University of Mumbai
INSTITUTE OF DISTANCE AND OPEN LEARNING

M.A. Politics
Semester - I
INDIAN GOVERNMENT
AND
POLITICS

SUBJECT CODE : 73459

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STATE IN POST-INDEPENDENCE INDIA

Objectives :

After studying this chapter the learners will be able to :
- Understand the continuity and changes after Independence
- Learn about concept of welfare state adopted by India post Independence
- Understand the era of Populist politics
- Understand the causes and impact of National Emergency in India
- Understand the process and adaptation of Globalisation and Liberalisation in India.

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1.1 Nehruvian Era-Welfare state

1.1.1 Introduction

According to Bhikhu Parekh, Nehru can be regarded as the founder of the modern Indian state. Parekh attributes this to the national philosophy for India that Nehru formulated. For Nehru, modernization was the national philosophy, with seven goals: national unity, parliamentary democracy, industrialization, socialism, development of the scientific temper, and non-alignment. In Parekh's opinion, the philosophy and the policies that resulted from that benefited a large section of society such as the public sector workers, industrial houses, middle and upper peasantry. It failed, however, to benefit the urban and rural poor, the unemployed and the Hindu fundamentalists. After the fall of Bose from the mainstream of Indian politics (because of his support of violence in driving the British out of India) the power struggle between the socialists and conservatives balanced out. However, Sardar Patel died in 1950, leaving Nehru as the sole remaining iconic national leader, and soon the situation became such that Nehru was able to implement many of his basic policies without hindrance. Nehru's daughter, Indira Gandhi, during the state of emergency she imposed, was able to fulfill her father's dream by the 42nd amendment (1976) of the Indian constitution by which India officially became "socialist" and "secular

1.1.2. State Reorganization

The new Constitution of India, which came into force on 26th January 1950, made India a sovereign democratic republic. The new republic was declared to be a "Union of States". The constitution of 1950 distinguished between three main types of states:

A.   Part A states, which were the former governors' provinces of British India, were ruled by an elected governor and state legislature.

B.   The Part B states were former princely states   or groups of princely states, governed by a rajpramukh who was usually the ruler of a constituent state, and an elected legislature. The rajpramukh was appointed by the President of India.

C.   The Part C states included both the former chief commissioners' provinces and some princely states, and each was governed by a chief commissioner appointed by the President of India. The sole

D.   Part D state was the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, which were administered by a lieutenant governor appointed by the central government

However, considering the rising demands of formation of new states, JVP (Jawaharlal, Vallabhbhai and Pattabhi) committee was appointed in 1949. This committee warned against formation of states on the basis of language. Later on Justice Fazal Ali commission was also formed which submitted its report in 1955. Fazal Ali commission also disagreed with the linguistic states. However, mounting political pressure and violence across the country, Nehru government agreed to allow formation of state on the basis of language.

1.1.3   Mixed Economic Model

After independence India was reluctant to become a puppet state in the hands of USSR led communist or USA led capitalist blocks. Hence, India adhered the Non-Alignment Movement (NAM). Subsequently, India adopted a mixed economic model wherein equal focus was laid on capitalist and communist economic principles. Nehru implemented policies based on import substitution industrialization and advocated a mixed economy where the government controlled public sector would co-exist with the private sector. He believed that the establishment of basic and heavy industry was fundamental to the development and modernization of the Indian economy. The government, therefore, directed investment primarily into key public sector Industries-steel, iron, coal, and power-promoting their development with subsidies and protectionist policies.

The policy of non-alignment during the cold war meant that Nehru received financial and technical support from both power blocs in building India's industrial base from scratch. Steel Mill complexes were built at Bokaro and Rourkela with assistance from the soviet union and West Germany . There was substantial industrial development Industry grew 7.0% annually between 1950 and 1965-almost trebling industrial output and making India the world's seventh largest industrial country. Nehru's critics, however, contended that India's import substitution industrialisation, which was continued long after the Nehru era, weakened the international competitiveness of its manufacturing industries. Nehru's preference for big state controlled enterprises created a complex system of quantitative regulations, quotas and tariffs, industrial licenses and a host of other controls. This system, known in India as Permit Raj, was responsible for economic inefficiencies that stifled entrepreneurship and checked economic growth for decades until the liberalization policies initiated by Congress government in 1991 under PV Narsimha Rao.

1.1.4   Social and legal reforms

The Special Marriage Act allowed Muslims to marry under it and thereby retain the protections, generally beneficial to Muslim women, that could not be found in the personal law. Under the act polygamy was illegal, and inheritance and succession would be governed by the Indian Succession Act, rather than the respective Muslim personal law. Divorce also would be governed by the secular law, and maintenance of a divorced wife would be along the lines set down in the civil law. Along with this Hindu Marriage and Succession Act. 1955 was also formed. These were progressive laws to set a tone of social and legal reform in a newly emerging nation India.

1.1.4. i. Reservations for socially-oppressed communities

A system of reservations in government services and educational institutions was created to eradicate the social inequalities and disadvantages faced by peoples of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. Nehru also championed secularism and religious harmony, increasing the representation of minorities in government. Art. 15 and 16 of the constitution provided reservation to Scheduled Castes (SC) and Scheduled Tribe (ST) right from the beginning to enhance the opportunities for the progress of the socially and economically distressed classes in India.

1.1.4. ii Language policy

Nehru led the faction of the Congress party which promoted Hindi as the lingua franca of the Indian nation .After an exhaustive and divisive debate with the non-Hindi speakers, Hindi was adopted as the official language of India in 1950 with English continuing as an associate official language for a period of 15 years, after which Hindi would become the sole official language. Efforts by the Indian Government to make Hindi the sole official language after 1965 were not acceptable to many non-Hindi Indian states, who wanted the continued use of English. The Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK), a descendant of Dravidar Kazhagam led the opposition to Hindi. To allay their fears, Nehru enacted the official languages Act in 1963 to ensure the continuing use of English beyond 1965. The text of the Act did not satisfy the DMK and increased their scepticism that his assurances might not be honoured by future administrations. Three language formula was adopted. The Official Languages Act was eventually amended in 1967 by the Congress Government headed by to guarantee Indira Gandhi the indefinite use of Hindi and English as official languages. This effectively ensured the current "virtual indefinite policy of bilingualism of the Indian Republic.

1.1.4.iii Foreign Policy

Preservation of newly gained independence and creating its own image in International arena was the biggest challenge before India in 1947. The Cold War had created a sharp division and polarization of states. Both the Communist and Capitalist blocks were pressurizing, persuading or penalizing the newly formed nations to their side. Therefore, India decided to remain neutral fence sitter, as it wanted to get cooperation and help from both the blocks for its economic and political development. India successfully led the third world countries and created the platform of NAM. It also campaigned for disarmament, demilitarization and nuclear weapon free world. Under the able leadership of Nehru, India was able to give Buddhist and Gandhian values in foreign policy.

1.1.4. iv Agriculture policies

Under Nehru's leadership, the government attempted to develop India quickly by embarking on agrarian reform and rapid industrialization . A successful land reforms was introduced that abolished giant landholdings, but efforts to redistribute land by placing limits on land ownership failed. Attempts to introduce large-scale cooperative farming were frustrated by landowning rural elites, who formed the core of the powerful right-wing of the Congress and had considerable political support in opposing the efforts of Nehru. Agricultural production expanded until the early 1960s, as additional land was brought under cultivation and some irrigation projects began to have an effect. The establishment of agricultural universities, modeled after land-grant colleges in the United States, contributed to the development of the economy These universities worked with high-yielding varieties of wheat and rice, initially developed in Mexico and the Philippines, that in the 1960s began the Green Revolution , an effort to diversify and increase crop production. At the same time a series of failed monsoons would cause serious food shortages despite the steady progress and increase in agricultural production.

1.1.4.v Education

Nehru was a passionate advocate of education for India's children and youth, believing it essential for India's future progress. His government oversaw the establishment of many institutions of higher learning, including the All India Institute of Medical Sciences the Indian Institutes of Technology, the Indian Institutes of Management and the National Institutes of Technology. Nehru also outlined a commitment in his five year plans to guarantee free and compulsory primary education to all of India's children. For this purpose, Nehru oversaw the creation of mass village enrollment programs and the construction of thousands of schools. Nehru also launched initiatives such as the provision of free milk and meals to children to fight malnutrition . Adult education centers, vocational and technical schools were also organised for adults, especially in the rural areas.

1.1.4. vi Hindu Marriage law:

Under Nehru, the Indian Parliament enacted many changes to Hindu Law to criminalize caste discrimination and increase the legal rights and social freedoms of women. Nehru specifically wrote Article 44 of the Indian constitution under the Directive principles of state Policy which states: The article has formed the basis of secularism in India However, Nehru has been criticized for the inconsistent application of the law. Most notably, Nehru allowed Muslims to keep their personal law in matters relating to marriage and inheritance. Also in the small state of Goa, a civil code based on the old Portuguese Family Laws was allowed to continue, and Muslim personal law was prohibited by Nehru. This was the result of the annexation of Goa in 1961 by India, when Nehru promised the people that their laws would be left intact. This has led to accusations of selective secularism.

While Nehru exempted Muslim law from legislation and they remained unreformed, he did pass the Special marriage act in 1954. The idea behind this act was to give everyone in India the ability to marry outside the personal law under a civil marriage. As usual the law applied to all of India, except Jammu and Kashmir (again leading to accusations of selective secularism). In many respects, the act was almost identical to the Hindi Marriage Act, 1955, which gives some idea as to how secularism the law regarding Hindus had become.

1.1.5 Conclusion

Thus after independence India found itself competently devastated and looted by earstwhile rules and invaders. Therefore, a new beginning required India to work hard on all the socio- economic and political frontiers. That is why Indian state has adopted a balanced or mid path in each and every aspect of its life. As a result, democracy and economic development could be set in the right direction. India became a successful functional democracy due to the strong foundations laid after its independence.

1.1.6 Questions for Exercise

1. Discuss the process of making of India after Independence.

2. Critically examine the formation of states in India.

3. What is mixed economic model ?

1.2 Populist Era, Emergency and Decentralization:

1.2.1 Introduction

Mrs Indira Gandhi and Emergency:

Indira Priyadarshini Gandhi (19 November 1917 - 31 October 1984) was an Indian politician and a central figure of the India National Congress.. She was the first and, to date, only female Prime Minister of India. Indira Gandhi was the daughter of Jawaharlal Nehru, the first prime minister of India. She served as prime minister from January 1966 to March 1977 and again from January 1980 until her assassination in October 1984 , making her the second longest serving Indian prime minister after her father.

1.2.1 Populist Policies

1.2.1 i Green Revolution:

The Green Revolution, or the Third Agricultural Revolution, is the set of research technology transfer initiatives occurring between 1950 and the late 1960s that increased agricultural production in parts of the world, beginning most markedly in the late 1960s. The initiatives resulted in the adoption of new technologies, including high-yielding varieties (HYVs) of cereals, especially dwarf wheat and rice. It was associated with chemical fertilizers, agrochemicals, and controlled water-supply (usually involving irrigation) and newer methods of cultivation, including mechanization. All of these together were seen as a 'package of practices' to supersede 'traditional' technology and to be adopted as a whole. The key elements of the revolution include: 1) Use of the latest technological and capital inputs, 2) adoption of modern scientific methods of farming, 3) use of high yielding varieties of seeds, 4) proper use of chemical fertilizers, 5) consolidation of land holdings.

1.2.2 ii Bank Nationalisation :
Nationalisation in 1969:

Despite the provisions, control and regulations of the Reserve Bank of India, banks in India except the (SBI), remain owned and operated by private persons. By the 1960s, the Indian banking industry had become an important tool to facilitate the development of the Indian economy. At the same time, it had emerged as a large employer, and a debate had ensued about the nationalization of the banking industry. Indira Gandhi , the then Prime Minister of India, expressed the intention of the Government of India in the annual conference of the All India Congress Meeting in a paper entitled Stray thoughts on Bank Nationalization.

Thereafter, the Government of India issued the Banking Companies (Acquisition and Transfer of Undertakings) Ordinance, 1969 and nationalised the 14 largest commercial banks with effect from the midnight of 19 July 1969. These banks contained 85 percent of bank deposits in the country. Within two weeks of the issue of the ordinance, the Parliament passed the Banking Companies (Acquisition and Transfer of Undertaking) Bill, and it received Presidential approval on 9 August 1969.

The following banks were nationalized in 1969:

- Allahabad Bank (now Indian Bank)
- Bank of Baroda
- Bank of India
- Bank of Maharashtra
- Central Bank of India
- Canara Bank
- Dena Bank (now Bank of Baroda)
- Indian Bank
- Indian Overseas Bank
- Punjab National Bank
- Syndicate Bank (now Canara Bank)
- UCO Bank
- Union Bank of India
- United Bank of India(now Punjab National Bank)

Nationalisation in 1980 :

A second round of nationalizations of six more commercial banks followed in 1980. The stated reason for the nationalization was to give the government more control of credit delivery. With the second round of nationalizations, the Government of India controlled around 91% of the banking business of India.

The following banks were nationalized in 1980:

- Punjab and Sind Bank
- Vijaya Bank (Now Bank of Baroda)
- Oriental Bank of India (now Punjab National Bank)
- Corporation Bank (now Union Bank of India)
- Andhra Bank (now Union Bank of India)

1.2.1 iii Garibi Hatao

("Remove poverty") was the theme and slogan of Indira Gandhi's 1971 election campaign. The slogan and the proposed anti-poverty programs that came with it were designed to give Gandhi an independent national support, based on rural and urban poor, which would allow her to by-pass the dominant rural castes both in and out of

state and local government; likewise the urban commercial class. And, for their part, the previously voiceless poor particularly Dalits and Adivasis would at last gain both political worth and political weight.

The programs created through garibi hatao, though carried out locally, were funded, developed, supervised, and staffed by Government officials in New Delhi and Congress party officials. It was part of the 5th Five Year Plan.

1.2.2 Mrs Indira Gandhi and Emergency :

In India, "The Emergency" refers to a 21-month period from 1975 to 1977 when Prime Minister Indira Gandhi had a state of emergency declared across the country. Officially issued by President Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed under Article 352 of the Constitution because of the prevailing "internal disturbance", the Emergency was in effect from 25 June 1975 until its withdrawal on 21 March 1977. The order bestowed upon the Prime Minister the authority to rule by decree, allowing elections to be cancelled and civil liberties to be suspended. For much of the Emergency, most of Indira Gandhi's political opponents were imprisoned and the press was censored. Several other human rights violations were reported from the time, including a mass forced sterilization campaign spearheaded by Sanjay Gandhi, the Prime Minister's son. The Emergency is one of the most controversial periods of independent India's history.

The final decision to impose an emergency was proposed by Indira Gandhi, agreed upon by the president of India , and thereafter ratified by the cabinet and the parliament (from July to August 1975), based on the rationale that there were imminent internal and external threats to the Indian state.

1.2.2 Political unrest

This led some Congress party leaders to demand a move towards a presidential system emergency declaration with a more powerful directly elected executive. The most significant of the initial such movement was the Nav Nirman movement in Gujarat, between December 1973 and March 1974. Student unrest against the state's education minister ultimately forced the central government to dissolve the state legislature, leading to the resignation of the chief minister, Chimanbhai Patel, and the imposition of Presidential rule. Meanwhile, there were assassination attempts on public leaders as well as the assassination of the railway minister Lalit Narayan Mishra by a bomb. All of these indicated a growing law and order problem in the entire country, which Mrs Gandhi's advisors warned her of for months.

In March-April 1974, a student agitation by the Bihar Chatra Sangharsh Samiti received the support of Gandhian socialist Jayaprakash Narayan, referred to as JP, against the Bihar government. In April 1974, in Patna, JP called for "total revolution,"

asking students, peasants, and labour unions to non-violently transform Indian society. He also demanded the dissolution of the state government, but this was not accepted by the centre. A month later, the railway-employees union, the largest union in the country, went on a nationwide railways strike. This strike which was led by the firebrand trade union leader George Fernandes who was the President of the All India Railwaymen's Federation. He was also the President of the Socialist Party. The strike was brutally suppressed by the Indira Gandhi government, which arrested thousands of employees and drove their families out of their quarters.

1.2.2 Proclamation of the Emergency

The Government cited threats to national security, as a war with Pakistan had recently been concluded. Due to the war and additional challenges of drought and the 1973 oil crisis, the economy was in poor condition. The Government claimed that the strikes and protests had paralysed the government and hurt the economy of the country greatly. In the face of massive political opposition, desertion and disorder across the country and the party, Gandhi stuck to the advice of a few loyalists and her younger son Sanjay Gandhi, whose own power had grown considerably over the last few years to become an "extra-constitutional authority". After a quick question regarding a procedural matter, President Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed declared a state of integral emergency upon the prime minister's advice on the night of 25 June 1975, just a few minutes before the clock struck midnight.

As the constitution requires, Mrs Gandhi advised and President Ahmed approved the continuation of Emergency over every six months until she decided to hold elections in 1977.

1.2.3 73rd and 74th Amendment :

A multi- faceted approach was adopted, with particular emphasis being laid on the implementation of the 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendment Acts, 1992, which gave Constitutional status to panchayati raj institutions (PRIs) and urban local bodies (ULBs) respectively, in both letter and spirit in order to bring about ...

Like the 73rd amendment, the 74th amendment lays down the structure of Urban Local bodies; It provides for their regular, free and fair elections, makes provisions for reservation of seats for SC, ST and OBCs, fixes their term to five years, protects them against arbitrary dissolution, specifies their powers and …

1.2.4 Conclusion :

The advent of Mrs Indira Gandhi can be perceived in both the positive as well as negative ways. Positive as her policies were more for the upliftment of the poor and downtrodden community. But in a negative sense it was somewhat a dictator kind of a regime were it was one woman's rule who would use any method whether Democratic or Dictatorship to achieve the political goals.

1.2.5 Questions for Exercise

1. Describe the key features of Emergency.

2. What is the Importance of 73rd and 74th Amendment

3. What were the Populist measures adopted by the Congress Government .

1.3 Nature of State under Globalisation and Liberalisation:

1.3.1 Introduction

Liberalization or Liberalisation British Englis is the precondition for privatization and globalization. Liberalization is a broad term that usually refers to fewer government regulations and restrictions, mainly on economic activities. Liberalization is a change in the economic philosophy of a state. In a broader sense, liberalization refers to a change in policy which allows more freedom in laws, systems, or opinions.

1.3.2 India on the Door of Liberalisation:

In the early 1990s, the then government embarked on a policy of liberalisation licensing a small number of private banks. These came to be known as *New Generation tech-savvy banks*, and included Global Trust Bank (the first of such new generation banks to be set up), which later amalgamated with Oriental Bank of Commerce, Indusind Bank,UTI Bank, Axis Bank and HDFC Bank. . This move, along with the rapid growth in the economy of India , revitalised the banking sector in India, which has seen rapid growth with strong contribution from all the three sectors of banks, namely, government banks, private banks and foreign banks.

● The next stage for the Indian banking has been set up, with proposed relaxation of norms for foreign direct investment. All foreign investors in banks may be given voting rights that could exceed the present cap of 10% at present. In 2019, Bandhan bank specifically, increased the foreign investment percentage limit to 49%. It has gone up to 74% with some restrictions.

● The new policy shook the Banking sector in India completely. Bankers, till this time, were used to the 4–6–4 method (borrow at 4%; lend at 6%; go home at 4) of functioning. The new wave ushered in a modern outlook and tech-savvy methods of working for traditional banks. All this led to the retail boom in India. P

1.3.3 Nep and Nip

The economic liberalisation in India refers to the economic liberalization of the country's economic policies with the goal of making the economy more market and service-oriented and expanding the role of private and foreign investment. Although unsuccessful attempts at liberalization were made in 1966 and the early 1980s, a more thorough liberalization was initiated in 1991. The reform was prompted by a balance of payments crisis that had led to a severe recession.

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

Before the process of reform began in 1991, the government attempted to close the Indian economy to the outside world. The Indian currency, the rupee, was inconvertible and high tariffs and import licensing prevented foreign goods reaching the market. India also operated a system of central planning for the economy, in which firms required licences to invest and develop. The labyrinthine bureaucracy often led to absurd restrictions—up to 80 agencies had to be satisfied before a firm could be granted a licence to produce and the state would decide what was produced, how much, at what price and what sources of capital were used. The government also prevented firms from laying off workers or closing factories. The central pillar of the policy was import substitution , the belief that India needed to rely on internal markets for development, not international trade—a belief generated by a mixture of socialism and the experience of colonial exploitation. Planning and the state, rather than markets, would determine how much investment was needed in which sectors.

Licence Raj established an "irresponsible, self-perpetuating bureaucracy and corruption flourished under this system. Only four or five licences would be given for steel, electrical power and communications, allowing licence owners to build huge and powerful empires without competition. A huge public sector emerged, allowing state-owned enterprises to record huge losses without being shut down.Controls on business creation also led to poor infrastructure development.

Reforms Before 1991

1966 Liberalization Attempt

In 1966, due to rapid inflation caused by an increasing budget deficit accompanying the sino-indian war and severe drought, the Indian government was forced to seek monetary aid from the International Monetary Fund   and World Bank .Pressure from aid donors caused a shift towards economic liberalization, wherein the rupee was devalued to combat inflation and cheapen exports and the former system of tariffs and export subsidies was abolished. However, a second poor harvest and subsequent industrial recession helped fuel political backlash against liberalization, characterized by resentment at foreign involvement in the Indian economy and fear that it might signal a broader shift away from socialist policies. As a result, trade restrictions were reintroduced and the Foreign Investments Board was established in 1968 to scrutinize companies investing in India with more than 40% foreign equity participation.

World Bank loans continued to be taken for agricultural projects since 1972, and these continued as international seed companies that were able to enter Indian markets after the 1991 liberalization

Economic Reforms During 1980

As it became evident that the Indian economy was lagging behind its East and Southeast Asian neighbors, the governments of Indira Gandhi and subsequently Rajiv Gandhi began pursuing economic liberalization.The governments loosened restrictions on business creation and import controls while also promoting the growth of the telecommunications and software industries.Reforms under lead to an increase in the average GDP growth rate from 2.9 percent in the 1970s to 5.6 percent, although they failed to fix systemic issues with the Licence Raj.Despite Rajiv Gandhi's dream for more systemic reforms, the Bofors scandal tarnished his government's reputation and impeded his liberalization efforts.

Economic liberalisation in India

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Liberalization of 1991.

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

exploration, and defense manufacturing.Finally the concept of an MRTP company, where companies whose assets surpassed a certain value were placed under government supervision, was scrapped.

Meanwhile, Manmohan Singh worked on a new budget that would come to be known as the Epochal Budget. The primary concern was getting the fiscal deficit under control, and he sought to do this by curbing government expenses. Part of this was the disinvestment in public sector companies, but accompanying this was a reduction in subsidies for fertilizer and abolition of

1.3.4 Impact on Social and Political scenario :

Attempts at liberalization in trade could lead to an increase in imports in the short run and this could cause both trade and current account deficits in countries that adopt rapid liberalization. Liberalization could increase growth rates in the short run and this also could result in higher imports than exports.With **liberalization**, the list of reserved items was substantially curtailed and many new sectors were thrown open to big companies. Small scale industry exists and still remains the strength of **Indian Economy**. It contributes to a major portion of exports and private sector employment.

Liberalization is a broad term that usually refers to fewer government regulations and restrictions, mainly on economic activities. Liberalization is a change in the economic

philosophy of a state. In a broader sense, liberalization refers to a change in policy which allows more freedom in laws, systems, or opinions.

Economic liberalization (or **economic liberalisation**) is the lessening of government regulations and restrictions in an **economy** in exchange for greater participation by private entities. ... The task of modern governments is to ensure that our countries can rise to this challenge.

1.3.5 Conclusion :

Liberalisation seems to be a very attractive star and in fact it is very beneficial as well but with benefits comes the loss. Policy of Liberalisation can be far seen as a step towards success specially for economies which are at the verge of destruction.

1.3.6 Questions for Exercise :

1. Describe Liberalisation

2. How India benefited from Liberalisation

3. Describe NEP and NIP.

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2

PARTY AND PARTY POLITICS IN INDIA

1.0. Objectives:

- ➢ To understand the concept of the political party in democracies
- ➢ To understand the role of political parties in Indian democracy
- ➢ To understand the rules and provision of regulation and registration of parties
- ➢ To understand the conditions of recognition of national, regional and registered political parties.

1.1   Introduction :

"Party Politics in India displays numerous paradoxical features, which reveals the blending of western and modern forms of bureaucratic organization participatory politics with indigenous practices and institutions. India's leading political party, the Indian National Congress, is one of the oldest in the world, yet it has not succeeded in providing the nucleus for an institutionalized party system which can be fitted easily into any one of the conventional categories of party systems known in the West" (363-80, 2001) Thus Political parties are the voluntary organizations of the people belief in same ideology, programme and agenda for politics of the country. Together, they try to mobile the masses and capture political power. The party system in India started its evolution in 1885 with the establishment of the India National Congress by A. O. Hume. However, during its initial phase, India's independence was not on its agenda. Later on Gradual entry of nationalist leaders like G.K. Gokhale, Dadabhai Naoroji, Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak have infused the agenda of nationalism in INC programmes.

Thus INC remained the single largest party in India during the freedom movement. Later on Communist Party of India (1925), Hindu Mahasabha (1915), Shiromani Akali Dal (1920) Muslim League (1906) were also established as political parties in pre-independence India. After Independence Indian State has adopter the Westminster model of Parliamentary Democracy and adhered to multi–party system

for the representation of the people. According to M. Laxmikanth, 'There are four types of political parties in the Modern Democratic States:

- (i) Reactionary parties which cling to the old socio-economic and political institutions,
- (ii) Conservative parties which believed in maintaining the status-quo,
- (iii) Liberal parties which aim at reforming the existing institutions, and
- (iv) Radical parties aim at establishing a new order by overthrowing the existing institutions.

Ideological Orientations of Political Parties:

Political parties often claim to adhere to some or another ideology. It helps them to make their agenda and programme appeal the masses for support. Thus, ideology works as one of the strongest tools of political mobilization around a political party. There are different types of political ideologies, namely Nationalism, Communist, Capitalism, Fascism etc. They play important role in the shaping of political views of the citizens. In adherence to the above ideologies, the political parties can be classified as:

- a. Left-Wing Political Party: Champions the cause of socialism and communism. i.e. Communist Party of India (CPI), CPM, CPML, Forward Block
- b. Right-wing political party: Nationalism, cultural and traditional, racial, and other identity-based orientations, BJP, Shiv Sena, Akali Dal, SP, BSP etc.
- c. Centrist Political party: Has liberal and inclusive orientation. Indian National Congress, NCP, JD (U), DMK, AIADMK etc

The political parties in India emanate and adhere to different political ideologies as per their convenience. Attaining power and implementation of this manifesto can be said to be the main goals of political parties in India.

Evolution of Party System in India :

India is a multi-party democracy. Though our constitution is silent about the nature and structure of the political parties, there are rules and procedures made through the People's Representation Act. 1951, guidelines of Election Commission of India for the registration of Political parties, Anti- Defection Act. 1985 and guidelines of the Supreme Court of India, provides for the nature, quality and character of the political parties.

The seeds of political parties in India were shown by the formation of the Indian National Congress in 1985 by A. O. Hume as its founder and Womesh Chunder Bonnerjee (or Umesh Chandra Banerjee) as its first president at Mumbai. The main objective of this organization was to act as an intermediary between the Indian and the British Empire. Initially, it was not against colonial rule in India. Indian leaders like Pherozeshah Mehta, Baduruddin Tayyabji, Madam Cama, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Dada Bhai Naoroji, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal, Lala Lajpatrai became very critical of the British policies in India. Thus Congress started raising the voice for swaraj or self-rule. Under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, INC was instrumental in gaining freedom for the nation. After independence, the Indian National Congress was the main political party, with other parties like Jan Sangh (1954), Communist Party, Hindu Mahasabha etc. Article 19 of the Indian constitution provides under Art. 19 (1) freedom to form and join any union or association of their choice. Thus, every Indian is free to found a political party or join any political party of their choice.

The election commission of India provides detailed guidelines for the registration of any political outfit as a political party. After registration as a political party, they can contest election as a political party. However, they do not get a common symbol until they contest all the seats in a particular election. Therefore, the election commission has set of following guidelines for the political parties to get them of their status of a national, regional or registered political party. Following are the criteria to get the status of National, Regional or registered party.

To form a political party in India, one must fulfil the following conditions:
- It must consist only of Indian citizens
- It must call itself a political party set up to contest elections to the Parliament, State Legislatures or Local body elections and for no other purpose.
- It must have at least 100 registered electors as its member

Eligibility of National Political Party

To be eligible for a '**National Political Party of India**,' the Election Commission has set the following criteria –

- It secures at least **six** percent of the valid votes polled in any **four** or more states, at a general election to the House of the People or, to the State Legislative Assembly; and

- In addition, it wins at least four seats in the House of the People from any State or States.

OR

- It wins at least two percent seats in the House of the People (i.e., 11 seats in the existing House having 543 members), and these members are elected from at least three different States.

Eligibility of State Political Party

To be eligible for a 'State Political Party,' the Election Commission has set the following criteria

- It secures at least six percent of the valid votes polled in the State at a general election, either to the House of the People or to the Legislative Assembly of the State concerned; and

- In addition, it wins at least two seats in the Legislative Assembly of the State concerned.

OR

- It wins at least three percent (3%) of the total number of seats in the Legislative Assembly of the State, or at least three seats in the Assembly, whichever is more.

Registered Party

The political party which fulfils all the guidelines of ECI gets recognition as a registered party. They do not get a permanent symbol until they secure the required vote percentage in an election at the state or national level. However, they are allowed to contest elections as a political party.

Features of Party System in India

Section 29 A of the Representation of the People Act. 1951 and Article 19 of the India Constitution sets certain conditions for a political party to get registered with the Election Commission of India (ECI) (Vikaspedia). The salient features of Indian political party system are as following:

1.   Multi-Party System

Though the Indian constitution is salient about the nature, number and type of political parties in India. Therefore, this subject remained open for the people and politicians to decide. Thus, India continued to be a multi-party system. Thus, any Indian citizen can form and register a political party by completing legal formalities with ECI. at present there are more than 2293 political parties registered in India by March-2019. This includes seven recognized national-level parties, 59 recognized state-level party and the remaining are just registered political parties. The parties, that are recognized get a symbol with which it is registered and remaining parties are required to choose from the list of 'free symbols'. Thus, India has a multi-party democratic system. It also happens due to the vast size of the country with the social, cultural, political and ideological gambit of India.

2.   One Party Dominant System (OPDS)

Before Independence, the Indian National Congress (INC), along with other small parties like the Communist Party, Hindu Mahasabha, revolutionary parties like HSRA of Shaheed Bhagat Singh were the main political parties, that worked for the cause of freedom of the nation. However, the INC was leading the freedom movement. After Independence also, INC under the leadership of Pt, Jawaharlal Nehru emerged as the predominant political party. All the parties were negligent. In an essay written in 1964 Professor Rajani Kothari, called it a 'Congress system'. which meant a political culture evolving from congress and influencing other political parties as well. This era (1947 - 1967) is regarded as the era of the One Party Dominant System (OPDS). The dominant system started declining after the death of Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri and the rise of Indira Gandhi to power. A lot of regional political parties and leaders have started to rise. For Example Shive Sena in Maharashtra, DMK in Tamil Nadu etc.

One Party Dominant system (OPDS):

A **one-party state**, **single-party state**, **one-party system**, or **single-party system** is a type of unitary state in which one political party has the right to form the government, usually based on the existing constitution. All other parties are either outlawed or allowed to take only a limited and controlled participation in elections . Sometimes the term *de facto* one-party state is used to describe a dominant-party system that, unlike the one-party state, allows (at least nominally) democratic multiparty elections, but the existing practices or balance of political power effectively prevent the opposition from winning the game.

One-party states explain themselves through various methods. Most often, proponents of a one-party state argue that the existence of separate parties runs counter to national

unity. Others argue that the one party is the vanguard of the people, and therefore its right to rule cannot be legitimately questioned. The Soviet government argued that multiple parties represented the class struggle and because of this the soviet union legally authorized and recognized a single party leading the proletariat, namely the communist party of the soviet union . Some one-party states only outlaw opposition parties, while allowing allied parties to exist as part of a permanent coalition such as a popular front. However, these parties are largely or completely subservient to the ruling party and must accept the ruling party's monopoly of power as a condition of their existence. Most one-party states have been ruled by parties forming in one of the following three circumstances:

1. an ideology of Marxism Leninism and international solidarity (such as the Soviet Union for most of its existence)

2. some type of nationalist or fascist ideology (such as the kingdom of Italy under the National fascist party that came to power in the wake of independence from colonial rule . One-party systems often arise from decolonization because a single party gains an overwhelmingly dominant role in liberation or independence struggles.

One-party states are usually considered to be authoritarian, to the extent that they are occasionally totalitarian . On the other hand, not all authoritarian or totalitarian states operate upon one-party rule. Some, especially amongst absolute monarchies and military dictatorships , do not need a ruling party, and therefore make all political parties illegal.

The term " communist state " is sometimes used in the West to describe states in which the ruling party subscribes to a form of Marxism–Leninism. However, such states may not use that term themselves, seeing communism as a phase to develop after the full maturation of socialism.

3.   Absence of Ideological Clarity:

It is noticed that all the political parties in India, claim to be aligned with some or another political ideology. However, none of them is clear about their stand. It happens because of vote bank politics. In a diverse country, like India there is opposition and contradiction to every political ideology. Thus to woo the voters and supporters political parties dilute their ideological rigidity. Hence, it can be said that theoretically every party follows some or other political ideology, but it is not seen in their organisational or electoral politics. The quest to get power makes them allies of the opposite.

4.   Personality Cult:

More than a political party, it is the influence of a leader that wins the election. Right from the days of Jawaharlal Nehru, Indira Gandhi, Rajiv Gandhi (INC), Atal Vihari Vajpayee, L. K. Advani, Narendra Modi (BJP), the cult of personality plays a prominent role to attract workers and voters in their fold. National parties except Communist parties have seen the role of personalities. Leaders like Balasaheb Thackrey (SS), M. Karunanidhi (DMK), J. Jayalalitha (AIADMK), Prakash Singh Badal (Akali dal), Lalu Prasad Yadav (RJD), Mayawati (BSP), Mulayam Singh (SP), Chandrababu Naidu (TDP), K. Chandrashekhara Rao (TRS), Navin Patnaik (BJD) etc. Are the founders and supreme leaders of their political parties. They are the main face of the party, who can attract the workers, pull the votes and gather the required finance for the organization.

5.   The Emergence of Regional Parties:

During the first few decades of Independence INC remained a predominant political party. It was an 'Umbrella organisation'. But after 1965 lot of political parties were formed in different parts of the country. A lot of powerful leaders of congress party have started defecting from INC and floating their political parties. Thus, the INC has started to become a 'Banyan' tree, which emanated leaders and parties from within it. Secondly, the regional political parties have raised the issue of 'sons of soil' cultural, linguistic and demographic desires of the people also pave the ways for regional political parties.

6.   Lack of Effective Opposition:

The opposition plays very important role in a democratic polity. It has to keep a check on the day to day functioning of the ruling government. It can always check the anti-constitutional and anti-people policies and create awareness and mass movement. However, the political culture of Indian political parties is such that, they do not remain active after losing the elections or power. As soon as the party is defeated the leaders, develop apathy towards the public and their issues. Therefore, in Parliaments and State Assemblies politicians are often found ignoring the interest of the people.

National Political Parties in India :

National Parties in India are the political parties are that are eligible to participate in the elections in India. Some of the national parties are formed even before the independence of India. For example, the ***Indian National Congress (INC) is the oldest national party*** in India that was ***formed in 1885***. After India got freedom, the British Govt. handed over the administration of India to the leaders of the Indian

National Congress. As of now, there are *eight national parties in India*. A national party is a registered party that can have a reserved party symbol, free broadcast time on state-run television and radio related to the party activities or in favour of the party.

The list of National Parties of India:

1. BHARATIYA JANTA PARTY

2. INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

3. COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

4. BAHUJAN SAMAJ PARTY

5. NATIONALIST CONGRESS PARTY

6. COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (M)

7. ALL INDIA TRINAMOOL CONGRESS

8. NATIONAL PEOPLES PARTY

1. Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP)

Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) is a national political party founded in *1980*. It originated from *Bharatiya Jana Sangh* that was formed in *1951* by Syama Prasad Mookerjee. After the emergency of *1977*, the Bharatiya Jana Sangh was merged with other parties to form the Janata Party. It remained in power for three years thereafter the *Janata Party was dissolved in 1980 to create the BJP* with the members of the erstwhile Jana Sangh party.

In the first election contested by BJP, its performance was not satisfactory, it managed to win only 2 Lok Sabha seats. In the next Lok Sabha elections of *1998*, the BJP-led coalition National Democratic Alliance (NDA), which is an alliance of centre-right and right-wing political parties, won the election and *formed government for 18 months under Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee*. Again after the fresh elections *in 1999 NDA government came in power headed with Atal Bihari Vajpayee as Prime Minister who completed the full term of five years*. However, it remained as the main opposition party for the next ten years. Thereafter, it *won the general elections in 2014* and *came in power with Narendra Modi as 15th Prime Minister of India on 26 May 2014*. The popularity of Narendra Modi increased tremendously during his tenure and again he was able to become the prime minister of India after BJP won the 2019 Lok Sabha election.

The Election symbol of BJP and its Significance:

The election symbol of BJP is the Lotus that is approved by the Election Commission of India. It has many representations such as it indicates a national identity uphold by the BJP, cultural unity of India, etc. BJP's political ideology is defined as cultural nationalism which means it is adherent to the cultural values of India.

2. The Indian National Congress (INC)

Indian National Congress was *founded in 1885 with the support and guidance of Allan Octavian Hume*, a British civil servant. It is the *oldest and first national party in India* that was formed even before India got independence. After India became a free country in 1947, the British Govt. handed over the administration of India to Indian National Congress's leaders. Its *first session was held in Bombay in 1885* with 72 delegates. After the partition of India, the congress was the largest party to govern India under the leadership of Nehru. After the demise of Nehru, the party faced some challenges. Nehru's daughter *Indira Gandhi became the prime minister of India in 1966*. She didn't get support from the powerful right-wing group within the congress. So, in *1969*, the party split into two groups; one was with Morarji Desai, and the other was with Indira Gandhi.

Congress under the leadership of Indira Gandhi won two elections 1971 national elections and 1972 state elections but lost the election of 1977 due to her emergency rule. Thereafter, it returned to power in 1980. Later, after her demise, her son Rajiv Gandhi held the reins of Congress. After a few years, after the demise of Rajiv Gandhi, her wife Sonia Gandhi, was elected as head of Congress. Thereafter Congress returned to power in 2004 with Manmohan Singh of their party as the prime minister of India. However, in 2014 Lok Sabha elections, Congress suffered a landslide loss. After a few years, Rahul Gandhi (son of Rajiv and Sonia Gandhi) was elected as party leader.

Election symbol of Indian National Congress (INC) and its Significance:

The election symbol of INC as approved by the Election Commission of India is the *'Right Hand' with the palm facing front*. The fingers in the Hand are joined or touch each other without leaving any gap in between. This symbol was selected by the Indira Gandhi-led Congress. The *previous symbol of the Congress when it was founded in 1885 was 'two bullocks with plough'*. The hand symbol was selected when Indira Gandhi split from the old group to create New Congress. The symbol of Congress *represents strength, unity and energy*.

3. Communist Party of India (CPI)

The Communist Party of India (CPI) is one of the national parties in India. It *follows communist ideology*. It is the oldest party in India that began the communist movement in India that was inspired by the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia in *1917*. The youth of CPI wanted to follow the ideal of Marxism for the

Indian anti-imperialist struggles and thus to improve the dismal conditions of the working-class of the country. There is different information available about its formation. As per the CPI, their party is founded on **26 December 1925** at the first conference of the party held in Kanpur. **Cawnpore. S.V**. Ghate was the first General Secretary of CPI. However, it started functioning legally in 1942. It addresses the issues of the workers with the support of trade unions in the country.

Election Symbol of CPI and its Significance:

The symbol of CPI as approved by the election commission of India is *ears of corn and a sickle*. The symbol is mostly displayed on a red-coloured flag. The red colour represents the struggle that symbolizes the communist party. The *corn's ears and a sickle shows that the CPI is a party of farmers, labourers, who work in the fields to earn their living*. So, it is linked with the conditions of the working class, poor, and oppressed in society.

4. Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP)

Bahujan Samaj Party, which is also known as the BSP, is one of the national or political parties in India. It was *founded by Kanshi Ram in 1984* who was a member of the Dalit community. The meaning of the word Bahujan is 'the majority of the people' and the meaning of samaj is 'society'. The *ideology of BSP* is *'Social Transformation and Economic Emancipation'* of the Bahujan Samaj that mainly represents the oppressed sections of the country such as the scheduled tribes, scheduled castes, other backward classes and religious minorities. Kanshi Ram was inspired by the ideology and teachings of B.R. Ambedkar. So, it strongly opposed the 'Manuwadi' social system practised by upper-caste Hindu communities such as the Brahmins and the wealthiest sections of the society. In *1993, Mayawati* succeeded Kanshi Ram and became BSP's president. Mayawati became the chief minister of UP four times before losing the seat to the Samajwadi party in 2012.

Election Symbol of BSP and its Significance:

The election symbol of BSP as approved by the Election Commission of India is an *Elephant that faces left.* The significance of this symbol is that it *represents will power and physical strength*. This animal is also very peaceful. The symbol tells that the lower-caste and minorities in society are also very large in number and have the physical and mental strength to fight and struggle against upper-caste and oppression which is imposed on them.

5.   Nationalist Congress Party (NCP)

Nationalist Congress Party was founded on *25th May 1999*. The founding members of NCP include Sharad Pawar, P.A. Sangma and Tariq Anwar. These three politicians were expelled from the Indian National Congress after they strongly opposed the Italian-born Sonia Gandhi from becoming the leader of the INC. *Sharad Pawar, P.A. Sangma and Tariq Anwar* came together to form a new party under the name of Nationalist Congress Party or NCP. They and their supports joined hands together and met at Gurudwara Rakab Ganj Road, New Delhi to form NCP. This event is known as the Red Letter Day of the country. In this meeting, Sharad Pawar was elected as the President of the NCP and the other two leaders Tariq Anwar and P.A. Sangma became the General Secretaries. Thereafter, the Election Commission of India recognized the NCP as a National Party. NCP believes that for the integrity of India federalism should be strengthened and power should be dispersed up to the village level to empower the weaker sections of the society. It believes that economic development should lead to non-discrimination and social justice. Besides this, *NCP also opposes the authoritarian type of functioning of the parties*. Although it is mainly based in Maharashtra, it has also gained importance in the states of Gujarat, Bihar, Andhra Pradesh, West Bengal, Assam, Madhya Pradesh, etc.

Election Symbol of NCP and its Significance:

The election symbol of NCP is an *analogue clock which of blue colour and reads 10:10*. It *has an alarm button and two legs.* It is drawn on a tri-colour Indian flag. The symbol of NCP indicates that the party always keep fighting for its principles and will always speak on behalf of the common men of India. So, its symbol adheres to the values of great Indian leaders who fought for the freedom of India.

6.   Communist Party of India (Marxist)

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) is a national party in India. It was founded in *1964*. The *founding members* of CPI (M) include M.N. Roy, Evelyn Trent Roy, Abani Mukherjee, Mohammad Siddiqui and Mohammad Ali. It is popularly known as *CPIM*. It is formed when a group of members of the Communist Party of India (CPI) left the CPI to form CPIM. It is a left-wing political party that *follows communist political ideology* as well as is inspired by the writings of Marx and Lenin and supports and promotes social justice, classless society, and social equality. As per the claims of this party, it is a national or political party of the working classes of India that stands and fights for the welfare and issues of workers, farmers, agriculture, etc. The *mass base of the party comes mainly from Tripura, West Bengal and Kerala*. CPIM leads the Left Front alliance and *works on the principles of*

'Democratic Centralism'. It follows a pyramidal hierarchical structure that is headed by the Polit Bureau, which takes all major decisions. It is not easy to become a member of the CPIM. ***To become its ground-level member, one has to take the regular classes about the teachings of Marx and Lenin offered by the party***.

The election symbol of CPIM and its significance:

The election symbol of CPIM as approved by the Election Commission of India is ***a hammer and a sickle that intersect each other.*** It is usually shown on a red-coloured flag as a background. Red colour indicates the struggle. The intersecting tools show that it is a ***party of the peasants, labourers who earn their living by working in fields***. It also represents the struggle against the exploitation of oppressed sections of the societies by the upper classes of the society.

7. All India Trinamool Congress (AITC)

All India Trinamool Congress (AITC) is a national political party in India founded in ***1988*** by ***Mamata Banerjee***. It is popularly known as the ***Trinamool Congress*** or AITMC. It ***came into power when it defeated the Communist Party of India (Marxist) or CPIM in the 2011 Vidhan Sabha elections held in West Bengal, India***. AITC is the creation of Mamata Banerjee. It originated from Indian National Congress when ***Mamata Banerjee*** left the Congress after being its member for almost 20 years. She ***left Congress and formed her party in 1998***. In 1999, AITMC went into an alliance with the BJP in the NDA alliance at the Centre. In the general elections of 2009, the AITMC went into alliance with Congress in the UPA union. Later due to differences with Congress-led UPA, it joined hands with the United Progressive Alliance (UPA) government in Sept. 2012. As of now, the AITC is one of the largest political party in the Lok Sabha with nineteen seats. It has a strong presence not only in the state of West Bengal but also in other states like Manipur, Tripura, and Arunachal Pradesh. In these states, it has a significant number of seats in the Vidhan Sabha of these states.

Election Symbol of AITC and its Significance:

The election symbol of AITMC as approved by the Election Commission of India is the *'twin flowers in the grass.'* There is a popular term in West Bengal for this symbol which is Jora Ghas Phul which means grass and two flowers. The symbol has three colours same as the tricolour Indian flag. The ***slogan of the party 'Ma Maati Manush'*** (Mother Motherland and People) also shows the significance of the party symbol. The flowers in the symbol represent the support of the party for the poor and oppressed sections of the societies.

8. National People's Party

National People's Party is a national political party in India. However, it has a strong presence mainly in the state of Meghalaya. It was founded by *P A Sangma in 2013* after he was expelled from the NCP in 2012. It was accorded the *status of a national party on 07 June 2019* after it was recognized as a state party in the states of Manipur, Nagaland, Meghalaya and Arunachal Pradesh. It is also the first party from North-eastern India that became a national political party. After founding the National People's Party, P. A. Sangma declared that this party will be the part of the National Democratic Alliance (NDA) under the leadership of Bharatiya Janta Party. It comprises political parties of the northeast that supported the NDA. In *December 2013, NPP participated in the assembly election of Rajasthan* led by Kirodi Lal Meena a former BJP MP and won 4 seats. However, when NPP was not able to provide its expenditure during Lok Sabha Elections, it was suspended by the election commission in 2015.

Election Symbol of NPP and its Significance:

The election symbol of NPP as approved by the election commission is a *book*. It signifies that the weaker sections of the societies can be empowered only through education and literacy.

Role of Regional party:

In India, regional parties have been coming up at regular intervals playing different roles in the country's parliamentary democracy. Some parties like the Shiromani Akali Dal (SAD) and the Jammu & Kashmir National Conference were even founded before the country gained independence in 1947. But most other parties came into existence after the country attained freedom.

The growth of state parties, which fall broadly under the rubric of regional parties, picked up particularly after 1967 when the hold of the Indian National Congress, which had spearheaded the freedom struggle, over the country's electorate began to weaken. There are about four dozen recognised state parties and about two dozen more which are not yet recognised by the Election Commission of India. At present, some of them are ruling in their respective states and others are waiting for their turn to come to power.

Regional parties have challenged the national parties, gathering popular electoral support, exploiting the national parties' neglect of the political and economic interests of the region or even the state. One of the oldest regional parties, the Shiromani Akali Dal was established in 1920 by the religious organisation Shiromani Gurudwara

Prabandhak Committee (SGPC) to be the principal representative of Sikhs in undivided Punjab during the British rule.

At present, regional parties are ruling, either on their own or in alliance with a national party or with other parties, in Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Delhi, Jammu & Kashmir, Nagaland, Odisha, Punjab, Sikkim, Tamil Nadu, Telangana, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal. A major trait of all these parties is that they are controlled and driven by one leader whose writ runs large in party affairs and whose command cannot be challenged. In short, they are controlled by a single leader and his or her confidantes. Immediate family members and relatives invariably wield considerable clout in these parties. Even parties, which justified their respective existence on some ideological grounds, have been converted into individual fiefdoms or self-interest preserving outfits with the passage of times. Therefore, the longevity of such parties, under normal circumstances, should be closely linked with the life span of their respective leaders. Another dimension of the regional outfits is that family members, close relatives and friends run the affairs of the party and one of them inherits the legacy of that leader either in his or her times or after he or she passes away.

Recently, the Samajwadi Party (SP) has been in news because of a long simmering feud between the supreme leader and his son which broke-out into open. Therefore, it is interesting to study closely the SP to understand the trajectory of the regional parties and their future. The SP has been ruling the biggest state of the Indian Union since 2012 and had-been in power in the state for about a decade since it was founded in 1992. It had also shared power at the Centre. The party was founded by the three times Uttar Pradesh chief minister and former Defence Minister in the government of India, Mulayam Singh Yadav, after he broke away from the Janata Dal. Mulayam's political clout phenomenally grew after the acceptance and implementation of the Mandal Commission report in the early nineties of the last century which overtly strengthened the role of identity politics in north India.

Coalition Government :

A **coalition government** is a form of government in which political parties cooperate to form a government. The usual reason for such an arrangement is that no single party has achieved an absolute majority after an election. A coalition government might also be created in a time of national difficulty or crisis (for example, during wartime or economic crisis) to, give a government the high degree of perceived political legitimacy or collective identity, it can also play a role in diminishing internal political strife. In such times, parties have formed all-party coalitions (national unity governments, grand coalitions). If a coalition collapses, a confidence vote is held or a motion of no confidence is taken.

When a general election does not produce a clear majority for a single party, parties either form coalition cabinets, supported by a parliamentary majority, or minority cabinets which may consist of one or more parties. Cabinets based on a group of parties that command a majority in parliament tend to be more stable and long-lived than minority cabinets. While the former is prone to internal struggles, they have less reason to fear votes of no confidence. Majority governments based on a single party are typically even more stable, as long as their majority can be maintained.

Electoral Process :

Elections have been the usual mechanism by which modern representative democracy has operated since the 17th century. Elections may fill offices in the legislature, sometimes in the executive and judiciary, and for regional and local government regional and local government. This process is also used in many other private and business organizations, from clubs to voluntary associations and corporations. The universal use of elections as a tool for selecting representatives in modern representative democracies is in contrast with the practice in the democratic archetype , ancient Athens , where the Elections were not used were considered an oligarchic institution and most political offices were filled using sortition, also known as allotment, by which officeholders were chosen by lot.

Electoral reforms describe the process of introducing fair electoral systems where they are not in place, or improving the fairness or effectiveness of existing systems. Psephology is the study of results and other statistics relating to elections (especially to predic future results). The Election is the fact of electing or being elected.

Conclusion :

Many political parties function in a democracy. The aim and functions of the party are to grab the political power. They try to implement their ideology or agenda while ruling the government. India is a multi party democracy, where political parties have evolved in a large number. However, due to a lack of sincerity and honesty from the political parties, the people and government face a tough time. Sometimes these leaders get elected on one parties ticket they change the side and join the other party. This is dishonesty with the electorate. However, the democratic roots in India have been nurtured by the same political parties.

Questions for Exercise

1.   What is the meaning and role of a party in democracy?

2.   Explain the ideological orientations of political parties.

3.   What are the main characteristic of parties in India ?

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CLASS, CASTE, TRIBE AND GENDER
THE CHANGING CLASS RELATIONS

Objectives

Study of this unit enables you to:

● Explain the meaning, nature and definition of the class system in India

● Understand the historical background and growth of the class system

● Discuss classes in rural and urban India in detail.

● Explain the changing dimension of the class system in India

Chapter Scheme

1. Introduction

2. Historical Evolution of Class

3. Meaning and Definition of Class

4. Social Classes in India

    4.1. Caste as Class

    4.2. Socio-Cultural Class

    4.3. Globalisation and Class

5. Conclusion

Introduction

'These are times of most extraordinary inequalities. Extreme wealth and power are concentrated in the hands of capitalist organisations and individuals like Bill Gates, whose "net worth" of $50 billion in 2009 was greater than the GDP of 140 countries (Blankfeld, 2009), while – according to the (now former) UN Special Rapporteur on the Right to Food, Jean Ziegler (Ziegler, 2007) – 36 million people died from hunger and malnutrition in 2006 alone! This radical injustice magnifies the same fundamental, global capitalist class dynamics which operate in Britain' (Jakopovich: 2, 2014).

The concept of class connotes the status of an individual or group in a given social, cultural or economic life. The power relations in society are largely determined by the class of a person or group belongs to. Thus, the sense of belonging germinates, strengthens and expands the class based feelings of the people. The class factor mainly, decides the allocations of values, goods and fortunes in the society. Though, class is a western concept, that indicating the division of society on the grounds of wealth (rich and poor). The major question that, this chapter deals with is, 'can political equality meaningfully exist and survive, bereft of economic equality?'.

According to Aristotle, *'the majority of citizens should be of "middling wealth", so that political equality could not be undermined by economic in equality.'* (Robinson: 25, 2003). But, it is difficult to be in agreement with the class character of the Greek city state, wherein Aristotle had justified the slavery by calling it a 'natural trait of human society'. the modern political philosophy does not endorse Aristotle's views. Class is not organic. It is artificial because, it is born and grows on the lines of control over wealth, power and position in human society. Which is nurtured by immoral value judgments. Thus the question arises, 'Can human nature be 'value-free?'. Greek Sophist Glaucon's views of society lead towards creation of institutions that recognizes the class character of the society. According to Glaucon, 'societies exist only because human behaviour has always to be restrained by law.' (Robinson: 14, 2003). Plato was a communitarian and his ideal society is like a harmonious beehive in which everybody knows their role, and this is what 'justice' or 'behaving as you should; is all about. This view though allows the class division to exist but imposes genuine restrictions on human action towards others. Thus class factor also raises questions on wealth, 'Is property a prime cause of injustice in society?'

I.   Historical Evolution

The term class become popular in 19th century, as a representation of rank and order to describe the hierarchical groupings in society. Its roots go back as far as in ancient Greek civilization. Greek philosopher Plato had explained the idea of communism in his book 'Republic' (360 B.C.). During the medieval era the Utopian ideas of Thomas More (16th century) drew attentions as they imagined. More in his 'Utopia' talked bout an imaginary island where money has been abolished and people live and work communally. It was a dream of a classless society. It emerged as a reflection of changing social and economic structure in the Industrial capitalist model of economy. During 18th century, the scientific inventions led industrial progress has changed the pattern of production and engagement of people in economic activities. The feudal society that was divided into lord and subjects, got restructured into capitalist and workers classes.

The term class first came into wide use in the early 19th century, replacing such terms as rank and order as descriptions of the major hierarchical groupings in society. This usage reflected changes in the structure of western European societies after the industrial and political revolutions of the late the 18th century. Feudal

distinctions of rank were declining in importance, and the new social groups that were developing-the commercial and industrial capitalists and the urban working class in the new factories-were defined mainly in economic terms, either by the ownership of capital or, conversely, by dependence on wages. Although the term class has been applied to social groups in a wide range of societies, including ancient city-states, early empires, and caste or feudal societies, it is most usefully confined to the social divisions in modern societies, particularly industrialized ones. Social classes must be distinguished from status groups; the former is based primarily upon economic interests, while the latter are constituted by evaluations of the honour or prestige of an occupation, cultural position, or family descent (Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopedia : 2019).

II. Meaning and Evolution

Class in human society are gradual formations. As per natural rights theories, Mixing one's labour with land gives the right to own it. But in most of the human society, landless majority rare those who mix their labour with land an remain landless class. It happens because, the clever men in the 'state of nature' had purposely instigated fear, violence and chaos to germinate a sense of obedience and legitimize the class character of the society. Class theory can be understood with aforesaid definitions.

'The clash between those who claim class is still important and those who claim it is decreasing in importance is sometimes actually a result of strongly differing definitions of what the term "class" is supposed to denote. Although various fashionable newer theorists (Beck, 1992; Casey, 1995; Pakulski and Waters, 1996 etc.), as well as some post- and neo-Marxists – notably E.P. Thompson (Thompson, 1966) – analyse (or even define) ''class'' as essentially subjective identification and action, or deny that there is any validity in methodologies which distinguish between structure and action (Poulantzas, 1978), , and a class conscious, organized "class for itself". This distinction between class membership vs. class awareness and class-based collective organization, or (to put it differently) between structural "class determination" and politicoideological, subjective "class position", also accepted by many non-Marxists including Max Weber (Giddens, 1973) and C.W. Mills (Mills, 1962), seems necessary if the objective, non-voluntarily approach to social theory is to be preserved.' (Jakopovich, Daniel : 8, ŷ2014)

Marx in The Poverty of Philosophy ([1847] 1955), distinguish between a "class in itself", the objectively existing mass that is "already a class in opposition to capital" (Marx, 1955, 195). Marx's definition of class is also problematic about its relation to the state, fragmentary and confused. It's not always clear if the state arse because is of class division or is the cause of it. Not everyone can be neatly catalogued as a member of one specific class, and not all classes are always economically and politically unequal. Because a stateless and classless society is not possible to run.

III.   Social Classes in India

India is a multicultural society. The diversity of all kind existing across the world finds a place in this civilization. It is not easy to pin pointedly make distinctions of class-based identities because they are multi-layered. Also, one type of class identity easily overlaps or transcends the other. Besides, we need to keep in mind the fact that, Indian social classes are not identical to those of western class structure, which is largely influenced by economic factors. Thus, the class structure, its hierarchy and patterns of stratification are inspired by a mixture of factors. For example, it is very easy to say that, people belonging to the upper caste may be easily located in the upper economic class as well. But similar generalization is not possible with the lower caste or the dalits. Because the socio-cultural identity plays important role in the economic progress of an individual or community.

That is why caste-based backwardness, is easily identified with the economic status of the person. Even, there is no unanimity among sociologists regarding the classification of the class system in India. Sorokin (1927) has given a three-fold classification of classes, such as social division based on economic, political and occupational criteria. Warner and Lunt (1959) have given a six-fold classification comprising. T.B. Bottomore has advanced a four-fold division of social classes, such as the upper class, the middle class, the working class and the peasantry.

1.   Caste as Class:

Indian society is a blend of all four classes. It has a caste based-class being four-fold system, which is termed as Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Shudra. Besides, there was a category that lived under financial, social and political marginality. The caste hierarchy would by and large, determine the class of a person. The wealth and land would be primarily owned by the upper castes. The so called lower castes and Dalits would be engaged workers (sometimes under forced labour). Thus, the rich owner and poor labour relation were caste laden. According to Professor Gopal Guru, *'...in times of globalisation, categories such as caste and class are undergoing radical change both in terms of their essence and existence. ...For example, working classes are now described as working masses and labour is referred to as footloose labour or labouring poor* (Guru, Gopal: 2016).*'*

2.   Socio-Cultural Status as Class:

Bourdieu's theory of 'Social Class' can be understood as the attempt to avoid the short circuit of economic conditions and utilitarian rationality (Joppke: 1986). The cultural distinctions in society lead to 'symbolic struggle' to prevail upon other social groups and culture. Indian diversity presents a distinct class system that is deeply rooted in cultural life. When this cultural identity is under the influence of a sense of superiority upon others, it leads to direct conflict, exclusion and discrimination. The competitive nature of culture leads to the formation of ghettos in society. For example, many housing societies and areas do not welcome the members of 'other' culture, language, religion or food practices. Though, it is constitutionally prohibited but practised

unofficially and diligently. It creates a class apart in society. The members of such a community feel proud to exclude 'others'.

3.   Economic Status as Class:

Karl Marx's classification of society in two clear groups was 'have' and 'have not' was a revolutionary analysis of the widening gap between the rich and poor in the society. The economic classes in the society are primarily based upon the control over natural resources like land, water, forest and man-made wealth like industry and services. Due to this control, a handful of people live in affluence, while plenty of poor toils and suffer. In an article published in Hindustan Times in 2019, Swati Ramanathan and Ramesh Ramanathan gave a detailed analysis and presented facts of the Indian class system based on economic status.

'There are five middle classes in India: Rural Middle Class, Public Sector Middle Class, Urban Private Sector Middle Class, Trader Middle Class and Rising Middle Class. This may sound technical, but in the real world, the difference between a mid-level bureaucrat and a senior manager in a private firm, is all too obvious. How big are these middle classes? According to our calculations, they accounted for around 33% of India's population in 2014 (we used the National Electoral Survey (NES) conducted by CSDS/Lokniti for the years 1999, 2004, 2009 and 2014, summarized in Table 2).

Given that the proportion is up from 11.7% in 1999, the current size of India's middle classes could be 40% of the population. Interestingly, contrary to the perception that India's middle class is primarily urban, the Rural Middle Class at 13.7%, is the single largest category. Adding Trader middle class- Rural, and Rising middle class – Rural, the overall size of Rural middle classes is 2/3rd of India's total middle class. Essentially, there is no difference between the Rural-Urban distribution of India's middle class and the rural-urban distribution of the overall population. Rural India's economic demographic is no different from Urban India's'

4.   Impact of Globalization and Class:

Globalization is a process, that brought the world together. It has connected the goods, services, cultures, people more effectively. It has significantly altered or completely changed the class structure in India. The economic liberalization has paved the ways for multinational corporations (MNCs), International NGOs (INGOs) like Rotary, Lions club, Criminal syndicates like Terrorism, Narcotics, human trafficking gangs etc. It has brought in changes in lifestyle, fashion, food and ideas. The information and communication technology (ICT) driven people to people connectivity has been making physical distance and borders irrelevant. Therefore, technology is creating a new class in Indian society, which can be divided as 'Those having access to technology' and 'those who do not'. It is also important to understand that forces of globalisation have diluted the class and caste character of Indian society. Increasing privatisation has reduced government employment opportunities, which is creating a

new class. The privatisation in health and education sectors, reducing land share due to multiple divisions has no doubt promoted democratisation and open competition. But it is also promoting economic inequality.

Conclusion :

To conclude, the discussion we can say that the class character and structure of Indian society is complex. It does not reflect the western notion of class as it is. Therefore, while understanding the class factor in Indian society we need to be very careful about its multiple layers and stratification emerging from caste, religion, region, language, culture, tradition, economic status, employment patterns, ownership of wealth etc.

Also, we need to understand the impact of external invaders from the Islamic and Christian worlds, who brought a different set of the idea, pattern, culture and way of life. It had added several new dimensions to the class system in India. During British Rule Class Formation in India was largely based on 'economic condition'. however, in post-independent India, the class system has grown in the form of Rich- Middle Class-Lower class, Urban-Rural, Educated-Illiterate, Elites and non-elites.

Questions for Exercise

1. Explain the concept and nature the Class system in Indian society?
2. What are the main types of class system?
3. Elaborate on the Indian class system?

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4

CASTE AND POLITICS: UPPER CAST, DALIT AND OBC

Objectives

After studying this chapter the learners should be able to:

● Understand the origin and evolution of the caste system

● Explain the role of caste in Indian politics at various levels

● Caste groups as a source of assertion and aggregation of political demands

● Describe the concerns and demands of upper caste, the dalit and OBC communities

● Should be able to understand the idea and provisions of Reservation

● Understand the role of caste in Indian politics.

Chapter Scheme

I. Introduction

The post –Vedic Indian social and cultural system was predominantly described, justified and criticized in Aryans and non- Aryans debate. It provided an ill-conceived social order in the Hindu society divided into the lines of *Chaturvarna* (four castes)

system, namely *Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Shudras* with the untouchables who were completely denied of any social or cultural space. It is said that Aryans who came from outside India, were responsible for this. Eminent sociologist G.S. Ghurey wrote, *"They do, however, contain the first mention and a continuous history of the factors that make up the caste system"* (Ghurye: 1969, 162-63).Though, earlier, it was the division of labour, where one's skills and effort would determine, one's status in the society. The contemporary nature of caste is more implied to notion; attitudes, practices, relations and system build around otherisation.

Caste plays a very important role in Indian politics. Caste based voting pattern causes political parties to maintain a balance in representation of castes at various levels. Like party posts and positions, distributions of tickets and formation of ministries are done keeping caste equations in mind. The Caste based voting is one of the most effective patterns in Assembly (Vidhansabha) and local (Panchayat and Municipal) elections. Nevertheless, it is significant in general elections (Lok Sabha) as well. In modern times the caste factor has become a very hot currency as well as a sensitive matter to handle. Because, caste-based discrimination, conflict, atrocities, backwardness still exists in society. Indian constitution provides for detailed provisions of reservation to the socio-educationally backward sections of the society. It also provides the reservation to the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe communities. In the recent past, the country has seen a rise of caste based assertion with of dominant castes, including Jat, Gujjar, Lingayats, Reddy, Thakur and Maratha demanding reservation. This has started a new debate on the need and criterion of award of caste-based reservation. Because of this nationwide development, the Union Government in 2019 made the law giving 10 % reservation to the economically backward section of citizens.

II.   Meaning and Definition

Meaning:

The word caste comes from 'Casta' a Portuguese word, which means a difference in birth or race. It is based on 'Varna system. It was indicative of a group of people or clan living together, sharing cultural values and mostly pursuing the same occupation in the society. This system was completely free of social hierarchy because social relations were not tied up with profession, though the cultural hierarchy did exist. But, as the society evolved, and the accumulation of sources of production and wealth started gaining importance in the society, the 'noble beast' of Rousseau, turned into a selfish,

greedy and cunning human being. Thus caste in India has become a medium to determine once place and status in the society by birth. Therefore, the idea of caste and casteism cannot be dissociated. Because it helps monopolisation and hegemonisation over power and resources, what Balmurali suggests is an outcome of heterophobia and heterophilia. (Natrajan: 2012, xviii)

Noted scholar Balmurali Natrajan as: *heterophobia- a psycho-social fear of differences- which in turn could take on different forms such as seeking the annihilation of the bodies that embody the differences. It could also be a form of heterophilia-a preference or Bourdieuian "taste" for differences; an acquired disposition to differentiate and appreciate…[that] ensures recognition without implying knowledge of distinctive features which define it."* (Natrajan: 2012, xvi)

Definition :

Mazumdar & Madan – 'Caste is a closed class' i.e. class refers to people based on property, business, occupation i.e. one can't change his own caste system but can change the class system and can be a member of many classes at the same time'.

Merriam Webster Dictionary, 'One of the hereditary social classes in Hinduism that restrict the occupation of their members and their association with the members of other castes'.

Herbert Kisley – "Caste is a collection of families or group of families bearing a common name which usually denotes or is associated with specific occupation, claiming descent from a mythical ancestor, human or divine, professing to follow the same heredity callings & regarded by those who are competent to give an opinion as forming a single homogeneous community."

Charles Coole, 'When a class is somewhat strictly hereditary, we may call it a caste'.

Ketkar, in his book "History of caste in India' 'Caste is a social group having two characteristics (a) membership is confined to those who are born of members & includes all persons no born (b) the members are forbidden by an inexorable social law to marry outside the group.'

E. Blunt, 'Caste is an endogamous group bearing a common name, membership of which is hereditary, imposing on its members certain restrictions in the matter of social intercourse, either following a common traditional occupation a claiming a common origin & generally regarded as forming a single homogeneous community'.

M N Srinivas, first defined the term 'dominant caste' to refer to the caste in the village which is numerically strong and also wields the greatest economic and political power.

III.   Nature of Caste System :

This system was completely free of social hierarchy because social relations were not tied up with one's profession, though the cultural hierarchy did exist. But, as the society evolved, and the accumulation of sources of production and wealth started gaining importance in the society, the 'noble beast' of Rousseau, turned into a selfish, greedy and cunning human being. Thus caste in India has become a medium to determine once place and status in the society by birth. Therefore, the idea of caste and casteism cannot be dissociated. Because it helps monopolisation and hegemonisation over power and resources, what Balmurali suggests as an outcome of heterophobia and heterophilia (Natrajan: 2012, xviii).

But such a pattern of socio- economic determination can be called a breach of 'social contract'. As the 'theory of social contract' propagated by Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau is based upon the circumstances created by 'human nature' that resulted into, 'end of solitary' life and formation of the community, the State and the Laws to provide equal protection and happiness. It is aptly explained by Amartya Sen, while quoting the Aristotelian idea of 'life' and Adam smith's notion of 'deprivation' in his seminal work on 'Social Exclusion'.

IV.   Origin and Development

The caste system is one of the oldest social systems in India. Various theories have been advanced to explain its origin and development in the various stages of human society. We can understand the origin and development of the caste system in India with the help of the following theories:

1.   Traditional Theory :

Vedas, mainly Rig Veda's *Purusha Sukta*, Mahabharat, Bhagvat Geeta, Upanishad, Manu Smniti are the oldest available literary sources, in which reference to *chaturvarna (four castes)* system finds mention. According to this theory lord Bramha created the four castes from parts of his body (though it is highly contested and criticized). The socio-cultural status and position were fixed accordingly. Birth and Karma (deeds) were considered as the factor to divide the society. The occupational division was also determined on the grounds of birth in a particular caste group.

2. Religious theory :

According to this theory the caste system originated and developed due to the wanting of religious mandates. In ancient India religion played a very important role in the life of individual and society. The right and wrong, just and unjust were decided based **religious virtues and morality**. The Brahmins were entrusted with the job of learning the scriptures, performing the rituals and leading the community in religious spiritual matters. Kshatriyas were given the responsibility of protecting and administering the clan. Managing the distribution of resources. Vaishyas would look after the agriculture, animal husbandry, trade and commerce in the clan. Whereas, shudras were given the responsibility of serving through their Manuel labour. Lord Krishna speaks to Arjuna as he clarifies the origin and purpose of the caste system in *sanatana dharma:* (Bhagavad Gita, Chapter 4, Shloka 13). *I created mankind in four classes, different in their qualities and actions; though unchanging, I am the agent of this, the actor who never acts. He emphasis on guna (aptitude) and karma (function) and not on jati (birth).*

The varna or the order to which we belong is independent of sex, birth or breeding. **Varna is determined by temperament and vocation - not by birth or heredity.** According to the Mahabharata, the whole world was original of one class but later it became divided into four divisions on account of the specific duties.

Even the distinction between caste and outcaste is artificial and unspiritual. An ancient verse points out that the Brahmin and the outcaste are blood brothers.

In the Mahabharata, Yudhishthira says that it is difficult to find out the cast of persons on account of the mixture of castes. Men beget offspring in all sorts of women. So **conduct is the only determining feature of caste.** It finds mention in the words of sages. It was depended upon their requisite qualifications and ability. This content can be proved by the following verse of the Rig Veda: *'I am a poet, my father is a physician and my mother grinds corn on stone. Being engaged in different occupations, we seek wealth and happiness as cows seek food in different pastures'* (Sharma: 1996, 99).

However, with the changing time and need of the society, the selfish and cunning people made birth as the basis to determine once caste and status, that paved the ways for enormous cruelty upon innocent *shudra* caste. They were denied of basic human rights and dignity.

3. Political theory:

As per Abbe Dubois, originated due to the supremacy of Brahmins-the Brahmanism, theory. To maintain their superiority different castes & sub-castes came into being. Famous Indian sociologist Dr. G. S. Ghuray says, *'Caste is the Brahmin child of the Indo-Aryan culture, cradled in the Ganges & Yamuna & then transferred in other parts of the country'*. (Ghurey: 1969). The rigidity of caste system helped the privileged classes especially Brahmins, Khatriyas and Vaishyas to control the political and economic power and its sources. However, the numerical strength of Shudra and untouchables has always been greater than, upper castes. In that case, the caste system would be manipulated to deny the sudras from political power or become ak ruling class.

4. Occupational Theory:

According to M. N. Srinivas, 'Caste is nothing more than 'systematization of occupational differentiation'. The hierarchy was internalised according to occupation. As the children of a priest would be a priest, son of the king would be the king, son of goldsmith would be a goldsmith so on and so forth. It is also noteworthy that the society was patriarchal, hence women were denied rights into public life and wealth. The higher the occupation, the higher the position and status of a person or group in the society. The idea of dignity was closely attached with the occupation of the person. However, in modern times, the forces of globalisation and privatisation have broken this taboo away. Now anyone can pursue a career of their choice, a business they interest in, an occupation they want to and a skill they wish to acquire. This has diluted the occupational effects of the caste to a great extent. The public life is mostly becoming free of caste effects.

V. Characteristics of the Caste System

There is no unanimity about origin, effects and current role of caste in Indian society. However, to do away with the negative effects of caste, it is necessary to understand the basic characteristics of the caste system. The system of caste exists across South Asia. Indian, Pakistan, Nepal, Bhutan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka as a part of society. It is based on birth, hence all form social mobility was denied. As Dr. B. R. Amebedkar regarded it to be, *'a multi storied building without a staircase.'* it is not possible for anyone to change the caste they are born in. Thus, social stratification is very rigid. The following characteristics helps us to understand it:

1. Endogamy & exogamy:

Endogamy means 'marrying within their caste fold' and Exogamy refers to 'marrying outside caste fold'. It is shielding the caste system. People still prefer marrying within own caste fold only. Inter caste marriages are not encouraged. Even sometimes the inter caste marriage is opposed very strongly. The reports of killing and torture of couples of inter - caste marriage appear frequently in media. Therefore, any reform or destruction of caste system is not possible, till inter -caste marriage is not accepted by society. According to Westermarck, '*Restriction on marriage Endogamy & Exogamy are the essence of the caste system. 'Endogamy their one's own caste or sub-caste. Exogamy –same caste but not same clean i.e. Gotra'*. sometimes, inter- caste marriages results into honour killing as well. For Example Khap Panchayats prohibition on marriage within clan or gotra.

2. Social Hierarchy:

The caste system is based upon graded social hierarchy. It is divided into four caste fold system, termed as *Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Shudras*. Whereas the Brahmins are place at the tip of pyramid, followed by Kshatiyas and Vaishyas. The Shudras and Dalits were placed at the bottom of the pyramid. The effort of upward mobility is regarded as '*sanskritaisation*'. Wherein, the people at the lower rank of the society would follow or imitate the culture, language, life-style, celebration and rituals to gain psychological advantage against the members of their own community. It also gives them the satisfaction of being associated with elite culture. However, same behaviour of upper castes are seen when they imitate westernization.

3. Occupational restriction & hereditary occupation:

In the caste system traditionally a person caste would determine by their occupation. The Brahmins were to pursue knowledge and perform rituals, Kshatiyas were to rule, administer and fight, Vashyas would do agriculture, trade and commerce. However, shudras and untouchables were forced to serve above three castes as a labour. For example - a black smith son will always be a black smith. But, these social restriction are done away with implementation of Indian constitution in 1950. Also, the forces of globalization are making this ritual laden and rigid irrational caste system and reward or punishment based of birth as irrelevant.

4. Economic disparity:

The economic condition and caste system operate very closely. People in upper rank of the society were first to get access to education and wealth, hence they prospered

first. The people of lower caste rank were denied education, wealth and just pay for their work, therefore, they remained economically backward. The fruits of development and progress reach very late to socially weaker groups like SC and ST.

According to Prof. Ghuray, *'Segmental division of society i.e. society is divided into different castes. Earlier there were 4 castes existed but now more than 3000 sub castes exist'* (Ghurey: 1969). Every caste has a moral obligation. All people are morally obliged to their castes and sub-castes i.e. there are certain rules and regulations.

VI. Caste based Reservation and the Constitution of India

Reservation is an affirmative policy action taken by the state for the welfare of the weaker sections of the society. Most of the liberal democracies across the world have similar policies to bring the disadvantaged section of the society into mainstream of development. In simple terms we can call it affirmative action or positive discrimination. It also aims at reaching the fruits of development till every section of the society. Indian Constitution also provides for the reservation. It is given to the citizens belonging to Schedule Caste (SC), Schedule Tribe (ST), Other Backward Caste (OBC) and Economically Weaker Sections (EWS) groups. Besides, caste based reservation, there are provisions for reservation of jobs and seats in educational institutions for the Women, differently able (divyang), minorities, Armed forces etc.

The socio- economic conditions continue to exist since ages are responsible for the origination of the reservation system in the country. It is a way to provide an opportunity for upliftment to the backward and weaker section of the society. It is implemented through earmarking of seats in employment, education and other public benefit schemes.

A. Historical Background of Reservation:

William Hunter and Mahatma Jyotirao Phule in 1882 originally conceived the idea of the caste-based reservation system. But the real system of reservation was introduced in 1933, when British Prime Minister Ramsay Macdonald presented the 'Communal Award'. This policy made the provision for a separate electorate for Muslims, Sikhs, Indian Christians, Anglo Indians, Europeans and Dalits. It was an attempt by the British Government to divide the Indians fighting for independence. It was also thought that by giving this award, the anger and unrest against British, which emerged after hanging of shaleed Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev and Rajguru was done by

them. Mahatma Gandhi disagreed with the policy of communal award and went on fast unto death in Yerwada Jail of Poona. After long negotiations, Gandhi and Ambedkar signed the 'Poona Pact', where it was decided that there would be a single Hindu electorate with certain reservations in it.

After independence, the constitution-makers wanted to create a society of equals. Therefore, the SCs and STs community were given reservation. Initially for a period of 10 years. However, there was a demand by the educationally and economically backward class of citizens. The other backward (intermediary) castes were recommended reservation by Kaka Kalelkar Commission (1954). Again, in 1978 Janata Party government appointed Mandal Commission.

1. Mandal Commission

The commission was appointed as per provisions of Article 340 of the Constitution. The President appointed a backward class commission in December 1978 under the chairmanship of B. P. Mandal. The commission was formed to determine the criteria for defining India's "socially and educationally backward classes" and to recommend steps to be taken for the advancement of those classes. The Mandal Commission concluded that India's population consisted of approximately 52 percent OBCs, therefore 27% government jobs should be reserved for them. However, L.R. Naik, who was an ex MP and lone member from Dalit community submitted his dissent note (Mandal: 1980). Apart from identifying backward classes among Hindus, the Commission has also identified backward classes among non-Hindus (e.g., Muslims, Sikhs, Christians, and Buddhists.

B. Constitutional Provisions Governing Reservation in India

1. Reservation in Employment and Promotion:

Part XVI of the Indian Constitution deals with the reservation of SC and ST community in Central and State legislatures. Article 15 (4) and 16 (4) of the contitution provides for reservation of seats in government employment. The Constitutional Amendment (77th Amendment) Act. 1995 inserted sub class 4A in Art. 16 provided for reservation in promotion. Class 4A was further modified through Constitution (85th Amendment) Act. 2001. It provided consequential seniority to SC and ST in promotion. Constitutional (81st) Amendment Act, 2000 inserted Article 16 (4 B) which enables the state to fill the unfilled vacancies of a year which are reserved for SCs/STs in the

succeeding year, thereby nullifying the ceiling of fifty percent reservation on the total number of vacancies of that year.

2. Reservation in Political Institutions:

Article 330 and 332 provides for specific representation through the reservation of seats for SCs (84) and STs (47) in the Parliament (Lok Sabha) and in the State Legislative Assemblies respectively. Article 243D provides reservation of seats for SCs and STs in every Panchayat. Article 233T provides reservation of seats for SCs and STs in every Municipality. Article 335 of the constitution says that the claims of STs and STs shall be taken into consideration constituent with the maintenance of efficacy of the administration.

3. Reservation to Economically Weaker Classes:

Recently, the Constitutional (**103rd Amendment) Act of 2019 has provided 10%** reservation in government jobs and educational institutions for the **"economically backward"** in the unreserved category. It states that, '*At present, the economically weaker sections of citizens have largely remained excluded from attending the higher educational institutions and public employment on account of their financial incapacity to compete with the person who is economically more privileged. Hence, the bill proposes to amend the Constitution to ensure that the poor 'get a fair chance' in life* (103 Amendment Bill 2019). Art. 15 and 16 or the constitution were amended to provide 10 % reservation to the Economically weaker sections of society.

4. Landmark Cases and Judicial Scrutiny:

The **State of Madras v. Smt. Champakam Dorairajan (1951)** case was the first major verdict of the Supreme Court on the issue of Reservation.The case led to the First Amendment in the constitution. The Supreme Court in the case pointed out that while in the case of employment under the State, Article 16(4) provides for reservations in favour of the backward class of citizens, no such provision was made in Article 15. According to the Supreme Court's order in the case the Parliament amended Article 15 by inserting Clause (4).

In **The Indra Sawhney v. Union of India (1992)** case the court examined the scope and extent of Article 16(4). The Court has said that the creamy layer of OBCs should be excluded from the list of beneficiaries of reservation, there should not be reservation in promotions; and the total reserved quota should not exceed 50%. The Parliament responded by enacting 77th Constitutional Amendment Act which

introduced Article 16(4A). The article confers power on the state to reserve seats in favour of SC and ST in promotions in Public Services, if the communities are not adequately represented in public employment.

The **Supreme Court in M. Nagaraj v. Union Of India 2006** case while upholding the constitutional validity of Art 16(4A) held that any such reservation policy in order to be constitutionally valid shall satisfy the following three constitutional requirements: The SC and ST community should be socially and educationally backward. The SC and ST communities are not adequately represented in Public employment. Such reservation policy shall not affect the overall efficiency of the administration.

In **Jarnail Singh vs Lachhmi Narain Gupta** case of 2018, Supreme Court holds that reservation in promotions does not require the state to collect quantifiable data on the backwardness of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. The Court held that creamy layer exclusion extends to SC/STs and, hence the State cannot grant reservations in promotion to SC/ST individuals who belong to the creamy layer of their community. In May 2019 the Supreme Court upheld the **Karnataka law** that allows reservations in promotions for SCs and STs with consequential seniority.

Therefore, reservation is one of the strongest method of social and economic empowerment. In the words of professor Zoya Hassan: *Thus, the Caste status and reservation developed as a focus of political expression among both the untouchable and the Shudra poor in the towns. There were differences in the social movements of the two groups, arising primarily from their specific occupational and social positions in towns, and their differential response to completion and conflict in rural and urban society. ...Government favoured a policy of protective discrimination which entailed reservation of government jobs, seats in legislatures and universities for members of the Scheduled Castes, but not for the OBCs.* (Hassan: 1998, 129).

VII.   Role of Caste in Indian Politics

i   Role of caste in politics:

Caste politics is said to have *"signify a wide range of political activity and theorizing founded in the shared experience of injustice to a member of certain social groups."* (MN Srinivas). Therefore, the impact of caste varies at different levels i.e. Local, Assembly and National level.   The role of caste in the Indian Political System can be discussed as follow:

ii Caste factor in political mobilization and leadership recruitment:

In India, caste plays an important role in mobilizing people during elections. It is easier to earn votes from people by playing a caste card during election. Caste interest influence the voters to vote for the candidate belonging to their own caste. The Majority of the time caste has been a matter of pride and thus in the process of choosing the leader or inclination towards any political parties, the leader's belief or parties' approach towards a particular caste also plays a crucial role.

iii Propagation of Casteism during election:

The political behaviour of the member of different political parties is caste oriented. The values and principles of different political parties are also caste based. The propaganda should be based on caste or not during the election depends on the population of a particular caste in a particular region. The selection of the candidates for a constituency is based on whether he will be able to get the support of a particular caste or castes. Even the caste of those recommending a candidate plays an important role. When a single caste is not likely to be effective alliance are formed on caste basis by the candidates or by the voters: Even the office bearers of party are appointed on the basis of caste to please a caste group in the party and the constituency. The present political system encourages the use of caste as a means of mustering support as well as a means to enable the illiterate and politically ignorant masses of India to participate in the modern democratic process.

iv Caste factor in local self-government:

Caste plays a crucial role in the functioning of Panchayati Raj institutions. Caste based division in the rural parts of India has been the biggest hindering factor in the effective functioning of Panchayati Raj institution. Caste also functions, as a pressure group in politics. Political bargaining is also done on the caste lines. Caste organizations have emerged to organize caste members for collective bargaining with each other.

v Caste as a dividing and uniting force of Indian Politics:

The present political system encourages the use of caste as a means of mustering support as well as a means to enable the illiterate and politically ignorant masses of India to participate in the modern democratic process. But at the same time it leads to an unhealthy struggle for power and acts as a dividing force.

Conclusion :

Reservation is fair, as far as it provides appropriate positive discrimination for the benefit of the downtrodden and economically backward sections of the society. But when it tends to harm the society and ensures privileges to some at the cost of others for narrow political ends, it should be done away with, as soon as possible. The communities excluded from reservations harbour animosity and prejudice against the castes included in the reservation category. When more people aspire for backwardness rather than of forwardness, the country itself stagnates. Meritocracy should not be polluted by injecting relaxation of entry barriers, rather than it should be encouraged by offering financial aid to the underprivileged. A strong political will is indispensable to find an equilibrium between justice to the backwards, equity for the forwards and efficiency for the entire system. Even the true picture of the heartless mechanism of the Indian Caste system can be traced from the following poem of the Black poet Patrick Tamers:

"Step into my shoes, wear my skin,

See what I see, feel what I feel

And then you shall know,

Who I am, what I am and why I am. " (Coleman: 1976, 633)

Questions for Exercise

1. Explain the meaning and nature of caste

2. Examine the definition and various theories of the evolution of caste.

3. What are the main characteristic of Caste?

4. Critically examine the constitutional provisions of reservation and jucial commentaries on it.

5. Elaborate the role of caste at various level of Indian politics.

End Notes:

The Idea

The idea of 'Marxism- Phule- Ambedkarism emerged amongst the scholars and activists as synthesis of Communist, Reformist and Radical ideas put together for a formidable action to fight against and hegemony of upper castes and class in Indian context.

Social Exclusion

The term 'Social Exclusion was first used by René Lenoir, as Secrétaire d'Etat a l'Action Sociale of the French Government. It was further elaborated with a larger expression by Silver (1995) who notes, the list of the following: "a livelihood; secure, permanent employment; earnings; property, credit, or land; housing; minimal or prevailing consumption levels; education, skills, and cultural capital; the welfare state; citizenship and legal equality; democratic participation; public goods; the nation or the dominant race; family and sociability; humanity, respect, fulfillment and understanding."

Poona Pact

Poona Pact, (Sept. 24, 1932), agreement between Hindu leaders in India granting new rights to untouchables (low-caste Hindu groups). The pact, signed at Poona (now Pune, Maharashtra), resulted from the communal award of Aug. 4, 1932, made by the British government. Mahatma Gandhi objected to the provision of separate electorates for the Scheduled (formerly "untouchable") Castes, which in his view separated them from the whole Hindu community. Though in prison, Gandhi announced a fast unto death, which he began on September 18. B. R. Ambedkar, the untouchable leader, who felt that his group's special interests might be advanced by the government's system, resisted concessions until Gandhi was near death. He and the Hindu leaders then agreed to the pact, which withdrew separate electorates but gave increased representation to the Scheduled Castes for 10-year period. Ambedkar complained of blackmail, but the pact marked the start of movement against untouchability within the Indian nationalist movement. Source: http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/469892/Poona-Pact, accessed on 6 May 6, 2014, 3:00 pm IST.

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5

TRIBAL COMMUNITY AND POLITICS

Objectives

Study of this unit enables you to:

● Explain the meaning and nature of Tribal communities in India

● Understand the historical background and politics

● Discuss main characteristics and political orientation

● Understand the problems and solutions of tribal politics

I. Introduction

India is a heterogeneous and diverse society. The most indigenous and old communities are recognized as the *'tribes'. In India, the local equivalent of the term 'tribe' is often assumed to be 'jana' or 'communities of people' based on the usage of the term in ancient Buddhist and puranic texts. In this conception, the term jana was used in opposition to the term jati to indicate that these communities were outside the jati or hierarchical caste system of social organisation* (Xaxa: 2014, 51). It has the second largest population of tribal communities in the world after Africa. *The category of 'tribe' entails a social and cultural dimension but the Scheduled Tribe category has politico-administrative implications (*xaxa: 2013). The tribal population in India accounts for around 8.6 per cent. They represent the wide ranging diversity of groups. *'There is a huge diversity within the tribal community also. They vary among themselves in respect of language and linguistic traits, ecological settings in which they live, physical features, size of the population, the extent of acculturation, dominant modes of making a livelihood, level of development and social stratification* (Xaxa, Virginus). Although tribal groups are unique they share some of the common issues such as lack of adequate political representation, economic deprivation and cultural discrimination. Especially, the political voice of the tribes has remained on the margins.

They face two major difficulties, one is the distinction between caste and tribal identity and the second is the distinction between peasants and tribes. Nevertheless, the non-tribal groups can learn a lot from them about respect of protection of the environment, ecology, culture and methods to gain life skills.

II.   Definition :

According to the **Imperial Gazetteer of India,** a tribe is a collection of families bearing a common name, speaking a common dialect, occupying or professing to occupy a common territory and is not usually endogamous though originally it might have been so.

According to the **Oxford Dictionary** ''A tribe is a group of people in a primitive or barbarous stage of development acknowledging the authority of a chief and usually regarding themselves as having a common ancestor.

D.N Majumdar defines a tribe as a social group with territorial affiliation, endogamous with no specialization of functions ruled by tribal officers hereditary or otherwise, united in language or dialect recognizing social distance with other tribes or castes.

T.B Naik has given the following features of tribes in the Indian context :

- A tribe should have the least functional interdependence within the community.
- It should be economically backward (i.e. primitive means of exploiting natural resources, the tribal economy should be at an underdeveloped stage and it should have multifarious economic pursuits).
- There should be comparative geographical isolation of its people.
- They should have a common dialect.
- Tribes should be politically organized and community panchayat should be influential.
- A tribe should have customary laws.

Naik argues that for a community to be a tribe it should possess all the above-mentioned characteristics and a very high level of acculturation with outside society debars it from being a tribe. Thus term usually denotes a social group bound together by kin and duty and associated with a particular territory (Naik: 1968, 269).

III. Characteristics of Tribals :

The tribal communities in India have lived glorious times. Gondwana empire is a testimony of it. But during the British regime they suffered a lot of persecution, oppression, exploitation and criminalisation. Regulation XIII of 1833 created Non-Regulatory Provinces for civil and criminal justice, collection of land revenue etc. The British government had declared some of the tribal communities as 'criminal tribes', which is a gross violation and abuse of human rights to dignity.

After independence, the Indian constitution made special provisions under Article 342 of the constitution for the SC and ST groups in 1950. 5th schedule of the constitution provides that, area 'such areas as the President may by order declare to be Scheduled Areas. At present 10 states namely Andhra Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Gujrat, Himachal Pradesh, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Odisha, Rajasthan and Telangana are notified under the 5th schedule area. Parliament and state legislatures are also empowered to create tribal autonomous regions out of the ambit of 5th & 6th Schedules. For example – Leh Autonomous Hill Development Council, Kargil Autonomous Hill Development Council, Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council.

1. Geography and Demography :

The 'tribal' or *'Adivasis'* of India, accounts for 8.6 per cent of the country's population consisting of 10,42,81,034 persons. Draft National Tribal Policy, 2006 records 698 Scheduled Tribes in India. As per the Census of India 2011, the number of individual groups notified as Scheduled Tribes is 705 (Census: 2011).

A. Demographic Composition:

It is spread across the states of Odisha, Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Maharashtra, Gujarat, Rajasthan, Andhra Pradesh, Telangana and West Bengal. Approx 12 per cent inhabit the North-Eastern region, 5 per cent in the Southern region and 3 per cent in Northern states. While the Bhils and Gond tribe are found in MP, Maharashtra and parts of Rajasthan regions, the Mundas, Oraons and Santhals are predominant in Jharkhand and West Bengal. The southern part inhabits Chenchus,

Todas, and Kurumbas, and very small endangered communities in the Andamans, like the Jarawas, Onge, and Sentinelese. The North-East region of India has a strong presence of Naga and Kuki tribes (Nagaland, Manipur), Khasis (Meghalaya, Assam), Garos (Assam, Mizoram, Meghalaya), Mizos (Mizoram), Bodos (Assam), Chakmas (Mizoram- Bangladesh) and many other small subtribes. Though, all the tribes have unique characteristics, unfortunately they are measures with one single yard-stick in respect of policy making and representation.

B.   Geography :
The five broad regional groupings of tribes:

Himalayan Region (a) North-eastern Himalayan region, (b) Central Himalayan region, and (c) North-Western Himalayan region).

Middle Region (Bihar, Jharkhand, West Bengal, Odisha, Madhya Pradesh, and Chhattisgarh where more than 55 per cent of tribal people of India live).

Western Region (Rajasthan, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Goa, Dadra and Nagar Haveli).

Southern region (Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka and Kerala).

Island Region (Andaman and Nicobar in the Bay of Bengal and Lakshadweep in the Arabian Sea).

Viginus Xaxa committee in its report submitted to Prime Minister in 2014 has cited the following districts of different states with a substantial presence of Tribal population in the states other than Northeast regions :

State	Areas
Andhra Pradesh	Visakhapatnam, East Godavari, West Godavari, Adilabad, Srikakulam, Vizianagaram, Mahboobnagar, Prakasam (only some mandals/villages are scheduled mandals)
Jharkhand	Dumka, Godda, Devgarh, Sahabgunj, Pakur, Ranchi, Singhbhum (East&West), Gumla, Simdega, Lohardaga, Palamu, Garwa, (some districts are only partly tribal blocks)
Chhattisgarh	Sarbhuja, Bastar, Raigad, Raipur, Rajnandgaon, Durg, Bilaspur, Sehdol, Chindwada, Kanke
Himachal	Lahaul and Spiti districts, Kinnaur, Pangi tehsil and Bharmour sub-tehsil in Chamba district
Madhya Pradesh	Jhabua, Mandla, Dhar, Khargone, East Nimar (khandwa), Sailana tehsil in Ratlam district, Betul, Seoni, Balaghat, Morena
Gujarat	Surat, Bharauch, Dangs, Valsad, Panchmahl, Sadodara, Sabarkanta (parts of these districts only)
Maharashtra	Thane, Nasik, Dhule, Ahmednagar, Pune, Nanded, Amravati, Yavatmal, Gadchiroli, Chandrapur (parts of these districts only)
Odisha	Mayurbhanj, Sundargarh, Koraput, Malkangiri, Rayagada, Narayanpur (full), Raigada, Keonjhar, Sambalpur,Kondmals, Ganjam, Kalahandi, Bolangir, Balasor (some blocks)
Rajasthan	Banswara, Dungarpur (fully tribal districts), Udaipur, Chittaurgarh, Siroi (some areas)

The list above only serves as a broad outline of the Scheduled Areas and does not constitute an exhaustive and detailed catalogue of areas under the Fifth Schedule. (As given in Xaxa committee report, p. 61).

Northeast is often viewed as a singular and homogeneous entity, the region is highly diverse with over 200 tribes and sub-tribes, each of which has their languages, culture and political structures. Northeast differs from tribes in other parts of India, particularly in terms of their (Xaxa: 2014, 34-35)

2. Lnaguages :

The Islands are administered as a Union Territory under the Central Government and are home to some of the smallest tribes such as the Great Andamanese, Onge, Jarawa and the Sentinelese.

Indo-European-only a little over one per cent of the tribal population speak languages of this family, the Bhil and Halbi tribes being the two main groups among them.

Dravidian family languages are spoken by tribes such as the Gond, Khond, Koya, Oraon, and Toda.

Tibeto-Burman languages are spoken by the tribes of the Himalayas and Northeast India.

Austro-Asiatic family of languages is spoken only by tribals in the country like the Santhal, Munda, and Ho. (Xaxa: 2014,

3. Tribals and Natural Resources:

More than 50 per cent of country's natural resources and minerals are found in Tribal populated districts. But it is seldom used for the economic upliftment of the tribals. The states like Jharkhand, Odisha and Chhattisgarh have sizeable presence of mineral reserves. For example- Coal - 70 %, Iron ore- 80 %, Bauxite - 60 %, Chromites near 100 %. According to Centre for Science and Environment, *'about half of the mineral- producing district are tribal district.'*

IV. Provisions of Autonomous Hill Councils

India has more than 100 million tribal population. The constitution has made provisions for them in the Fifth and Sixth Schedule in 1949 itself. The fifth schedule is effective in those states, that has a overwhelming tribal population and the sixth schedule covers the north-eastern regions along the borders of China and Myanmar. Assam, Tripura, Meghalaya and Mizoram regions are placed under Article 244 of the 6th Schedule of the Indian Constitution. Article 280 has been amended in 2019 to give increase the financial resources, powers and autonomy of the hill councils in Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram and Tripura This schedule empowers the District and Regional Hill Councils to make laws on various subjects, receive grants - in - aid from the Consolidated find of India for the developmental schemes and projects such as education, health care, roads, agriculture, community welfare etc. It is a fact that

tribal communities are one of the most vulnerable groups in the country. They still live in isolation from mainstream development. Though the British authorities inflicted enormous atrocities against them, they also made separate administrative arrangements. The *Adivisis* have continuously rebelled against British atrocities. Satal Hul of 1855 - 1856, the Birsa Ulgulan of 1895 - 1900, the Tana Bhagat Movement of 1914 - 1920 and Bastar bhumkal of 1910 were major Adivasi rebellions against the British.

The District hill councils play a very effective role in the centralization of administration and protect the customs, culture, ethnic - linguistic identity of the tribal community. However, the break down of law and order, inter- state conflicts, ethnic conflicts often make these hill councils remain helpless spectator. Also, lack of own financial resources put a greater challenge before them. The 6th schedule remains under the executive authority of the state but the legislative and Parliamentary acts do not apply to them or applied with modifications and exception. They have been conferred upon limited Civil and Criminal judicial power, like establishing village courts for small causes. However, their jurisdiction is subject to the jurisdiction of the high court of respective state/s. There are 13 autonomous district councils in 6 major states of north-east. They are as following:

Sr. No.	State	Name/s of the Hill Councils
1	Assam	1. Bodoland Territorial Council, 2. Karbi Anglong Autonomous Council and 3. Dima Hasao Autonomous District Council.
2	Meghalaya	4. Garo Hills Autonomous District Council, 5.Jaintia Hills Autonomous District Council and 6. Khasi Hills Autonomous District Council.
3	Tripura	7. Tripura Tribal Areas Autonomous District Council.
4	Mizoram	8. Chakma Autonomous District Council, 9. Lai Autonomous District Council, 10. Mara Autonomous District Council.
5	Jammu & Kashmir	11. Leh Autonomous Hill Development Council, 12. Kargil Autonomous Hill Development Council,
6	West Bengal	13. Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council.

Source: Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India.

V. Constitutional and Policy Provisions for Tribes :

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

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

V. Problems of Tribals

1. Land and Displacement:

Development with a human face is the core philosophy of 'sustainable development. However, the tribal people always face the problem of displacement due to projects like highways, bridges, dams, factory, mining, hydroelectric projects etc. Lack of proper planning and adequate rehabilitation policy, the tribals are displaced and thrown out of their place. For example *Bailadilla* iron mine in Bastar, *Hirakund* and Upper Indravati hydroelectric projects in Orissa, *Sardar Sarovar* dam project, POSCO steel plant in Odisha are some of the live examples. Apart from displacement, the two other axes of tribal politics are struggles over the forest and everyday encounters with the police. *About 40 per cent of those displaced by dam-building belong to the Scheduled Tribes* (Xaxa: 2014). Scheduled Tribes constitute about eight per cent of the country's population; they are disproportionately represented in the number of displaced persons.

The tribal people have been living in their place for many centuries. They are natural inhabitants of their place. However, neither the British. nor the governments in independent India cared about issuing land ownership documents to the tribals living in their place. The government often gives excuses of development or the forest rules or environmental regulations to evict the innocent tribes from the place.

2. Socio-Cultural Marginalization:

The popular culture and mainstream media often present the tribals and their culture as backward and inferior. The rapid westernization has attacked Indian culture especially indigenous communities, which has increased the marginalisation of tribal communities. On the other hand, the culture, tradition and customs are facing decline or extinction. Their festival, arts, handicraft, languages, dialects and scripts need a lot of protection, encouragement and global exposure to survive.

3. Granting Special protection:

The tribal groups need special provision to protect their minority interest. many tribal groups follow different religions like Christianity, Islam or worship nature. Due

to this intra-group conflict within tribal groups is on the rise. They become victims of communalism and religious conversion creates insecurity of their lives and rights. The tribals are mostly worshiper of nature, but the competitive nature of various religious groups to bring them or retain them in their fold is a major problem for the tribals.

4.   Economic Backwardness:

The Economic disparity of tribals is a major problem. Due to the deprivation of natural and forest resources, unemployment and exploitation make their life worse. They live under acute poverty. The level of nourishment among women and children of tribal groups is the highest in the country. This leads to a lot of health problems. Their development is hindered by poverty. Many of them are not able to get the benefit of welfare schemes such as health, food, education and employment launched by the governments because they do not have enough documents. There exists a huge gap between the approved budget and the funds received from the State Government which has had a direct impact on the development of these tribal communities. They are also dependent upon state governments for decisions regarding the undertaking of developmental activities in their region. Due to the extensive corruption, development in these regions is seen to be a non-existing phenomenan. Lack of coordination between the States governments and Department of Planning and Development, Hill Areas Department and the Autonomous councils has resulted in the lackadaisical implementation of the development work.

5.   Illiteracy

The literacy rate as per Census 2011 is 73 % but for STs is 59 % only. However, the rate of literacy varies from state to state. As per Census 2011, the rate of literacy in India is 72.99% whereas that of it in scheduled tribes is 59%. State-wise, the rate of literacy in scheduled tribes is highest in Mizoram (91.7%) and lowest in Andhra Pradesh (49.2%). Among union territories, the highest rate of literacy in scheduled tribes is in Lakshadweep (91.7%).

The census 2011 data also indicate that some states with a higher concentration of tribal population have been doing extremelywell. They are Mizoram(91.5%), Nagaland(80.0%), Manipur(77.4%) and Meghalaya (74.5%). Whereas some states

with more number of tribal habitations continue to perform very low. They are Jharkhand (57.1%),Madhya Pradesh(50.6%),Orissa(52.2%),Rajasthan(52.2%) and Andhra Pradesh (49.2%). The overall literacy rate of the Schedule Tribe in Odisha increased from 23.4% in 2001 to 41.2% in 2011. Despite this improvement it remained lower than the national average which stood at 47.1 per cent (**Source: Data highlights: the scheduled tribes Census of India 2011).**

6. Health, hygiene and Superstition:

The Tribals worship nature and community deity. In case of illness or health problems, they prefer herbal treatment and/or worshiping the god. There is a wide-spread of witchcraft and superstition as well. Due to ignorance and negligence, many of them end up suffering a lot of health hazards. They are exploited by *tantriks* in the name of performing rituals and witchcraft. Along with this their lifestyle such that, they are forced to live unhygienic life. Particularly, the tribal women suffer a lot of gynacological problems. Moreover, the tribal community easily gets trapped into alcohol, tobacco and other forms of substance abuse, which makes them a victims of major diseases. Thus men, women and children face a lot of health issues, which is detrimental to their development.

7. Naxalite Movement:

Tribals are the worst victims of the Naxal violence. The armed conflict between Naxals and Security forces result into the killing and injury of innocent tribes living in those regions. The state of Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Bihar, Odisha and West Bengal among others where tribals face double jeopardy. The counter-insurgency operation known as the *Salwa Judum* in Chhattisgarh has resulted in rapes, murders, arson, looting and intimidation in the name of defeating the Maoists.

A study conducted by research scholar Dr. Varnika Sharma revealed that *"92 per cent of rebels had joined the movement because of their attraction towards the 'Army-like' green uniform, guns, Maoist influence among villagers, besides obsession for dance, sloganeering and other activities of Chetna Natya Manch (a cultural outfit of Maoists)."* However, it is an oversimplification of the causes

that leads the tribals in the network of Naxalites. Amongst other prominent causes are poverty, unemployment, personal/ ancestral enmity are also the reasons highlighted by rebels for joining the movement, she said.

Surprisingly, the same study suggests that *"none of them were influenced by the Maoist ideology to enter into guerrilla warfare." The research also reveals that maximum cadres (about 33 per cent) deserted the movement after being impressed with the government's surrender policy, while around 25 per cent of them left the outfit due to illness, Ms. Sharma said. Besides, 17 per cent of the Naxals dissociated with the movement due to internal rift and differences among top Naxal leaders while about 13 per cent quit the movement due to exploitation by senior cadres* (The Hindu: 2015).

They are constantly intimidated by the Naxals for resources, money, food and shelter and tortured by the police for alleged helping the Naxals. Therefore, they have no way left to live a peaceful life.

8. Vicious Nexus of Politics- Market - Mafia:

The tribals are a victim of politicians, market and criminal elements. When they join hands together, they make the life of tribals very difficult. Corrupt and selfish politicians often join hands with business interests, contractor and industrialist, who come to their areas seeking land and forest resources. The local leaders also found hands in globes with the smugglers, poachers and criminals who indulge illegal mining, cutting of woods, killing animals or encroaching upon forest lands. Due to this, they are subjected to bonded labour or forced labour. They are made to dangerous work without adequate safety measures. It is often brought to notice that the tribal women are physically abused by these elements.

VI. Conclusion :

Tribals are a distinct community. They are very close to mother nature. They suffer a lot due to inter as well as external factors like superstition, substance abuse, illiteracy and exploitation by market forces, criminal elements as well as politicians.

Thus, the national commission for tribals needs to address their issues more aggressively to protect the identity, culture, language and customs of the tribals across the country. They also need to be included in the mainstream of national development through education, health, technology. The potential of more than 10% population of the nation should be developed and utilized to make India a better nation for all.

Questions for Exercise

1. What is the meaning and characteristics of Tribals in India?

2. Critically examine the status of Tribals in India.

3. What is the role of Autonomous Hill Councils?

4. What are the main problems of Tribals in India?

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6

WOMEN AND POLITICS

Objectives

After studying this material the students would be able to:
- Role and status of women in Indian patriarchy
- Socio- Economic and Cultural forces of patriarchy
- Women's participation in politics
- Causes of under- representation
- Some remedial steps for women empowerment

Chapter Scheme

I.   **Introduction**

II. **Women and Politics in India**

III. **Status of Women's Representation**
    1. History of Role of Women in Politics
    2. Role of Women During Freedom movement
    3. Women in Indian Politics after Independence
    4. Current Situation and Women's Participation
    5. Women's Reservation bill: a long wait

IV. **Causes of low Participation of women in politics**
    1. Domestic Factors
    2. Lack of Family Support
    3. Social Attitudes
    4. Financial Dependence
    5. Role of Political Parties

V.   **Possible remedies/Solution**
    1. Global Lessons for India
    2. Women's Reservation
    3. Change in Social Attitude
    4. Awareness and Education

VI. **Conclusion**
    Question for Practice
    References

I. Introduction

In a patriarchal society rights are enjoyed by men and duties are enforced upon women. The condition further deteriorates when it comes to sharing the political and decision-making power with the women. Thus, most of the modern democracies have remained patrilineal. The constitutions adopted by them reflect the power of the patriarch. For example women's reservation bill in India. According to UNICEF observations, *'In all South Asian countries, patriarchal values and social norms keep gender inequalities alive. Discriminatory practices begin even before birth and affect every aspect of a child's future'* (UNICEF). Women account for around half of the population in every society. But their representation in social life and political institutions is always disproportional to this number. The issue of gender equality and women's representation is a very old demand. Wh French Declaration of Right of Man and citizen 1789 was made, it was offensive to the women. They also organized a conference and made a parallel declaration on 'Rights of Women and Citizen. Also, women were denied decisive positions in society and polity. For example the US got independence in 1776 and proclaimed the Bill of Rights in 1791 but the women were made to wait till 1920 to get the right to vote, a fundamental political right and values in a democracy. Similarly, UK the mother of democracies also accepted women's right to vote in 1928 only. France gave universal suffrage to women in 1944. It indicates the reluctant patriarchal nature of European and American society and polity. Although women's representation in politics of South Asian nations is low but they gave universal adult suffrage to men and women right from day one.

Title page of the 1792 American edition of Mar**y Wollstonecraft's 'A Vindication of the Rights of Woman: With Strictures on Political and Moral Subjects'**. '*It was one the most revolutionary book that strengthens the feminist movement during 19th century. In late 14th- and early 15th-century France, the first feminist philosopher, **Christine de Pisan,** challenged prevailing attitudes toward women with a bold call for female education. Her mantle was taken up later in the century by Laura Cereta, a 15th-century Venetian woman who published **Epistolae familiares (1488; "Personal Letters"**; Eng. trans. Collected Letters of a Renaissance Feminist), a volume of letters dealing with a panoply of women's complaints, from denial of education and marital oppression to the frivolity of women's attire'* (Brunell, L. and Burkett, . Elinor (2020). In India also Raja Mohan Roy, Mahatma Jyotirao Phule, Savitribai Phule did a remarkable job in the field of women empowerment.

India ranks 153 out of 190 nations in the percentage of women in the lower house of world parliaments. According to a list compiled by the Inter-Parliamentary Union, Rwanda ranks first with 61% of its lower house representatives being women.

Globally the average of women's representation is roughly 22%. It is further very low in India with around 14.44% of MPs are women (as per 2019 data). Condition in other South Asia countries is better than India. It is falling behind Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Pakistan and Nepal. the Aforesaid facts present a disappointing picture of Women's participation in South Asian politics. As a region, Nordic countries (relating to Scandinavia, Finland, Iceland, and the Faroe Islands) are leaders with an average of about 40%. The UK and the US are relative laggards with 32% and 23%, respectively. The United States' current tally, though still moderate, is upheld by a very strong showing by women in the recent congressional elections. 1/4 Even Pakistan with 20% participation from women is ahead of India.

Women serve as Heads of State or Government in only 21 countries, and 119 countries have never had a woman leader. At the current rate, parity in the highest decisions of power will not be reached for another 130 years. Just 10 countries have a woman Head of State, and 13 countries have a woman Head of Government. Only 21 per cent of government ministers were women, with only 14 countries having achieved 50 per cent or more women in cabinets. With an annual increase of just 0.52 percentage points, gender parity in ministerial positions will not be achieved before 2077. The five most commonly held portfolios by women ministers are: Family/children/youth/elderly/disabled; followed by Social affairs; Environment/natural resources/energy; Employment/labour/vocational training, and Women affairs/gender equality (UN Women: 2021).

As far as Indian conditions are concerned, it is not satisfactory. Though, the Indian Constitution secured equal rights, including the right to vote, contest elections, hold public offices and form or join union and association, but their representation in elected bodies remains low. According to an ADR report in 2019, 'The representation of women is even less in Assemblies compared to Parliament. There are only around 9% of women MLAs in the Assemblies of our states'. The Women's Reservation Bill or The Constitution (108th Amendment) Bill, 2008, which aimed to provide one-third reservation of seats in Lok Sabha and all Legislative Assemblies, has lapsed.

As far as their social life is concerned around 50% of them are victims of child marriage. 1 of every 2 girls is married before they reach 18 years of age. In India, it is 47%, Bangladesh with highest cases 52%, Nepal 37%, Afghanistan 33% **(UNICEF report on Gender)**. The patriarchal social structure and preference for a male child is the primary reason behind gender discrimination.

II.   Women and Politics in India

India had 65 women out of 545 members of Parliament (MPs) elected to the 16th and 78 in the 17th Lok Sabha. The percentage of women in Lok Sabha in 2014 was 12%, which increased to 14.22 per cent in 2019. The concept of electoral representation is based upon the population. Thus a state like Uttar Pradesh with a population of over 210 million people has 80 MPs (14 women - 17.5 %), Bihar (3 women 7.9 %) with 120 million population has 40 seats and Maharashtra 6 women - 12.5%) with 120 million population has 48 seats. In the current Maharashtra Assembly only 24 % of women could get elected. The scenario for women Members of Legislative Assemblies (MLAs) across all state assemblies in India is even worse, with the national average being a pitiable 9%. The best among them, Bihar, Rajasthan, and Haryana which have 14% representation while the worst states are Puducherry and Nagaland, which have no women MLAs at all.

III.   Status of Women's Representation in Indian Politics :

1.   History of Role of Women in Politics:

Though, India has a very inspiring history of women playing an active role as a ruler or politicians. **Razia Sultana** (1205–1240) became the only woman monarch to have ever ruled Delhi. The **Gond Rani Durgavati** (1524–1564) ruled for fifteen years before losing her life in a battle with Mughal emperor Akbar's general Asaf Khan in 1564. **Chand Bibi** defended Ahmednagar against the powerful Mughal forces of Akbar in the 1590s. **Rudrama Devi** was a monarch of the Kakatiya dynasty in the Deccan Plateau with capital at Warangal of present-day Telangana from 1263 until her death. **Rani Padmavati** (1303), **Rani Karmavari** (1537), **Tarabai Bhonsale** (1700 - 1708), **Rani Velu Nachiyar** was a queen of Sivaganga estate from c. 1780–1790. She was the first Indian queen to wage war with the East India Company in India. **Rani Abbakka Chowta** was the first Tuluva Queen of Ullal who ruled over parts of coastal Karnataka (Tulu Nadu), India. She fought the Portuguese in the latter half of the 16th century. **Kittur Chennamma** (23 October 1778 – 21 February 1829) was the Indian queen (rani) of Kittur, a princely state in present-day Karnataka. Keladi Chennamma was the queen of the **Keladi Kingdom** in Karnataka. **Lakshmibai, the Rani of Jhansi** (19 November 1828 – 18 June 1858), **Mai Sukhan Dhillon (1824)** was a powerful Sikh ruler of the Majha region, which gained her recognition throughout Punjab to name a few. Women ruled their kingdom effectively and fought dreadfully against the enemy forces.

During the British Raj, many reformers such as Ram Mohan Roy, Dayanand Saraswati, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar and Jyotirao Phule fought for the betterment of women. Peary Charan Sarkar, a former student of Hindu College, Calcutta and a

member of "Young Bengal", set up the first free school for girls in India in 1847 in Barasat, a suburb of Calcutta (later the school was named Kalikrishna Girls' High School). (Wikipedia: 2021). Therefore, it would be wrong to believe, that women were completely denied any role in active politics in ancient, medieval or modern India. However, it was the women from influential elite sections of the society who rose to positions.

2.   Role of Women During Freedom Movement:

During India's freedom struggle women participated actively. Bhima Bai Holkar fought bravely against the British colonel Malcolm guerrilla warfare. Rani Begam Hazrat Mahal of Avadh also fought against the British. Women were equally active in the Non- cooperation movement (1920) launched by Gandhi Ji. Leaders and activists including Kasturba Gandhi, Sarla Devi, Sarojini Naidu, Muthulaxmi Reddy, Susheela Nair, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Sucheta Kriplani, Kamla Nehru, Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit and Swarup Rani displayed courage and persistence in the fight for the nation.

Women were also active in Civil Disobedience and Dandi March (1930) movement. They raised the voice to gain liberty by breaking draconian British rule. The women organised and participated in 'Prabhat Pheris' 'processions' 'picketing' etc. Saorjini Naidu was nominated by Gandhiji to initiate a raid upon Dharasana Salt-works in May 1930. During the movement, Kamla Devi addressed meetings, prepared salt and picketed foreign cloth and liquor shops. Nari Satyagraha Committee, Mahila Rashtriya Sangha, and Ladies Picketing Board played an important role during the period.

Along with active participation in non-violent movements, the women were participating in revolutionary activities also, particularly in Dhaka, Comilla, Chittagong and Punjab regions. Samiti and Suniti, Bina Das, Kalpana Dutta, Preetilatha Waddedar and Durga Bhabhi etc. The British were frighten by the activities of these women revolutionaries.

3.   Women in Indian politics after Independence:

After independence women participated in Indian politics as a member of the constituent assembly and then in first elected parliament. It was for the first time the women had got a right to vote of their free will.

In the first Parliament, 29 women got elected. Subsequently, the increase in literacy rate of women from 8.86 (Census 1951) to 65.46 (Census 2011) but the national average of women's in lower house of the Parliament remained steady from 5 per cent (22 MPs) in 1951 to 14.39 per cent (78 MPs) in 2019. It reflects a serious gender imbalance of representation in Parliament (Source: ECI Website).

4.   Current Situation and Participation of Women in Politics:

As per the data from ECI, out of the total 4896 MPs/MLAs across the country, only 418 or 9% are women. Among MPs, Lok Sabha has 59 (11% of 543 MPs in 2014) and Rajya Sabha has 10% or 23 (10% of 233MPs) women MPs. Among State assemblies, West Bengal 34 (out of 294 MLAs), Bihar 34 (out of 243 MLAs) and Andhra Pradesh 34 (out of 294 MLAs) have the maximum no of women MLAs followed by Uttar Pradesh with 32 women out of 403 MLAs and Rajasthan with 28 women out of 200 MLAs In terms of percentage, among state assemblies, the highest percentage of Women MLAs is from Bihar with 14% (34 out of 243 MLAs) followed by Rajasthan with 14% (28 out of 200 MLAs) women votes and West Bengal with 12% (34 out of 294 MLAs).

The state of Nagaland and Puducherry have NIL representation of the women in their assembly, which is a serious matter of concern on political empowerment of women. However, the rate of female literacy in Nagaland increased from 10.52 per cent (1951) to 80.11 per cent (2011). in Puducherry, the current rate of literacy in 1961 was 43.65 per cent (Economic Survey Data) is 86.55 per cent (2011). Thus, it would be wrong to compare the increase in female literacy did not guaranted the rise in women's representation in politics.

5.   Women's Reservation Bill: A long wait:

If the society is not ready to give the space to Indian women in Parliament, what they deserve the most, then the only way is to reserve 33 per cent seats in Lok Sabha. This argument stems from the fact that the reservation of seats in Panchayats, Local Municipal bodies and state assembly. Though the patriarchy is at work in that as well sooner or later, the women will assume their position as real representatives. The notion of patriarch backed women leader is fading very fast. The original idea for this bill originated from a constitutional amendment that was passed back in 1993. The Women's Reservation Bill was launched as a long term plan to extend this reservation to Lok Sabha and state legislative assemblies. The people who opposed this bill considered this as preferential treatment towards women of India.

The bill for women's reservation was introduced in Lok Sabha in 1996, 1998 and 1999. But it lapsed on each occasion due to a lack of consensus amongst the political parties. The bill was once again introduced in Lok Sabha in 2008. It had the following features:
i.   It reserves one-third of all seats in Lok Sabha and Legislative Assemblies within each state for women.
ii.   There is quota-within-quota for SCs, STs and Anglo-Indians.
iii. The reserved seats will be rotated after each general elections – thus after a cycle of three elections, all constituencies would have been reserved once.

This reservation will be operational for 15 years. This Bill has had a chequered history. A Joint Parliamentary Committee chaired by Geeta Mukherjee examined the 1996 Bill and made seven recommendations. Five of these have been included in the latest 2008 Bill. These are (i) reservation for a period of 15 years; (ii) including sub-reservation for Anglo Indians; (iii) including reservation in cases where the state has less than three seats in Lok Sabha (or less than three seats for SCs/STs); (iv) including reservation for the Delhi assembly; and (v) changing "not less than one-third" to "as nearly as may be, one-third". Two of the recommendations are not incorporated in the 2008 Bill (Madhvan: 2010).

The first is for reserving seats in Rajya Sabha and Legislative Councils. The second is for sub-reservation for OBC women after the Constitution extends reservation to OBCs. Article 80 of the Constitution specifies that members of state assemblies will elect Rajya Sabha MPs through a single transferable vote. This implies that the votes are first allocated to the most preferred candidate, and then to the next preferred candidate, and so on. This system cannot accommodate the principle of reserving a certain number of seats for a particular group. Currently, Rajya Sabha does not have reservation for SCs and STs. Therefore, any system that provides a reservation in Rajya Sabha implies that the Constitution must be amended to jettison the Single Transferable Vote system (Madhvan: 2010). Currently, the bill is still pending in the Lower House of Parliament, which is Lok Sabha. The bill will only be passed if the ruling government supports the bill with full force, as they have the majority in Lok Sabha.

IV. Causes of Low Participation of Women in Politics

To understand the ratio of women's participation in Indian politics, we need to understand the socio-cultural, economic, educational and psychological factors. It prepares the ground for encouraging women's participation of women. Women in executive government positions. Therefore, the causes of low participation of women in Indian politics can be examined as followings:

1. Domestic Factors:

Domestic responsibilities are thrust upon women. In a patriarchal set u, the women are expected to perform are the duties within the household. She has to work, care and give birth. It reduces her chance to take an active part in social or political life. It keeps the role of women apolitical. It leads to male members making political decisions like whom to vote, which party to join, contesting elections, after getting elected to any public office her decisions and functions are managed by the male members of the family behind the curtains. There is also a view prevalent that politics

would require compromising on principles and ethics. Thus her duties in family as daughter, sister, wife, mother etc. becomes a ground of depriving her the political opportunities.

2. Lack of support from family:

Family play a great role in the success of any person. Women are an integral part of any family. They have a lot of responsibilities to look after. Even the family that supports women's participation in politics, expects them to manage it along with domestic responsibilities like cooking, cleaning, taking care of children etc. Thus, joining politics becomes an additional burden on her. Sometimes, the family connects the honours and dignity factor with the life-style of the women. Therefore, the cultural and family impediments have so far discouraged women from taking an active part in politics.

3. Social Attitude:

Indian society is a victim of patrilineal dominance. The attitude of the patriarch is predominant in all family matters. Therefore, women are considered as non- decision making persons in socio-political matters. Also, the perception of society towards women in politics is discouraging. The women who take an active part in movements, revolutions, protest, party meetings or other political activities are not appreciated. The ethics and moral bearings are always put under suspicion. It becomesquit discouraging for the family and disheartening for the women to adjust such a negative attitude. The patriarchal thought process and the orthodox view of women restrict their opportunities.

4. Financial Dependence:

Due to patrilineal character of society, most of the resources are under the control of men. Right from ownership of property, family business, land title, house to cash income of the family are under the control of men. Therefore, the women can not take any decision which includes expenditures, investments, donation or contribution social or political activities. Even, women who have their earnings/income have very small control over it. It is controlled and used by the male members of society. The economic class of the women also matter. The women belonging to upper economic strata, can hire domestic help and other services for pay. It saves them time and energy to think and participate in political activities. On the other hand the women belonging to lower economic strata are busy with household work, hence do not get time to think and participate in politics. Although, the law now provides for an equal share of women in the parental property and wealth the social and emotional mindset is still not very encouraging in sharing the wealth with women. This is one of the most desired areas of empowerment we need in Indian society.

5. Role of Political Parties:

Germany and France have a unique way of reservation of seats for women. It is done at the party level itself. 33 per cent of party tickets and positions are reserved for women. This ensures a fair representation of women. Indian political parties have failed at this frontier as well. There are many parties like Indian National Congress (INC)- led by Ms. Sonia Gandhi, Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) - led by Mayawati, AIADMK - led by late J. Jayalalitha, Trinamool Congress (TMC)- led by Ms. Mamta Banarjee but these parties couldn't provide adequate positions and party tickets to the women. They also followed the male dominant political narratives. There is no system to ensure women's representation in political parties. The leadership of the parties are under the control of males, who come from the same traditional social-cultural background where the role of women is minimal.

However, the country can boast of having had, in the past a woman prime minister (Indira Gandhi), and several chief ministers (Sucheta Kripalani, Nandini Satpathy, J. Jayalalitha, Rabri Devi, Vasundhara Raje for example) Sharma.

V. Possible Solutions :

1. Global Lessons for India:

While women dominate Rwanda's national legislature (thanks to the thirty per cent quota for women in parliament and government), a 2014 electoral law in Bolivia required 50 per cent of each political party's list to be women. Similarly countries like Mexico, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, South Africa etc., to have legislated quotas that women are elected in their respective parliaments (D'Cruz: 2020). There are many democracies in the world that has satisfactory representation of women in highest representative body. Counties like Bangladesh and Pakistan are ahead of India. Thus, India need to learn a lesson from these counters and create ways for women to participate in politics.

2. Women's Reservation:

The reservation of 33 per cent seats for the women at Panchayat, Municipal, State Assembly and Parliament is the need of he day. The women's reservation bill

has been pending in parliament since 1996. after 24 years also, the governments and political parties could not reach any consensus on this matter. But it's high time that the bill is passed. Whatever, apprehensions and concerns are adjoined with the bill must be brought in public for a deliberation. The main concerns about an ethnic and castebased reservation for women also need academic and technical deliberation.

3.   Change of Socio-Cultural Attitude:

The mind set of Indian patrilineal society needs a radical reform. The social prejudices like women are for bearing and rearing the child should change. As it was projected by the feminist movement, that, 'personal is political'. The personal is political, also called the private is political, political slogan expressing a common belief among feminists that the personal experiences of women are rooted in their political situation and gender inequality. Although the origin of the phrase "the personal is political" is uncertain, it became popular following the publication in 1970 of an essay of the same name by American feminist Carol Hanisch, who argued that many personal experiences (particularly those of women) can be traced to one's location within a system of power relationships (Kelly : 2017).

As Amaritya Sen also said in 'Social Exclusion' that the women rights should be treated as a matter of 'entitlement' not as compassion or mercy. Society must check and remove the impediments, which exist as a result of its own conservative and narrow attitude and culture. The women will be able to lead their own way of development and empowerment.

4.   Awareness and Education:

Low political participation is a general trend in India. People have a very negative approach towards politics and politicians. When it comes to women, the situation further deteriorates. Therefore, we need extensive political awareness, political education in formal as well as in formal ways. There is a need to teach the lessons on positive and good citizenship and politics. the politicians and parties should also consider it as their responsibility to ensure the equality and fair representation of women in decision making and elected offices. This will certainly increase women's participation in politics.

Conclusion :

Despite enormous difficulties, women have certainly made a long way in Indian politics. Due to the increase in literacy and opportunities the role and impact of women have been increasing. But it would be wrong to conclude that the political isolation of women is over. A lot needs to be done. The government and society should work together to empower women through equal opportunity and participation. It is possible through education, awareness, making of laws, reservation of seats for women.

Questions for Exercise

1. Examine the causes of the low representation of women in India.
2. What are the ways to increase women's participation in politics?
3. Write a note on role of women in society and politics since ancient times.
4. Comment on the current status of women in Indian politics.

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7

RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES AND SECULAR POLITICS

Objectives

After studying this chapter, the learners will be able to:

● **To gain knowledge about multi- religious Indian Society**

● **Understand the Constitutional freedom of religion**

● **To be able to explain the concept of secularism and secular politics**

● **Understand and causes and remedial steps on communal politics**

I. Introduction

India is a land of every faith and religions in the world. Hinduism is the main religion of this country. Besides, Buddhism, Jainism, Sikhism are also born in this land and spread across the world. Christianity, Zoroastrianism, Islam and Judaism came to India after the 7th century AD. It came with the invaders and missionaries. The enormous diversity of India is flexible to accommodate everything into it. Also, the religions in India have always coexisted with political authorities. They enjoyed royal patronage and protection. In return the religious heads would guide and help the state to practice 'just' and 'unjust'. Right and wrong. They would also act as a mechanism to convince the people about the decisions made by the state. As per the census 2011 data, the population ratio of various religious communities is as following:

Religion	Percent	Estimated	State/UT Majority
Hindu	79.80 %	96.62 Crores	28
Muslim	14.23 %	17.22 Crores	2
Christian	2.30 %	2.78 Crores	4
Sikh	1.72 %	2.08 Crores	1
Buddhist	0.70 %	84.43 Lakhs	-
Jain	0.37 %	44.52 Lakhs	-
Other Religion	0.66 %	79.38 Lakhs	-
Not Stated	0.24 %	28.67 Lakhs	-

Source: Census of India, 2011, https://www.census2011.co.in/religion.php. retrieved

II.   The Concept of Secularism :

The term "Secular" means being 'separate' from religion, or having no religious basis. A secular person is one who does not owe his moral values to any religion. His values are the product of his rational and scientific thinking. Secularism means separation of religion from political, economic, social and cultural aspects of life, religion is treated as a purely personal matter. It emphasized dissociation of the state from religion and full freedom to all religions and tolerance of all religions. It also stands for equal opportunities for followers of all religions, and no discrimination and partiality on grounds of religion. In 1945 Pandit Nehru wrote, *'I am convinced that the future government of free India must be secular in the sense that government will not associate itself directly with any religious faith but will give freedom to all religious functions'* (Rajshekharaiah, A: 1987).

III.   Value Dimensions of Secularism in India

The basic principle of a secular state is that religion and state must be separated. It was Italian thinker Machiavelli who for the first time suggested separation of 'religion and state'. Former President of India, Dr. S. Radhakrishanan in his book *'The recovery of faith'* said '*the religious impartiality of Indian state is not to be confused with atheism. Secularism is defined in accordance with ancient religious traditions. It tries to build-up a fellowship of believers, not by subordinating individual qualities to the group mind but by bringing them to harmony with each other* (President Radhakrishnan: 1956).

1.   Secularism as a Civic Value

The 'civic' life of the Indian state are based upon 'secular' values. Citizenship and rights are enjoyed by the people on secular criteria. Secularism is the basis for civic equality in India. As Hoveyda and Kumar said in *Political Theory 'civic equality also implies equality of all citizens to have their conscience. This means equality of religious rights such as the right to believe and profess a religion'* (Hoveyda & Kumar: 2012, 333). Thus the civic value of secularism also provides the right to every citizen to have a conscience and scientific temperament. Thus every Indian citizen has the freedom to have religion or not to have a religion. The secular values of Indian state treats religion and conscience as personal and private matter of an individual. Hence, the public or social value of secularism in India means adherence to the 'civic' life of the nation, without bringing personal likes- dislikes or bias and prejudices into

public life. Everyone is free to follow the religion or faith of their choice, but no one can pressurize, punish or force others for the same.

2.   Secularism as a Constitutional Value

The right to freedom of religion is an important value of modern liberal democracy. Right to freedom of speech and expression, union and association implies the right to freedom of religion and form and join religious union or associations. The freedom of religion is provided in Article 25 to 28 of Part III (Fundamental Rights) of Indian constitution. The preamble of the constitution aims at making India a 'secular' republic. The 'liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship' is loudly declared in the preamble. Art. 25 to 28 ensures a fine balance between private conscience and public morality as far as religion is concerned.

Article 25 : Freedom of Conscience, Profess, Practice and Propagate Religion.

Article 26: Freedom to manage religious affairs.

Article 27: Freedom as to payment of taxes for promotion of any particular religion.

Article 28: Freedom Against religious instructions.

However, these freedoms are subject to public health and morality and laws of the land. No one while adhering to their religious values or practices should heart, degrade, defame the similar values of other person/s. Also, the State and its organs (Government departments) are prohibited from directly or indirectly endorse any religion, faith or other such values. The institutions fully or partially receiving grant, aid, the contribution from the government can not indulge in any religious practices. But at the same time it will not create any impediments in the way of religious freedom. Thus Indian constitution is neutral and equal towards all the religions and faith within its territory. Therefore the Indian constitution provides for 'neither religious nor against it but it is a-religious (neutral) state'.

In S.R. Bommai vs. UOI, It was held that '*Religious tolerance and equal treatment of all religious group and protection of their life and property and the places of their worship are an essential part of secularism enshrined in our constitution. while the citizen of this country is free to profess, practice and propagate such religion, faith or belief as they choose, so for as the state is concerned i.e. from the point of view of the state, the religion, faith or belief of a person is immaterial to it, all are equal and all are entitled to be treated equally.* (Bommai Vs. UoI: 1994).

3.   Secularism as a Political Values

The constitution of India provides for a secular state. There is no official scope to use or involve religion in political activities. It is established through the procedure laid down in the procedure of registration of political parties, associations, membership of the organisation, electoral campaigning, political literature etc. As per the People's Representation Act. 1951, it is mandatory for the political parties to adhere to the values of secularism and forbade use of religion in party constitution, symbols, electoral manifestos, campaigning etc. Section 123 (2 - b) of PRA 1951 and sub 'clause. 6[(3), prohibits, *'The appeal by a candidate or his agent or by any other person with the consent of a candidates or his election agent to vote or refrain from voting for any person on the ground of his religion, race, caste, community or language or the use of, or appeal to religious symbols or the use of, or appeal to, national symbols, such as the national flag or the national emblem, for the furtherance of the prospects of the election of that candidate or for prejudicially affecting the election of any candidate'* (PRA 1951).

Thus, Section 123(3) of the Representation of the People Act, 1951, as amended in 1961, gave rise to this doubt. The Supreme Court by a four-three majority, a seven-member Bench has ruled that it is a general prohibition on the use of religion or any other communal or sectarian value in the electoral arena. The political parties are often found flaunting the norms for an electoral gain during the elections.

4.   Secularism as a Human Rights Values

'Secularism is vital for the implementation of human rights' (Bennoune: 2007). It is highly difficult to champion the cause of secularism without making grounds for Human Rights to be enjoyed by every person in society.

Article 18 of UDHR (1948) considers freedom of religion as the utmost priority for a democratic society. According to this, *'Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance'* (UNO- UDHR: 1948). The Success of any democracy lies in securing rights of the citizens. Secularism is a novel value, that strengthens the state and society. Like Human rights, secularism is also a universal value endorsed by most of the democracies on the earth. However, sometimes the fundamentalist forces try to oppress the secular character of the state, like Turkey. Indian has always endorsed values of

secularism and human rights. Right since ancient times this land gave the philosophy of *'sarve bhavantu sukhinah' (may all be happy).* Indian constitution also protects the right to religion of every person. It has also endorsed the human rights charter and established National Commission for Human Rights.

IV. Communalism as a Threat to Secular Politics

Communalism represents a strong feeling of attachment to one's own community. It is opposite to secular values. It is a feeling of orthodox individuals and community. It is a cause of intolerance and hatred towards other religion and faiths. Though, coming together with any community with a constructive approach is not bad. It might help in social-economic upliftment of the people within the community. But when it is used with negative intentions, it creates ideological and identity based rifts in society. It leads to the feeling of we and them.

India has experienced the worst communalism of its kind. On the eve of independence, the nation got divided on communal lines. Muslim league under he leadership of Mohammad Ali Jinnah gave the call for 'direct action', which resulted into massacres across the subcontinent. Bengal, Bihar, Sind, Karachi were worst affected areas. Since then the politics has taken a communal colour. Especially the politics of minority appeasement and aggressive majority behaviour has left inedible marks on secular fabric of the nation. The first communal riot took place during the time of Aurangzeb against his discriminatory religious policy in 1671-81 at Narnaul, Benaras. Hindus and Muslims destroyed temples and mosques and killed each other.

Interestingly Bombay Dog Riots took place in 1832 (6 to 7 June) in South Mumbai area. Pars is were protesting against the British government's killing of stray dogs. During the 19th century AD a lot of Parsi- Muslim riots took place. But after British came to India, the Hindu Muslim conflict become the worst place for communal riots. There has also been other than the Hindu - Muslim riots, like 1991 anti-Tamil violence in Karnataka where Tensions between Kannadi gas and Tamils after the Cauvery river dispute turned into violence. Hindu- Buddhist Riots, Maharashtra (1974), Sikh Riots (1984), Ethnic Riots in North- East (Nagaland, Tripura, Manipur, Mizoram, Assam) against migrant workers were amongst others in India. Therefore, the involvement of religion in politics in neither new, nor the politicians hesitate to resort to the use of religion during elections or for political gain. However, communalism has Wider range of other causes too.

V.   Causes of Communalism

Every socio-political strife finds its base in a range of social, cultural, economic, ideological, political and other significant behavioural factors. It can be understood that, 'the peak of politics of secularism, creates room for communalism'. The Illogical practice of secularism, leads to resentment and a sense of competitive gain of one community over the other. In a multi-faith diverse society like India, it is more likely to happen. Because secularism is often misused by the ruling class or party as a tool of promoting the politics of appeasement. India has better experience of such kind of divisive politics, right from the British colonial era. British policy of 'divide and rule' from time to time resulted in communal riots too. Be it partition of Bengal (1905), Communal Award (1909), encouraging Muslim league and Jinnah or provoking communal leaders, they did not leave any stone unturned in setting Hindus and Muslims against each other. Therefore, the main causes of communalism can be elaborated as follows :-

1.   Legacy of the past.

India suffered the worst kind of communal riots born out of the 'call for direct action' by Jinnah and his two-nation theory. It has created a permanent sense of mutual suspicion and rift between the Hindu and Muslim communities. The political parties always tried to encash this feeling. Despite adhering to the concept of secularism, the ghost of the past always appears in its present and threatens the future as well.

2.   Roll of Communal Leaders.

Gone are the days when politicians like Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi would risk his life to stop communal riots. nowadays the power seeking leaders manipulate public opinion against each other. Sometimes they are instrumental in engineering hatred and communalism through their speeches, writings, actions etc. They promote their political agenda and electoral gain by making communities fight against each other.

3.   Role of Communal Parties and Organization.

Religion is an important agency of political mobilization in India. It is a very soft emotional matter for the public. This sentiment is exploited by politically motivated and affiliated religious organisations in favour of parties to make them strong. They give calls, diktats, *fatwa* during elections. Organisations like *Muslim League, Jamaat Islami, Hindu Mahasabha, Akali Dal, Vishwa Hindu Parishad and AIMIM are*

*directly or indirectly responsible for the emergence of communalism (*Nitisha: 2014). The so called secular parties also indulge in politics of appeasement, which disturbs the secular environment in India.

4.   Minority Approach:

The minority community's assimilation with the mainstream politics and society has been driven by sectarian approach. This leads to the birth of majority communalism. The widening distance and communication gap between minorities and the majority often escalates communal emotions. This emotion is occasionally provoked by religious and community leaders which results in communal riots. Sometimes misleading messages or rumour leads to mistrust, which culminates into communalism.

5.   Overemphasis on Distinct Identity

In a multicultural and heterogeneous society like India, acceptance of others identity and choice is essential. Sometimes, members of minority community over-emphasis on the public manifestation of their identity and rituals. Intentionally or unintentionally it hurts the majority sentiments. Similar, practices are seen in majority community. Such feelings lead to the rejection of values of secularism within the community. Also, when the majority community attempt to ignore, overpower or discourage the minority community to enjoy their distinct identity it creates communal problems. In India public manifestation of celebration of festivals and rituals are leading causes of communal problems.

6.   Illiteracy and Poverty

Illiteracy leads to unemployment and poverty. Due to illiteracy people are easily manipulated and made to believe in false information or partial truths. The unemployed youth false prey at the hand of communal miscreants, who misuse their time, energy and minds by filing it with hatred and criminal intentions towards other communities. Thus, people trapped in mass poverty and ignorance, are likely to indulge more in communal violence than on educated and employed person. The week economic condition and social backwardness breed a sense of rebellion and hatred.

7.   Vote Bank Politics

Indian politics is heavily engrossed in religion. Religious polarization is an easy tool to play vote bank politics. Sometimes, the politicians themselves are at the forefront of communal riots. This is a prevalent nature in pre and post independent India. During the British period Muslim League, Hindu Mahasabha emerged as the

main political fronts. Similarly, leaders in post independent India resort to communal politics. We should also understand that majority and minority community political leaders are equally responsible for communal rifts for vote banks politics.

8.   Hands of Foreign Elements

Along with the domestic factors, cross border forces, terrorist organisations, criminal gangs also keep on attempting to create a communal rift in the society. So that they can achieve their goals by dividing people into communal lines. The Hindu-Sikh communalism was supported by sympathisers of banned terrorist organisation Babar Khalsa. The Hindu- Muslim terrorism is often engineered by Pakistan based terrorist outfits or its intelligence agency ISI. Likewise, anti - India forces keep on tapping anti- national forces within the country to create communal tension.

9.   Misuse of Media and Social Media

Sometimes, the news or any small incident appearing in print, electronic, internet or social media results in communal tension. Mass media is a major source of knowledge and information for the common people in India. People forward and share unauthentic and non verified news, views, rumour on social media like Whatsapp, Facebook etc which leads to communal violence. The outreach of digital and internet media is wide and deep. When it is misused by the communal and anti social elements, it promotes tension between the community. In India people have a tendency for believing without verifying, which makes them a prey of false news and information.

VI. Conclusion

The pattern of communalism and riots in recent times have marked serious threats to secular values in Indian society. Sudha Pai writes, '*our model of 'institutionalization of everyday communalism' suggests that the relationship between communalism and riots has undergone profound change: it is not riots that promote communalism; rather it is the steady and long-term work at the grass roots...* (Pai & Kumar: 2018). Thus, divisive communal past, economic backwardness, pervasive social inequalities, continuing conservative outlook and entrenched caste/communal identities, have contributed to the growth of communalism that impacts the democratic fabric and constitutional framework of our country seriously.

Question for Practice

1. Define the term Secularism and discuss various dimensions to it.
2. What are the main causes of Communal riots in India?
3. Examine the role of religious communalism in Indian politics.
4. Give a brief account of Constitutional provisions relating to religion and secularism.

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POLITICS OF LANGUAGE AND REGIONALISM

Objectives

After studying this chapter, the learners will be able to:

- Understand the meaning and concept of regionalism
- Causes of rising of regionalism in India
- Constitutional provisions about languages
- Positive and Negative aspects of Linguistic sub nationalism
- Secessionist movements and future of regionalism

Chapter Scheme

I.   Introduction
II.   Historical Background
III.   Causes Of Regionalism
IV.   Language And Politics
V.   Linguistics Conflicts
VI.   Constitutional Provisions On Languages
VII.   Conclusion

I. Introduction

Regionalism stands for the expression of linguistic, territorial, demographic and cultural attachment of people in a specific area. It motivates people's sense of belonging, fraternity and togetherness. However, its negative approach leads to the perpetuation of hatred -xenophobia, and ultimately a threat to the 'unity and integrity' of the nation. The movements advocating regionalism and linguistic sub - nationalism emerged after the 1960s. It was seen as a result of the declining of the Congress party and the rise of regional kshatraps (leaders) in various part of the country. Another type of regional movements emerged as a backlash of theory of 'sons of soil' across

the country. Especially in Maharashtra, Punjab and North- Eastern part of the country. The third type of regionalism was the secessionist movement in nature, which advanced the demand for separate 'nationhood' i.e. Khalistan Movement in Punjab, Naga movement in Nagaland and Separatist Movements in Jammu and Kashmir. Apart from this, linguistic sub - nationalism like anti Hindi agitation in Tamil Nadu, Shiv Sena's Movement for the Marathi language in Maharashtra etc. are some of the leading instances of politics and language and regionalism.

Regionalism could exist as an emotion, ideology, programme or process of mobilising and uniting people under a certain banner. If it has a positive motive, it will result in social, educational, economic integration, empowerment and development of the region. Also, creative regionalism never perpetuates any kind of hatred towards migrants. When it acquires a negative mood and agenda, it results in violence, hatred, backwardness and disruptive politics in the region.

II. Historical Background of Reorganization of State :

The British government in India gave differential treatment to presidencies, princely states, and other tribal regions. It led to the birth of feelings of regionalism. The social and economic conditions in different regions were already imbalanced and suffered disparities. The independence movement worked as a source of uniting Indians and accepting the plurality. However, the demand for separate Bihar (1915) the Dravida movement in Madras (1940), Demand for Separate Andhra Pradesh (1953), Sanyukta Maharashtra movement (1956) and secessionist movements in North East India promoted the tendencies of regionalism in India.

After independence the country underwent the process of reorganization of more than 500 princely states. S. K. Dhar Commission (1948) and JVP committee (1949) (named after *Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel, Pattabhi Sitharamaiyah* as members) advocated reorganisation of state on the administrative convenience, geographical contiguity, financial self reliance and potential for development. However, the demand for a separate state on linguistic basis had become violent in Andhra and Maharashtra. Potti Srirammalu, a veteran Gandhian leader went on fast unto death and he passed away after 53 days of fasting. The situation in Andhra and Maharashtra become very volatile. Hence, State Reorganisation Committee (SRC) was set up under Justice Fazal Ali (1953) to look into the possibility of creation of states on

linguistic basis. Nevertheless, none of the above three commissions was in favour of the creation of the state on a linguistic basis. However, the increasing political pressure led to enactment of the State Reorganisation Act. 1956.

However, the North-East part of India faced a lot of insurgency during 1970s and 1980s. Union government passed the North-Eastern state Reorganization Act. 1971. As a result of this union territory Tripura and Manipur (1972) and Sub-Sate of Meghalaya become full state. Mizoram and Arunanchal (tribal district to Union) became states in 1987. However, the demand for a separate state based on linguistic, ethnic or other kept growing. From 2000 till now, the States of Chhattisgarh (2000) out of Madhya Pradesh, Jharkhand (2000) out of Bihar, Uttarakhand (2000) out of Uttar Pradesh and Telangana (2014) out of Andhra Pradesh have come into existence.

III.   Causes   of Regionalism:

The feeling of regionalism or sub-nationalism in India exists and grows due to several reasons. There are multiple factors behind the germination and growth of regionalism in India. It can be broadly categorised under political, economic and constitutional heads. Following are the main causes of regionalism in India:

1.   Constitutional or Federal Arrangements

India is a union of states. The constitution of India has divided the legislative, executive and financial powers between the centre and the states, which gives the constitution a federal character whereas judiciary is integrated into a hierarchical structure (Jagran Josh 2021). The centre-state relations are divided into three parts, which are mentioned below:

(A) Legislative Relations (Article 245-255)

(B) Administrative Relations (Article 256-263)

(C) Financial Relations (Article 268-293)

Articles 245 to 255 in Part XI of the Constitution deal with the legislative relations between the Centre and the State. The legislative powers are divided in to three lists namely a. Union List (100 items), State list (61 items) Concurrent List (52 items) and residuary power in Art. 249. However, the in case of any conflict between the union and state on any law, the union law prevails. The concurrent list also gives an upper hand to the union.

2.   Economic backwardness

The state and different regions in India have developed in an imbalanced manner. Therefore, some of the regions express their discontent over centre governments biased attitude towards their development. The provisions for centre - state financial relations are provided in Article 268 - 293 of Part XII of the Indian constitution. The Constitution has provided independent sources of revenue to Union and States. The Union and States have exclusive power to levy taxes on the subjects mentioned in their legislative list. But Union has an upper hand on taxation over subjects in the concurrent and residuary lists. This uneven model of development resulted in enormous variations. On the one hand state like Tamil Nadu, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Punjab and Haryana are developed owing it to their the industrialisation, one the other hand Bihar, Odisha, Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, UP are still lagging. This results into strengthening of the feeling of regionalism in developed as well as backward states.

3.   Electoral politics

Initially, Indian National Congress was a nationwide predominant party. It leads to centralisation of the party and government. After 1960s many leaders defected the Congress to form a regional political party or join an existing one. After formation of the party, the regional leaders raised the issues of development, ethnic pride, sons of soil etc to mobilise the vote bank. Thus the compulsions of electoral success intensified the emotions of regionalism.

4.   Sharing of resources

The Union and State, State and States have been fighting over securing or protecting their claim over natural resources. For example disputes over water exists in almost every states. Cauvery, Krishna, Narmada water disputes have resulted in great violence. Similarly, the employment opportunities, industrial projects also nurture the feelings of regionalism in India. Recently, the Haryana government passed a law reserving 75 per cent of jobs in the private sector for the local people.

5.   Ethnic or racial pride

Diversity is the strength of India. But sometimes, its negative promotion creates identity-based rifts in society. The political leaders and regional parties often appeal to people in the name of racial, linguistic or ethnic identities. They give the call in the name of 'sons of soil v/s outsiders'.

6.   Linguistic identity

Language has worked as one of the biggest factors of regionalism. Since the states in India are created on the lines of language, therefore, every linguistic group or community takes pride in their language. It also paves ways to hatred towards people speaking other languages. Like Belgavi dispute between Maharashtra and Karnataka.

7.   Leadership

This is one of the most influential factors behind regionalism in India. The leaders with substantial influence in a certain region, try to assert themselves before the union government or national level political parties. It helps them to widen their base on their home turf. Therefore, they provoke, motivate and sometimes lead to parochial regionalism.

IV.   Languages and Politics :

India is a multi-linguistic country. It works as an important source of gaining knowledge and civilizations. The language has a direct connection with the regionalism. The constituent assembly has adopted Hindi as a national language. But, non- Hindi regions especially, South and North Eastern have opposed it strongly. The anti- Hindi agitations in Tamil Nadu and West Bengal become very violent in 1965. Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri's government introduced a three language formula to handle the situation.

1.   Three-language formula

The main aim is to promote national unity and integrity. It also helps to get exposure to rich literature and ideas available in other languages.

First language: Mother tongue of the region shall be the first language or regional language for official and general purposes.

Second language: Hindi is the second language in non- Hindi speaking states and other modern Indian languages, including English is second language in Hindi speaking areas.

Third Language: English or any modern Indian language is adopted as the third language of the region.

V. Linguistics Conflicts :

Initially the states like Tamil Nadu, Tripura and Puducherry were not ready to teach Hindi, on the other hand the states in the Hindi belt did not include any South Indian language in the curriculum. Thus, there is an unending debate about the linguistic unification of India. The states keep on complaining about the inadequacy of resources to follow three language pattern. Because, it requires a huge amount of resources for teaching, translation, publication and scope of employment in that language. The linguistic issue often results in conflict and hatred. It is a pan Indian phenomenon. Thus, linguistic formation of states in India, led to dividing than uniting the people. It is also associated with pride and ego. Therefore, it becomes really difficult to accommodate all the languages. The political leadership has also used language as a tool of dividing the people to promote their vote bank politics. The founding father's of the nation considered language to play the role of a bridge between ideas, cultures and knowledge, but the politics and regionalism and linguistic sub-nationalism have rather created walls.

VI. Constitutional Provisions on Languages :

Indian Constitution is committed to protecting the interest of citizens, especially the minorities. Part III of the constitution provides fundamental rights ensuring the interests of minorities. VIII schedule of the constitution has 22 languages as the official language of India. Official Languages The Eighth Schedule to the Constitution consists of the following 22 languages: (1) Assamese, (2) Bengali, (3) Gujarati, (4) Hindi, (5) Kannada, (6) Kashmiri, (7) Konkani, (8) Malayalam, (9) Manipuri, (10) Marathi, (11) Nepali, (12) Oriya, (13) Punjabi, (14) Sanskrit, (15) Sindhi, (16) Tamil, (17) Telugu, (18) Urdu (19) Bodo, (20) Santhali, (21) Maithili and (22) Dogri. Of these, 14 were initially included in the Constitution. The Sindhi language was added by the 21st Amendment Act of 1967. Konkani, Manipuri, and Nepali were included by the 71st Amendment Act of 1992. Bodo, Dogri, Maithili, and Santhali were added by 92nd Amendment Act of 2003.

Article 29 : This article provides that *'any section of the citizens, having a distinct language, script or culture of its own shall have the right to conserve the same.'*

Article 343: It provides for the provisions of the official language of the Union of India. It says, *'the official language of the Union of India, is to be Hindi in Devnagari script and numerals should follow the international form of Indian numerals'.* further, this article states that English will continue to be used as an official language for 15 years from the commencement of the constitution.

Article 346: This Article provides for the 'authorised' language of communication between the Union and States. If two or more states agree, Hindi could be adopted as a medium of communication.

Article 347:
This Article gives the President power to recognise a language as an official language of a given state, provided that the President is satisfied that a substantial proportion of that state desires that the language be recognize. Such recognised can be effective in part or the whole state.

Article 350A and 350B: Article 350A provides the option to impart primary education and instructions in the mother- tongue of the region. Whereas, Article 350B provides for the appointment of a Special Officer for linguistic minorities. Such an officer shall be appointed by the President of India and it will have the power to investigate in matters relating to the safeguards for linguistic minorities. It submits the report directly to the President of India, who may cause it to be placed before Parliament. If the matter is concerning to any particular state, it can be sent to them as well.

Article 351: This article provides the power to the Union government to issue directives regarding efforts to be made for the development of the Hindi language.

VII. Conclusion

Regionalism and linguistic sub nationalism areone of the greatest threat to the unity and integrity of India as a nation. Its positive manifestation results in development, fair representation, enrichment of language and culture. But, its negative implication has tools to divide the communities and nation. Nevertheless, the genuine problems of states and regions must be resolved at the earliest. Decentralisation of power, fair sharing and transfer of economic resources, fulfilment of union govt. Commitments and avoiding the misuse of constitutional powers under emergency like Art. 356 will certainly control regionalism.

Questions for Practice

1. What do you mean by regionalism? Illustrate with suitable example in India.
2. What are the main causes of regionalism in the India?
3. What are the provision for languages in Indian constitution?
4. How the language and politics works as a source of unity and conflict in India.

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9

ETHNICITY

Objectives

After learning this chapter the learning will be able to:
- Understand the meaning and concept of Ethnicity
- Understand the Ethnic demography in India
- Understand their basic characteristic
- Understand the problems of Ethnic communities

Chapter Scheme

I.   Introduction
II. Ethnicity : Meaning and Definition
III. Basic Characteristics of Ethnicity
IV. Deprivation, Disparity and the State's Response
V.   Conclusion

I. Introduction

While reading about the human society we come across the terms such as 'Ethnicity or Ethnic'. The term Ethnicity loosely refers to race. India is a home to various Ethnic groups. The history of its diversity goes back to the post-*Vedic* era when Aryans arrived in India from central Asian roots. Thus during the ancient and medieval era a lot of invaders came to India from different parts of the world. Such as European, Mangol's, Central Asian, Shaka's, Hun's etc. That is why India has become a land of diverse racial groups. Hence, India got multiple levels of social diversity. A community may be distinguished with its culture, language, religion or a combination of all these factors. Ethnicity and nation building have been one of the leading problems in India. When Ethnicity gets political backing it leads to conflicts.

In several newly formed nations after 1950s, a lot of bloodsheds took place on ethnic lines. Like Pakistan, Nigeria, Canada and Belgium. The question of national unity suffered, ethnic conflicts. With a population of 1,210,193,422 as accounted by

the March 1, 2011 population census, India is a colourful canvas portraying unique assimilation of ethnic groups displaying varied cultures and religions. This uniqueness in the ethnicity of the country is the factor that makes it different from other nations. Moreover, the vastness of India's nationalism, accounting for plethora of cultural extravaganza, religions, etc. is the reason that the country is seen more as a seat for a major world civilization than a mere nation-state.

II. Meaning and Definition

The Ethnic group is a subgroup of a population with a set of shared social, cultural and historical experience. It has distinct beliefs, values and behaviours and often nurtures a strong sense of belonging. Thus, it has biological, cultural and historical connotations for identification as on Ethnic group. '*India as we know has cultural economic and social heterogeneity. The complex ethnic plurality of our nation is a known fact. The ethnic groups vary in size, culture, the consciousness of group identity etc. and very often clear boundaries can be demarcated between the group. The system on the whole is highly segmented and heterogeneous'* (e-gyankosh).

According to Britannica a Encyclopedia, '*Ethnicity refers to the identification of a group based on a perceived cultural distinctiveness that makes the group into a "people." This distinctiveness is believed to be expressed in language, music, values, art, styles, literature, family life, religion, ritual, food,...'* (Encyclopedia, Britannica, 2021).

III. Characteristics

Since ancient times, the spiritual land of India has displayed varied hues of culture, religion, race, language, and so on. This variety in race, culture, religion, etc. accounts for the existence of different ethnic groups who, although, live within the sanctums of one single nation, profess different social habits and characteristics (Know India: 2021). Ethnic communities are different in terms of culture, custom, usages, rituals and lifestyles. They are different in terms of geographical and demographic locations also. The occupation, habitat, natural surroundings influence their Ethnic characteristics. The main characteristics of Indian Ethnic groups are as follows :-

1. Territorial Identity:
Different Ethnic groups spread across India. In North, the Aryan race is predominant, in South the Davidian race, while in North - East the Mongolian Race

exists. It is carefully noteworthy, that the above classification is made on the racial ground, not on the grounds of national identity or citizenship. Regional territories in India play an important role in differentiating these ethnic groups, from their own social and cultural identities.

2. Religious Identity:

The religions that are prevalent in the country are Hinduism, Christianity, Islam, Sikhism, Buddhism, and Jainism, with the freedom for citizens to practice any religion they want to.

3. Regional Identity :

India is a huge country. With the governance of 35 different states and union territories in the country, there has originated a sense of regionalism and sub-nationalism amongst the various parts, with different states displaying different cultures, which although eventually fuse through a common bond to showcase a national cultural identity.

4. Linguistic Identity:

The Constitution of India has recognised 22 different languages that are prevalent in the country, out of which, Hindi is the official language and is spoken in most of the urban cities of India. Other than these 22 languages, hundreds of dialects add to the multilingual nature of the country (Know India: 2021). There are probably hundreds of major and minor languages and many hundreds of recognized dialects in India, whose languages belong to four different language families: Indo-Iranian (a subfamily of the Indo-European language family), Dravidian, Austroasiatic, and Tibeto-Burman (a subfamily of Sino-Tibetan). There are also several isolated languages, such as Nahali, which is spoken in a small area of Madhya Pradesh state. The overwhelming majority of Indians speak Indo-Iranian or Dravidian languages (Encyclopedia Britannica: 2021).

5. Lifestyle based Identity:

Ethnicity in India originates from identities like Caste, Language, Religion and Regional factors. Different Ethnic groups are culturally and socially distinct. The tradition, customs and rituals of each ethnic community are different. Their food, dress and social interaction are different. The vested political interest has often marginalized the Ethnic communities. Therefore, they remain politically marginalized and socially excluded. That is why they often fight for their economic resources.

Conclusion :

Therefore, it can be said that ethnically, India has many nations within one nation. The enormous diversity based on ethnicity makes it a vibrant land of opportunities to learn from each other. However, sometimes its politicisation, results into ethnic conflicts, especially in North East. The communal conflicts in the name of religion or language are also a kind of ethnic clash. Nevertheless, ethnic diversity is the reality of the modern world. As Will Kymlicka has also emphasized on the concept of 'multiculturalism' rather than monolithic society. Cultural diversity has become a central feature of contemporary society, and seems likely to become more so in the immediate future. Increasing contact among societies as a result of improved communication and transportation has made for population movements and population change. Increased diversity in Canada is the result of changing patterns of immigration, with many more people of colour immigrating to Canada. Ethnocultural conflicts have become the main type of political violence around the world - Yugoslavia, Rwanda, Eastern Europe and Central Asia, Middle East, etc.

Questions for Exercise

1. Explain the concept of Ethnicity in India.
2. What are the main characteristics of Ethnic communities in India?
3. Write a note on the Ethnic diversity and problems therein.

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