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## **GRAZING PUBLIC GOODS: PRESSURE GROUPS IN LIBERAL DEMOCRACY**

**AMITA SINGH**

A competitive spread of interest groups in a neo-liberal state has changed the nature of politics by dispersing authority to govern. Most groups function with a plea to overcome capacity deficits of the government and for strengthening democratic participation. While some may be driven by altruistic service provider to people and the nation, most others have proved to be self-interest seeking pressure groups or lobbies to camouflage constitutional safeguards to accountable governance. The recent past and implementation of flagship programmes has proved that they offer substantial benefits to the state in terms of sustained political support but also increase citizens' vulnerability to lack of distributive justice. Most groups become unaccountable partners in governance and distribution of public goods to weaken democratic institutions. The plea of this article is to insist on administrative reforms as a priority agenda at least in three directions; capacity enhancement and professionalism of every level of bureaucracy, linking state training institutions with central universities, and strengthen accountability structures for public-private partnerships and collaborative networks. This article attempts to capture this change and suggest ways to re-route the tilt from a group oriented governance to the strengthening of constitutional institutions.

## **NEOLIBERALISM AND AFTER: SCOPE AND LIMITS OF INTEREST GROUP REPRESENTATION IN PUBLIC FINANCE DECISIONS**

**AMITABH RAJAN**

This article begins with a critique of the neoliberal paradigm of governance, situates, and points out the limits and scope of interest-group representation in constitutional democracies post-2008 fiscal crisis experience. Written after an in-depth literature survey of recent research in the sub-disciplines of political economy, the author examines the postulates of the neoliberal framework of policy-advice in public finance decisions from the standpoints of discourse ethics and justice, and recommends structured channelisation of deprivation-consciousness through administrative law reforms.

## **DEMOCRATIC STATE AND CORPORATE BUSINESS: THE UNFOLDING RELATIONSHIP IN THE ERA OF ECONOMIC LIBERALISATION**

**ROOPINDER OBEROI**

The analysis of state-business relations and the process by which public policies are crafted is crucial for understanding the nature and trajectory of contemporary development approaches and their distributional and social consequences in democratic polity. Of particular concern is the question of business clout and its sway on public institutions and policy making. Worrisome, however, is that in the process of crafting the liaison with business, issues of institutional capture and the facilitation and legitimisation of corporate capitalism are often overlooked. Variety of methods, including corruption by business associations as well as influence exercised via less overt channels, result in the reciprocal dependence between business and government. This article particularly focuses on analysing the changing nature of engagement between business and state in Indian polity while applying historiography as a technique to spotlight on political economy of reforms. Topical studies are revisiting this liaison and have arrived at the conclusion that, no doubt, there has been an ascendancy in capitalist sway over the state of late, but these studies reaffirm that capitalist class was always key agent precisely from the beginning and has exercised unremitting pressure till day.

## **JUDICIAL VERDICTS ON PRESSURES FOR QUESTIONABLE RESERVATIONS ISSUES**

**U.C. AGARWAL**

Some caste-oriented pressure groups have been claiming reservation for 'backward class' citizens in government jobs and for admissions in educational institutions. Similarly, pressure groups, comprising of others, i.e. the general category citizens have been resisting such claims for being discriminatory. These claims and counter-claims ultimately reached the Supreme Court of India for just and fair judicial verdict.

## **NON-GOVERNMENTAL AGENCIES AND PUBLIC POLICY**

**RUMKI BASU**

India has the largest number of recorded NGOs in the world. The article looks at the nature of the work they do and the different roles they play in public life as non-state actors. The National Policy on the Voluntary Sector is analysed and the impact of NGOs in policy-making, implementation and monitoring is critically examined.

## **PRESSURE GROUPS AND DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE—AN INDIAN PERSPECTIVE**

**JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN**

Interest groups pursuing the causes they believe in and persuading the political parties, governments and legislatures during and between elections are an integral part of vibrant democratic process. The author draws and evaluates a sharp contrast between two fundamental approaches of pressure groups persuading larger causes of public interest. One being the usage of hartals, bandhs, rasta rokos, obstructionism and indefinite fasts as coercive weapons in pressurising governments or legislatures to concede their demands and the second is quiet, systematic and consistent persuasion of elected governments and legislatures and non-obstructive forms of dissent to bring institutional reforms. While establishing that the increasing erosion of legitimacy of the political process has propelled the adoption of the first approach, which made India ungovernable and chaotic, the author sets out nine vital conditions to be fulfilled in order for a democracy to mature and various interest groups to play a constructive, positive role in deepening democracy and enhancing our liberties.

## **THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT IN INDIA**

## **RADHIKA KUMAR**

The women's movement in India has had a chequered history. It has evolved over time from being hand-held by men to finding and devising its own praxis and momentum. The movement is also layered with multiple narratives, some of which are dominant and some marginal, some national and some local, which are, however, not exclusive but also often speak to each other. This article attempts to make sense of the multiple meanings and trajectories of the women's movement in India from various historical, empirical and theoretical vantage points. It tries to capture the range of issues that the women's movement in India has been associated with as also the debates that have animated the activists and commentators. Finally, it locates the women's movement within the context of economic liberalisation mapping its responses and use of various resources to deal with a new political economy and its concomitant effects.

## **PRESSURE GROUPS FOR STRENGTHENING GRASSROOTS DEMOCRACY**

### **G. PALANITHURAI**

A unique pressure group initiative emerged to make the presence of elected women representatives felt in the rural local bodies of the state of Tamil Nadu. The process of federating the elected women representatives began at Gandhigram Rural Institute in Rajiv Gandhi Chair for Panchayati Raj Studies with the initial support from the Ford Foundation, while the Rajiv Gandhi Chair for Panchayati Raj Studies took the responsibility of coordinating the activities of the Federation helping it come on its own as an independent body. This article documents how an academic research institution could weave together a loose network of civil society organisations created with the active involvement of activists and civil society organisations. This gave the outfit a non-political character, provided needed skill and capacity-building, honing of the issues and much needed identity as social capacity. A record of the activities of the Federation, working as a pressure group for the panchayati raj institutions breaks the myth that lobbying by such groups can be only within political, social or cultural domains. The group works for deepening the decentralised democracy on quasi-administrative issues related to local governance and development. The distinctive nature of its activities charts a new course for pressure groups' relevance and focus for community-level democratic institutions.

## **FARMERS' MOVEMENTS IN INDEPENDENT INDIA**

### **KRISHNA MURARI**

This article divides peasant movements in independent India into the three categories: (i) movements organised by the peasants against semi-feudal and neo-feudal exploitation and oppressions by poor peasants, sharecroppers, and landless agricultural labourers; (ii) movements led by rich peasants and farmers who own larger holdings and have also enriched themselves as a result of the Green Revolution; and (iii) agrarian movements that were mainly accelerated by the onset of economic liberalisation and globalisation in so far as these impacted the agricultural production, processing and marketing.

## **IMPACT OF GLOBALISATION ON TRADE UNION MOVEMENT**

### **PURNIMA ROY**

Globalisation brought with it a paradigm shift for trade union movement in India. The jobless growth which has followed globalisation in India has huge implications for the movement it is now fighting for loyalty of the workers with the employers. The labour reforms have also restricted workers' freedom to protests, more are days of bandh have electoral significance because of numerical strength. They have not meant much beyond that. In addition, the states were competing for investments, both foreign and domestic. In doing so they restricted the workers' freedom. Economic reforms have not been complemented with political reforms for workers in India. In the absence of mechanism in place for workers for redressal their demands, there are violent outbursts which are interpreted as law and order issues. In such a scenario, both State and trade unions need to search for alternatives

## **BHARATIYA MAZDOOR SANGH: AN INTRODUCTORY STUDY**

### **SANGIT KUMAR RAGI**

This article attempts to make an introductory study of (BMS)- a major organisation of Sangh Pariwar. BMS primarily deals with the problems of the Indian working class, though it seeks to work in overall perspective of national interest. Its entire ideological orientation has been summed up in three major slogans; 'Nationalise the Labour, Labourise the Industry, and Industrialise the Nation'. Thus it is clear that BMS, despite being a labour organisation, does not believe in class conflict and class struggle. It goes without saying that it has a different vision of trade unionism as compared to other major working class organisations like All India Trade Union Congress (AITUC), Indian National Trade Union Congress (INTUC), Hind Mazdoor Sabha (HMS) and others. It is inspired by Indian nationalism and Integral Humanism as enunciated by Deendayal Upadhyay. It was founded by Dattopant Thengadi in 1955. It has been working in different sectors with special emphasis on unorganised labour designated as Vishwakarma. At times it has the courage of conviction to swim against the dominant currents of trade unionism.

## **CHANNELS OF INTEREST ARTICULATION: A CASE STUDY OF FEDERATION OF UNIVERSITY TEACHERS' ASSOCIATIONS OF BIHAR**

**SURENDRA NARAYAN**

The serendipity of success or failure of a group significantly depends on the channels and means of access to the decision makers. The channels and means of access of groups vary according to the political culture, the nature of politics, the political institutional structures, and the nature of party system besides the nature of the issue and the nature of the group itself. Interest groups in liberal democracies try to exert political influence through four major channels: public opinion, political parties, the legislature and the administration. Indian interest groups in general tend to concentrate on the last three of these channels. The FUTAB also emphasises on the last two, but it makes greater use of the other channels than are used by the business or labour groups. It primarily concentrates its efforts on the State Government for the articulation of teachers' interests.

## **PRESSURE GROUPS IN INDIAN POLITICS: A STUDY OF ANNA HAZARE MOVEMENT FOR INSTITUTING LOKPAL**

**RAJANI RANJAN JHA**

Pressure groups in recent times have been playing a very crucial role in strengthening democracy and influencing decisions of public policy in India. Since the paradigm shift from government to governance and further to good governance, pressure groups have emerged as a strong mechanism for making the democracy participatory, transparent, accountable and responsive. With the same motif, Anna Hazare had launched an anti-corruption movement for passing a legislation regarding the Jan Lokpal in India. The movement commenced with a hunger strike by Anna Hazare in 2011 and later continued through protests by Team Anna and gained the support of people from a major section of the society. The movement by Anna and his team is the first one in India to force the government for instituting the office of Lokpal in India. This effort brings out the essence of

democracy in the best possible form in which pressure group(s) can influence the making of public policy. The article is a humble effort to discuss the role of Anna Hazare and his movement including its methods as a pressure group for the passing of the Lokpal legislation in India.

## **LINGUISTIC NATIONALITIES, BUSINESS CHAMBERS AND FEDERALISATION IN INDIA**

### **HIMANSHU ROY**

This article analyses the role of linguistic nationalities and the business chambers in the federalisation of modern India that contributed to the decentralised, democratic political and constitutional construction. The process has been in continuation for the past 125 years, since 1885, when the Indian business chambers began to be formed among the different regional nationalities in India. But it was not a unilinear, uniform development; there were many ups and downs in this process. In the colonial era, it was politically represented by the Congress; in postcolonial era it has been initially represented by regional parties.

## **POLITICS OF BIFURCATION: ROLE OF TJAC AS A PRESSURE GROUP**

### **I. RAMABRAHMAM AND SAVIDI SATHAIAH**

The experiment of reorganisation of states in India on language seems to have failed as domination of a sub-region over the other and imposition of a 'development model' that produced negative results. While 'language pressure groups' succeeded in convincing political elites for carving out the first linguistic state in India, subsequent developments show that common language cannot always keep people together. In fact, differences in dialects of three regions of erstwhile Andhra Pradesh reinforced their primary identities despite standardisation efforts by media and other state agencies. The resistance to merge the regions was ignored by the leadership leading to many successive agitations for six decades. Historically, the demand for Telangana state has seen many forms of protest and accommodation politics. The recent creation of the 29<sup>th</sup> state of the Indian Union is credited to a unified movement of political parties, organised and unorganised pressure groups fighting under one apex body called Telangana Joint Action Committee (TJAC). This article

attempts to reconstruct the role of TJAC as a pressure group and its unique forms of protest and mobilisation to achieve the goal.

## **REFLECTIONS ON PRESSURE GROUPS AND DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE IN INDIA**

**KULDEEP FADIA**

The article highlights the problem of “special organised groups” or “Pressure Groups” in Indian politics—a subject which has been hitherto neglected in India. The central theme embodies the idea that the development of legitimate and stable democratic political institutions in India depends upon our ability to develop a responsive model of pressure groups. The article throws light on the questions: what is the extent of the stake and the involvement of pressure groups in the political as well as in the policy making process? Are pressure groups aligned with the political system? Can the pressure groups lend a supporting base to the democratic governance? Politics in India is arguably preeminently the politics of pressure groups rather than the politics of parties. Socio-economic infrastructures of Indian politics are the corollaries of India’s pressure group system.

## **POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT AND PRESSURE GROUPS: REVISITING THEIR THEORETICAL UNDERPINNINGS**

**SUJATA SINGH**

Pressure groups or interest groups are at the core of democratic process. The origin of pressure groups is closely intertwined with the birth and growth of political parties. The umbilical bond between political parties and pressure groups remains complex. Pressure groups in Western democracies as well as in the developing countries have served as fertile ground for the creation of political parties. At the same time political parties have been instrumental in creating a large number of pressure groups serving as their satellites to represent varied interests. This especially applies to the larger political parties. However, development theorists have argued that the nature of pressure groups is largely dependent on the maturity of the political system. The development theories of the 1950s and ‘60s held that transitional societies suffered from lack of universalistic and rational orientations which in turn impacted on the organisation and functioning of interest groups in that they too exhibited the same orientations. The article tries to analyse the literature from varied sources in order to assess the role of political development in the growth of pressure groups. Their relevance to the present situation is also analysed.

## **PAKISTAN'S ARMY FROM AN INSTITUTIONAL PRESSURE GROUP TO FINAL ARBITER IN GOVERNANCE**

**VEENA KUKREJA**

This article seeks to focus on the role of the military in governance of Pakistan—from institutional interest groups to final arbiter of the country—and how this situation has developed. The case of Pakistan represents an apt example of how an apolitical military could slowly be drawn into the political field due to the failure of political institutions, politicians, political parties, low political mobilisation, and international factors. In the first instance, being a well organised and skilled organisation, it helped every government to maintain law and order, slowly became an important factor in the decision making process, and ultimately displaced the civil authority and became an arbiter. Besides, it also takes into account military's changing role and parameters in Pakistan. In the 1950s and 1960s under Ayub Khan the army played the role of an agent of modernisation. In the 1970s, it moved to conquer the people of East Pakistan and Baluchistan as a Punjabi-dominated army of a ruthless state. In the 1980s, it assumed its role as a defender of the dominant political ideology. Finally, the military has been able to translate its dominance over the state structure to become deeply entrenched in the political economy of the state. Thus, the military in Pakistan is the most formidable and autonomous political actor, capable of influencing the nature and direction of political change.