CHAPTER-III

PRESSURE GROUPS : CONCEPT AND THEORY
"The major political function of Interest Groups in all systems is to manage the flow of influence between government and governed, that is, to provide an orderly structuring of input (popular) and output (Governmental) process".

-Gilbert Abeariah.

In the light of the reviews surveyed, though very few available, it is felt important to study the origin and growth of pressure groups with a historical perspective along with definitions, meaning and concept. It is also helpful to acquire a comprehensive understanding to study the nature, characteristics, functions, determinants, techniques and the role of the pressure groups in the contemporary society. Hence, all the above cited features of the pressure groups are discussed in detail in this chapter.

3.1 Origin of Pressure Groups:

It is difficult to decide when the pressure groups did origin. It is difficult to decide historically that the pressure groups originated in particular year and in particular country and reliable evidences are not available.

However, it can be said that the pressure groups have been functioning in one form or the other since the inception of organized society. Many groups were there (mobs) in the Oligarchical democracies of the ancient Greek. They used to influence or bring pressure on the ruling sect.

The efforts to influence is to bring pressure on the Legislative Assembly or the Executive Council, have been occurring since the beginning. In the middle ages certain groups of cadres played important role in the local issues or matters. They worked independently of the ruling sects of the state. They were away from State’s interference in matters and activities of economic- production and distribution. But the pressure groups have gained prominence in the modern
times. Anti-Corn League in England and Federalists in America have expressed their views and attitudes and have achieved considerable success in their respective status.

Actions and reactions occurred between the state and organized groups. Advocates, Priests, dynasties of kings, landlords, traders or businessmen worked as pressure groups in Western countries.1

But the research or the study on pressure has been started only since the beginning of the 20th century. “Arthur F. Bently” published the book titled “The Process of Government” in 1908. Bently made a special study on Pressure Groups in his book. He mentioned the Pressure Groups as Interest Groups, Private Groups/ Organizations, Interest Articulators and Lobbies.

It is not the motto of the pressure groups to obtain power. Politics is not their objective. It is the main aim of the pressure groups to know how to utilize the policies of the rulers to fulfill their interests, without participating in politics directly and being outside of the politics or to appear so, to utilize the power and politics for the benefit of their own groups or to fulfill interests of their groups, is the main aim or objective of these pressure groups.

Bently’s publication has helped greatly to study the system or the performance of the Government and for scholars in America and European Countries. “V.O. Key, Junior S. Finer, David Trueman, Charles E. Hegen, Fertram, Stanley Kochanuk” etc have made elaborated studies on pressure groups.2

3.2 Interest Groups and Pressure Groups:

There is a notion among many scholars that interest groups are different from pressure groups. It is believed that the pressure groups influence the decision-making process while the interest groups do not do so explicitly.
Eckstein opines that interest groups become pressure groups when they try to influence the decision makers to obtain favourable policy making. There are others who do not make much distinction between pressure groups and interest groups. Alan R. Ball, in fact, includes the interest groups and attitude groups and pressure groups in the same category.

A look at various definitions given to the pressure groups will also reveal no significant differences between them and the interest groups. For example, the following is the definition given to the pressure groups by Alan R. Ball: "Pressure groups are social aggregates with some level of chosen and shared aims which attempt to influence the political decision-making process". This has a close resemblance to the definition given to the interest group by D. Deal. Those who seek to differentiate between the two say that the interest groups do not have the claims against the state and they cannot influence the state, whereas the pressure groups have them and they can influence the state too.

It is generally inconceivable that in the contemporary states any kind of group, which is organized, does not have claims against the state or government. In other words, more often than not, all kinds of groups which have formal, cohesive organizational structure do not seek to fulfill their interests with the help of state machinery, whether they are called attitude groups or organized groups or pressure groups or interest groups they come into existence to serve the common interests of their members and hence they invariably need the support or help of the government or the decision makers or the bureaucracy which represent the state at various levels. Thus it will be appropriate to view the above mentioned different kinds of groups as different in nomenclature rather than in substance or approach. Because all of them have to exert some pressure or the other on the government to get their things done.
The term 'pressure' appears to have been taken as a point of difference between the pressure groups and interest groups. This opinion considers the pressure groups to be more powerful than the other groups as they alone have strength sufficient to pressurize the government to take decisions favourable to them. This argument too does not hold good in the political ambience of the modern state, that too in the era of democracies. For all the groups, irrespective of their social, functional or economic importance, are equally significant and powerful as long as they command a considerable vote bank. Thus, no modern state affords to ignore completely the demands of any groups with a semblance of organisation and voice. The political discourse of vote bank politics, thus, obliterates the differences between pressure groups and interest groups or organized groups.

One factor which helps in putting all the above mentioned groups irrespective of their composition, strength, attitudes, activities and approaches on the same footing, is that all of them stop short of becoming political parties. However, all of them at one or the other time will approach or will be approached by the political parties depending on the necessity of either of them. Various kinds of groups exist to satisfy the needs and aspirations of different sections of the people. Hence, various groups, viz., the interest groups, pressure groups or attitude groups etc have come up to represent and protect the interests of the people. This is so in spite of the existence of political parties.
3.3 Definitions of Pressure Groups:

The encyclopedia of social sciences distinguishes 'interests' according to objectives and pressure according to techniques used. "Huge A Bone" says that "Every group is an interest group or a group with an interest, but not every group attempts to influence public policy. Here, the terms "pressure groups" or "political interest groups" to refer to groups which endeavour to influence public policy shall be used. Usually the term pressure group is used to designate private, non government associations exerting pressure on the government agencies.

The following are some of the definitions of pressure groups/interest groups given by political scientists.

"Interest groups are all groups or associations which seek to influence public policy in their own chosen direction, while declining to accept direct responsibility for ruling the country" - S.E. Finer.7

"A pressure group is that any organization which seeks to influence government policy without at the same time being willing to accept the responsibility of public office"- N.C. Hunt.8

"An interest group is a shared attitude group that makes certain claims upon other groups in the society"- N.C. Hunt.9

"If and when an interest group makes its claims through or upon any of the institutions of government, it becomes a political interest group"-David Traman.10

"When interest groups act at the political level they are called pressure groups"-Jean Daniel Reynand.11
“Interest group is used interchangeably with pressure group”- Totton J. Anderson.12

“Lobbying means men acting to influence government decisions”- Edgar Lane.13

Lobbying in its conventional narrower sense by saying that it (Lobbying) is besetting and worrying members of legislatures with persuasions to vote for or against a bill”- James Bryce.14

Interest group as “formal organization that seeks to influence public policy in democratic politics”- Harmon Zeigler.15

“An interest group is any collection of individuals with a shared attitude on some matter, who make certain claims or demands on others in society with respect to that matter”- Deal.D.16

The above definitions depict pressure groups as collections of individuals which promote their interest or claims either against other groups in the society or against the state or an interest group is a group of people who share a common attitude. These definitions do not presuppose the existence of a democratic polity, whereas Ziegler does so.

Pressure groups do essentially represent shared (common) claims, demands or problems of their constituent members. They exist in a socio-political environment in which they operate as distinct groups. Thus, pressure groups represent either professional or functional or social or cultural or educational or other fields which are not directly linked to any political party or the government organ. Such groups consist of individuals having common identity and a set of claims and aspirations. Such groups need not exist only in democratic states but they can exist in any kind of state either openly or clandestinely.
Pressure groups, however, exist and thrive more openly and freely in democratic and multilateral states. States other than democratic states may also permit the existence of pressure groups but the limitations such states impose on them do not provide conducive atmosphere for their existence and survival. Pressure groups, in order to exist and progress, should have formal organizations without which they lack proper identity, strength and credibility.

3.4 Nature and Characteristics of the Pressure Group:

A pressure group normally is a social and economic association by nature rather than a political one. Pressure groups come into existence to promote the socio-economic interests of their constituents. These claims or interests or demands include social conditions, social justice, removal of discrimination, granting of socio-economic privileges, ensuring proper working conditions, giving pecuniary benefits etc. They are generally sought for from the other sections of society or the state. Pressure groups are organized mainly for such purposes and they confine themselves to them only. They do not seek to gain political power because they are not political groups of parties. In fact, the moment they aim at attaining political power they will be identified as political parties rather as pressure groups. Therefore the pressure groups are believed to be apolitical by nature.\(^{17}\) They always stop short of entering into the arena of power politics. Because of the claims or demands the pressure groups have vis-à-vis the state, their relationship with the state may be termed as a symbolic factor giving them a political colour. But in the system of political bargaining the pressure groups try to maintain a neutral political attitude concentrating on their socio-economic demands only.

The political significance of the pressure groups cannot, however, be over looked. In the modern state system, where every identified group of people is treated as a vote bank and is given political importance, nobody who is connected with power politics can ignore the political significance of the pressure groups.
Pressure groups are also conscious of their political importance and hence they approach various political parties also which entertain the pressure groups and they utilize them in the process of the power game. Not only that, the political parties approach the pressure groups whenever they think their political purposes can be served by such groups. Pressure groups also function as an important channel of public opinion. Thus, though the pressure groups are apolitical in nature, they are very much a part of the polity and they are not totally immune from the political dynamics of the state.

Pressure groups are dynamic in nature. They do not conform to any hard and fast rule. They do not confine to any definite ideological or theoretical framework. Even in respect of their claims or demands or objectives they are quite flexible. Pressure groups generally adopt themselves to existing socio-political ambience and also to the obtaining circumstances.

3.5 Characteristics of the Pressure groups:

➢ Pressure groups represent various social, economic, professional or functional sections of the society. A pressure group represents quite often one of the above mentioned sections of the people. That is a pressure group may be a social organization or an economic group or a professional association.

➢ A pressure group is usually a means to achieve some specified or unspecified objectives. The objectives or goals or claims or demands may be many and they may vary from time to time.

➢ A pressure group mainly comes into existence to promote the identity of a particular section and it thrives by forging sufficient unity and integrity among its constituents. Identity and unity are the basic pillars of
any pressure group irrespective of its strength (social, political or economic). Thus the objectives or claims of the pressure group may change from time to time but the group itself remains intact.

Seldom does a pressure group go beyond the limits of its identity. Also no pressure group will dissolve itself unless its *raison d'être* is obliterated.

➢ A pressure group will have some sort of organization to fulfill its objectives. The shape of the organization is not uniform among all kinds of pressure groups nor is it compulsory that the organisation is needed for representative purposes rather than for the purpose of internal administration.

➢ Pressure group does not command the complete loyalty of the members who constitute it. The way of the pressure group is essentially limited to the particular area, field or function within which it functions. Thus pressure groups do not restrict their members form joining other groups or even political parties.

➢ Another characteristic of the pressure groups is that they are conscious of their strength vis-à-vis other sections of the people or the state. That is why they do not simply exist for the fulfillment of their claims and sit quiet depending on the response of the other groups. They generally utilize their collective strength and adopt various methods or tactics to achieve their goals. However, the tactics adopted by all the pressure groups are not similar because it depends on relative influence or strength of the particular pressure group.
Flexibility of purpose, objectives, tactics and ideology is another important characteristic of all pressure groups. They, with minor exceptions, avoid themselves being identified with any particular ideology or a political party do not hesitate exercising their independence when it is needed.

Final and the most fundamental characteristic of all pressure groups is that all their demands or claims are related to their economic status or conditions. Generally all pressure groups strive to improve their economic strength whether explicitly or implicitly. All the demands for social status, rights and privileges or aspirations of identity or prestige sound empty without a reasonable economic strength.

3.6 Functions of the Pressure Groups:

The most pertinent question that arises about the pressure groups is about their functions. Why do the pressure groups come into existence and what functions do they perform?

As the foregoing discussion already suggests, pressure groups come into existence to fulfill some objectives which are important to their constituent members. But before fulfilling those objectives or goals the most fundamental function that is performed by a pressure group is promoting the identity of the particular aggregation of individuals who formed it. Whether it is explicitly mentioned or not every individual or group of individuals desire to be identified in the society or the comity of people at large with distinct name or quality or status. That name or status or identity is a source of great strength, complacence and confidence to the individuals who constitute it. That is provided by the pressure group to its constituents by virtue of its status recognition among other groups in the society. Individuals who join groups and identify themselves with
those groups very often remain attached to the groups despite being unable to realize some of their important personal objectives.

Second major function of the pressure groups is the protection of the interests of their members. It is obvious that when some of the people with similar background come together and form into a distinct group they first of all, expect that their status quo will be protected. Any desire to come together or any desire to form an organization normally presupposes some sort of undesirable consequences from the external quarters. A professional group may fear that the future of their profession is in danger or is going to face some danger and a social group may expect some danger from other (rival) group so on and so forth. Thus all the pressure groups primarily aim at protecting the social, economic, cultural or other interests of their constituent parts from the onslaught or competition of other groups. On the other hand any group however mildly organized looses justification for its existence if it fails to protect the interests of its members.

Thirdly, the pressure group right from its evolution holds a promise of better future for their members. Whether the pressure groups lay down their objectives in black and white or not at the time of their formalization, they generally promise to provide better conditions to their members. Quite often the pressure groups aim at achieving more rights to their members either economically or otherwise. Generally a sense of being deprived brings people together rather than the sense of happiness or prosperity. Moreover people come forward to join hands with other people on the basis of certain similarities because they know fully well that there are definite gains in such formal aggregations. Truly it is natural for every human being to look for a better future and the pressure groups promise it more convincingly to its members.
Uniting the people with similar background and binding them in the bounds of unity is another function of the pressure groups. While some people take lead in forming the pressure groups bringing people of similar background and like mindedness together, other people are attracted to it realizing its merits. Pressure groups extend, quite often, the area of their operation from a small town to a bigger area like a district or province (state) or even the whole country. Strength of the unity has such an appealing influence on the people, that they form pressure groups at the national level to realize their objective and promote the well being and welfare of their members.

One of the very important, the fifth function of the pressure groups is interest articulation. Pressure groups have an immense potential to raise the level of consciousness of its members. They provide a forum for all their members to come together, bring out various issues, problems and analyse them. This will encourage members to ventilate their problems and also point out the necessary remedies. While those problems which can be solved internally are solved as such, those which are related to the external factors are further developed and presented to the other sections of the society or state as their claims or demands. This process of interest articulation is done in the groups more effectively than otherwise. Rather, interest articulation is done effectively only by the pressure groups and not by isolated individuals.

The sixth function of the pressure groups is that of communication. Obviously, the voice of the groups is more heard than that of an individual. Pressure groups as they are formally organized, effectively represent the problems of their members (whether they are of general nature or of individual nature) to the target group or the state as the case may be. Political parties are also approached and prompted by the pressure groups about the policies and issues which effect their interests.18
The seventh function, depending on the necessity and other factors, is the lobbying with the bureaucracy, politicians (or political parties) or the government. This function should not be confused with the above one viz. communication. Lobbying is more than communication. Communication merely announces the claims, demands or interests of the group and it does not include the ‘modus operandi’ for realization of those demands of the pressure groups. Lobbying, on the contrary, is one of the modus operandi of the pressure groups which is meant to get things done from the external agencies depending on the necessity and circumstances. Any pressure group is expected to undertake this function as it normally possesses the needed power base to influence the state or other sections of the society. At times, this function becomes a crucial one because the members expect quick results from the organization and lobbying is one of the ingredients of the method of collective bargaining.

Pressure groups owe their existence to the society at large which is always its base. A pressure group is, therefore, expected to play the role of balancing factor, lest people violate social order for their narrow selfish ends. It is expected to regulate the behaviour and social attitudes of its members and help in achieving a social order where all the sections can exist and survive without hindering others’ existence. Pressure groups emphasize on the need for a collective approach rather than an individualistic approach. This function of the pressure groups not only helps the constituent members but also the society and state in maintaining sort of balanced relation among various sections of the state and society.

The state also looks upon the pressure groups as an important source of political communication, interest articulation and interest aggregation. No state can overlook the importance of the pressure groups not only during the time of elections but also at the time of policy formulation or decision making. In fact the
state continuously needs the cooperation and advice of the pressure groups in the policy making process. They provide the feed-back to the government on the policies framed and implemented by them. This function is attached with a lot of importance in democratic states.

Another important function which the pressure groups subtly perform is that of leadership training. Pressure groups in the process of articulating and representing the claims and demands of its members develop a nature of leadership for itself, which in course of time provides wise and experienced political leadership. There are innumerable instances of various groups joining politics and occupying high political offices. Thus the pressure group functions as an effective training ground for the future political leaders of the state.

The foregoing discussion suggests that the pressure groups perform a number of functions. It can be observed that some of these functions are important from the social point of view and some of them are important from the political point of view. The functions which are socially oriented (which are, of course, essentially related to the necessity for the formation of the pressure group itself) are:

- Providing a distinct identity to a section of the society.
- Promising a better future to the members of the group.
- Uniting the people.
- Regulating and moulding the social attitudes of the members.
- Raising the level of consciousness of the members.
- Articulating the interests of the members.
The other functions of the pressure groups, some of which may be included in the above mentioned social functions, are the functions of political importance. They are as follows:

- Interest articulation and interest aggregating of the people.
- (Political) communication representing public opinion and providing feedback.
- Influence the policy making and implementation.
- Harmonizing the conflicts in the state and society through the method of collective bargaining.
- Providing leadership training.

The above analytical account of the functions of the pressure groups clearly indicates that the pressure groups have immense political and social significance. That is why they command the allegiance and loyalty of their members and attract the attention of the society at large, and the state. This is due to the inherent strength of the pressure groups.

3.7 Determinants of the Pressure Groups:

The existence of the pressure groups cannot simply be taken for granted. It depends on several factors without which the existence and survival of pressure groups would be very difficult, if not impossible altogether. As the present study considers pressure groups, interest groups and attitude groups to be basically similar in character, nature and composition, the above statement applies to all of them equally. In fact, Alan R. Ball\textsuperscript{21} identified several determinants for pressure groups. The following factors are some of them.
However, for the purpose of this study and understanding, the basic determinants of the pressure groups are modified and reconstructed. On the basis of the study and observation they can be described as follows.

Firstly, the most important determinant of the pressure group or any other group for that matter, is the nature of the state rather than the political structure. It is more pertinent whether the state in which the pressure groups emerge and operate, is a democracy or a dictatorship or a theocratic state or a socialist/communist state. Obviously, all democracies function on the principle of freedom and plurality of the society. Hence a democratic state is more conducive for evolution, existence and survival of the pressure groups than any other state. One cannot totally rule out however the existence of the pressure groups whether overtly or covertly in a dictatorship or in a socialist state. But such states do not provide the ambience that is conducive for the existence and growth of the pressure groups.

It can be said that any state or political system which recognizes the multilateral character of the society would provide opportunity for emergence and existence of the pressure groups.
Secondly, the next important determinant of the pressure groups is the social structure and the social environment in which the pressure groups operate. Any monolithic society does not provide opportunity or chance for the emergence of pressure groups. Conversely in a society which is characterized by a traditionally recognized social strata, linguistic and cultural diversity, numerous professional groups and evolution of pressure groups would be natural. Inequalities, multiplicity, variety and complex social, cultural and economic relations provide a fertile breeding ground for the pressure groups. That is why, given the democratic political system, a third world country can boast of a variety of pressure groups than any of the developed countries. Because, the social structure and composition of the traditional societies are more complex than the modern ones.

Thirdly, the economic conditions of the people form the next important condition for the existence of the pressure groups. For any social and political system, economic conditions form the basis on which the political superstructure depends and exists. In a society or state which is perfectly egalitarian and where there is no discrimination in the distribution of wealth, there would be least justification for the evolution or existence of the pressure groups.

Fourthly, the party system in the state also determines the nature and existence of the pressure groups. If the state has multiparty system the scope of operation of pressure groups would be wide and the political parties will also try to win the favour of as many groups as possible to further their political objectives. This would encourage the growth of pressure groups and would be conducive for survival inspite of the political dynamics operating in different directions in the state. On the contrary in a single party system such conditions would not exist and hence the pressure groups would also be somewhat better compared to the single party system as a determinant of the pressure groups.
Fifthly, the nature of the group itself and the nature of the issues determine the emergence of the pressure group and the need for its continued existence. If the aggregation of individuals which try to float a formal pressure group is very small or insignificant in its numerical strength, then it would have a lot of difficulty in emerging and functioning as a pressure group. It will also be very difficult to make its voice heard by the society or the state. Similarly the cause or issue for which the individuals come together and forge unity should be socially acceptable. If the issues or causes, which find the individuals together and form a pressure group or any kind of group are unethical in the perception of the society in general, then such groups will have no recognition or bargaining power vis-à-vis society or the state.

Finally culture of the state and society (not exactly the political culture) also plays an important role in the evolution of pressure groups. A state which is culturally divided and compartmentalized cannot be conducive for the existence of pressure groups of all kinds. In a divided society only partisan groups will have chance to survive. Where mutual antagonism and continual strife and conflicts are the order of the day, irrespective of the nature of the state, the chances are very bleak for the emergence of pressure groups. People's beliefs, values, customs, traditions etc., condition the culture of the society which in turn determine the fate of the pressure groups.

The above analysis and explanation reveals that the determinants of the pressure groups are as follows:
Ultimately, it can only be said that the above factors would contribute to the evolution, existence and survival of the pressure groups. It cannot, in any way, preclude the influence of any other factors which may help in the formation or survival of the pressure groups depending on the circumstances.

3.8 The Strength and Power of Pressure Groups:

The strength of a nation depends on the strength of groups and strength of groups in turn depends on the number and quality of the individuals constituting those groups. As a matter of fact, the strength of a state is the sum total of the strength of all the groups existing in the state. Since industrial revolution, there has been a strong tendency towards increase in the number of groups. Hence, it is imperative to discuss here the sources of the strength of the pressure groups.

Firstly, it has to be understood that all pressure groups are not equally powerful. There is, however, no method of measuring quantitatively the power of different groups. The following may be stated as the resources of a group.
• **The Size and Number:**

Size depends on the number of members. The larger the number of a group, the greater its power, because the members also constitute as potential voters. An American thinker says that there is political power in numbers. At the time of elections the group’s numerical strength counts greatly. Its power can also be increased by the number of non-members who support the group’s interests.

Some groups are capable of enlisting support from outsiders while others are not on issues like voting right for women, prohibition, civil rights, nuclear disarmament etc. The concerned groups can enlist outside support. On a question such as nuclear disarmament even individuals have taken initiative and have tried to do something effective, though their efforts are not backed up by organized groups. “Bertrand Russel and C.Rajagopalachari” were both over 80 years of age when they actively participated in the disarmament movement two decades ago. Bertrand Russel could launch a strike and suffer imprisonment at that age and C.Rajagopalachari though physically infirm could go to America to meet President John. F.Kennedy personally and explained to him the importance of disarmament. It shows their dedication and unflagging zeal for the promotion of international peace.
• **The Economic and Social Resources:**

Groups must have economic resources at its disposal in order to gain strength and power, because money helps them in their election campaigns for the realization of their political ends. Groups whose members are highly educated, rank higher in social status as compared to others, the examples being American Medical Association, Engineers Association etc. The aims of such groups are mostly acceptable to the society.

• **The Degree of Involvement:**

The strength of a group depends upon the degree of involvement of its members in its activities. The members should have a sense of involvement or identity with the group to which they belong. They must show their willingness to work for the promotion of goals of their organization.

• **The Quality of Group Leadership:**

The success of a group depends on the quality of its leaders. Some groups are capable of producing talented leaders, whereas other groups are not. A talented and dynamic leader leads its members dynamically in pursuit of its goal and also commands sympathy from outside members. This presupposes that he must have qualities like intelligence, physical strength, experience, integrity and honesty.

The other sources of the power of a group are degree of cohesiveness, age of the group, skill in lobbying etc. Intensity of interests is another source of strength. Finally, the capacity for expansion of scarce resources is important for improving its power. If a group were to come out successfully in the political process, it must mobilize its various resources very intelligently.
3.9 Activity of Pressure Groups:

Every individual is ambitious, who likes to realise his ambitions. The major ambitions cannot be fulfilled without influencing the government. His individual powers are limited from the point of money etc. He must have the capacity to organise resources, but all do not have the same capacity. Different people are endowed with different talents. When they are pooled, a powerful influential body emerges. This shows that power springs from organisations, by exerting pressure on government, which formulates public policy. Normally, the public policy centre is beyond the reach of a common man. Hence, many citizens would like to join a party that promotes their interests. At best an individual by himself can cast his vote in favour of a particular party or a particular candidate during elections. But party’s interests are too general and not specific. Hence, the party may not serve his specific interests. To get his specific interests served, he has to join a pressure group of like-minded persons who promote his specific interests. For such specific gains, the individual should act through a pressure group. As a matter of fact, the pressure group is a primary representative body of the individual interests.

Further, the pressure group is intended to resist the power of the government. An individual cannot do that. An individual himself cannot influence the government and make it responsible and responsive to him as effectively as it could be done by a group of which he is a member.

3.10 Internal Democracy and Autonomy of Pressure Groups:

A democratic organization must have periodical elections and the top leaders must be elected for a fixed term. They must represent majority opinion. The members of the organization must adopt the principle of equality among
themselves. They must have free voice to point out contradictions after mutual consultations and have regard for the rules and regulations of the organization. Dictatorship by the elected leaders over its members is undemocratic. On the other hand, they must be accountable to the members. A frequent criticisms about the pressure groups is that the political stand that they take is not representative of the views and sentiments of their members. Preaching and practice of leaders tend to differ. In practice, the minority elite autocracy at the top is always the usual feature, unless the members at the bottom are conscious of their own position and rights, to check the top autocracy. When voluntary organisations participate in the political process of the country for achieving their demands, the representative character becomes very important and it must be retained.

3.11 The Autonomy of Pressure Groups:

In western democracies the interest organisations have freedom from government's interference. They enjoy full independence. The governments neither co-opt nor control the group in the strict sense of the term. In authoritarian countries, monolithic party control is supreme over the groups. There the groups must follow implicitly the policies of the party-controlled government.

In the democratic world the government and the interest organisations develop a symbolic type of relationship or rather it can be described as reciprocal co-operation. However, it is different in communist countries, because of the known character of the state and the government. In democracies the group serves the interests of its members without becoming subordinate to the government and at the same it keeps in view the interests of the nation and its development.

The modern technical and industrial imperatives enable the pressure groups and the government to come closer and work in co-operation and in a reciprocal manner without compulsions.²³ In the West, the appointment of arbitrators is by mutual consent. Lastly, in the West the pressure groups are overt
and legitimate, whereas in Russia they are covert and informal. In France, with the advent of the political philosophy of Jean Jacques Rousseau into French Society, the legitimacy of its organisational life got diminished, and as a result, the term pressure group has lost its real meaning. \(^\text{24}\)

The French standard of organizational life has further deteriorated because of the "cult of powers", as termed by Jesse Pitts.\(^\text{25}\) French culture is an individualistic component which asserts individual's worth. This receded into the background during the dawn of Gaullist regime, which never gave freedom to pressure groups. There is a radical change in subsequent years. Post-gaullist period witnessed a greater degree of pressure group activity. In Great Britain the representation of pressure groups is considered legitimate. In that country many members of parliament make no secret of the fact that they are members and that they have formal connections with the special pressure groups. In United States of America it is regarded as unethical for a member of congress or the government to have formal connections with any private interests or corporate sector of the economy.\(^\text{26}\) Nevertheless lobbying is considered legitimate in United States of America. To sum up it can be said that the organisational activities are more covert in France, whereas they are overt in Great Britain.

### 3.12 Role and Techniques of Pressure Groups:

The techniques of pressure groups are mainly identified as the following:

#### 3.12.1 Lobbying:

Lobbying is a favourite technique of the pressure groups operating in every political system, whether it pertains to liberal democracy or totalitarianism for the simple reason that politics is the struggle for power in which they play their part. That is, any group that makes claims upon other groups or upon the society as a whole finds it well-nigh impossible to stay out of politics.\(^\text{27}\) The
term lobbying is used both in a narrower and a wider sense. In the narrower sense it refers to approaches made to the members of a legislative body on a large scale by outside. Organisation in as much as it is not restricted merely to activities within the precincts of the parliament. The operation of lobbying occurs mainly in the area of legislative activity in a free and democratic society. Hence, it is first referred to the employment of this technique in relation to the organisation and working of a legislative body. Here it signifies a very effective weapon in the hands of pressure groups to bear their influence upon the legislators. It is obvious that lobbying is a favorite technique in the hands of pressure groups to play a bigger but un-official role in a government process. It has become a remunerative profession in the hands of very shrewd persons.

3.12.2 Strike:

Strike is the commonest pressure tactic in the hands of one party to coerce the other to concede its demands. In very simple terms, it means 'the stoppage of work'. An eminent American writer, Florence Peterson says "A strike is a temporary stoppage of work for specific reasons entered into with the expectation that work will be resumed when a settlement of the grievances is effected. Such an interpretation of the term 'strike' leads to the probing of two things, namely nature and intent. As regards the nature of strike, it may be said to include three ingredients, namely, number of the men involved, effect resulting in the stoppage of work and their combined endeavour to achieve their purpose. The tactic of strike cannot be employed by a single person as it needs a concerted action of a group of men. The technique of strike has its own dangers. Strike as a Gandhian technique has its own justification in view of its being based on the forces of truth and non-violence, otherwise it is always a method of violence in the hands of the workers to coerce their employers. Strike becomes a direct action for a general economic and social revolution, a weapon for forcing a general capitulation of employers and governors to workers."
3.12.3 Bandh:

Literally Bandh or Bundh means ‘closure’ that for the sake of convenience, may be likened with a general or total strike of all whether offices, shops, markets, transport and the like. It is much more sinister than a strike, whether partial or total since it is a destructive technique of organised violence for any political purpose concerned with the toppling or formation of a government, weakening or strengthening an alliance, humiliating and harassing the leaders in power or an opposition and the like. It should be borne in mind that Bandh is certainly a very-dangerous weapon devised in recent years. It is not at all the further extension of the Gandhian technique of strike based on the forces of satyagraha and non-violence.32

3.12.4 Gherao:

Like Bandh, Gherao is another term that has become a household word owing to its applicability in every walk of our collective life whether social, economic, political or educational. In simple words it implies ‘encirclement’ or confinement of the employers by the employees for coercing them to meet their demands as per their own satisfaction. The main ingredient of this peculiar tactic lies in the confinement of the other party for any length of time.33 However the tactic of gherao is different from the Gandhian techniques of satyagraha. The latter is based on truth and soul-force, while the former involves violence on account of having no care for the plight of the other party and no regard for the sanctity of means. Similarly, ‘gherao’ is different from a demonstration. Finally, gherao is different from picketing. The former is a basic tool that may take place ever without the prior existence of a strike since its essential ingredient is the confinement of the opposite party, while picketing is the marching to and fro of the persons in order to boost up the morale of the strikers. Undoubtedly, gherao is most reprehensible technique of agitational politics and its occurrence cannot be
justified even by any canon of expediency. Nothing but the storehouse of ruination moral, mental, political, economic, social, cultural and physiological is the net result. Gherao is not merely one crime, it is a bundle of crimes involving criminal trespass, wrongful restraint and confinement and a host of other crimes punishable under the penal law of a country.\textsuperscript{34}

The role of pressure groups can be seen in certain areas like elections, legislature, executive, judiciary and public opinion.

3.13 Pressure Groups and Elections:

Elections are important for the pressure groups. At the time of elections pressure groups seek tickets to their favourable candidates. They can get the favourites elected and exercise influence on governmental agencies through their elected members. At different levels of electoral process in nomination, canvassing and campaigning, pressure groups give importance to their favourite candidates.\textsuperscript{35} But they play this game indirectly. Key points are that “groups tend to develop behind the non-partisan façade to perform the functions of recruiting and backing candidates.”\textsuperscript{36} Pressure groups provide donations to some political parties and candidates at the time of elections. Candidates elected with the support of pressure groups try to fulfill the interests of these groups. Thus, distinguished legislators and ministers are controlled by pressure groups.

3.14 Pressure Groups and Legislature:

The elected candidates with the support of pressure groups effectively participate in government policies. Berman states that “members of US congress, especially those in the house of representatives often find themselves virtually in the pockets of pressure groups and are compelled to do their biddings with far greater strength than the congress men feel themselves obliged to do at the bidding of the party.”\textsuperscript{37} In Britain and United States, pressure groups entertain modernate, secular and constitutional objectives in the legislative process. France,
Italy and India present a different example. In these countries these groups are more expressive in extra-legislative spheres. In an attempt to influence legislative policy, these groups resort to many extra-constitutional, even undemocratic devices. Thus, we can see the effectiveness of pressure groups in the legislative process.

3.15 Pressure Groups and Executives:

Pressure groups influence the executive branch also. In a parliamentary form of government, pressure groups influence the executive through legislators. Questions, adjournment and call-attention motions are the devices utilized by the chosen legislators to force the ministers to implement the policy decisions of their thinking. Powerful and resourceful pressure groups attempt to influence even the chief executives.  

In the USA pressure groups force the President to make or unmake some appointments on the threat of filibustering in the senate. In some of the American states the Governors appoint legislative councils to act as their liaison agents with the pressure groups.

3.16 Pressure Groups and Judiciary:

Pressure groups try to influence the judicial system indirectly. Different from the legislative and executive organs of the government. Judges “are insulated from outside political pressure”. If pressure groups fail to achieve their goals or interests through the legislators and the executives, then they approach the judicial branch keeping in view that judiciary is the ultimate guardian of the rights of the people.
Pressure groups also use the technique of amicus curial, that is, they may seek access to the courts when issues pertain to their interests. An effective onslaught of public opinion is a very clever tactic in the hands of pressure groups to influence the judicial process from a distance.\(^{40}\)

3.17 Pressure Groups and Public Opinion:

Pressure groups formulate public opinion in all political systems such as French or Indian, British or American. A pressure group usually does this by inserting advertisements in newspapers, issuing leaflets and pamphlets, holding symposia, seminars and filmshows etc. A pressure group also starts a campaign in order to educate the citizens on certain matters that are very important to it. Whatever be the form of political process “pressure groups create public opinion on a large scale. Mostly large and powerful groups do much to mould and shape public opinion and public policy.\(^{41}\)

Different techniques of articulation are used by the pressure groups like influencing political parties, elite representation, personal contacts with bureaucrats, cabinets and group violence.

Group violence can be described as the extreme technique adopted for interest articulation. This technique is used by an anomic group for articulating its demands.\(^{42}\) But some times non-anomic groups also indulge in violence. Riots, associations and demonstrations are not uncommon phenomenon.\(^{43}\) The culture of a society is also an important factor in promoting the incidence of violence.

The criteria for deciding the technique is determined by the political system and the attitudes with the government. According to Myron Weiner, the choice of techniques employed by individuals or groups to influence public policy and administration is determined by the structure of political system as well as the attitudes within and outside the governments.\(^{44}\)
Lobbying is the most important technique of the pressure groups. It is a technique of influencing the body of legislators. It may take any form, such as delegations and deputations to representatives of the legislative bodies, personal meetings, writing of letters, making telephone calls and demonstrations, etc. In a free and democratic society lobbying occurs mainly in the area of legislative activity. Mass lobby is one of the techniques of pressure groups. The object of this technique is to persuade the Member of Parliament of the degree of feeling in his constituency on an issue and incidentally to put some arguments to him. In a country with a presidential system, like the United States, lobbying plays a very outspoken and legally recognized part by the professional organizations. In Britain lobbying is permitted to play a very limited and concealed role by the exigencies of the conventions. In India, lobbying occupies a low priority in so far as techniques are concerned. The groups resort to agitational methods like strikes, bandhs, gheraos, road blockade and mass campaign, etc. Sometimes persuasive and pacific techniques like hunger strike, picketing, postcard campaigns, etc are also resorted to.

To sum up, the origin of pressure groups had been a consequent result of miseries that were being faced by certain sects of people, who were deprived of certain rights, and were compelled to lead miserable life under oppressive dictatorial rulers. Having had suffered frustrated life for long years, their emotions suddenly burst out and started raising their voice loudly against the oppressive restrictions and started to fight for minimum rights, eventually attracting the attention of the personale working in various sectors and of the people of different sectors and of the people of different sects to form into groups so that they could fight collectively to achieve their own interests. Groups in India have been functioning at various levels. The forthcoming chapter-IV presents the origin and growth of pressure groups in India and Andhra Pradesh.
REFERENCES:


5. Ibid.


9. Ibid.


12. Totten J. Anderson, “Pressure groups and inter governmental relations”, *The Annals*, vol. 359, May, 1965, p. 120.


18. Ibid.


22. Ibid.


25. Ibid.


43. *Ibid*.