** In numerous democracies, political pioneers and government authorities are degenerate, deceptive and wasteful. Thus, individuals don't appreciate decisions and have no confidence in government authorities. This influences the working of democratic rule government in the nation severely.
- (iii) **Casteism and communalism:** Amid decisions, an expansive number of voters offer weight to the caste and religion of the hopeful. Political groups likewise remember the caste or religion of a man while giving out tickets to their representatives for the particular race to influence specific group of communities. Delegates chosen on the premise of caste or religion are directed towards the betterment of the general population having a place just with their position or religion.

Methods to Remove the Drawbacks of Democracy:

Disadvantages in democratic governments can be limited by employing the following techniques:

- (i) Efforts ought to be made to lessen the social and financial imbalances among citizens.

- (ii) Citizens need to be taught to understand the significance of the vote and other political rights. They ought to be politically stirred to choose representatives who are straightforward, caring and effective.
- (iii) Democratic qualities ought to be developed within families as well as the general public. Each national ought to regard the rights and opportunity of others.
- (iv) Use of social standing and religion amid the decisions ought to be prohibited. Association of political groups on the premise of caste or religion ought to be checked.

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CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

- 3. Name any one merit of democracy.
- 4. State any one challenge of democratic rule.

2.4 THE CITIZENSHIP DEBATE

All people settled in the domain of India as on November 1949, including those who had come as refugees from the domain of Pakistan, were considered to be Indian nationals after the Indian Constitution came into force.

Citizenship by birth

Any individual conceived in India on or after 26 January 1950, yet preceding the initiation of the 1986 Act on 1 July 1987, is automatically a citizen of India. A man born in India on or after 1 July 1987 is a national of India if either parent was a citizen of India at the time of the birth. Those born in India on or after 3 December 2004 are considered nationals of India if both of their parents are subjects of India or on the off chance that one parent is a citizen of India and the other is not an illegal immigrant at the time of their birth. In September 2013, the Bombay High Court passed a judgement that a birth declaration, travel permit or even an Aadhaar card alone may not be sufficient to demonstrate Indian citizenship, unless the guardians are Indian subjects.

Citizenship by descent

People born outside India on or after 26 January 1950 yet before 10 December 1992 are citizens of India by descent if their father was a native of India at the time of their birth. People born outside India on or after 10 December 1992 are considered citizens of India if both of their parents are a citizens of India at the time of their birth.

Besides this, 3rd December 2004 onwards, people born outside of India should not be considered residents of India unless their birth is enrolled at an Indian political mission inside one year of the date of birth. In specific conditions, it is conceivable to enlist following one year with the authorization of the Central Government. It is essential to apply for enlistment of the birth of a kid that be

made to an Indian strategic mission and must be joined by an endeavour in text from the guardians of the child that he or she does not hold citizenship of another nation.

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Citizenship by registration

It is with the authority and the power vested with the Central Government that one can enrol on an application as a citizen of India under Section 5 of the Citizenship Act 1955 any individual (not being an unlawful refugee) if s/he has a place with any of the following categories:

- (a) persons of Indian origin who are ordinarily resident in India and have been so resident for 2*[five years] immediately before making an application for registration;
- (b) persons of Indian origin who are ordinarily resident in any country or place outside undivided India;
- (c) persons who are, or have been, married to citizens of India and are ordinarily resident in India and have been so resident for five years immediately before making an application for registration.]
- (d) minor children of persons who are citizens of India; and
- (e) persons of full age and capacity who are citizens of a country specified in the First Schedule

Citizenship by naturalisation

This can be procured by a non-native who has been a resident in India for a long time.

Renunciation

If any citizen of India of full age and capacity, who is also a citizen or national of another country, makes in the prescribed manner a declaration renouncing his Indian citizenship, the declaration shall be registered by the prescribed authority; and, upon such registration, that person shall cease to be a citizen of India:

Provided that if any such declaration is made during any war in which India may be engaged, registration thereof shall be withheld until the Central Government otherwise directs.

Where a person ceases to be a citizen of India under sub-section (1), every minor child of that person shall thereupon cease to be a citizen of India provided that any such child may, within one year after attaining full age, make a declaration that he wishes to resume Indian citizenship and shall thereupon again become a citizen of India.

Overseas Citizenship of India

Section 3 of Schedule III of the Citizenship Rules, 1956 states that the way that a national of India has gotten on any date an international ID from the Government of whatever other nation should be convincing confirmation of his/her having wilfully gained the citizenship of that nation before the given date. Once more,

this control applies regardless of the possibility that the outside travel permit was gotten for the child by his or her parents, and regardless of the possibility that ownership of such an international ID is required by the laws of the nation which views the child as one of its nationals e.g., a US-born offspring of Indian guardians who is naturally considered to be a US resident as per US law, and who is in this way required by US law to have a US visa with a specific end goal to enter and leave the US.

It doesn't make a difference that a man keeps on holding an Indian travel permit. This rule apparently even applies if the outside nationality was consequently acquired from birth, and along these lines not intentionally gained after birth. People who gain another citizenship lose the citizenship of India from the date of obtaining that citizenship or another nation's international ID.

In light of tenacious requests for double citizenship, especially from the dispersion in North America and other created nations, the Overseas Citizenship of India or the OCI plan was presented by changing The Citizenship Act, 1955 in August 2005. The plan was propelled amid the Pravasi Bharatiya Divas at Hyderabad in 2006.

The following categories of persons (except Pakistan and Bangladesh) are eligible to apply under OCI scheme:

- Who is a citizen of another country, but was a citizen of India at the time of, or at any time after, the commencement of the constitution; or
- Who is a citizen of another country, but was eligible to become a citizen of India at the time of the commencement of the constitution; or
- Who is a citizen of another country, but belonged to a territory that became part of India after the 15th day of August, 1947; or
- Who is a child or a grand-child or a great grandchild of such a citizen

Persons of Indian Origin Card

This was a type of ID issued to a people who held a visa in a nation other than Afghanistan, Nepal, Bhutan, China, Bangladesh Pakistan and Sri Lanka and could demonstrate their Indian origins up to three generations. In mid-2011, the then PM, declared that the Person of Indian Origin card will be converged with the Overseas Citizen of India card. This new card was proposed to be known as the Overseas Indian Card. Starting at 9 January 2015, the PIO card has been ended and candidates are to apply for OCI as it were. All right now held PIO cards are dealt with as OCI cards. Those holding the PIO card will get an extraordinary stamp in their current PIO card, with deep rooted legitimacy in this way making them equivalent to the already present OCI cards.

Debate on citizenship

As discussed, the Indian Citizenship Act of 1955 outlined the ways in which individuals may acquire citizenship in India and specifically denies it to undocumented migrants. The Citizenship (Amendment) Bill of 2016 attempts to

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remedy this but does so peculiarly. It looks into granting Hindu, Sikh, Buddhist, Jain, Parsi, and Christian minorities from Afghanistan, Bangladesh and Pakistan citizenship after 6 years of residence in India (as opposed to 11 years, as is the status quo) even without documentation.

Public debate about the amendments have followed two lines. First it has been criticized for delineating citizenship on purely religious lines. Although this is not new in a country like India, which was partitioned along religious lines, in this case the bill allows citizenship to undocumented migrants from most major Indian religious groups except for Muslims. The main idea at play here is that the ruling government believes that India is a natural home for Hindus in India and this policy is mostly directed towards Hindus from these countries. This idea has been fiercely opposed by opposition parties and civil society groups.

Activists argued that government needed to remember that India was not, in fact, a Hindu state and could not therefore provide a right of return to populations. They also questioned the need for singling out these specific categories of people, ignoring the persecution of several other groups – like atheists within these nations or potential climate refugees. The amendments also sparked off the foreigner debates in the state of Assam. Assamese activists have alleged that since 1971, a significant and consistent inflow of Bangladeshi Hindu migrants to Assam has exacerbated problems of overpopulation within the state. As such, the amendments serve as an existential threat to indigenous communities in the state.

Identity politics

Identity politics in India generally starts from the recognition of the caste politics in India. Although Indian society and the caste system has changed tremendously over the years after Independence, for many, these changes may be uneven both in rural and urban areas. There is a continuity as well as change in the perceptions and practices of caste in contemporary times. One may find a Brahmin sharing food with a lower caste in functions like marriage and other ceremonies. Also one may find the claims from many villagers that there is no caste left. For Fuller, these claims are made largely because of the illegitimacy to defend caste in the public domain, and now it has gone into the ‘private realm’ of family and marriage as a form of culture and ‘difference’. Instead of jati, they may now use samaj to refer to caste difference rather than caste hierarchy.

Identity politics in Independent India has influenced caste and it is reflected in the electoral processes too. Across the country, one finds that leaders of the powerful and large parties are successful in translating their numerical strength into political power by mobilising horizontally their members. But since the 1980s, a more polarized caste politics has emerged around the vexed issue of reservations. The explicit purpose of reservation is to promote social, economic and political equality for Dalits, tribals, women and other low castes by following positive discrimination in education and job opportunities. By this policy, the constitutional delegitimacy of caste had acquired new levels in India. As you

studied, in 1990, the issue of reservation took a dramatic turn when V. P. Singh introduced the Mandal Commission recommendations for implementing the 27 per cent quota for other backward castes in central government services and public undertakings. The decision to implement the report provoked violent protests from the higher castes in many areas of the country. Even in 2006, the present Congress government's decision to extend reservations to country's premier institutions was challenged in the streets by higher-caste students.

Elsewhere in South India, reservation has been in practice for the last 50 years or more, helping to create opportunities for backward castes in education and employment. Evidence to the contrary shows that compensatory discrimination has been unevenly spread as some backward castes have gained nothing while some powerful castes have gained a lot. The process of Mandalization, a term coined by many sociologists, swept across many north Indian states like Bihar and UP with the lower castes gaining political power and resulting in the disintegration of dominant high-caste groups in the political domain.

It has been argued that Mandalization is also a result of the rise of a middleclass section among lower caste OBCs. It has also been observed that the OBCs' demand for reservations are largely due to the pivotal role education has in providing social mobility and status. The key to their material prosperity over the years has been the policies of the post-Independent Indian State such as progressive land reforms, implementation of various development projects and, most importantly, with the Green Revolution familiarizing them with the market economy of grain production.

The Dalit castes at the bottom of the hierarchy have hardly experienced substantial changes in their socio-economic profile over the years. Large sections remain landless and have only their labour power to sell and, therefore, do not have any access to education, health and a secure livelihood. The contradictions are sharper in rural areas where now upwardly mobile middle castes and the Dalits that work for them enter into violent conflicts. Often, this results into the brutal subjugation of Dalits and the violation of basic human rights that are guaranteed to any citizen of India. The entire structure of class and caste linkages are being reworked under these new social processes. Thus, the historical advantages of the upper castes in relation to education and professional occupations by making use of opportunities provided by the colonial regime placed many of them and their descendants in a position of advantage in comparison with lower-caste groups.

In a similar vein, many lower-castes, backward classes benefited from historical changes like the tenancy occupation of land for agriculture and the abolition of Zamindari or absentee landlord system. These changes were introduced at an all-India level with different degrees of land reform implementations. Some states like Jammu and Kashmir, West Bengal and Kerala, have relatively successful implementations, whereas in many north Indian states, landed groups thwarted this policy. The transformations in the agrarian structure due to land reforms had a tremendous effect in the rural areas.

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5. What is the meaning of the term 'citizenship by descent'?
6. What happens if an Indian citizen acquires citizenship of another country?

2.5 SUMMARY

- At the point when nationalism was entering its strongest phase in the 1920s, the diverse elements that supported its rise were continuously put to test due to constant chaos.
- The interchange between Rabindranath Tagore and Mahatma Gandhi, in the wake of the brutality that emerged over the span of the civil disobedience development, indicated the chaos and the general unrest stimulated by violent nationalism.
- In the meantime, the rise of religious nationalism also became the topic of discussion in the political arena. In 1947, Hindu communalism was among the first ideas to come into being with the creation of independent India.
- Indian culture is known for its diversity. The present day India can be separated into three main schools of thought, which are as follows:
 - The colonial interpretation
 - The nationalist interpretation
 - The post-colonial interpretation
- In an exceedingly separated society like that of India, the reality is never obvious. There were many gaps in the public perception which influenced the political undertaking of national freedom. The most glaring of them was the exclusion of the lower strata of society.
- The ancient Greek author called Herodotus, characterized democratic government as that type of government in which the power of the state emerges from the group or community in its entirety.
- In the present time, democracy rule government has been acknowledged as the best type of government, in spite of the fact that its effective working relies on certain pre-requirements.
- Genuine vote based system rejects all benefits meant only for a specific class of people. In a democracy rule government, the standards of freedom and uniformity are vital components.
- There are numerous critics of vote based system who criticize it on different grounds. It has been said that the standards of democratic rules system

are not fit for satisfaction. As it is said that for being a success, a genuine vote based system requires an exceedingly conscious social component having moralistic qualities.

- Lawlessness is a reality of Indian governmental matters today. This means that there is an intent to exploit legislative subjects or political power for unethical actions.
- Criminalization of legislative issues makes the values of democratic system null and void and has no place in a fair setup.
- All people settled in the domain of India as on November 1949, including those who had come as refugees from the domain of Pakistan, were considered to be Indian nationals after the Indian Constitution came into force.
- One can become a citizen of India through:
 - Citizenship by birth
 - Citizenship by descent
 - Citizenship by registration
 - Citizenship by naturalisation
- In light of tenacious requests for double citizenship, especially from the dispersion in North America and other created nations, the Overseas Citizenship of India or the OCI plan was presented by changing The Citizenship Act, 1955 in August 2005.
- Public debate about the recent amendments in the citizenship act have followed two lines. First it has been criticized for delineating citizenship on purely religious lines.
- Identity politics in India generally starts from the recognition of the caste politics in India. Although Indian society and the caste system has changed tremendously over the years after Independence, for many, these changes may be uneven both in rural and urban areas.
- There is a continuity as well as change in the perceptions and practices of caste in contemporary times.
- Identity politics in Independent India has influenced caste and it is reflected in the electoral processes too.
- Across the country, one finds that leaders of the powerful and large parties are successful in translating their numerical strength into political power by mobilising horizontally their members.
- The explicit purpose of reservation is to promote social, economic and political equality for Dalits, tribals, women and other low castes by following positive discrimination in education and job opportunities.
- Many lower-castes, backward classes benefited from historical changes like the tenancy occupation of land for agriculture and the abolition of Zamindari or absentee landlord system.

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- These changes were introduced at an all-India level with different degrees of land reform implementations.

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2.6 KEY TERMS

- **Nationalism:** It refers to the advocacy of political independence for a particular country.
- **Democracy:** It refers to a system of government by the whole population or all the eligible members of a state, typically through elected representatives.
- **Citizenship:** It is the position or status of being a citizen of a particular country.
- **Positive Discrimination:** It refers to the practice or policy of favouring individuals belonging to groups which suffer discrimination.
- **Zamindari system:** It refers to the system of landholding and tax collection by zamindars or landlords.

2.7 ANSWERS TO ‘CHECK YOUR PROGRESS’

1. This school highlights the need to concentrate on the interest of the subaltern groups. They likewise utilize oral convention as authentic chronicled source material or the only genuine written text properly complete with dated events.
2. The three main schools of thought are:
 - The colonial interpretation
 - The nationalist interpretation
 - The post-colonial interpretation
3. The most important merit of democracy is that in a democracy, all are equal before law. The people are the ones who make the rules and policies of the state through their representatives. These policies are made keeping in mind the welfare of all classes of people, and not just a particular class.
4. Many times democratic rule fails because a majority of the population is incapable of or unwilling to understand the interests of the community. Mostly, self-interest is pre-dominant and people do not want to suppress it for the general good of the community.
5. People born outside India on or after 26 January 1950 yet before 10 December 1992 are natives of India by descent if their father was a native of India at the time of their birth. People born outside India on or after 10 December 1992 are considered natives of India if both of their parents are a native of India at the time of their birth.
6. The procurement of another nation’s visa is additionally regarded under the Citizenship Rules, 1956 to be intentional securing of another nation’s

nationality. Section 3 of Schedule III of the Citizenship Rules, 1956 states that the way that a national of India has gotten on any date an international ID from the Government of whatever other nation should be convincing confirmation of his/her having wilfully gained the citizenship of that nation before the given date.

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2.8 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. What was the ideology of Gandhi? Explain its importance in context to nationalism.
2. What are the two major schools of the post-colonial interpretation? How do they differ in their ideology?
3. Define the concept of nationalism in brief.
4. What do you understand by Subaltern school of historiography?
5. Who can be a citizen of India?
6. What would one need to prove when it comes to being a citizen of India?
7. What are the political consequences of Indian citizenship?

Long-Answer Questions

1. Compare and contrast between colonial and nationalist interpretation.
2. What went wrong with nationalism? Explain.
3. Democracy is a paradox. Explain.
4. Compare and contrast democracy as visualized by earlier leaders as opposed to current scenario.
5. Discuss the advantages and disadvantages of a democratic system.
6. Examine the debate on citizenship in India.
7. What future does India holds in terms of its citizenship vision?

2.9 FURTHER READING

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UNIT 3 POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AND POLITICS

NOTES

Structure

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3.0 INTRODUCTION

Elections in India, the second most populous nation in the world, involve a mega exercise by a gigantic government machinery. The most common understanding of elections is the General Elections or the Lok Sabha elections in which registered adult voters cast their votes. Based on the results of these votes, the directly elected members of a political party form the government with the majority party choosing its leader as the Prime Minister. However, these are not the only elections conducted in India. Elections are held for the State Assemblies or Vidhan Sabha through which the state governments are formed and the Chief Minister is chosen, and also for local government bodies such as the Municipalities and the Panchayats. The President of India and members of the Rajya Sabha are also elected, though, through a different method.

India is a land of diversities. It is a truly plural state and absorbs all pluralities into itself. As per the provisional figures of the Census 2011, India has more than 17 per cent of the world’s population. So there is bound to be a great deal of diversity amongst the people. Thus, factors such as caste and religion shape the political environment in India.

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3.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss the means of political participation in India
- Understand the influence of caste in Indian political system
- Analyse the relationship between religion and politics
- Describe the meaning of communalism and secularism

3.2 POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN INDIA

Political participation, in democracies, is a very crucial step towards affecting the governmental set up. In India, political participation is represented through elections. Every individual has the right to vote, which is exercised during elections. Elections are the crucial deciding events in modern democracies. Elections provide an opportunity to the general masses to get political education. Issues are raised and their pros and cons are discussed, and in the process, the electorate gets informed. Elections are primarily held to decide as to who would govern the country. Elections are the only medium available in modern democracies through which a peaceful change in the government is effected or, to use Michael Brecher's words, they are means for the 'routinization of political change'. The electoral politics lead to increasing political consciousness in which every citizen of India uses his/her right to vote and participate equally in the political process. In fact, there can be no democracy without elections.

Unlike the situation in many developing countries, elections in India have been central, and not peripheral, to the system. They have been truly meaningful and not mainly ritualistic acts. They have served as links between the 'traditional' and the more 'modern' aspects of the Indian life and behaviour.

Elections can now be seen not merely as useful indicators of a modern democracy, but actually as the events through which the party system and hence, in a measure, the political system achieves its evolution. Within this system, the electoral process seems to have functioned with increasing effectiveness and acceptance, and the Indian voter seems to be developing a surprising degree of maturity and sophistication. Or, in other words, India seems to be developing a 'responsible electorate' which was missing when it attained independence.

Another point to be noted is that far from contributing to the increasing 'modernization' of Indian politics on a steadily accelerating scale, recent elections show some signs of becoming more 'traditionalized' in the Indian setting. The trend has been particularly manifested in the changing character of India political leadership. On the whole, this leadership is changing significantly with a declining role and influence of the westernized, educated, urbanized high caste modern elite that spearheaded the Indian National Movement and that provided most of the top leadership to India in the first decade of its independence. On

the contrary, there is an increasing role and influence of the middle caste, less educated, less westernized, more rural and locally based elite. Elections have been a major instrument for the emergence of this new leadership. Thus, the elections have served as a vehicle for bringing more traditional elites into a more central role in the political system, increasingly at all levels.

3.2.1 Election Commission

The Indian Constitution has made provision for a suitable machinery to conduct free and fair elections in the country. It provides for the setting up of an Election Commission for this purpose, which shall consist of the chief election commissioner and such other election commissioners, as are appointed by the President. The Constitution empowers the President to determine the conditions of service of the election commissioners. In the case of the chief election commissioner, it has been laid down that he or she shall not be removed from office except in like manner and on like grounds as a judge of the Supreme Court. The other election commissioners can be removed only on the recommendations of the chief election commissioner.

The Election Commission was set up, under Article 324 of the Constitution of India, in January 1959. It has been assigned the following main functions:

- Superintendence, direction and control of the preparation of the electoral rolls, and keeping them up-to-date at all times.
- Conducting all elections of the Parliament and the State Legislatures (including casual vacancies), as well as the election to the offices of the President and the Vice-President of India.
- Appointing of the Election Tribunals to investigate into complaints made in election petitions, etc.

The Election Commission is a statutory body. It has only a Secretariat and no attached or subordinate office under it. But the Election Commission, in consultation with the state governments, nominates or designates an officer of the state government in each state as the chief electoral officer for that state for the preparation, revision and correction of electoral rolls, etc. Subject to the superintendence, direction and control of the Election Commission, the chief electoral officer is statutorily responsible for the preparation, revision and correction of all electoral rolls and the conduct of elections in the states.

The Election Commission, as at present constituted, consists of a chief election commissioner, a deputy election commissioner, and other secretariat officers and staff. The office of the Election Commission is organized in nine election branches and two administration branches.

The Election Commission has a total strength of staff of 165.

The Election Commission publishes a number of reports on the general elections in India. Besides, a number of casual publications on elections are issued, mainly at the time of elections.

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3.2.2 Electoral Reforms

Electoral reform is not an unchartered cognitive territory in contemporary India. Since the beginning of electoral politics in the fifties and particularly in the last two decades, this theme has been dealt with by a number of scholars. The key to a meaningful political discussion about electoral reform is the ideal of representation and its relation to the process of democratization in contemporary India. The institution of universal adult franchise kicked off a democratic revolution involving greater and more intense participation along with higher expectations in the game of politics. However, the dissociation of electoral mandates from the process of government formation and policy-making has distorted the nature of representation.

This is what gives rise to the challenge of electoral reform. The challenge is to make the mechanism of election an effective instrument of the democratic will of the people, especially those who have so far been excluded from their due share of power. This is directly related to the character of representation, for effective democratization is achieved through a transition from formal representation to substantive representation.

Critics have pointed out that the elected members to the legislatures do not get sufficient number of votes to represent the people in the true sense. They get elected with 20 per cent or even less than 20 per cent of votes. They would be better representatives if they get more than 50 per cent at least of the votes cast. Further, the people in our country have a constitutional right to vote, but this right does not correspond with the duty to vote. With the result, our general elections record 50–60 per cent voting. The representatives in the legislatures, therefore, do not represent the people as a whole. There are few other problems as well.

The emergence of new parties, pursuing desperate regional, sectarian and segmental causes, and fragmentation of erstwhile vote-banks, mounting expenditure on elections, vitiating muscle power, aggravation of caste and communal conflict, the eclipse of idealism and ideology in public life, the evil of both capturing and rigging, public apathy resulting in lower turn out for voting, large number of candidates resulting in 20 per cent or some times less than 20 per cent of votes in favour of winning candidates are some of the evils that have so effected the situation that electoral reforms have become unavoidable. Many a times, the battle of ballots becomes the battle of bullets. On the day of elections, booths are captured, polling agents are attacked and bombs thrown to prevent the weaker sections from exercising their franchise. Criminal-politician nexus has resulted in the entry of criminals in legislatures (for example, Pappu Yadav, Rajan Tiwari, Mohd. Shahbuddin, Bablu Srivastava, etc.). G. T. Nanavati, a Supreme Court Judge has pointed out, ‘criminals found politics a profitable business and also an influential field, where they could get immunity from the law of the land so that their criminal activities could go on unchallenged’.

Representation of the Peoples Amendment Act, 1996

To overcome such weaknesses, the Election Law had undergone some important changes through the Representation of the Peoples (Amendment) Act, 1996. Some important changes were as under:

- Disqualification on conviction under the Prevention of Insults to National Honour Act, 1971.
- To check the multiplicity of non-serious candidates, the amount of security deposits for an election to the Lok Sabha and a State Legislative Assembly was increased. In case of Lok Sabha, the amount of security deposits was increased from ₹500 to ₹10,000. For a member of SC and ST, it stands at ₹5000.
- In case of a State Legislative Assembly, the Act fixed ₹5,000 for a general candidate and ₹2,500 in case of candidate belonging to SC/ST as Security deposit instead of ₹250 and ₹125 respectively.
- The nomination of a candidate in Parliamentary or Assembly constituency was to be subscribed by 10 electors of the constituency as proposers.
- Restriction was laid on contesting election from more than two constituencies.
- For the listing of names of candidates, they were to be classified as candidates of recognized political parties, registered—unrecognized parties and other candidates.
- No election was to be countermanded on the death of a contesting candidate.
- Grant of paid holiday to employees and daily wagers on the day of poll.
- Prohibition of sale, distribution etc of liquor within a polling area.
- By-elections to any House of Parliament or a State Assembly were now to be held within six months from the occurrence of the vacancy in the House.

From 31 December 1997, Central government raised the maximum ceiling on election expenditure by candidates, for Lok Sabha constituency to ₹15,00,000 and for Vidhan Sabha ₹6,00,000. In October 2003, this ceiling on election expense was further enhanced for Lok Sabha constituencies to 25 lakhs and for State Assembly seats to 15 Lakhs.

The Supreme Court of India directed the Election Commission to get the declaration from all candidates about their criminal antecedents, financial liabilities and educational qualifications.

Thus, from 2004 general elections, the 'model code of conduct' came into force. On 29 February 2004, the Election Commission issued detailed guidelines for the political parties and candidates. Accordingly, corrupt practices were prohibited (under Section 123 of the Representation of People's Act,

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1951), declared electoral offences as punishable (under Section 125-137 of RPA), necessitated the disclosure of information about financial, criminal and educational status of candidates, restrained the use of excessive money or muscle during the elections and required the candidates to follow the model code of conduct and other related laws.

Despite all these efforts made by the Election Commission, one cannot undermine the role of good, clean democratic practice, watchdog news media, and a vigilant public opinion in raising the bar for all political parties. Above all, the Indian voter has also become quite discerning to understand which political party is able to prove its mettle and deliver the goods.

Problem of Defection

In the 1980s, a problem that emerged in the parliamentary process was the problem of defections in state legislatures and even the parliament. Defections meant that an elected representative of a particular party joined another party on the promise of more power or some other benefit. This was however not always true as some defections also took place on matters of principles or ideological differences.

To combat the problem of defection, the Rajiv Gandhi government moved the 52nd amendment to the Constitution and amended articles 101, 102, 190 and 191 and added a new schedule, the Tenth schedule, which dealt with the disqualification of a Member of Parliament on the ground of defection.

Today, an elected representative is disqualified from being member of either house of the parliament or a state legislature if he or she incurs the disqualifications mentioned in the 10th schedule. These disqualifications are as follows:

- If a member voluntarily gives up the membership of the political party on whose ticket he or she is elected to the House;
- If the member votes or abstains from voting in the House against any direction of the political party or by any person or authority authorized by it in this behalf, without the party permission of such party and unless it has been condoned by the party within 15 days from the date of voting or abstention; or
- If any nominated member joins any political party after the expiry of 6 months from the date on which he takes his seat in the House.

Some scholars have suggested that the defection law has been used to impose a centralised structure on political parties and has resulted in the death knell of parliamentary dissent.

3.2.3 Voting Behaviour

We need to examine the relationship between leader evaluations and voting behaviour over time because of the argument that parliamentary elections have

become more presidential. Although in individual countries, some attempts have been made regarding this, the analysis of the impact of leader evaluations on voting behaviour in parliamentary democracies (as opposed to the presidential system of the United States) has been noteworthy for its dearth rather than its extent. It certainly has not been methodically examined across a range of polities. Meanwhile the argument that elections conducted under majoritarian electoral systems are more likely to have become presidentialised requires the organized collection of data on leadership evaluations and voting behaviour across countries with different voting systems.

There are two approaches to the argument that parliamentary elections have been converted into presidential contests. One refers to developments regarding the way that elections are fought while the other refers to changes in the motivations that voters bring to the ballot box. We will describe each of these briefly in turn.

The initial argument is a claim that parliamentary elections are nowadays fought as if they were presidential elections. The opportunities and demands made by media have made sure that the election campaign reporting concentrates increasingly on the activities of leaders. It is argued that television requires relatively accessible visual images that project messages, and the personality of a politician gives an idea that no party policy can match. While at the same time, television obviously cannot afford to have camera crews following a huge range of important party politicians on the campaign trail and so they basically concentrate on the activities of the leader. The parties themselves as well answer to these pressures by concentrating their campaigns on their head, whose style and persona can be used to convey across the whole nation by television in a way which cannot be achieved by any other source of communication. The parties might even agree to their head participating in a TV debate with the other party members. In brief, election campaigns have become gladiatorial contests among the party leaders that are fought out on small screen.

The next argument in contrast talks about the relatively well worn themes regarding how the voters' motivations and their behaviour have changed. Basically, it is the claim that modern electorates have practiced a procedure of partisan dealignment. This thesis suggests that voters now basically lack the tough emotional attachment with a political party that a lot of them had. That attachment usually helped to bring about the development of party identification theory. Those voters who had strong party attachment or identity, political parties were a vital cue. They shaped their views about both policies and leaders. So, for example, they would be inclined to support a specific policy position if it were adopted by the political party with which they identified, while they might oppose it if were suggested by some other party and equally, they would tend to like a party leader, irrespective of their personal qualities, if that leader were the leader of their own party, and to dislike them if they were leading a different party.

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CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. When was Election Commission set up?
2. What do you understand by defections?

3.3 THE RESILIENCE OF CASTE

The word ‘caste’ has been defined from the Portuguese word *Casta*, which means race, breed or kind. Caste is the main social institution of Indian villages. Referred to as *jati*, *jat*, *zat* or various other local terms, it is a collectivity of people, related also by the ties of kinship and marriage, which has a ‘monopoly’ over an occupation. It provides its specialized services and the products of its occupation to other caste groups. Harold Gould characterizes caste as a ‘monopolistic guild’.

Under the ideology of caste, one’s merit lies in subscribing as conscientiously and diligently as possible to the duties prescribed for one’s caste. The political bodies of the village strictly deal with any case of usurping the occupation of other castes. Among other things, the occupation related to it gives identity to a caste. Sometimes, the castes are also named after the corresponding occupations. For example, those who ‘supply oil (*tel*)’ belong to the *teli* (oil-man) caste; those who beat drums (*dhol*s) are *dholis*; and those who dye (*rangna*) clothes belong to the *rangrez* caste. The occupations are hereditarily transmitted.

The important features of caste may be summarized as follows:

- Caste is determined by birth.
- Caste groups are endogamous, which means that marriage is restricted to members of the group. The marriage between the members of two different castes is not permissible.
- The members of a caste have to adhere to the rules about food and food-sharing prescribed for their caste.
- Caste involves a system comprising many castes arranged in a hierarchy of rank and status.
- Castes are segmented into sub-castes and sometimes sub-castes into sub-sub-castes.
- Castes were traditionally linked to occupations.

Strategies Adopted to Tackle the Issue of Caste System

Two strategies have been adopted by nationalist leaders as well as political scientists to solve the problems arising due to caste system in India.

1. **Denying the suggestion that caste is essential to the characterization of Indian society:** This position has been especially favoured by the nationalist left as well as by Marxists. Caste, according to this argument, is feature of the superstructure of Indian society. Its existence and efficacy are

to be understood as the ideological products of the specific pre-capitalist social formation. With the suppression of this pre-capitalist formation, caste too would disappear. One implication of this argument is that by refusing to ascribe to caste any fundamental significance, it is possible to:

- Uphold without qualification the legal political principles of the modern state.
- Dispute the rule of colonial differences in the public sphere.
- Boldly advocate the cultural project of modernity.

2. **Retaining caste as an essential element of Indian society:** According to this strategy, the presence of the caste system makes Indian society essentially different from the Western society. What is denied, however, in this argument is the charge that caste is necessarily contradictory to and incompatible with a modern and just society. Ideally the caste system seeks to harmonize within the whole of a social system the mutual distinction of its parts. This is required by any stable and harmonious social order, and in India, the caste system is the way this is achieved.

Of the two strategies, the second one has been getting more prominence in Indian politics. Sometimes, caste consideration becomes very significant in the electoral calculation and political parties distribute party tickets and posts solely on the basis of caste equation. Caste alliances or caste appeals by our politicians and the caste-based voting by voters have become regular phenomena in Indian politics. Media representation to political parties also highlights these issues at the national level. Sometimes caste becomes a big political issue in an electoral battle. These issues are discussed in the next sub sections.

3.3.1 Identity Politics

Identity politics in India generally starts from the recognition of the caste politics in India. Although Indian society and the caste system have changed tremendously over the years after Independence, for many, these changes may be uneven both in rural and urban areas. There is a continuity as well as change in the perceptions and practices of caste in contemporary times. One may find a Brahmin sharing food with a lower caste in functions like marriage and other ceremonies. Also one may find the claims from many villagers that there is no caste left. For Fuller, these claims are made largely because of the illegitimacy to defend caste in the public domain, and now it has gone into the 'private realm' of family and marriage as a form of culture and 'difference'. Instead of *jati*, they may now use *samaj* to refer to caste difference rather than caste hierarchy.

Identity politics in Independent India has influenced caste and it is reflected in the electoral processes too. Across the country, one finds that leaders of the powerful and large parties are successful in translating their numerical strength into political power by mobilising horizontally their members. But since the 1980s, a more polarized caste politics has emerged around the vexed issue of reservations. The explicit purpose of reservation is to promote social, economic and political equality for Dalits, tribals, women and other low castes by following

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positive discrimination in education and job opportunities. By this policy, the constitutional delegitimacy of caste had acquired new levels in India. As you studied, in 1990, the issue of reservation took a dramatic turn when V. P. Singh introduced the Mandal Commission recommendations for implementing the 27 per cent quota for other backward castes in central government services and public undertakings. The decision to implement the report provoked violent protests from the higher castes in many areas of the country. Even in 2006, the present Congress government's decision to extend reservations to country's premier institutions was challenged in the streets by higher-caste students.

Elsewhere in South India, reservation has been in practice for the last 50 years or more, helping to create opportunities for backward castes in education and employment. Evidence to the contrary shows that compensatory discrimination has been unevenly spread as some backward castes have gained nothing while some powerful castes have gained a lot. The process of Mandalization, a term coined by many sociologists, swept across many north Indian states like Bihar and UP with the lower castes gaining political power and resulting in the disintegration of dominant high-caste groups in the political domain. It has been argued that Mandalization is also a result of the rise of a middle-class section among lower caste OBCs. It has also been observed that the OBCs' demand for reservations are largely due to the pivotal role education has in providing social mobility and status. The key to their material prosperity over the years has been the policies of the post-Independent Indian State such as progressive land reforms, implementation of various development projects and, most importantly, with the Green Revolution familiarizing them with the market economy of grain production.

The Dalit castes at the bottom of the hierarchy have hardly experienced substantial changes in their socio-economic profile over the years. Large sections remain landless and have only their labour power to sell and, therefore, do not have any access to education, health and a secure livelihood. The contradictions are sharper in rural areas where now upwardly mobile middle castes and the Dalits that work for them enter into violent conflicts. Often, this results into the brutal subjugation of Dalits and the violation of basic human rights that are guaranteed to any citizen of India. The entire structure of class and caste linkages are being reworked under these new social processes. Thus, the historical advantages of the upper castes in relation to education and professional occupations by making use of opportunities provided by the colonial regime placed many of them and their descendants in a position of advantage in comparison with lower-caste groups.

In a similar vein, many lower-castes, backward classes benefited from historical changes like the tenancy occupation of land for agriculture and the abolition of *Zamindari* or absentee landlord system. These changes were introduced at an all-India level with different degrees of land reform implementations. Some states like Jammu and Kashmir, West Bengal and Kerala, have relatively successful implementations, whereas in many north Indian states,

landed groups thwarted this policy. The transformations in the agrarian structure due to land reforms had a tremendous effect in the rural areas.

3.3.2 Caste and Politics

Article 15 of the Indian Constitution states that the state will not discriminate against its citizens on the grounds of religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth, etc. However, clause 4 of the Article states that this does not prevent the state from making any special provisions for women and children, or for advancement of any socially and educationally backward classes or citizens or for scheduled castes and tribes.

The political class has continuously interpreted, misinterpreted and implemented this clause as a new rule for benefiting not only the marginal section or backward caste, but also intermediate classes who have already become socially and economically well off, for electoral gain. For example, the recent demand of *Jat* community of Haryana and Delhi to include them in the Other Backward Caste (OBC) category and state governments' support to their demand clearly show how constitutional provisions have been misinterpreted by ruling parties to favour some groups even if they are well off. Likewise, the demand of *Gujjars* of Rajasthan to include them in Schedule Tribe community and the state government's false promises to them have not only created animosity between the two dominant social groups in the state but have also hampered the developmental process of the state and have created a law and order problem.

These cases show how our caste system has affected our political establishment and compelled political parties and establishments to act according to the interests of various caste combinations. This is not a new phenomenon. During the freedom struggle, the British Raj encouraged the continuity of the caste system by favouring some caste groups with higher status and by granting them titles and land. The system was basically not egalitarian, and the British never discouraged caste-based inequalities, injustices and discriminations. British administrators and ethnographers defined caste in terms of its 'functionality' to society and culture in India. They put emphasis on inter-caste and intra-caste harmony and discipline with the sole objective of keeping people divided into castes and sub-castes and thereby preventing them from being united against British colonial rule in India. The post-Independence Indian state inherited and reflected these contradictions. On the one hand, the state was committed to the abolition of caste and explicitly mentioned it in the Constitution. On the other hand, the state was both unable and unwilling to undertake radical reforms which would have undermined the economic basis for caste inequality.

At yet another level, the political leadership assumed that if it operated in a caste-blind manner, this would certainly undermine the caste-based privileges and would ultimately result in abolition of the institution itself. Caste affiliations, for example, had nothing to do with the appointments to government jobs. This left the well-educated upper castes and the ill-educated or often illiterate lower castes to compete on 'equal' terms. However, there was an exception to this in

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the form of reservations for the SCs and STs. In other words, in the decades immediately following the Independence, the state was indifferent to the fact that the upper castes and the lower castes were far from equal in economic as well as educational terms.

In the 1960s, there were outbreaks of mass violence against members of the lower castes by upper caste members. These outbreaks have been called caste wars by academics, and continue to take place sporadically even today. A proper definition of caste war is that it is the committed, oppressive form of violence normally directed at the lower-caste, landless poor, initiated largely by the landholding powerful upper castes to teach them a lesson for crossing the 'limits' like demanding more wages, violating caste hierarchy and sometimes for avenging the wrongs done by the lower castes. Thus, groups that share common interests as landlords, cattle owners, tenants and labourers recruit their members for fighting by using the language of caste.

Most Indian states like Maharashtra, Gujarat, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh, Bihar and UP have witnessed numerous incidents of violence against Dalits. It is against this context that extreme movements like Maoists and Naxal movements formed alliances of poor peasants and labourers to fight against 'upper caste' forces. What resulted in this attempt was the consolidation of caste members as 'caste *senas*' to protect the honour and pride. In Bihar, *senas* of Bhumihars, Rajputs and Yadavas are prominent in their fight against Dalits and other 'lower castes'. These *senas* used violence with the 'legitimate' claim that it was always for a worthy cause like correcting the enemy's wrongs by inflicting punishment. From 1970s onwards, many Dalits invoked Gandhian and other principles of social justice to pressurize the state to take action against the upper caste *senas*. In states like Andhra Pradesh, the dominant castes like Kammas and Reddys invented the language of 'burden of the civilized' to counter the legitimate and rational claims of the Dalit activists. In this claim, they argued that the Kammas and Reddys have earned their wealth and prestige by their hard work and 'cultured virtues'. This argument was used to challenge the moral mandate of the lower castes as they were yet to be 'civilized' like Kammas and Reddys.

Many would argue with comparative intentions that there were more violent caste conflicts in post-Independence India than during the colonial period that had more agrarian conflicts rather than caste conflicts. What is missed in these sweeping statements are the relative absence of lower-caste dissent against upper-caste land owners in colonial times, as the lands and other resources were in the hands of colonial State and zamindars. In post-Independence India, with the emergence of consciousness related to rights and social justice, the Dalits promoted the desire for equality as a social virtue. They demanded equal distribution of land and resources between various groups and these demands were not at all considered by the State and upper castes.

In post Independent India, it is not wholly true that state has not taken measure for other castes to improve their social and economic status. There

were some states like Tamil Nadu where even before the implementation of the Mandal Commission report, seats were reserved for backward castes in government jobs. The Mandal issue started with V. P. Singh's attempt to put it on the political agenda of the country. The announcement of the implementation of the Mandal Commission report led to large scale social unrests and violence and contributed indirectly to political polarization in the country. V. P. Singh had to quit the chair of the Prime Minister of the country and there occurred a split in the ruling Janata Party. Ever since the Mandal Commission report was implemented, politics of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh has been completely changed. These states have divided themselves on the basis of forward and backward castes. The politics of politicians like Lallu Prasad and Mulayam Singh is largely based on Mandal politics. This has created a lot of problems of governance in these states. People of these states have started casting their votes on caste affiliations and the issue of development has become a secondary issue. There has been mass migration of people from these states. Economic institutions and educational organizations have started decaying and suddenly the developmental process has halted in these states. Present socio-economic crisis and ethnic strife in metropolitan city of Mumbai and Delhi are the results of these caste politics.

Another noticeable presence of caste politics can be observed in the rise of Dalit Movement in India. The Dalit movement which has considerable political significance marked its presence in Indian political strata through the political victory of the Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) in Uttar Pradesh. BSP, through raising the consciousness level of dalit groups and doing opportunistic alliances with other political parties, has shown the world that even using caste plank and mobilizing certain social groups, one can grab the power. However, the BSP's assertion to power may be supportive to the argument that favours caste as an essential characteristic and a mobilizing factor of Indian politics.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

3. Mention the etymological derivation of the word 'caste'.
4. What does Article 15 of the Indian constitution state?

3.4 RELIGION AND POLITICS

India is one of the most religiously diverse nations in the world. The nation is synonymous with religious pluralism. Religious pluralism is usually used as a synonym for religious tolerance, although both the concepts have distinct meanings. Religious tolerance means that each person is entitled to his own set of religious beliefs without having to conform to some societal standard. Religious pluralism, on the other hand, includes religious tolerance. Thus, it is a broader term that asserts that religious truths and values exist in many different doctrines.

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3.4.1 Religions of India

There are a number of religions with substantial followers in India. Some of them are briefly discussed as follows:

- **Hinduism:** The Hindu religion or Hinduism is one of the oldest religions in the world. It is supposed to have developed about 5,000 years ago in India and is followed by various racial and ethnic groups. Hinduism is the third largest religion of the world after Christianity and Islam. Hinduism is the most dominant religion in India today. More than 80 per cent of Indians are Hindus, which means that about 960 million people are followers of Hinduism in India.
- **Islam:** Islam originated in the Arabian Peninsula. It came to India as early as the seventh century AD with the advent of Arab traders. The spread of Islam in India was basically due to Sufism, as a lot of Sufi beliefs found their parallels in Indian philosophical literature. Today, Islam is the religion of about 140 million Indians making it the second largest religion in India.
- **Christianity:** Christianity is the largest religion in the world with more than two billion followers. It has dominated western culture for centuries and remains the most important religion of Europe. In India, Christianity is thought to have arrived in 57 AD when St. Thomas, the apostle of India, visited Kerala. Today, there are about 25 million Christians in India. Christians are found all across India and in all walks of life, with major populations in parts of South India, the Konkan Coast, the North-East.
- **Sikhism:** Sikhism is the fifth largest organized religion in the world. It is based on the teachings of Guru Nanak and his nine successive Gurus. This organization of religious doctrine is known as the *Gurmat*. There are about 19 million Sikhs in India.
- **Buddhism:** Buddhism originated in India through the teachings of Gautam Buddha, the founder of Buddhism. At one point in time, Buddhism was the dominant religion in India after the spread of the religion by Emperor Ashoka. However, the religion started declining after the revival of Hinduism under the teachings of Shankaracharya. In Independent India, Buddhism has seen a revival with many Dalits and other members of socially oppressed embracing the religion. Today there are estimated 13 million Buddhists in India.
- **Jainism:** Jainism is another religion that originated in India. The founder of Jainism was Vardhaman Mahaveer. Like Buddhism, Jainism also had its origin in the idea of non-acceptance of the Vedic authority of Hinduism. There are about 5 million Jains living in India.

3.4.2 Secularism

Throughout its history, India has observed the principle of equality of all religions and has treated the followers of every religion equally. Even when we were not

a Republic and were ruled by hereditary rulers who belonged to a particular religion, these rulers did not impose their religion on their citizens. Rather, they allowed the followers of all religions to freely profess and practise their own respective faiths. There might have been some aberrations in between, but generally this tradition of religious tolerance prevailed. This age-old tradition was inherited by the country at the time of its independence on 15th August, 1947 and was embedded into its Constitution, which was adopted a little over two years later.

The Constitution of India defines India as a secular country as per the declaration in the Preamble. The word secular itself was inserted into the Preamble by the 42nd Amendment (1976). Secularism thus is a basic feature of the Indian Constitution, which cannot be changed even by the Parliament. There is no state religion and the state is prohibited against discrimination on the basis of religion. Secularism ensures that religion does not determine state policy. It insulates public policy-making from the influence of religion and, thereby, eliminates any bias or discrimination that can creep into this process. Secularism is a very important aspect of the Indian way of life and governance. It has helped in promoting communal harmony and in keeping national integration at the forefront. Communal harmony can prevail only when one ensures equality of status among people and equal opportunity for everyone as conceived in the Constitution of India. However, notwithstanding the adoption of secularism, India has witnessed horrifying communal riots many times in its history. In this context, it is commonly felt that secularism is the solution to such religious violence in India, especially with regard to conflicts between the two largest religious groups: Hindus and Muslims.

Constitutional provisions on Secularism in India can be discussed under the following heads:

1. **No State religion:** Our Constitution provides for no state religion in India. The state has no religion of its own nor confers special patronages on any particular religion. Certain facts can be deduced from it:
 - The state shall not compel any citizen to pay any taxes for the promotion or maintenance of any particular religion.
 - No religious instruction shall be provided in any educational institution wholly maintained out of state funds.
 - In privately managed educational institution, religious instruction can be provided
2. **Freedom of conscience:** Every person is guaranteed freedom of conscience and the right to 'profess, practise and propagate' any religion. However, the state can put restrictions on the religion of the people on the following grounds:
 - It can impose restrictions on the ground of public order, morality and health.

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- It can regulate any economic, financial, political or secular activity connected with any religious practice.
 - It can make social reform and throw open any Hindu religious institutions of a public character to all sections of Hindus.
3. **Freedom to manage religious affairs:** Our constitution guarantees to every person freedom to manage religious affairs. This means that:
- Every religious denomination has the right to establish and maintain institutions for religious and charitable purposes.
 - Every religious denomination has the right to manage its own affairs in matters of religion.
 - Every religious denomination has the right to manage such property in accordance with law.
4. **Equality before law:** Article 14 of the Indian Constitution guarantees equality before law and equal protection of law to all within the territory of India. Article 15 enlarges the concept of secularism by prohibiting discrimination on grounds of religion, race, sex, caste and place of birth. Article 16 (I) guarantees equality of opportunity to all in matters relating to employment under the state irrespective of religion, race, sex, caste and place of birth.
5. **Cultural and educational rights:** Articles 29 and 30 of the Indian Constitution guarantees certain rights to the minorities. Article 29 states that any section of the people living anywhere in India having a distinct language, script and culture of its own shall have the right to conserve the same. Article 30 states that all minorities, whether based on religion and language shall have the right to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice.

It appears from the above that the constitution guarantees equality in the matter of all religions and groups irrespective of their faith emphasizing that there is no religion of the state itself.

Use of Religion in Politics

The term 'communalism' has its roots in the word 'community'. Communalism refers to the politics of conflict between the members of different communities. It is a derogatory perception of communities other than one's own and in it one community is instigated against the other in the name of religion. This evil restricts one's sympathy to the community of one's birth. It is opposed to secularism as it has a pattern of socio-cultural co-existence and of political integration. Communalism has a two-fold negative effect, which consists of the following:

- In it, individuals consider their own religion to be superior to that of others.
- It promotes hatred and intolerance against people of other communities.

3.4.3 Ideology of Communalism

According to communal ideology, those people who follow the same religion usually have common secular interests, i.e., people who follow same religion have not only common religious beliefs or interests but they also have common political, economic, social and cultural interests. This is the first bedrock of communalism. From this arises the notion of a religious community functioning as a community for secular purposes. Any person who discusses about Hindu community or Sikh community or about the interests of the Sikh or the Muslim or the Hindu community is already taking the initial step towards communalism whether he knows it or not, and however secular he might be feeling privately or genuinely at heart.

Communalism perceives majorities and minorities, segments and divisions within the polity and the nation, based essentially on religious communities and not even on other inscriptive bases (like that of family, clan, tribe, *jati*, language region or domicile) and certainly not on the basis of political, ideological, party, class, interests or strata considerations, which is the hallmark of a modern political system. It is thus the single biggest subversive ideology in contemporary India.

Communalism in Politics

Communal violence (or communal riots), is a particular approach to politics, which is practiced at a sustained level by some political parties in India. Communal violence involves incidents of violence between two religious communities. It can be sporadic in nature and mainly forms a law and order issue to be handled on the spot for restoring peace and calm. Though communal politics does not need immediate police intervention, it has much more damaging implications over the long term. It breeds feelings of suspicion between religious communities and also rises to frequency of violence, which in turn sustains communal politics.

Communal politics openly resorts to communal mobilization for political ends. It is a politics which opportunistically resorts to communal mobilization for short term electoral gains. In the first category are groups like the VHP, BJP, the Shiv Sena, MNS, Akali Dal the Muslim League, the Majlis-e-Ittehadul Muslimeen, etc. In the second category are parties like the Congress, the Trinamool Congress, the Telegu Desam, etc. The political programmes of the first group are openly based upon mobilization of religious communities whereas the second group opportunistically uses communal themes against communal issues. For instance, the Congress pandered to Hindu communalism when passed orders to open Babri mosque to Hindus for prayers. The Congress also tried to please the Muslim communal interests when around the same time (1986) to overturn the Supreme Court judgment on the Shah Bano case, which had ordered maintenance to be paid to the divorced Shah Bano by her husband.

The Constituent Assembly debate, at the time the Constitution was being drafted, on the desirability of a uniform civil code is interesting for the arguments

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for and against of ruling of Shah Bano case and politics of communalization in India.

While Congress leaders of Nehruvian persuasion tended to think that a uniform civil code was an essential part of India's identity as a secular state, certain Muslim opponents made the case that their personal law was part of their religion and therefore the state should not legislate on such a matter. Some Muslims considered that their personal law dealing with divorce, marriage and inheritance was derived from the Koran and was therefore unalterable, while others, while acknowledging the need for a uniform code in the long run, said the time for it had not yet come and that the consent of the Muslims had to be gradually obtained. In the end, the objective of a uniform civil code for India was left in the status of a 'directive principle' included in the Indian Constitution, which said that the state shall endeavour to secure for the citizens a uniform civil code throughout the territory of India.

The Shah Bano case came up in 1985 in the context of ambiguous precedents. Shah Bano, a divorced Muslim wife, sued for maintenance. The Bench Chief Justice ruled that Muslims were subject to the maintenance provisions (as stated in the Indian Code of Criminal Procedure), and also went on to pronounce gratuitously that this ruling was in accord with Islamic law (he based this interpretation on the basis of the Islamic concept of *mehr*).

The Muslim Personal Law Board intervened on behalf of Shah Bano's husband and having been unsuccessful in their appeal to the Supreme Court, took their case to Parliament. The Congress (I) had already suffered reverses in the by-elections in Uttar Pradesh, Assam and Gujarat. It is alleged that Rajiv Gandhi, who had electoral considerations in mind, persuaded the Indian Parliament to pass a statute, entitled Muslim Women (Protection of Rights on Divorce) Act, 1986, which undid the Shah Bano case decision. According to this new codification of Muslim personal law, the divorced woman's husband is obliged only to return the *mehr* (dowry or marriage settlement) and pay her maintenance during the period of *iddat* (the period of three months following the divorce). If the divorced woman is not able to maintain herself after the *iddat* period her maintenance will be the responsibility of her children, or parents, or those relatives who would be entitled to inherit her property upon her death; if she has no relatives or if they have no means to pay her maintenance the magistrate may direct the State *Wakf* Boards (administrators of Muslim trust funds) to pay the maintenance determined by them.

Shah Bano herself, under pressure from clerics, withdrew her claim. However, the earlier court decision is still on record, and there is a powerful drive among some court judges not to treat Muslims as a category excluded from provisions that are viewed as national in scope and applicable to all citizens. The Rajiv Gandhi led government's decision to allow Muslim personal law to prevail in reversal of the court decision is one of the conspicuous grievances voiced by the leaders of the various component units of the Hindu nationalist movement (Sangh Parivar). It is constantly held forth by them as a case of the Congress' favouritism towards the Muslim minority at the expense of the sentiments and

interests of the Hindu majority. It was also vigorously protested by the activist women's organizations as regressive with regard to women's rights.

From every major incident of communal violence in the country, what has almost invariably emerged is the partisan role of the state institution. For example, The BJP led Kalyan Singh government came to the power after replacing the Samajwadi Party, it gave a free hand to right wing Hindutva activists of the Ram Temple movement to demolish the Babri Masjid. The central government dismissed the state government of BJP on the ground of threat to India's secular fabric; the Supreme Court of India upheld the decision and remarked they could not trusted to adhere to secularism when they had admittedly come to power on the political plank of constructing Ram Mandir on the site of the Mosque by relocating the Mosque elsewhere. From the judicial point of view, the Supreme Court judges used one piece of legislation as a decisive consideration that nailed the case on behalf of the Union of India; that was the Representation of People Act 1951, section 29A. This act holds that a political party or a group of individual citizens in India calling itself a political party pledge to uphold of the constitution should not ignore the fundamental features of the Constitution and the laws.

As a land of diverse religions, India's strength lies in the acceptance and understanding of cultures and religions other than our own. This is what is known as unity in diversity which is one of the founding principles of the Indian nation state. Every act of communal violence that takes place, whether it is in 1984 or 1992 or 2002, becomes a black mark against the Indian nation and chips away the foundation of Indian secularism. There cannot be any doubt that the cynical use of religious politics for electoral gain leading to ill feelings within the members of a nation is one of the gravest threats to the Indian nation state.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

5. What are the major religions in India?
6. Define communalism.

3.5 SUMMARY

- Political participation, in democracies, is a very crucial step towards affecting the governmental set up. In India, political participation is represented through elections. Every individual has the right to vote, which is exercised during elections.
- Elections are the only medium available in modern democracies through which a peaceful change in the government is effected or, to use Michael Brecher's words, they are means for the 'routinization of political change'.
- The Indian Constitution has made provision for a suitable machinery to conduct free and fair elections in the country. It provides for the setting up of an Election Commission for this purpose, which shall consist of

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the chief election commissioner and such other election commissioners, as are appointed by the President.

- Electoral reform is not an uncharted cognitive territory in contemporary India. Since the beginning of electoral politics in the fifties and particularly in the last two decades, this theme has been dealt with by a number of scholars.
- The Supreme Court of India directed the Election Commission to get the declaration from all candidates about their criminal antecedents, financial liabilities and educational qualifications.
- In the 1980s, a problem that emerged in the parliamentary process was the problem of defections in state legislatures and even the parliament.
- The word 'caste' has been defined from the Portuguese word *Casta*, which means race, breed or kind. Caste is the main social institution of Indian villages.
- Identity politics in India generally starts from the recognition of the caste politics in India. Although Indian society and the caste system have changed tremendously over the years after Independence, for many, these changes may be uneven both in rural and urban areas.
- Article 15 of the Indian Constitution states that the state will not discriminate against its citizens on the grounds of religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth, etc. However, clause 4 of the Article states that this does not prevent the state from making any special provisions for women and children, or for advancement of any socially and educationally backward classes or citizens or for scheduled castes and tribes.
- India is one of the most religiously diverse nations in the world. The nation is synonymous with religious pluralism. Religious pluralism is usually used as a synonym for religious tolerance, although both the concepts have distinct meanings.
- Throughout its history, India has observed the principle of equality of all religions and has treated the followers of every religion equally. Even when we were not a Republic and were ruled by hereditary rulers who belonged to a particular religion, these rulers did not impose their religion on their citizens.
- Communal violence (or communal riots), is a particular approach to politics, which is practiced at a sustained level by some political parties in India.

3.6 KEY TERMS

- **Cognitive:** Psychological processes involved in acquisition and understanding of knowledge, formation of beliefs and attitudes, and decision making.

- **Vote rigging:** Illegally interfering in the counting of votes.
- **Nexus:** A connection or series of connections linking two or more things.
- **Watchdog:** One who serves as a guardian or protector against waste, loss, or illegal practices.
- **Gladiatorial:** Relating to or resembling gladiators or their combat.
- **Cognitive:** Psychological processes involved in acquisition and understanding of knowledge, formation of beliefs and attitudes, and decision making.
- **Vote rigging:** Illegally interfering in the counting of votes.
- **Nexus:** A connection or series of connections linking two or more things.
- **Watchdog:** One who serves as a guardian or protector against waste, loss, or illegal practices.
- **Gladiatorial:** Relating to or resembling gladiators or their combat.

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3.7 ANSWERS TO ‘CHECK YOUR PROGRESS’

1. The Election Commission was set up, under Article 324 of the Constitution of India, in January 1959.
2. Defections meant that an elected representative of a particular party joined another party on the promise of more power or some other benefit.
3. The word ‘caste’ has been defined from the Portuguese word *Casta*, which means race, breed or kind.
4. Article 15 of the Indian Constitution states that the state will not discriminate against its citizens on the grounds of religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth, etc.
5. The major religions in India are Hinduism, Christianity, Islam, Sikhism, Buddhism and Jainism.
6. Communalism refers to the politics of conflict between the members of different communities.

3.8 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. Discuss briefly the significance of elections in a democracy like India.
2. What role does the Election Commission play in conducting elections?
3. List the changes suggested by the Representation of the Peoples Amendment Act, 1996.
4. Analyse the voting behaviour in India.

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Long-Answer Questions

1. Describe how caste has played a factor in post-independence Indian politics.
2. Religious pluralism in India is the result of the existence of many religions in India. Discuss.
3. Examine the use of religious politics for electoral gain by some political parties in India.
4. Write an essay discussing the reason for the 52nd Amendment to the Constitution.
5. 'The key to a meaningful political discussion about electoral reform is the ideal of representation and its relation to the process of democratization in contemporary India.' Discuss.

3.9 FURTHER READING

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UNIT 4 POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT AND RESEARCH

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Structure

- 4.0 Introduction
- 4.1 Unit Objectives
- 4.2 Definition of Developmental State
- 4.3 The Indian State and Development
 - 4.3.1 Globalization and Deregulation in India
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- 4.4 Scaling Up: Development in Political Science Research
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- 4.7 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
- 4.8 Questions and Exercises
- 4.9 Further Reading

4.0 INTRODUCTION

A developmental state tries to balance economic growth and social development. It uses state resources and state influence to attack poverty and expand economic opportunities. In all countries the state plays some role in shaping the structure and output of the economy. The 'Developmental State' is a term coined by Chalmers Johnson that is used to describe states which follow a particular model of economic planning and management. States in different countries use a variety of instruments and policies like the regulation of industry and trade, the redistribution of incomes and assets, the use of fiscal and monetary policies and direct state ownership of key industries. The degree of state intervention depends on whether a government chooses to leave economic development and redistribution to the whims of the free market, or to be a more interventionist or developmental state.

4.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Understand the definition and features of a developmental state
- Discuss the perspective of various scholars about the nature of Indian state
- Analyze India as a developmental state
- Discuss the relevance of analyzing political scenario in implementing reforms

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4.2 DEFINITION OF DEVELOPMENTAL STATE

The term 'developmental state' has been initiated by Chalmers Johnson in order to describe the system which is followed by a state to promote development. The political scientists have often referred to this term to explain the system of economic planning which mostly prevailed in East Asia after the Second World War. After 1945, Japan experienced massive and fast economic reconstruction. A straightforward definition for the term has been worded by the scholars of political science, 'A developmental state is a state where the government is closely occupied in the macro and micro economic planning for the enhancement of the economy of the nation and works towards providing adequate resources to enable good standards of life for its citizens'.

This is often mentioned as state development capitalism because the state has the political power and controls the economy as well. As a developmental state, the state cannot only intervene but it can regulate and plan the economic activities of the nation as well. Japan had been identified as a developmental state but now it is used in context of other countries as well. In 1970, Botswana was recognized to have qualities of such a state. There is clear evidence that economic growth becomes the agenda of the state and many development policies are initiated by the state for achieving the goal of economic progress. According to Chalmer Johnson, Japan got to be recognized as a developmental state as the bureaucrats, who were a part of Ministry of International Trade and Industry, stated that this was the correct approach for Japan in order to deal with its post war economic crisis.

In most of the states where the rate of industrial growth is slow, the state has to intervene in order to speed up the process of development. The state has two contradictory positions towards economic activities which are undertaken by non-governmental organizations, it either adapts a position where the state regulates the activities of such organizations or the position of state is towards undertaking all developmental activities. This position leads to forming two diverse kinds of business-government relationships. In America, the state has the regulatory role to play whereas in Japan, the state plays the role of the developer.

A regulatory state controls the economic activities of the nation by putting controlling bodies in place which have the authority to have a standard system of checks and balances in order to protect the interest of the people of the country. The developmental state functions completely differently as it intervenes in economic matters of the state directly and formulates various methods to encourage new industries. The developmental state cannot only regulate but it can introduce many new industrial policies which impact the economy of a country and in contrast, a regulatory state mostly plays only the role of watchman in order to protect the interest of the people.

Governments of a developmental state provide and organize the bulk of capital into industries which will benefit the society. Collaboration between state and chief industries is vital for continuation of constant growth of the overall

economy. Alice Amsden has mentioned in her book that ‘the state intervention is by granting of subsidy, having a control over the exchange rate, controlling the wages and keeping a close check on the rate of inflation.’ These actions by the state will subsequently lower the cost of production and will definitely lead to economic growth. According to Amsden, the developmental state is a feature of states which achieved industrialization late and the concept is not common among the developed nations of the world. In Japan, the industrial ownership of the government is under the control and guidance of the non-elected government bureaucrats. Their status is not affected by the industrialists of the country. The advantage of having economic matters in their control is that they are not concerned with earning any good will with the working class of the country.

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Features of a Developmental State

The United Nations has developed a list of features which are essential for the state to possess in order to be termed as a developmental state:

- A government should have the political force and justifiable authorization to carry out the necessary functions.
- A proficient and unbiased bureaucracy that will ensure execution of just policies.
- The country should be equipped with a progressive education system and corruption free organizations in the public sector.
- A systematic procedure needs to be followed for ample interactions between the bureaucracy and government and the various industrial stakeholders.
- A recognized framework for planning and implementation of social programs has to be in place in the system. There is a need to recognize a central body that is accountable and effectively coordinates all concerned bodies.

Relevance of Developmental States

Countries like China, Singapore, India, Thailand, Taiwan, Vietnam, Malaysia, South Korea, Philippines, and Indonesia fall under the category of developmental states. The rate of growth of the Western economies is overwhelming in comparison to these nations. The American economy took five decades to establish itself to the level that it has achieved today. The British economic growth was a growth over a period of sixty years. A number of East and Southeast Asian countries have been able to enhance their economic growth twice in just a period of ten years. One of the chief tasks of developmental states is to eradicate poverty from their nation; China has proven to be an effective developmental state. With the help of adequate economic planning in the last thirty years, China has got more than 600 million people to live above the poverty line in their country. The United Nations is able to achieve its set targets of economic progress all over the world due to the presence of developmental states. The system not only works towards development but at the same time works towards providing for an atmosphere which is conducive for encouraging industries to flourish.

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The state is constantly involved in creating ample competition to establish good organization, control prices and create employment opportunities and adequate services. The relevance of developmental state may not only be in relation to a less industrialized nation. The need can be felt in a lot of western economies as well. One such example is of United Kingdom. The nation has seen a tremendous drop in its rate of industrial growth in the last twenty years and the main cause for this is the lack of competitiveness in the industrial sector. Today United Kingdom is struggling to change in order to meet the needs of the current economy and services for the consumers. It is believed that had it been a developmental economic state it could have easily coped with the changes as in a developmental state the government can generate a viable nationalized company by full or limited involvement. The full involvement happens if the state actually prevented competition by passing an order. Limited involvement would happen if the state only controlled the existing businesses by appointing capable people to manage the business or in ways of putting various schemes in place which led to increased efficiency. There is no rationale to show that a state-run company will always function in an unproductive manner and a private corporation will always achieve success. Incessant functioning productivity is what is sought by the consumer and this is very visible in the two means of transportation in United Kingdom. The airline companies in the country, in comparison to their rail services, are more prominent. The inefficiency in the rail services is clearly visible as the rail operators do not have any competition to make them want to improve their services. The economic growth in the west is mostly based on short term plans. The short term plans are more prone to hinder growth than the long term plans. The developmental states believe in long term planning though there is no guarantee that all such plans are fruitful. These countries allot the state fund to a respective plan at the onset. For effective implementation of long term plans it is very essential to have continued governance of a single party otherwise it may lead to loss of public funds. Most developmental states have allotted a huge sum of money for future growth as can be cited with the example of Norway; which has done a huge investment towards the resources of oil in the North Sea. This investment will benefit the next generation of the country. Similarly countries like China, Singapore, Vietnam, Malaysia, South Korea, Indonesia and Hong Kong have set aside wealth funds of similar nature.

The economies of many western countries have been known to be influenced by social factors. The state in US has on all occasions maintained control over welfare policies and implemented policies which have worked towards enhancing the wealth of the state. It has been observed by political thinker Stephen Krasner that in 1970s when the US state was not as powerful as it is in present it had maintained a strong hold over all decisions about the matters concerning the Middle East policy of multinational oil companies. The policies regarding this were crucial for the development and security of the country. The concept of developmental state works on this very notion that the state has a crucial role in deciding matters which are crucial for the country. This concept is not very opposed to the ideas promoted by Marx or Lenin.

Nature of Indian State

Many concepts and theories have been suggested by political scientists in their endeavour to explain the exact nature of Indian state. It has been often pointed out that, India is inimitable and this quality makes it difficult to put it into any one straight category of models to explain the nature of the Indian state. The scholars have all tried to establish India as a developmental state. As per most scholars India has been termed as a soft state, a state which is excessively receptive to diverse groups with varied interest. This excessively-receptive outlook leads to providing subsidy schemes which are inefficiently implemented. Due to this most schemes which are initiated in order to eradicate poverty prove to be ineffective and lead to misunderstanding the status of state being a subsidy state. When compared to success stories of other developing economies India does not project a very convincing picture as the number of developmental projects initiated in India are much more and the impact of these programs has been marginally positive. The nature of Indian state has been elaborated with the relationship that exists between the state and diverse interest groups. The nature of Indian state has been studied from five different perspectives:

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1. Indian state from the perspective of Pranab Bardhan

According to Bardhan, most of the developmental programs initiated till 1980s were done out of a desire for establishing equity. The Indian society is split up on the basis of caste, class, and on cultural and edifying multiplicity between the states. Based on these multiplicities government has made attempts to unify the various interest groups. Pranab Bardhan has identified three interest groups which are predominant in the system and these groups interact and influence the developmental schemes of the government. The first group in this category is economic interest groups. This group consist of governing classes, the traders and labour class. This group in the name of implementing schemes for the poor try to get benefits for themselves. Bardhan has commented that biggest drawback which the Indian state faces is the lack of an effective large interest group which talks about development for the masses and not just the smaller section. The government at the state level or at the centre cannot afford to show inclination towards any particular group as a result the government tends to give a quick subsidy to minor pressures. This often leads to wastage of funds and fails to provide any benefit and in fact these provisions widen the gap between the rich and the poor in the society. On the basis of this scenario, Bardhan has termed the nature of Indian state to be a 'soft state'. The second interest group, according to Bardhan, is the caste group which is not far in its zest to acquire policies in form of quota. The caste groups are always trying to get concessions from the government in form of reservation. Bardhan very strongly feels that these kinds of provisions will not lead to development in the country and suggests that the government instead of providing for reservations or job quotas should in fact make provision for scholarship or on job trainings for people belonging to these groups. These provisions are likely to result in development and establishing equity. Though this is not easy for the government as the matter has to be dealt

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with a lot of sensitivity. The government cannot risk offending the actors of this group. At the same time, he feels that the development will be meaningful only if the government is willing to shift its perspective and leave the policy of protecting these group members by providing them with quotas and reservation rather it needs to develop programs to ensure equality of status in the society. The third and the final group which has been mentioned by Bardhan are regional collectives. This group in fact comes into the scene because of the second group of caste. The caste based quotas lead to the reservation in various government posts, seats in bureaucracy and professional educational institutions. According to Bardhan, this leads to corruption and manipulation in the system as it has been visible in few cases that the low class minister has intentionally appointed a bureaucrat belonging to his own caste. On several occasions, it has been observed that candidates appointed on the basis of quota may not have the required aptitude or qualifications which are essential for a particular job. These situations may be providing equity to a certain group but this is definitely hampering competence and superior domination of the state as it acts under the influence of the above mentioned interest groups.

2. Indian state from the perspective of Ashutosh Varshney

According to Varshney, Indian state has been able to survive because of its democratic nature. According to his views, democracy in India is existent because of four reasons:

- The history of British rule in India.
- The level of economic growth of the state.
- Indian state is made up of many ethnic groups which can survive only with each other in a democratic set up.
- The political leaders function in a more focused way under the pressure of the common man.

Varshney strongly feels that due to the existing nature of the Indian state people belonging to backward classes are gaining reasonable amount of political authority. According to him, this is happening through the present political associations which have been present since the domineering rule of the British. These associations have resulted in providing stability and strength to the prevailing democratic system. These associations have sometimes resulted in inefficiency but still the state has been able to carve the path towards development. According to Varshney democracy has sustained itself in India because of several economic factors. The democratic nature of the state has prevented from increasing the gap and controlled the socio-economic inequalities. The liberalization in 1991 introduced a consumption based model in the system which greatly helped in stabilising the economy. In fact, in spite of the lack of industrial growth in the country due to the British rule the Indian state has been able to implement many effective reforms for stabilizing the economy of the country and maintaining the social equilibrium of the society. The diverse nature of the Indian states limits the level of success in trying to achieve the

economic equality as the geographical demands of all states are different hence the centre has to try to maintain individual relations with the states and have to formulate policies in keeping with individual demands. This according to Varshnay proves to be a hindrance as policies get formulated for small sections and benefits also affect a small group of people. The state has to try and look at the broader picture, though it cannot ignore the problems of inequality prevalent among these groups. Both Bardhan and Varshnay agree that for Indian state to be truly a developmental state it has to stop implementing policies favourable for specific groups and focus on enhancing the individual capabilities of people belonging to these groups.

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3. Indian state from the perspective of Robert Wade

Robert Wade's views are different from Varshney and Bardhan's views. Wade has tried to analyse the nature of Indian state in relation to the bureaucratic system. He feels the bureaucrats are able to manipulate many official functions of the government which have resulted in high levels of corruption and inefficiency. According to him, an ideal system will also have some level of corruption. He has observed that when level increases beyond the tolerance of the common man there is a protest by the public. The Indian society, according to political scholars, is made up of different layers and diverse elements which lead to the occurrence of corrupt activities as all elements are competing in order to get control of the resources which are scarce. This is where the corrupt role of bureaucracy gets highlighted as they allot the resources to the interest group which promises the highest bid. These individuals are mostly members of either caste groups or the economic interest groups. The policies formulated are only theoretically for the good of the society and not in reality. The nature of Indian state largely gets affected due to the presence of a coalition government as the voters are members belonging to various interest groups who influence the government to the fullest.

4. Indian state from the perspective of Gunnar Myrdal

The views of Myrdal are not based on the perspective of the previous scholars. In fact he has tried to analyse the nature of the state in relation with its citizens and its duty to govern them. Myrdal's feels that the Indian state due to its democratic system is obligated to implement reforms for the betterment of its citizens. The policies and reforms are based on the suggestions and feedback of the people as they are the one who are going to be affected by them. According to Myrdal, there is a predicament which is often faced by the government in the implementation of democratic plans. Sometimes people are unable to realise the worth or the need for the developmental plan of the state and this results in them not supporting the implemented plan. The people in the society will not support if they are not clear about the implication of the plan. The state has to improve its system and infrastructure in order to make developmental plans effective. Another predicament which the government has to handle is to be able overcome its slow start towards development. India had to initiate development in a state which had been completely deprived of all its resources. If it is compared with other developed nations then it would not be wrong to

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say that India has handled its developmental plans well and has come a long way. According to Myrdal the Indian state needs to re-evaluate the way plans are implemented into the system. The plans have to not always be targeting a specific interest group. There should be universal plans as well. Plans should be implemented in a more persuasive manner so that there is voluntary participation by the villagers in the implementation of the programs. The policies should be voluntarily accepted by the people and not forced upon them. There should be true democracy in the implementation of policies and not just a pretext of democracy. The aim of the state should be to introduce developmental schemes which benefit the backward classes.

5. Indian state from the perspective of Roland Herring

Ronald Herring has boldly stated that India has not been able to achieve its developmental aims as it has always tried to focus on poor people and tried to formulate policies for selective section of the society. According to him, the rate of growth in India from 1950 to 1980 was only 3.5% per year which when compared to other developing nations was very low as theirs was around 4.9% and the global growth rate was 4.1%. Though others scholars who have been mentioned above felt that this observation was very harsh as India had started its development from extreme poverty and other political issues which it had to face post-independence. In fact they feel that in view of the late start and the conditions which prevailed at that time India has achieved reasonable development since then. It is perhaps unreasonable to evaluate India with comparison to other East Asian developing economies as some Indian states are as big as or may be larger than these countries. India's inferior development rate and less visible success can be attributed towards its socialist economy where developments are mostly conducted by the state.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Who initiated the term 'development state'?
2. State the definition of development state.

4.3 THE INDIAN STATE AND DEVELOPMENT

Past study has established the course which the state has adopted for the formulation of policies after independence. The Indian industrialist had willingly taken part in the movement of nationalism during these years. There was a lot of demand for commodities while the Second World War was going on but the British made sure that the Indian economy could not benefit from this. The leading businessmen of that era were on very cordial terms with the political leaders and gave them full cooperation in the Indian nationalist movement. Indian business was pleased with gains made from the rising demand for commodities during World War II but was also aware that colonialism discriminated against it. The

relations got sour post-independence when the expectations of the industrialist were not met by the state. During the period of 1948 the state favoured import substitution and the second Five-Year Plan in 1956 deprived the industries of all the benefits which were allotted to them in the 'Bombay Plan' of 1944. The path of socialism adopted by the Russian and Chinese state inspired the Indian state to a large extent and it started finding potential in the Indian system to be able to adapt the socialist ideas. Sudipta Kaviraj termed attempts of transformation as passive revolution. From the beginning, the bureaucrats and the technocrats have had a significant say in the policy matters of the state and they are able to get many policies locked into the system which are approved by them. One such idea was the policy of import substitution and thus it was a part of the industrial policies from 1947 till 1975. The industrial sector and the international market had to work around this policy for more than a period of 20 years. Initially the business houses were worried about such tight hold of the state in the matters of allotment of licences but soon they were able to manipulate the political party in power to act in their favour. The industries were now more focused on their battle of attaining a licence rather than developing new products and trying to get more competitive. This policy of state made the economy very state controlled and led to a false feeling of self-reliance. As a result the industries actually began to promote a non-competitive industrial sector. The state did not react even when the pressure was put by the World Bank in 1966 to bring down the value of Indian Rupee in order to enhance exports. The World Bank expressed that exports were crucial for the India's development as it created avenues for resources to develop. The state was on a verge of a famine as it did not have enough foreign exchange to import food grains. Due to extreme pressure exerted by the World Bank the Indian state only marginally devalued the rupee for a short while and did few minor face-value changes in the policies. The state continued with its policy and implemented even more strict adaptation of self-reliant policies for development between 1969 and 1974. Sectors like banks, production of wheat and coal were put under the state control. In 1969 the regulations introduced by the MRTP were completely in accordance of a nationalist state. The act passed on foreign exchange regulations in 1973 reduced the allowed foreign equity of an Indian firm to 40 per cent which was earlier 51 percent. This period was locked up due to the policies adopted which made the state to appear in a very intolerant light and did not project it as a 'developmental state'.

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4.3.1 Globalization and Deregulation in India

Severe balance of payments crisis in 1991 compelled the Indian state to change its thinking and initiate the process of globalization. India's big and continued monetary deficits due to its policies had led the country to be deprived of foreign exchange and this made it exposed to demands of foreign multiparty donors. Many foreign investors opted to not invest in India and the Gulf crisis added to the stress of the situation. Many foreign commercial banks and non-Indian residents discontinued to do business in India. In April 1991 state was on the brink of a non-payment with limited reserve of foreign exchange which at most

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would have lasted for two months. The state had no option but to take help from the IMF. This prompted India towards globalization and changes in its policies towards exports were implemented. The state had to deposit all its gold reserves with the IMF as security in order to procure the loan from it. This time India had to actually give in to the pressures and implement substantial changes. Many changes were made in the policies which changed the status of state in the economic matters. The changes also affected the policies implemented under the Industrial Policy Resolution in 1975 according to the provisions of which many policies were implemented in the sector of telecom, automobiles and pharmaceuticals. A report was made about the role of Government of India in which the issues were discussed as to why public sector companies were unable to function in the current system. Through this report it was pointed out that there was too much political and administrative involvement in the public sector. The importance of exports was stressed as a crucial element for funding development in the country. The report also observed that all the resources channelized to this sector were not utilised to the fullest in fact that was attributed a major reason for low success rate.

It was for that reason recommended that companies in this sector should be made independent of political intervention and be sanctioned to run on profit basis. This suggestion did not work and it is very evident from the example of MTNL workers. Towards the end of 1980s the Delhi and Mumbai MTNL employees were given a bonus of rupees hundred and this caused unrest among the workers of DOT all over the country. The protest became so severe that the Ministry of communication had to request the prime minister of the country had to merge MTNL with the rest of the department of telecommunication.

Another advantage of foreign investment was that it helped in technological exchange which developed and improved the managerial skills of the people in India. The value of rupee began to stabilize in the 1980s and the change in policies would get noticed only after the balance payment crisis would have settled but there was enough evidence already indicating a shift towards globalization.

Indicators of Shifting Towards a Global Economy

Initially all manufacturing units required a license prior to starting production. This requirement was discontinued for few areas for instance the information technology, auto parts, and pharmaceuticals were exempted.

Under the act of MRTP, the value all companies in India was strictly controlled at Rupees 200 million and more. During this period the limit was increased and moved to Rupees 1 billion, this shift got many companies out of the regulations put under this act. The visit of Prime Minister Vishwanath Pratap Singh and economist MS Ahluwalia to Malaysia in 1990 was also instrumental in bringing about changes. The PM was very impressed with developmental projects in Malaysia and dreamt of replicating them in India. He asked Ahluwalia to try to make suggestions so that this could be possible.

On 24 July 1990 two significant documents were made public, one of them was the budget and the other was the Industrial Policy Regulation. These two documents together changed the conduit of Indian economic strategy. The need for acquiring an industrial licence was withdrawn from almost all industrial sectors. This allowed the industrialists to be able to invest freely without the meddling of the administration. There was an increase in the limit of foreign equity from 40 per cent to 51 per cent. In few the limit was increased to 75 per cent and even 100 per cent. The abolishment of the MRTP Act was another ruling which helped in many business houses to benefit. Some of these business houses like the Tata group have emerged as multinational giants of the present economy.

These policies were meant to deregulate and globalize the Indian economy and take India on the path of development. This shift was not welcomed by some of the members of The Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry. The Confederation of Indian Industry, which was promoted by Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi in the 1980s, was alienated. Indian industry mostly agreed with reluctance to these policies as they were insecure. Indian industry was largely dependent on imports and was keen to be in the good books of IMF as it was realised that foreign exchange is very crucial for the industries in India. Commercial units would have appreciated a more heedful strategy to gain more resources from the IMF in order to overcome the past losses. The Indian state was able to play an influential role in making global exposure a deliberate asset to compact the home ground resistance towards the reforms. The state was able to strategically gain from it at two levels, it was able to mobilise the Indian industry and its dealing with the IMF.

Elements Essential for Development

India's chief sculpt of development is being motivated by a close association of state and capital, in order to continue in command the present leaders need to contain the large social interest groups of the society. People belonging to backward classes can also rule a state. The political authority is no longer controlled by the members of the upper class. If the ruling party wishes to stay in power they have to channelize the resources of the state to people of all sections of the society. There is a need to bring about reforms in the lower level of bureaucracy as this will reduce the level of corruption. The development of the state is essentially dependent on redistribution of existing resources and eradicating poverty.

The state will have more economic resources if the system of tax collection is made efficient. There are many political scientist who believe that the Indian state does not lack resources and in spite of this the state is not able to introduce developmental programs as the resources are being underutilized and there has to be complete focus on the part of the political leaders, the bureaucrats and the capitalists in making India a developmental state. Development can take place only if the plans and policies are achievable and reach all the sections of the Indian society and do not target any specific class or interest group. The role of technocrats and bureaucrats is very important in implementation of policies of

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welfare and economic growth. The entire process of development in our country rests on the shoulders of these elements as they are instrumental in execution and formulation of policies. The significant beginning of globalization and deregulation or triumphant execution of MGNREGAs in Andhra Pradesh would not have been possible if they would not have effectively done their functions. But above these two elements is the presence of a strong political system is the most crucial for the development to take place. Even in the presence of effective planning the state will remain deprived of growth without the presence of strong political control.

It will not be wrong to conclude after going through perspective of various scholars that the nature of Indian state is of a developmental state which is not strong enough to employ its populace in the developmental method and instead is prone to get influenced by the social actors who are instrumental for its survival. The scholars of political science feel that India needs to act in a more focused manner and not be so soft in nature so that it is able to push developmental programs which are more universal in nature and are not just meant to benefit any particular interest group or section of the society. This will lead to establishing equality in the society and the state will become more efficient and move towards a corruption free system.

Since India is not an archetypal developmental state, changing just the administrative system marginally may not bring about the desired results. Developing the rural India is most essential for country to be truly called a developmental state. The Department of Rural Development in Andhra Pradesh with the help of an effective chief minister were able to implement the MGNREGAs.

The development in India has been slow but not completely absent. It is required that the social actors need to be disciplined for them to work in harmony with the state and not against it. The failing of the state in handling the social actors does not mean that the state has not made ample impact on the execution of policies and bringing about organisational changes. The way the state is projected may lead the political thinkers to misinterpret the exact relation between the social and economic changes in the country. The Indian state is a classic example of a democratic developmental state. The state needs to cautiously step forward and learn from its past mistakes and try to implement policies which are strong enough for development to be visible in the country.

4.3.2 Politics of Liberalization

It has already been mentioned in the previous section that Indian economic policy post-independence was subjective due to its harsh treatment by the colonial rule. The policies implemented by of a very narrow scope and had the reflection of insecurity which the state felt. The insecurity was visible in the policies like the import substitution and even the state maintained a close watch on the level of industrialisation which took place in the country. The state was constantly interfering in businesses which functioned at the micro level. The Five Year

Plan which was implemented looked like a plan of Soviet Union. During the 1950s all major industries were nationalised. The process of attaining a licence during the 1947 to 1990 was very elaborate with cumbersome regulations. This period was often referred as Licence Raj. Influential interest groups exercised a combined rejection towards any efforts of reframing these stringent policies. The power held by these groups was very strong and rejected all reforms which were attempted in 1980s- mid 90s by then Prime Ministers Indira Gandhi and Rajiv Gandhi. The era completely lacked any substantial long term plans and there were only few minor reforms which took place. During both their tenures reticent policy initiatives were overshadowed by the political disharmony. This period witnessed a weak section of farmers and insecure industrialist who were often dealing with corrupt bureaucrats. Many ineffective efforts were made to ease up the economy between 1966 and 1985. The economy was functioning on the principles of socialism from 1967 to 1985. In 1985 prime minister tried to implement changes but that also was not a very concrete attempt. His government marginally lessened the impact of Licence Raj and tried to bring about development in the sector of telecommunications and software. Under the leadership of Chandra Shekhar Singh which was limited to only one year 1990 to 1991 many noteworthy reforms were initiated

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Causes for Liberalization

It has already been mentioned that before the liberalization began in 1991 the Indian economy was a closed economy.

- The Indian markets were out of bounds for foreign goods as the currency of India was not convertible and the process to attain a licence was lengthy and regulated tightly and the import duties were very high.
- There was a scarcity of competing businesses in the country as the licence to set up a new industry was very difficult and limited to few sectors.
- The convoluted bureaucracy laid vague limitations while procuring a licence. The firms were to adhere to the price of the product which was decided by the government.
- The fundamental cause was the policy of import substitution which was adapted to socialistic principles and colonial past.
- The policy of state deciding the limit of investment for each sector rather than the market demand and supply was an absurd decision.

The result of all these policies was visible in the poor annual development rate of the economy of India prior to 1980; the rate was constantly low at 3.5 percent. The rate of growth of countries like Pakistan which was 5 per cent and Indonesia was 9 per cent was much higher than India. The licence holders became rich. The public sector companies were in deep losses. The period witnessed an emergence of a big private sector. Sections dealing with income tax and custom clearances became corrupt and lapses began to occur in the payments. Due to the domination of the public sector the investments made towards infrastructure began to suffer.

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By the last part of 1990, the state of India was in a severe economic catastrophe. The government was at the stage of non-payment. The state's request for credit had been rejected by the Reserve Bank of India and the level of foreign exchange was near exhaustion and India had only just fund about a fortnight worth of imports reserves had reduced to the point that India could barely finance three weeks' worth of imports. The state had to go for aid to IMF and the aid was going to cost India all its gold reserves as security. Besides the security India had to agree to implement various reforms in its policies. Reins of the state began to be rearranged; there was a visible drop in the rates of tariffs, exercise duties and other taxes. State autonomy was reduced, the widening of market took place as it was now welcoming towards new trade and investment opportunities, private sector project and competition was developing and India was slowly moving towards a global economy. The process of liberalization began in 1991 and continues to grow. The concern of the process is the politics which has become a feature which is hindering the speed of the reforms. The liberalization process is a victim of political alliances in the country who work in gaining more personally that socially.

Initiating the Process of Liberalization

In 1991 the process of liberalization was initiated by Prime Minister Narasimha Rao and the finance minister Manmohan Singh. The initiatives taken by Narasimha Rao earned him a title of being the Chanakya of the Indian politics by many political scholars. He was able to make changes and introduce policy reforms at a time when India was facing major political economic crisis. This work is often credited as he was able to achieve this inspite of being the head of a minority government. The government abided by the clauses put forth by IMF and for that the Licence Raj was abolished and many other liberal policies were implemented and the path of reforms has continued from since that period and on the whole the main driving force of liberalisation has continued to be similar, though none of the governments has attempted to win over influential lobbies like the trade unions and farmers, on controversial topics such as implementing better labour laws and dipping agricultural subsidies. With the change of the 21st century, India had started to move in the direction of a free-market economy, which was not controlled entirely by the state and the economy had achieved higher level of financial freedom. This was along with more life expectation ratio, higher rate of literacy and better life style of people in the society. Though these were benefits enjoyed by people living in towns as the villages still had a long way to go.

There has been a powerful relocation of economic premises since the beginning of 1991. Full extent of Liberalization's essential implication was noticeable only after major policy reforms were implemented and the change because of these reforms was visible. The no success story of the past made the slippery journey towards liberalization easy as the political resistance could be nullified easily. Though many believed that the impact was limited as the area of focus of the reforms was limited and it was not lasting. Some even felt the

political leaders were not interested in the mass benefit of these reforms and were happy with the limited impact. Hence, the fresh economic policies were received by several people as just one more disaster-prone effort like many unenthusiastic reforms which were introduced during the 1960s which were supposed to change the framework of the state in a meaningful manner but had failed to do so. Still, for investigative reasons, it is useful to treat the politics of liberalization in two stages, First stage will deal with the introduction of reforms and the second will deal with nourishing economic reform

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The Politics of Introduction of Reforms

To a great extent the deliberations throughout and 1991 even later were persistent on the character of the international fiscal organisations like the World Bank and the IMF in infuriating India to establish new, more essential kind of reforms which focused on the current market. The IMF was willing to give loan to India only if these reforms were implemented. The government's doggedness on staying unclear about the exact character of the conditions implied by IMF, and general understanding in India that conditions of such grants were often harsh as they had observed from the examples of the neighbouring countries led to the belief among the various interest groups that the new government was compelled to proclaim reforms in the economy on such a large scale. Many analysts commented on the new reforms to be very drastic. They felt that India will overcome the temporary balance of payment crisis and there was no need for such long term plans to be implemented. They felt that the government had panicked and given into the pressure exerted by the international financial institutions.

Some believed that it was not due to the pressure India had not reacted on account of the pressure by IMF or World Bank but had voluntarily taken the step to introduce these reforms. According to economist Montek Singh Ahluwalia felt that Indian state had introduced the reforms not as a compulsion from the IMF and he had the support of few more scholars who felt that initially maybe the conditions laid down by IMF brought about some changes in the policies but policies which regulated the telecom industry seemed more internal. It has been observed that prior to the crisis in 1991 Government had made attempts to liberalize and many suggestions were suggested by appointed commissions for this purpose. The international financial institutions were actually establishing policies which had already been in the offing and were getting delayed because of the insecurities faced by few interest groups who did not want to lose their hold.

Some scholars view the IMF and the World Bank as essential rudiments of change in the path of development of the country that did not have to force the reforms and they only had to put India on the path which it had already carved for itself. Devesh Kapur has commented that the economist who were employed by the international institutions to implement the reforms were a little misfit as they were not familiar of the Indian conditions and lacked the tack to handle the people in India. Though he felt that they brought along with them knowledge and style which was a advantage for the system. Mitu Sengupta has also commented

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on Indian economists who had worked in international organisations and termed them as an extended arm of the institutions in India and they were quick to add to the list of bureaucrats, he termed them as members of economic bureaucracy who played the role of special policy advisors and soon began to head institutes like the National Council of Applied Economic Research, or played an important role as members of the Planning Commission. Due to their international exposure they had an advantage over the other Indian counterparts and due to this they were not accepted very easily in the system and were treated as outsiders who always had the option to return if things did not work out for them in India. According to Sengupta the political leaders thought that including them in the policy making and implementation of reforms will please the people at the IFIs and they will be lenient with India while granting funds. The political leaders also thought that having the external economist will help in their dealings with the members of these institutions as they will help in communicating with each other. They played an important role by acting as Indian ambassadors to international authority. Though all this proved to be futile as most of them only applied bookish knowledge and did not take into account the actual situation.

The Politics of Supportability of the Reforms

The subsequent issue which was faced by the policy makers was to be able to get enough support for the implementing the reforms. It was not relevant as to what were the motivating factors for introducing the reforms the main concern now was to overcome the political hurdles which were being faced by the reformers in their attempt to introduce the reforms. Rob Jenkins contended that the new direction for the development of the state was going to need strong strategy to be able to handle the non supportive attitude of the political leaders. The key policy makers used a strategy where they purposely did not highlight the deep rooted connotations of the policies. After Narasimha Rao left office he made a comment that though it was a complete change over but at that time the policy makers just projected the change as a deviation. He said that India needed to adapt a complete change over in the policies: 'What it really entails is a complete U-turn without seeming to be a U-turn.' According to Jenkins there were three essential factors which made the path for initiating the reforms: the political knowhow of the policy makers who introduced the reforms, the flexible and erratic atmosphere of the prevailing institutions and the conducive environment was already existing because of the policies which were formulated in order to tackle the balance of payment crisis in 1991.

The institution of federalism, for instance, meant that the politicians at the centre could channelize the load of implementing the financial reforms on the state governments. The centre and its politicians could depend on the state level leaders to adhere to the central government's attempts towards liberalization whether they were in agreement of the steps which were to be adopted in this process. Once the restrictions on private organisations were relaxed the politicians at the centre knew that the state in order to handle the expansion of industry would automatically have to alter their policies at the state level. In the subsequent years the Indian state started to reflect principles of federalism

in its international relations. Many state governments on their own got into an alliance with the World Bank to bring about structural reforms. Furthermore, states which were governed by local parties became points of influence for locally concerted economic security unfavourably pretentious of the central government's dealings with the World Trade Organization. The local parties began to effectively promote their interest and soon they began to use their local interest as a pressure over the centre. These kinds of bargaining tactics became a crucial element in setting up coalition governments at the centre. The support of the local party was based on condition of local reforms from the centre these gains could be social or financial and they could even involve direct dealings with the WTO and formulation of agreements between state and WTO with no involvement of the centre.

According to Ashutosh Varshney the reforms of that time got support was because the government was cautious to introduce reforms in the matters of finance and industrial reforms which were long overdue. On the face value the reforms gave a very durable picture and seemed harmless for the political community. Policy makers had accordingly learnt the art of "choice politics" of reforms. The issue with all the reforms was that it had not taken care of "group politics" as the masses were not the focus of the reforms. The policy makers had got success in their endeavour as they had completely focused on massive societal gap which mostly existed in the villages. This hindered combined action amid the badly pretentious constituencies. According to Varshney the policy makers needed to implement a way for political communication to take place which would make the masses in the India understand that the reforms in the market sector would in the long run benefit the population of India. The views of both Jenkins and Varshney are in a way similar. Jenkins contented that the political ability to cover policy alteration in the disguise of permanence was a factor through which India was able to avert any policy change from flowing into mass politics.

Reforms after 1996

The impact of the reforms formulated by Rao administration were evident by the fact that the foreign investment in the year 1995-96 was \$5.3 billion this had been just a small amount of US\$132 million in 1991-92. The reforms initiated by the Rao administration were continued by the BJP government under the leadership of Atal Bihari Vajpayee. The government realised that the continuity was essential as the change had just begun to be noticed. The BJP was in power from 1998 to 2004. The coalition led by BJP which was formed with National Democratic Alliance started to privatise businesses which were owned by the government. These were businesses which were poorly performing and not able to contribute towards developing the economy these included hotels, airports which were redone to match the international standard in appearance and customer services, few more were privatised like the VSNL and Maruti Suzuki. The government wanted to reduce the deficit and the debt for this purpose it took initiatives like reducing the taxes so that it would lead to development and more action will be taken for civic facilities. Vajpayee's remedy to pace up trade and

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industrial growth incorporated finding a remedy to problems and issues which was related to cold war and its impact on India. The government was the first to initiate FDI ventures. During this period the western world was realising the Indian calibre in the functioning of IT and BPOs. By the end of his tenure the base work to encourage foreign investors in the Indian market was started. The coalition government introduced a forward looking budget that was optimistic towards reforms. The economic conditions were not able to benefit much due to the inactivity which had featured into the economy as a result of the fiscal crisis which was prevailing in Asia since 1997. The lack of political stability also contributed towards the sluggishness of the rate of development.

During the year 2006 India achieved great level of liberalization and the reforms introduced in the previous years began to reflect on the economy of the country. GDP had reached 9.6 per cent which made it second fastest growing economy, first was China.

The UPA-2 government was able to maintain economic constancy during the depression in international economy. Indian government with the help of RBI was able to keep Indian economy safe from being swept in the flow of the prevailing crisis. The Congress proposed the preface that retail sector should be allowed up to 51% Foreign Direct Investment after lot of discussion among the opposition this was accepted in December 2012. In January 2009 the Government of India formed The Unique Identification Authority of India (UIDAI). Mr Nandan Neilkeni who earlier was CEO of Infosys, was appointed as head of UIDAI. The charter of UIDAI was to capture biometric data of Indian citizens and issue a unique twelve digit Identification number known as Aadhaar Card/number. The institution of Aadhaar card has been a success story. The Aadhaar number has helped the government to transfer subsidies in the account of the individual directly. This scheme has helped a lot to people living in rural areas. The Aadhaar card has helped in reducing the corruption in the state as well. Till December 2015 nine hundred and forty million Indians had registered under this scheme.

In beginning of 2015 Prime Minister Narendra Modi and his NDA government managed to allow FDI up to 49 per cent in the insurance sector. The previous government had not been able to implement the provision which actually had been initiated by the Vajpayee government in 1999. The Modi administration managed to introduce the Coal Mines Bill which has opened the coal industry to other investors. This ended the sluggish government monopoly over the coal industry which was not enabling it to develop and liberalise the industry by allowing international and private Indian companies to invest. This could lead to vast development as the investments done by these organisations can add billions of dollars seep into the economy. In the 2016 budget session of Parliament, the government was able to implement the Insolvency and Bankruptcy Code. The Code initiates a fixed duration limit for insolvency resolution of firm and individuals. These procedures will have a fixed duration of 180 days. If the issue of insolvency will not be sorted within the allotted time then the property of the defaulter may be put on sale to generate finance

to pay the consignee. This regulation radically liberalises the eases the course involved in conducting business. The government's most radical move till date has been the demonetization of old 500 and 1000 rupee notes and in place introducing new 500 and 2000 rupee notes. This has led India towards the path of development by trying overcoming the biggest hindrance on its path which is corruption in the Indian state. The current growth rate of GDP per capita is about 7.5 per cent which is drastic acceleration from the past. It is predicted that if this rate is maintained then it can even be double in the next ten years. The reason for this acceleration is related to the fact that the regulations imposed by the government in the service sector has mostly been done away or have been tremendously relaxed. The development in the service sectors such as the IT industry or the insurance is very visible. With the encouragement to the competition in the aviation, telecom and various other private sector companies the growth in these sectors has been very impressive the consumer and the provider both have benefited.

In recent times, India is becoming a chosen destination by many foreign investors. According to a research data submitted by A.T. Kearney by 2005 India had been ranked second most preferred option for investors to invest in international market, first was China and USA was holding the third place. In past India was ranked at the fifteenth position. This leap is a clear indication of development which has taken place in the country after it has taken the path of liberalization. To excerpt the research of A.T. Kearney Study, "India's strong performance among manufacturing and telecom & utility firms was driven largely by their desire to make productivity-enhancing investments in IT, business process outsourcing, research and development, and knowledge management activities".

There process of liberalisation was implemented from the centre but had spread to the regional and state level as well. In a survey report submitted by OECD clearly stated that states which were ready to implement a relaxed attitude towards private investments had much more evidence of the economic growth in their region. The report outlined the areas which should be made the focus for reforms as development in these sectors would automatically influence the economic status of the states. The report stressed on developing better infrastructure for education and other civic services which will enhance the employment opportunities which will directly have a positive result on the level of poverty in the region.

Hurdles for Support of Reforms

The reforms implemented due to the push in 1991 were definitely having a positive effect on Indian economy. According to the statistics of Index of Economic Freedom World Rankings in 2010 India was declared to be on the 124th among 179 countries. Liberalization was helping India to develop into a strong self reliant nation. The challenge which the leaders of the country were facing that the reforms were not uplifting all the regions of the country and the factors which were cause for these hurdles were:-

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- Sluggish augmentation in the agricultural sector was considered to be a major cause. Majority of people living in regional areas are farmers and due to lack of development in agriculture the majority was not benefiting from the reforms which were implemented.
- The industrial sector had not liberalised the precincts and difficult labour laws.
- The rate of inflation was very high. This also led to increasing the poverty in the country.
- The process of liberalization had not freed the system from the problem of corruption. In fact some scholars argue that liberal policies had increased the level of corruption also in the bureaucracy and other government agencies.
- The initiation of liberal policies had started due to the crisis in 1991 and few of the reforms had been forced on India by IMF. The reforms were implemented out of compulsion and actually lacked the support of all the politicians. The continuity and effectiveness was possible if there was unanimity among the leaders and they should have to have the desire to get the reforms implemented in a full hearted manner and not limit it only to the extent till were vote count mattered.

OECD outlined the key areas which needed reforms in order to overcome the hurdles and challenges. In industrial sector, growth of employment opportunities are limited to firms which do not follow very stringent labour laws. In spite of availability of cheap labour few formal sector firms have begun to be capital concentrated. In view of these instances there is an urgent need for industrial sector reforms as only then overall development will take place. There has to be availability of job opportunities for the large labour force to be employed as per their qualifications. In manufactured goods retail, unproductive government measures, mainly in a few of the states, lead to unnecessary obstacles for the private enterprises and it is essential to provide improved measures. The private firms should be encouraged as they have proved to be more productive as compared to public companies. There are many factors which slow the growth and hinder infrastructure sector and slow the competition in economic markets, these factors used be addressed and rectified. The circuitous tax methods have to be eased in order to provide a real national economy. The necessary tax provisions should be outlined clearly and the taxable income should be specified and set to acceptable limits. The tax rates should be reduced to encourage businesses. The money of the public should be used by the government to improve facilities and should be channelized towards infrastructural development. Investments should be encouraged in public sector as well by reducing subsidies. In addition, public policies should be enhanced in order to benefit the backward and poor people. The country will develop if the population is educated hence the educational system should the improved and more people should become literate in all parts of the country.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

3. Mention one advantage of foreign investment in India.
4. What was the main cause of liberalisation in India?

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4.4 SCALING UP: DEVELOPMENT IN POLITICAL SCIENCE RESEARCH

The application of the expression ‘development’ with regards to nationalized economic expansion was visible in the United States in the beginning of the 1940s. It was mostly in relation to American policy towards its international relations. The country’s major concern was to develop growth policies in such a way so that they can be aloof from the communist influence of Russia. Stimulated by this apprehension, the United States instructed its political scholars and experts to analyse and create means of enhancing an entrepreneurial financially viable policy for development and political strength in what was defined as the developing world. Development theory was an outcome of this effort of the American scholars. There are diverse perspectives of development and, as a result many theories to explain the subject. Nevertheless, all theories are built on the foundation of the relation that exists between growth and political control. Development is frequently seen in this relation and is importantly reflected by structures of political control; the control is understood as per the extent of the development. Generally, development theory is based on the expansion of national economic growth and state is the main instrument; for that reason, the chief purpose of the theories is to comprehend and describe the character of the state in development and the temperament of government and market associations. These comprehensions decipher the role of the state in the development process. The development theory and actual growth of the state is well connected and every state tries to formulate its own development theory. Development theory has transformed due to the alterations in philosophy and the global atmosphere, the alterations also affect the relation between the other players of the theory which are growth and political control. The development theories of the political science have undergone a visible change with factors like World Wars and the subsequent cold war between the world powers. The developing countries alter the development strategy as per the environment internationally. India has also evolved its developmental theory on the basis of global changes. The alterations in the developmental strategy are possible if the international status-quo is closely monitored.

4.4.1 Theories of Development

The development theories usually evolve after the war and they try to analyse the nature and factors related to political and economic situations of the state. These factors are modernization and growth, dependency and world systems

theories, the reappearance of neoclassical theory, and a range of modern analytical viewpoints.

1. Modernization and growth theory

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Development depends on numerous aspects like economic, social, political, cultural, religious and ecological factors. Many factors have an impact on development but the economic factors hold the maximum relevance. In the past, the speculative structure of development compared development with economic expansion and industrialization, and the experts categorize countries on the basis of their industrial growth and for this reason America has always been considered as one of the most developed countries of the world. This view has been promoted by American economic historian Walt W. Rostow in his book *The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto*. He has also explained that development is a phenomenon which is a part of all progressive societies. His view formed the basis of the modernization theory. The book talks about post World War economies and the struggle the countries had to face because of being colonies and the book has termed the modern economies to be capitalist in nature. Experts stressed that development will only be possible if savings are enhanced and investments are done in the international trade as this will increase the resources of the state. Experts believed that growth will be possible by distributing technology, information, administrative skills, and developing private enterprises. All this will result in increasing the capital; invigorate competition which will increase production. These factors will enhance foreign trade as there will be foreign investment and support to start new ventures. This is bound to increase the economy of the developing countries.

2. Dependency and world systems theories

According to modernization theory, once the developing systems made contact with western European and North American societies they would be encouraged to develop and the influence of the developed societies will make them want to achieve the similar socio-economic and political stability. Though, during the 1960s it was evident that the Third World countries were not undergoing the predicted path as per the theory and were continuing to be underdevelopment. Therefore, a new outcome was claimed that the structure of these countries is very different hence they cannot follow the same path and a new structural analysis was carried out. This argument became the centre of the structural opinion proposed by scholars of the present United Nations body known as the Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA). The experts who made the proposal belonged to countries like Chile, Argentina, Brazil, and Peru. The chief speculative precept of ECLAC's proposal was that former colonies and countries that lacked industrialisation were structurally different and needed a new formula of developing itself. The scholars believed that the colonial powers had left the economies of these nations in a very shattered state and needed complete restructuring. In fact factors like free trade, international investments were proving to be more harmful to these economies in their present stage as it was leading to a very uneven structure of growth which was not going to have a lasting

positive impact. This viewpoint shaped the foundation of the dependency theory. Dependency theory discards the restricted national attention of modernization theory and stresses the significance of realising the intricacy of imperialism and its responsibility in determining the economies of the postcolonial states. Its chief precept is that the boundary of the international economy is being reasonably subjugated by the developed economies. Constructing on ECLAC's viewpoint, dependency theory experts claimed that colonialism made the economies in the Third World in an extremely focused on export pattern, which hampered all avenues of development.

At some stage in the 1970s a new view point was explored, it was claimed that the developed economies were capitalist and the reason for them being developed was as stated in modernised theory. At the centre was the developed economies and bordering them were the underdeveloped economies who improved their ties with them so that they could be included in the core area. This view point came to be known as the world systems theory. In the centre were nations which had sturdy and powerful central governments, widespread bureaucracies, and great armies, these were economies who had attained industrialization. Bordering them were nations who lacked the above assets and were relying on the centre to strengthen them, these were states which exported raw materials to the centre and depended on them for controlling labour practices. The majority of the spare capitals created by the bordering nations were taken away by the centre due to uneven trade dealings. The states which were more towards the outer border were even less developed and had very sparing international relations of any sort.

Dependency and world systems theories are quiet similar about their views on global relations but both stress on diverse political tendencies. Experts of Dependency theory mostly stress on the control of corporate classes and class structures in nourishing the international economy, while world systems experts stress on the role of authoritative states and the interstate structure.

In the beginning, the reasoning outlined by the above viewpoint gave rise to an approach that came to be identified as import-substitution industrialization (ISI). In the ISI approach, task was to generate in-house produced merchandise which will meet the internal market needs and there will be no need to import them from any external industrialized nation. This approach aimed at strengthening the internal industry to a level of self-sufficiency. From 1950 to 1970, this approach was adapted by many countries all over the world. The experts of political science felt that the approach could not sustain itself in the presence of strong capitalist economies such as the American economy.

The scholars tried to promote an export-oriented approach in order to not get dependent on the capitalist systems. This approach is based on lesser wages and low levels of internal utilization to promote competitiveness in global markets, and also to make provisions for foreign investment in the domestic market. This approach also began to show signs of failure by the mid of 1980s as the countries who pursued this policy were struggling with heavy international loans and were facing major crisis in their economies. The experts were not able

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to end the dependency factor which was able to sustain the weak economies of the world.

3. The neo-liberal counterrevolution theory

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The theory began to find ground during the 1980s as a reaction to the previous unsuccessful approaches. Neo-liberal theory came into being when many under developed economies realised the failure of a socialist set up where the state tried to control the finances and slowed down the developmental process. This period also saw the emergence of many international financial institutes like the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank getting involved in the economies of such states by giving them financial support. Many reviewer of this theory felt that this support had a hidden agenda of enhancing the interest of the developed capitalist economies. The neo-liberal viewpoint corresponds to an adaptation and advancement on modernization theory. The difference in two is that in modernization theory development is dependent on the state action whereas, neoliberal thinker perceived growth as the result of actions by the market forces. The essential argument is that the lack to growth is due to excessive governmental control and interference. Neoliberal theory stresses on the advantageous function of liberated markets, open economies, and handing over the sluggish public organisations to private firms for better development. The state control should reduce if the growth in the economy has to take place as this will lead to greater opportunities for international business.

Reduction in state control was considered as the key factor for development by the promoters of the theory of neo-liberalism. They developed the idea of new institutionalism. The essential assertion of this viewpoint is that progress relies on foundations such as property rights, price and market configuration, funds and monetary institutions, business and manufacturing organizations, and most important is how the government is able to handle these relations. The quintessence of superior control of the state is to make sure that these foundations of neo-liberal approach are in place in the respective system and are able to perform freely and efficiently. The state needs to act as a support to all these institutions and not as a hindrance. The state support will be in form of providing a free market, providing for basic social services like education, health facilities. Providing adequate infrastructural facilities like roads, bridges etc. The state should allow private firms take developmental projects like building schools, highways in order to ensure good facilities. The private organisations should be permitted to run schools, banks and even hospitals as this is bound to provide better services. As confirmation of the dependability of this approach as a preferred system for developing world, promoter of this theory have quoted the example of four Asian countries whose economies had adopted this approach in the 1970s and have proven to be a success even today. This approach was reflected in the economies of South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore, and Hong Kong. They were able to attain economic stability on the basis of export policies adapted in their industries and they also had an added advantage in form cheap and skilled labour. The critics of this view felt that doing away with state intervention will

not be healthy for the economic development. The industrial sector could not only dominate the economic scene but can attain complete political control.

Practicality of Research in Development

The process of economic liberalisation according to Jayan Nayar, comprises of two nominal policy conditions. The first condition consists of a plan for stabilisation which is a quick-fix plan developed to resolve direct issues which are a part of the economy. The second condition is a continuing plan which works towards increasing economic competence by dealing with the more primary and essential elements of the economy that are the root cause of imbalances. The first plan is for providing short-term stability and proves to be more intransigent, but in case of a long-term condition the modification plans have to be more thoughtful and deliberate as the effect will be visible for a long duration. In most cases it will be realised that both are related and reflect each other. This leads to the understanding that the economy has to be strong to be able to make adjustments as per the plan initiated or it will soon suffer a further jerk which will not be handled by either of the plans. The Indian state during the 1991 crisis initiated both the plans simultaneously. The reforms of both plans were initiated together but they showed their impact in stages.

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CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

5. Who wrote the book *The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto*?
6. Mention any two important theories of development.

4.5 SUMMARY

- The term ‘developmental state’ has been initiated by Chalmers Johnson in order to describe the system which is followed by a state to promote development.
- The political scientists have often referred to this term to explain the system of economic planning which mostly prevailed in East Asia after the Second World War.
- A developmental state is a state where the government is closely occupied in the macro and micro economic planning for the enhancement of the economy of the nation and works towards providing adequate resources to enable good standards of life for its citizens.
- The nature of Indian state is of a developmental state which is not strong enough to employ its populace in the developmental method and instead is prone to get influenced by the social actors who are instrumental for its survival.

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- The scholars of political science feel that India needs to act in a more focused manner and not be so soft in nature so that it is able to push developmental programs which are more universal in nature and are not just meant to benefit any particular interest group or section of the society. This will lead to establishing equality in the society and the state will become more efficient and move towards a corruption free system.
- In April 1991 state was on the brink of a non-payment with limited reserve of foreign exchange which at most would have lasted for two months. The state had no option but to take help from the IMF. This prompted India towards liberalization and changes in its policies towards exports were implemented.
- The policies implemented by the government were two-sided. There were internal policies which were focused on improving the conditions internally for instance, tax relaxation or reducing the regulations. The external policies were steps for liberalising in order to attract more foreign investment and capital.
- Research revealed that actually most of the business associations were in favour of implementation of internal policies which promoted liberalisation as they would bring about actual benefits to the business in India.
- The research has shown the close relationship between the politics and economic factors. The research has also established that even the crisis of 1991 which led to political leader to formulate liberal policies were all reforms channelized towards economic factors.
- The development theories have evolved after the War and try to analyse the development are modernization and growth, dependency and world systems theories, the reappearance of neoclassical theory, and a range of modern analytical viewpoints which help in researchers to analyse the state's political and economic situations of the past and present.
- In most of the states where the rate of industrial growth is slow, the state has to intervene in order to speed up the process of development.
- The state has two contradictory positions towards economic activities which are undertaken by non-governmental organizations, it either adapts a position where the state regulates the activities of such organizations or the position of state is towards undertaking all developmental activities.
- The United Nations has developed a list of features which are essential for the state to possess in order to be termed as a developmental state.
- India's chief sculpt of development is being motivated by a close association of state and capital, in order to continue in command the present leaders need to contain the large social interest groups of the society.

- The application of the expression ‘development’ with regards to nationalized economic expansion was visible in the United States in the beginning of the 1940s.
- The development theories usually evolve after the war and they try to analyse the nature and factors related to political and economic situations of the state. These factors are modernization and growth, dependency and world systems theories, the reappearance of neoclassical theory, and a range of modern analytical viewpoints.

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4.6 KEY TERMS

- **MRTP:** MRTP refers to Monopolies and Restrictive Trade Practices Act. This act was implemented on 1 June 1970. The act seeks to stop focus of economic power, caters for control of monopolies, and safeguards the consumer interest.
- **Liberalisation:** Liberalization (or liberalisation) of the economy means to free it from direct or physical controls imposed by the government. This may be similar to deregulation.
- **Quotas:** A quota is a government-imposed trade restriction that limits the number, or monetary value, of goods that can be imported or exported during a particular time period. Quotas are used in international trade to help regulate the volume of trade between countries.
- **Federalism:** Federalism is the mixed or compound mode of government, combining a general government (the central or ‘federal’ government) with regional governments (provincial, state, cantonal, territorial or other sub-unit governments) in a single political system.

4.7 ANSWERS TO ‘CHECK YOUR PROGRESS’

1. The term ‘developmental state’ has been initiated by Chalmers Johnson in order to describe the system which is followed by a state to promote development.
2. ‘A developmental state is a state where the government is closely occupied in the macro and micro economic planning for the enhancement of the economy of the nation and works towards providing adequate resources to enable good standards of life for its citizens’.
3. One advantage of foreign investment was that it helped in technological exchange which developed and improved the managerial skills of the people in India.
4. The main cause of liberalisation was that the Indian markets were out of bounds for foreign goods as the currency of India was not convertible and the process to attain a licence was lengthy and regulated tightly and the import duties were very high.

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5. Walt W. Rostow wrote the book *The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto*.
6. Two important theories of development are modernization and growth theory and dependency and world system theories.

4.8 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. What are the functions of a developmental state?
2. How far is India a developmental state?
3. What are the factors which led to liberalization?
4. What were the problems faced by the reformers in the process of implementation of the policy of liberalization?

Long-Answer Questions

1. What are the theories of development and how do they help in understanding the role of the Indian State?
2. Discuss the nature of Indian state from the perspective of any two economists.
3. What was the impact of globalisation in India? Discuss.

4.9 FURTHER READING

- Bardhan, Pranab. 1984. *The Political Economy of Development in India*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.
- Jenkins, Rob. 1999. *Democratic Politics and Economic Reform in India*. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press.
- Chibber Vivek. 2003. *Locked in Place: State-Building and Late Industrialization in India*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
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