INTRODUCTION

PROBLEM, OBJECTIVES AND METHODOLOGY

In the post independent India, with planned development, considerable amount of progress has been achieved in the area of economic development. As a result of this development, even a casual observer can perceive several changes in Indian society, in economic, political and social spheres. The country has made significant progress in evolving a democratic structure, the stability of which is enough proof of its success. Employment and educational opportunities are rapidly expanding. A large number of people are exposed to the mass media and free flow of information, which has helped them acquire an awareness of national and international happenings.

Although several studies are available on the relation between economic development and social change, studies on the relationship between economic development and political participation are hard to come by. Due to the new forces generated by the introduction of economic planning and democratic process, rural India is passing through a period of transition. In recent years, in the wake of the green revolution and industrialisation, changes are taking place in the economic, political and social life of the people of India. The new forces have not only caused tremors in the traditional social structure but also affected the traditional
political system. The traditional political system and leadership are being challenged and there is constant quest for new political system and leadership.

The economic development is bringing changes in the size, style and way of political activities, political participation and politics. Our contention is that in India, today, the vast economic development of the people has made an impact on the political participation of the people. This is the genesis of the problem which we propose to study.

In a democratic country political participation occupies a predominant place and people are expected to be in touch with their government regularly. Many a time, people are expected to express their views, while governmental policies and programmes are being framed. So people have a great responsibility while choosing their representatives to the various democratic institutions. This view is supported by Robert E. Goostree. He opines that "the real weight of the voter's responsibility and power lies in voting franchise and the wise and regular exercise of it. His opportunities to express an opinion are numerous and of different character". Thus the problem to be answered is— who participates in political activities and to what extent? From what economic and social groups does participation come?
Democracy provides equal rights, liberties, opportunities, and protection to the citizens of a nation, to develop their personalities and to participate in all political activities. But all over the world the citizens' participation in political activities is not similar. Some participate in voting and some do not. Some participate in canvassing and many people do not. So the question arises as to why there is such a difference between the citizens' participation in various political activities. The difference is not only one of degree but of kind also. Ideally, participation should be maximum and equal, but in reality it is not so. Hence the problem is what factors, and to what extent, contribute to the difference in the degree of participation in political activities by the citizens. It is obvious that some external factors influence the citizens' act of participation or abstainence. This phenomenon has so far been traced to causes like differences in economic development or economic status, caste, literacy, occupation, urbanisation, leadership, mass media, environment etc. C.P. Barthwal and others are of the opinion that, "political participation is a form of human endeavour which keeps on changing from region to region and person to person, under the stress of numerous environmental and biosocial factors. The stresses and limitations imposed by the regional topography and climate often go a long way in determining the economic condition and ways of life of its people, which, in turn, go a long way in
determining their psycho-attitudinal build up. As a result, environmental conditions not only affect the approach towards life of the people they surround, but also, to a fairly significant extent, influence and model their political thinking, learnings and behaviour. The availability or scarcity of transport and communication facilities may cause such gaps to appear as would cause the political attitudes and behaviour of people drawn from two different regions to appear completely alien and dissimilar. In this way (environmental conditions) act as a key determinant of the affected people's level of political participation.2

Thus regional disparities like topography, climate etc., play a vital role in shaping the political participation of the citizens. To examine the impact of regional disparities on political participation, the Hukeri taluka has been selected for the present study. In this study Hukeri taluka is divided into two regions, viz Wet Area and Dry Area. The study aims to analyse the differences among the citizens' participation in various political activities in wet and dry areas.

The present study aims at providing a comparative profile of the wet and dry areas in terms of the socio-economic and political backgrounds in the specific context of development process to which these areas have been exposed.
To place the masses and leaders against the background of social and economic structure and identify the patterns of changes over a period of time is important in order to examine the dynamics of the interrelation between political participation and economic development. As socio-economic factors affect the attitudes of an individual, the study also undertakes to examine the socio-economic environment in which the individual grew up, the motivations, the situations and institutions which led him to participate in political activities.

At the time of independence the Indian economic scene was not encouraging. More than half of the total population lived below the poverty line. The people of Karnataka, except political leaders and land lords, had no experience of popular participation, as they were illiterate and subordinate to a few feudal lords. The Indian national movement and the peasant movement of the post independence era, election campaign activities, increase in the level of literacy, and economic development have been the causes for political awareness among the people. Even then, till today, the wealth of the nation is not equally distributed among all citizens. This unequal distribution of wealth has created many classes in India. Due to this economic inequality many people are not in a position to avail themselves of the political
opportunities provided by the democratic form of government. Hence it is interesting to study which classes participate in political activities and to what extent.

Since independence efforts have been made to diversify the economy by accelerating the pace of irrigation facilities, agricultural productivity and industrial development. As is the economic development in India and its unit Karnataka state, so is the economic development in Hukeri taluka. Indian democracy is the largest democracy in the world, and it is in practice for more than four decades. In independent India, thus, the process of economic development and democracy are proceeding together and are interrelated.

Political participation is an instrument in the hands of citizens to influence the policies or decisions of the government. "Participation occupies a prominent place in the body of democratic political theory. Participation is relevant in many cases as a measure of the strength of political system." But in India prior to independence there was no serious attempt at democratisation of the Indian political system and at economic development. It was only after independence that planned attempts have been made to bring about development, both in the agriculture and the industrial sectors, and the democratic political system.
introduced. People have been called upon to actively participate in the democratic process at the micro level. The present study is directed towards understanding the relation between economic development and political participation by the masses and leaders and the working of various democratic bodies at the micro level (Hukeri Taluka).

**Purpose of Study**

The construction of Hidkal Dam and Hiranyakeshi Sahakari Sakkare Karkhane, popularly known as Hira Sugar Factory, and their outstanding contribution to the economic development of the taluka have immensely impressed the researcher. These two promoters of economic development have brought about changes in the pattern of crops, agricultural production, size of irrigable land, occupation, income of a number of families and standard of living of the people in the taluka. This observation has induced the researcher to study the economic development in the taluka. It motivated the researcher to find out the impact of this economic development on political participation of the masses and leaders, and to seek the relation between economic development and political participation.

Many welfare programmes launched by the government like Community Development Programme (CDP), Integral Rural
Development Programme (IRDP), Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme, National Rural Employment Programme (NREP) and loan facilities to the farmers by a number of commercial banks and the Primary Co-operative Agricultural and Rural Development Bank (PCARDB) have provided many opportunities for the economic development of the people. Many people have availed themselves of these programmes and facilities and become economically well to do.

But the impact of the construction of Hidkal Dam and Hira Sugar Factory or the welfare measures of the government is not uniform and equal on all villages, all castes/communities and classes of the people of Hukeri taluka. This major differential degree of economic development has caused uneven political participation by the people. This fact persuaded the researcher to study the economic development and its impact on all castes/communities and classes belonging to wet and dry areas. In other words the varying economic development made the researcher choose the problem of testing the influence of the economic position of the people living in more developed and less developed areas on their political participation. Hence this is a study of uneven economic development and uneven political participation, with reference to various income, caste, occupation, literacy and size of land holding groups.
After independence, India witnessed many political, economic, and social changes. Indian society at present is a transitional one and its politics tends to be in a process of change. Now is the proper time to study the working of democracy in India and her citizens' participation in different political activities and the factors which influence this participation. The mobilising factors like income or economic status, caste, occupation, literacy, urbanisation, mass media etc., promote and ensure the political participation. Among all these factors, the researcher has taken up the economic factor for his study. This factor is the most important determinant of political participation of the people and records the changes in the act of political participation.

The study attempts to determine the level of variations in the participation by masses and leaders in wet and dry areas in Hukeri taluka. It is a study of cause and effect.

As a resident of the taluka, the researcher has noticed the growth and working of a number of social, economic and political institutions in a number of villages. This acquaintance of the growth and working of these institutions also induced the researcher to undertake the study of these institutions and their impact on political participation.
Statement of the Problem

This empirical study has been carried out to examine the relation between economic development and political participation. The problem of the study is to measure the extent of economic development in terms of family annual income, size of land holding, consumption of goods and services, pattern of crops, level of literacy, occupation etc., at micro level and their impact on political participation of the masses and leaders in wet and dry areas, of Hukeri taluka of Belgaum district. The study is mainly an attempt to explore the socio-economic status of the masses and leaders and the extent of their impact on political participation.

The impact of the construction of Hidkal Dam (Ghatapurabha Valley Development Scheme) as also of the Hira Sugar Factory on the Hukeri taluka has been outstanding. Hence it is assumed that these two sources of economic development are bound to influence the political participation of the masses and leaders. This background of the economic development of the taluka is the genesis of the problem which we propose to study. It raises some of the following fundamental questions.

Firstly is there any relation between economic development and political participation? Secondly, does economic
development maximise the political participation of the masses and leaders? Thirdly, how and to what extent does economic development influence the political participation of the masses and leaders? Fourthly, does the variation in areas (wet and dry) make variations in the kind and level of participation of masses and leaders? Fifthly do irrigation facilities, industrial developments and new employment opportunities enhance the participation? Lastly, do variations in income, size of land holding, occupation, level of literacy, and caste/community of the masses and leaders of wet and dry areas, cause variations in the kind and level of political participation? To find out the answers to these problems, empirical study is undertaken. The problem of the study centres round the linkage between economic development/economic status and political participation. It is one of cause and effect. Whether economic development maximises the participation or minimises the participation or it does not influence the participation in either way is the central theme and significant problem of this thesis.

Though the linkage between economic development and political participation is obviously not a simple one, in the light of the earlier findings of scholars in this direction and with the support of logical analysis the linkage between the two is established in the following pages.

A number of studies so far made by scholars have proved that there is a close relation between economic development
and political participation. The economic development of a state or a district or a taluka or a village maximises the citizens' participation in their respective areas. This view is supported by Biplab Das Gupta and W.H. Morris Jones. They say that "there is a close correspondence between the level of development of a district or a state and its voting turnout record. The more developed a district or a state, the greater is the likelihood of its recording a high rate of turnout."  

Tingsten observes that "it is almost universally true throughout the West that the more prosperous people are more likely to be active in politics and to vote proportionately more frequently than the less prosperous."  

Robert E Lane links participation with status as "the means available for participation are different in the different status groups. The poor man can contribute no significant sums of money, nor is his individual social and occupational position likely to give him, as an individual, much influence over governmental actions. Poor people can exert influence only by collective action; really, only through organisations designed for this purpose. The more prosperous individual however, can make larger financial contributions and, can use his personal and professional influence to some effect. The working-class person must speak through an agent; the business or professional person may delegate his politics in the same way, but he may also exercise personal influence."
Economic development/status of the citizens enables the citizens to participate more actively and efficiently. This view is supported by C.P. Bhambhari and Varma. They say that "the individual's resource position plays a crucial role in public life i.e. the more sound the economic position of a person, the greater are his chances of participation in electoral politics. Thus economic status of an individual may help in getting him elected to public office. This means that the higher socio-economic status groups have greater chance to get a hold over important positions and by that they can safeguard their socio-economic status." 7

Dennis Kavanagh holds that "if we shift our attention to already industrialised societies, then a similar logic of explanation seems to apply. It is well established that higher socio-economic status increases the likelihood of political participation, at both individual and aggregate levels (cf Crewe, 1981). The crucial links between the macro-social processes and the behaviour of citizens are the attitudes which are developed. In the Civic Culture study it was Britain and America, the countries with the highest levels of SED (Socio-Economic Development) at the time, which had more participatory cultures. The study showed that across the five nations, people with higher socio-economic status attributes, such as further education, white-collar jobs and
group memberships, were more likely to be participants. The crucial links in this chain are that SED produces changes in the class structure. In particular, it produces more people with high socio-economic status who have more participatory attitudes, and therefore these societies include more participants.\(^8\)

Myron Weiner states that "the process of modernization itself creates conditions for increased political participation; and if modernization continues to take place in the developing areas, we can expect both authoritarian regimes and representative governments to be challenged by new participants who want to share power."\(^9\)

A.H.Somjee observes that "from Lipset and Lerner down to Huntington, the growth of political participation has often been considered to be a function of economic development and/or urbanisation."

Hence the study intends to verify whether its findings confirm the findings made by other scholars stated above. The problem of the thesis may briefly be stated as follows:

In the light of the theoretical statements and earlier findings discussed above, the fundamental problem posed in the
study is to grasp and explain the economic development in the taluka and to find out its impact on political participation. It is a problem of finding out variations in the level of political participation by the masses and leaders of wet and dry areas, by the comparative method. It is proposed to seek the relation between economic development and political participation and to link them. The thesis undertakes the study of the growth and democratic functioning of the social, economic and political institutions and tries to give a comparative picture of these institutions in two areas. It is aimed at testing the findings of the study against available data on Indian national and cross national patterns of participation.

**Key Questions to be Answered**

The key questions of the problem to be answered in the study are as follows:

1) Is there any relation between economic development and political participation?

2) Does economic development maximise the political participation of the masses and leaders?
3) Has economic development brought changes in the level of participation of masses of wet and dry areas?

4) What are the differences in the level of participation between the people of wet area and dry area?

5) What social and economic groups participate?

6) Which group avails the opportunities of participation and to what extent?

7) From what social and economic strata does leadership emerge?

8) The leaders of which social and economic group are dominant?

9) Are there any differences in the kind and level of participation between the leaders of wet and dry areas?

10) Are there any differences in the growth and democratic working of political, economic and socio-political institutions of wet and dry areas?

11) Have these institutions shaped new leaders in their areas?
Significance of the Problem

In the absence of a detailed study of correlation between economic development and political participation in India, the study of this problem is not only significant academically but could be of great use to the masses, leaders, policy makers and the government.

The democratic system provides ample opportunities to the adult citizens of the nation to shape their own destiny. By participation citizens can exhibit their strength, and draw the attention of the policy makers and the government to their problems. The citizens can influence the policy makers and government by participation so as to shape the policies and run the administration as they desire. This idea is made clear in this study, by impressing upon the citizens to participate on a bigger scale. Such participation is assisted to a great extent by the economic development of the area.

This study draws the attention of the leaders, policy makers and the government to the impact of economic development on participation. Accordingly it makes them to accelerate the economic development to maximise the participation. In the long run the very political participation may influence the leaders and the government to
take every measure to promote the economic development and in return again economic development will widen the participation.

This study can be considered as a valuable guideline to any further effort in the same direction. It is hoped that this study draws the attention of the policy makers to the economic conditions of the dry areas and influence them to revise their policies and enhance the development of these areas.

It helps every reader to know who actually participate and from what social and economic strata does participation largely come in, how the leaders participate and in what activities, from what social and economic groups have leaders come up, what are the differences found in the level of participation by the masses and leaders of wet and dry areas, and what is the relation between economic development and political participation.

It gives the idea about the working of socio-economic and political institutions and the leadership provided by them. Thus the study is useful to the masses in general and to the leaders and government in particular. In short it serves the interests of the academicians, masses, leaders and the government.
Scope and Limitations of the Study

Most of the earlier researches made in India are confined to voting turnout in general and voting turnout in rural, urban and tribal areas and factors influencing voters in particular. Some have studied a few other activities like election campaign, political discussion, attending political meetings, rallies, membership of political parties, contributing money, and decision making, but have ignored several other political activities. This study covers 23 major activities, including the above mentioned activities, at micro level with reference to the economic development variable. Earlier studies have not paid enough attention to the impact of economic development, whereas the present study deals entirely with the impact of economic development on political participation. However other intervening or mediating variables like size of land holding, literacy, occupation, are closely related with the economic factor and are also the determinants of the economic status of the citizens, which are used to study their linkage with participation. Another intervening variable-caste/community, which determines the social status of the individuals in Indian society is also used to study its relation with participation.
Most of the studies so far made on developing societies are not developmental. They deal with the individual's participation at one point in time, particularly at the time of elections.

To have a clear idea about actual participation of the masses and leaders, however, a detailed historical analysis of a long period is desirable. Such a study helps to generalise the development of the level of political participation. With this view, the present study has undertaken a historical survey of participation of masses and leaders over a period of 15 years, from 1970 to 1985.

Though the study is confined to the participation of the masses and leaders between 1970 and 1985, the study extends its scope to cover the participation of masses and leaders in the 1987 Zilla Parishad (Z.P.) and Mandal Panchayat (M.P.) elections. The government of Karnataka for the first time in the state implemented the revolutionary idea of decentralising political power through the Z.P. and M.P. This provided an excellent opportunity to study the participation at local levels at the 1987 elections to the Z.P. and M.P. bodies.

There are two kinds of participation, viz., conventional and unconventional. The study covers both conventional and
unconventional political participation. This is the multi-activity approach. It is a study of constant influence and not merely the study of one point in time, particularly at the time of elections, as in the case of the uni-activity approach. Through a number of activities other than voting, people try to control and influence the government on all occasions. So it is the study of voting as well as participation during non-electoral periods.

As this study has taken various intervening variables viz., size of land holding, occupation, literacy and caste/community, there are many tables. Without taking the intervening variables into consideration, the study cannot be complete. To make the study comprehensive and substantial and to examine the contribution of these variables to the political participation, they are incorporated in this study. As the various variables are taken to give a full picture of the impact of economic development on political participation, the number of tables are bound to be more. So a large number of tables have become inevitable in this study.

The political participation is associated both with input function and output function. The study is confined only to the input function.
There are two kinds of studies viz., Macro level and Micro level. The present study is conducted at the individual level. Hence this micro level study has all those limitations that any study of this kind possesses.

The study is limited only to the selected 20 villages of the taluka. Generalisations are made on the basis of this study. It aims at focussing the impact of economic development on political participation in Hukeri Taluka only. However, these findings are useful in testing and verifying the earlier generalisations made on the study of longer areas. It can also be used to test the hypotheses and conclusions of this kind of study made elsewhere in the country.

One way of providing a baseline for evaluating levels of political activity is to compare rates of participation in this country with those in others. Such base lines for evaluating levels are rarely available. Wherever they are available they are used in this study. The findings of Sidny Verba and N.H.Nie in their work, Participation in America are mainly used in this study.

The period of this study is from 1970 to 1985. The level of participation of the masses and leaders in 1970 and earlier in all the 23 activities covered in this study are not
available. The degree of variations in the level of participation of masses and leaders between wet and dry areas shown are only after 1970 and on the basis of the first hand data collected.

The study does not cover aspects like the ends of participation, citizen's sense of efficacy and political apathy.

Income of the family of the respondents is the important indicator of economic development. But the income of the families of respondents in 1970 and at present are not in the form of constant prices, but in current prices only. It was difficult to calculate the agricultural income of the respondents in the form of constant prices.

Many of our respondents did not have individual incomes. Some of them shared jointly the property of a joint family. Some were working together on the lands of the joint family and receiving the income jointly. Some women were only housewives. Some were unemployed. Every member of the family did not always have personal income. Hence in this study income of the respondent means the income of the whole family, irrespective of the number of the earning members and total members of the family. The respondents were asked to
calculate whatever they or their family earned in terms of cash money at current prices. Thus the agricultural yield and the wages given in the form of grain or kind were calculated on the basis of what it would be, if paid for in cash, according to the existing market rates.

Only the heads of the family own the land. Every member of the family does not possess land separately in his name. So every respondent was not the head of the household. Hence, here the size of the land owned by the respondent means, irrespective of the size of the family, land owned by the whole family of the respondent.

Economic development is not the only factor which varies the level of participation. There are a number of other variables like, urbanisation, mass media, party affiliation, ideology, caste, occupation, literacy, etc. Among these variables economic development is one of the more important variables of greater participation. This study focuses its attention on economic development. It is not an integrated study of the factors responsible for participation. It is a sectarian, single factor approach to the multi-dimensional activity like political participation.

The statistical data about the whole taluka in respect of many institutions and activities are available. But the
comparative statistical data about all institutions and activities in wet and dry areas are not available in the taluka offices. However, this researcher has made an attempt to collect comparative statistics about many institutions and activities in these two areas (wet and dry) to the maximum extent possible.

All the important political activities are taken with reference to the independent variable (income). But in order to have a sizeable and manageable work only a few activities are taken with reference to intervening variables like, size of land holdings, occupation, literacy, caste/community.

Overview of Literature

In India since independence no detailed and systematic research studies have been made on the impact of economic development on political participation. Very limited work has been carried out on this subject. In the Western countries a good number of scholars have been attracted to the study of the correlation between Socio-Economic Status (SES) and political participation. A large number of studies—both cross-national and sub-national have been made in America, on the correlation between socio-economic status and participation. Some research studies however have been made in India as well as in Western countries on one or two or a
few aspects of political activities, with reference to the SES variable and participation. Let us have a glance over the findings of these studies.


In India some scholars have contributed to this field. The notable among them are: A.H.Somjee, V.M.Sirsikar, M.L.Goel, K.Seshadri, Rajni Kothari, Iqbal Narain, Bashiruddin Ahmed, Rameshray Roy, Anil Bhatt, Biplab Das Gupta, A.K.Mukhopadhyaya, Bangendu Ganguly and Mira Ganguly, C.P.Bhambhari and S.P.Varma. Some non-Indian scholars have also made studies on Indian political participation. They are Myron Weiner, W.H.Morris Jones and others.

C.C.Maxey and R.Y.Fluno in their book "The American Problem of Government" explain the causes of non voting as
"Complete absence of interest in voting or disbelief in voting is largely found among persons who, for diverse reasons, have never taken interest in public affairs. They constitute a politically isolated group. Factors such as racial discrimination, low economic and educational status, and geographic isolation contribute to the size of this category." 

Robert E. Lane in his work "Political Life" while dealing with the impact of income on voting, observes: "Does every dollar increment have the same effect or is there a kind of declining marginal productivity of income for voting? On the basis of these crude data, we find that (a) every increased thousand dollars of income increases turnout by a progressively smaller percentage, and (b) any given rate of increase in income from one level to another is likely to bring a smaller rate of increase in turnout as one ascends the income scale. Evidently when a man has a smaller income new increments of income have a greater effect upon his attitudes and create more situational pressures than equal amounts (or rates) of increased income at a higher economic level."

Further dealing with the economic threshold of political involvement he says that" on a second point, these data offer some suggestive evidence: What is the economic threshold of political involvement? Is there an income level below which participation is markedly less likely than it is for persons
just above that level- a kind of political plimsoll line? This would only be true if the income-voting relationship were marked by one or two clear discontinuities. The data suggest that the economic threshold of political action is close to the minimum for survival, probably in the bottom income bracket presented in these data. Evidently very few people will vote at the subsistence level and a minimum of $2000 (1948,1952) is necessary for a majority of the income group to vote."14

Giuseppe Dipalma made an empirical analysis on the basis of survey data collected in 1959 by Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba for their study "The Civic Culture" and confirms that "evidence about the United States consistently reveals that participation is greater among the better educated, those with higher income or occupations, the members of dominant ethnic groups, urban residents, men, and people who within other criteria occupy a relatively high status in society. A suggested reason for their high political participation is that these people have skills, motivations, and opportunities and are exposed to group pressures that induce or help them to participate."15

Noted American scholars Verba and Nie in their studies "Participation in America" assert that "most studies of
participation, including our own, demonstrate that it is just those with higher income, higher education and higher-status occupations who participate.\textsuperscript{16} Further they have confirmed that "citizens of higher social and economic status participate more in politics. This generalization has been confirmed many times in many nations. And it generally holds true whether one uses level of education, income or occupation as the measure of social status."\textsuperscript{17}

Dennis Kavanagh with the support of the findings of "Civic Culture" in his book "Political Science and Political Behaviour" opines that "the crucial links between the macro-social processes and the behaviour of citizens are the attitudes which are developed. In Civic Culture study it was Britain and America, the countries with the highest levels of SED at the time, which had more participatory cultures. The study showed that across the five nations, people with higher socio-economic status attributes, such as further education, white-collar jobs, and group memberships, were more likely to be participants. The crucial links in this chain are that SED produces changes in the class structure. In particular, it produces more people with high socio-economic status, who have more participatory attitudes and therefore these societies include more participants." He concludes: "The main conclusion is also clear enough; there is a positive
relationship between high SED and the chance of state's being a stable liberal democracy in the West; below a certain level of SED, it is highly improbable that, there can be democracy, above a certain level of SED further development does not make such difference to the chances of a state being a more stable and democratic society.\textsuperscript{18}

Indian studies have also tried to link economic development/economic status and political participation. The noteworthy studies are analysed below:

Biplab Das Gupta and W.H. Morris Jones made a qualitative analysis in their work "Patterns and Trends in Indian Politics." They remark: "there is a general negative association of 'development' with rejected votes. The percentage of invalid votes declines monotonically, with development. In particular, literacy and other 'development' variables as well as 'accessibility' variables show high negative correlation with invalid votes both at state level and at the national level."\textsuperscript{19}

Myron Weiner and John Osgood Field in their book "Studies in Electoral Politics in the Indian States" have made the comparative study of tribal voting and non-tribal voting in India and concluded that "as hypothesized, tribal
constituencies have consistently lower average levels of voter participation than non-tribal rural constituencies. In the 1967 elections for e.g. the turnout in tribal constituencies was 44% while in non tribal rural constituencies it was 59%, a difference of 15 percentage points. In the previous elections in 1962 the turnout was 40% and 53% respectively.\textsuperscript{20}

Bangendu Ganguly and Mira Ganguly in their studies "Voting Behaviour in a Developing Society" have made a comparative study of voting behaviour in three different regions having different levels of economic development. The three regions were identified by symbolic name as region 'A' region 'B' and region 'C' having stratum of highest development, stratum of intermediate level of development and lowest level of development respectively. They found that "true to expectations, the percentage of abstainers was lowest in region A: only 11.90 per cent. But the assumption is shown to be only partly true because abstention was highest in region B, not in region C. Region B showed 16.66 per cent abstention and region C held a middle position with 14.28 per cent of abstention. This may perhaps be taken to show that the economic development is only one of a complex of factors affecting turnout. The highest rate of abstention in region B might be partly due to the lower level of literacy in the region."\textsuperscript{21}
Myron Weiner and John Osgood Field in their "Studies in Electoral Politics in the Indian States" assert that "although the difference in electoral participation between urban and rural constituencies in India has all but disappeared, urban turnout remains substantially greater than rural turnout in the least developed regions of the country, particularly in the Hindi speaking states of the north (notably Madya Pradesh, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh along with Orissa), while states that are either more developed or more politicalized now reveal very minor urban-rural differences."  

A.H. Somjee, after a thorough study of the earlier research works, remarks in his book "the Democratic Process in a Developing Society" that "from Lipset and Lerner down to Huntington the growth of political participation has often been considered to be a function of economic development and/or urbanisation: In "Political Man" (1959) Lipset argued that there was a positive correlation between economic development and stable political democracy,"(p.4). A.S. Somjee concludes that "the higher the social status and the more independent the economic base, the greater scope for uninhibited participation and exploration of the political alternatives. The lower or the less secure the social and economic status, the more restricted the scope for political participation."
Snehalata Panda in her book "Indian Politics" observes that "more often than not education and socio-economic status are related. Person with higher socio-economic status have self-confidence. They have personal control as well as control over the external environment. Consequently their involvement in politics, beginning from simple political activities like voting, to the more complex form like decision making is effective and meaningful."^24

In addition to the above noted studies, many other works are available on the correlation between SES and political participation. Anyhow studies so far made on the correlation between SES and political participation are general in nature, and except a few, they are based on either secondary data or on selected group interviews. In most of these works researchers have focused their attention and thrown light on voting turnout, voting behaviour, voting turnout in urban, rural and tribal areas. Only a few scholars have studied election campaign, attending political meetings, rallies, donating money, becoming the member/office bearer of a political party and public institutions, decision making, etc. They have not covered the rest of the major activities. These studies are of one point in time. Most of the information on the participation in non-electoral activities
is available in bits and pieces from a number of different studies. Nevertheless these studies throw light on the impact of SES on participation and the process of politicization. These findings do provide guide lines to the further studies. Hence they are not to be ignored.

In all the above mentioned studies the impact of SES upon political participation is a frequent theme. The findings of these studies support the generally accepted hypothesis that political participation is positively related to the SES variable.

In the light of these studies, the present study intends to find out whether higher income group people participate more than the low income group people; big land holders more than the small landholders and land-less labourers; upper caste people more than the lower caste people; the highly educated more than the less educated and illiterates; and wet area people and leaders more than the dry area people and leaders.

This study intends to examine a single factor impact (economic development) on political participation. The study also intends to find out whether the conclusions arrived here will conform to or deviate from the conclusions arrived
A significant feature of this study is the historical analysis of the level of participation of masses and leaders in two areas for a period of 15 years, from 1970 to 1985. It is not a study of one point in time. Unlike the earlier studies, it is a study of multidimensional political participation and economic development. The study concentrates its attention on indepth exploration of non-electoral participation at the micro level.

Though the emphasis in this study is more on economic development and its impact on political participation, it has taken the size of land holding, occupation, level of literacy and caste/community factors also into consideration. It examines how economic development has affected these various intermediate variables (size of land holding, occupation, literacy, and caste) and in turn how these have affected political participation.

Need for the Study

Since independence, through five year plans, irrigation facilities, scientific methods of cultivation, electrification, and Green Revolution have taken place in
India. At the same time industrialisation has become a reality. These promoters of economic development have brought changes in the economic, political and social life of the people. The increase in the level of per capita income, standard of living, consumption of goods and services, transport and communication facilities prove that there is a process of economic development. Since 1952 there has been a steady increase in political participation by masses and leaders. Hence there is need to assess whether the economic development and political participation go hand in hand or the one supersedes the other in the process of development. There is also a need to measure various degrees of political participation in various activities as a consequence of economic development.

Till today intra-state, intra-district and intra-taluka regional imbalance disparity in the levels of economic development has continued. In the same geographical area there are different types of villages having different levels of economic development, different sizes of land ownership, different caste composition and different occupation patterns. The voting records also vary from one area to another. It shows that the impact of economic development or SES variable differs from area to area. It is proved that political participation is a dependent variable depending upon economic
development or SES variable. Therefore it becomes necessary to study how different degrees of economic development in two different areas lead to different degrees of political participation. Hence this study.

**Contribution to Theory**

Unfortunately, specific attention towards the impact of economic development on political participation has not been given in India. Though many scholars have studied the correlation between SES and political participation, their studies were restricted to electoral activities, plus a few non-electoral activities. Most of these studies were of one point in time. They are not developmental. They have studied economic status or income variable as one of the variables to be tested in their studies. Consequently, no intensive and systematic study of the impact of economic development on political participation, particularly, non-electoral activities, that too among two different regions having disparity in the levels of economic development is made. The present study intends to contribute to the theory of political participation in democracy through economic development by:

(1) paying full attention to the impact of economic development on political participation by masses and leaders.
(2) dealing with not only electoral activities but also with the rest of the major non-electoral activities.

(3) exploring the impact of economic development on participation by the masses and leaders belonging to different income groups: It establishes the correlation between the independent and dependent variables.

(4) displaying the political participation in two different geographical areas having different levels of economic development: it reveals the exact picture of impact of economic development on participation in wet and dry areas.

(5) taking up the study of the participation by masses and leaders for a period of 15 years: it provides the developmental degree of participation, and is not the study of one point in time.

(6) emphasizing the need for the active and maximum participation by the masses and leaders in socio-economic and political institutions: it strengthens the democratic institutions and the democratic working of the various institutions.
Objectives of Study

The following are the objectives of the study:

(1) to find out the economic development of the Hukeri taluka,

(2) to know whether the economic development in the taluka has brought any change in the act of political participation of the masses and leaders,

(3) to link economic development and political participation,

(4) to find out the changes in the level of participation between the masses of wet area and dry area,

(5) to expose the changes in the level of participation between the leaders of wet area and dry area,

(6) to find out the level of variation of political participation between upper income groups and lower income groups, literates and illiterates and upper caste people and lower caste people,

(7) to find out how economic development has affected the various caste and occupational groups in their participation in various political activities, and
(8) to find out the growth of political, economic and socio-political institutions and their democratic working in the wet and dry areas.

**Hypotheses**

With the background of the economic development of the taluka and on the basis of the above noted overview of literature and objectives of study, the following hypotheses are framed:

1. Economic development leads to wider political participation,

2. Political participation of the masses and leaders is more in wet area than in the dry area,

3. Higher income is followed by greater participation. Higher the economic position of a person the greater are his chances of participation in political activities in both areas,

4. Participation is more among big land holders than among the small land holders and landless labourers,

5. Participation is more among literates than among illiterates,
(6) Participation by the upper caste people is more than by the lower caste people,

(7) The growth and democratic working of political, economic and socio-political institutions are more in wet area than in the dry area.

These hypotheses are based on three sets of variables. They are:

i) Independent variable
ii) Intervening or intermediating variables
iii) Dependent variable

Economic development is the independent variable in this study. Size of land holding, occupation, literacy and caste/community are intervening variables. These variables intervene in this study as a result of economic development. Economic development affects all these variables. These variables in turn affect the dependent variable i.e. the political participation.

**Variables**

Political participation is a multidimensional activity. It depends upon a large number of variables which interact
with one another. Among these variables some significant ones are:

(1) Income
(2) Size of land holding
(3) Occupation
(4) Education
(5) Mass media exposure
(6) Ideology
(7) Residential location
(8) Urbanisation
(9) Caste/community
(10) Religion
(11) Age
(12) Sex
(13) Party evaluation
(14) Marital status
(15) Party preferences and loyalty
(16) Attitude towards political recruitment
(17) Association with public institutions
(18) Feelings of civic competence
(19) Headship of the family/house
(20) New irrigation facilities in the countries where agriculture is a predominant occupation.
Thus from a number of studies of investigation a large number of variables are identified. There is no universally valid scale of measurement to decide the exact impact of these variables on citizens' participation. The variables are inter-linked and inter-dependent. It is practically difficult to put the influence of these variables in water tight compartments. The influence of one variable upon another cannot be controlled.

In a single study as the present one, it is not possible to incorporate all the variables. Accordingly, in this study, to explore the impact of economic development on political participation, three sets of variables are identified and used.

The study entirely concentrates on economic development and explores its impact on political participation. Hence economic development is the independent variable; secondly, the size of land holding, occupation, education, caste/community are interfering or mediating variables. These variables intervene in the study as a result of economic development because economic development affects all these variables. The impact of economic development is mediated by these interfering variables on the individual's political participation, as they influence the personality of the individual. In other words mediating variables in turn affect
the dependent variable, viz political participation. Hence political participation is the dependent variable in this study.

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<tr>
<td>Economic</td>
<td>Size of land holding,</td>
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<td>development.</td>
<td>occupation, education, caste/community.</td>
<td>participation.</td>
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The figure shows that the independent variable, economic development, affects the mediating variables and in turn mediating variables affect the individual's political participation. Their impact on individual personality is natural and cannot be controlled. Hence economic development leads to wider political participation.

**Methodology**

Nature of research design, universe of the study, time factor, classification of wet and dry area, selection of
sample and size, tools of data collection, data analysis and data interpretation etc are explained here.

**Nature of Research Design**

The present study is empirical research. It is an exploratory survey of the universe of the study. The study is an empirical inquiry into the socio-economic backgrounds and the political participation of the masses and leaders in wet and dry areas in Hukeri taluka. It is essentially an extensive study of participation of masses and leaders of 20 villages, covering 23 major political activities.

The important part of the methodological design of this study is to establish the relation between economic development and political participation on the basis of the empirical data collected through a sample survey by using 3 different sets of questionnaires.

The objectives of the questionnaires are built around three central ideas. The first one is to collect data on the socio-economic background of the masses and leaders who are the respondents of the study. The second is to collect data on the political participation of the respondents. The last
one is to seek data on the growth and democratic working of political, economic and socio-political institutions in the wet and dry areas.

Universe of the Study

The Hukeri taluka is the universe of this study. The Hukeri taluka consists of 111 revenue villages and 2,72,111 population (1981 census). But in this study 20 villages were selected as the sample villages. Out of the 20 selected villages 10 villages were selected from wet area and the remaining 10 villages from dry area (please see appendix-I for the particulars of the villages selected). The findings of this study are based on the empirical study of these villages.

Most of the citizens' average political participation is usually the average political participation of the nation. Hence the individual is considered the unit of this study.

To represent the masses of wet area 150 mass respondents were selected from 10 wet villages. Similarly 150 respondents were selected from 10 dry villages. Thus 300 mass respondents were selected for the comparative study of political participation by masses. These sample respondents were selected by lot system on the basis of the 1987 voters list.
The villages selected for the study of political participation of masses were the sample villages for the study of leaders' participation as well as the institutions.

All the persons who held political positions, particularly the members of Mandal Panchayats, Zilla Parishad and the chairmen/vice-chairmen of the political, economic and socio-political institutions in the 20 villages and the members of the board of directors of Hira Sugar factory, H.T.C.R.E.S.Ltd., Hukeri belonging to the 20 villages and the sitting and ex.M.L.As, M.L.Cs. and a member of board of directors of Apex Bank Bangalore constitute the unit of respondents for the study of leaders' participation. In all, 60 leaders from wet area and 70 leaders from dry area were interviewed.

For the study of political, economic and socio-political institutions, all the institutions functioning in the selected 20 villages were the sample unit. Totally 36 institutions of wet area and 22 institutions of dry area constitute the unit for the study of growth and democratic working of the institutions.

A framework was conceptualized to help understand the interaction between economic development and political participation for 15 years, from 1970 to 1985.
On the whole, 12 caste/community groups, 7 income groups, 6 literacy groups, 10 occupational groups, 6 land holder's groups, 300 mass respondents, 130 leader-respondents, 58 institutions and 20 villages represent the universe of this study.

Hidkal Dam and Hira Sugar Factory which have introduced economic development in the taluka also fall within the purview of the universe of the study.

**Time Factor**

In developing countries like India the process of economic development and political participation are continuous. To generalise the impact of one upon the other, an observation of the process of development needs to be made for a long period of time. Hence in the present study 15 years' survey from 1970 to 1985 is undertaken to examine the impact of economic development on political participation.

Now a question may be raised here regarding the propriety of selecting this period. The construction of Hidkal Dam and Hira Sugar Factory started in the taluka in 1956-57 and 1960 respectively. The sugar factory began production from 1961, and since then it has been serving the
interests of the farmers. The construction work of Hidkal Dam was completed in 1979-80; it had opened job opportunities from the rank of manual labour to the white collar jobs since 1956-57.

Thus since 1956 there has been a process of economic development in the taluka. But such a process of economic development would not affect the political activities of the people immediately. It would take 5 to 10 years to influence political participation by the people. Therefore this study starts from 1970 and it continues upto 1985 when the political participation is also in the process of development. So it required the historical analysis of the process of political participation for a long period of time to find out the impact of economic development on political participation. With this view, the study undertakes the historical analysis of participation by masses and leaders from 1970 to 1985.

Though the period of study covers a span of 15 years (1970 to 1985) the present study is made at a single point of time (1986-1991). It does not follow the follow up method as the study was taken up only in 1986.
Classification of Wet and Dry Areas

Hukeri taluka is divided into wet and dry areas for this study. The criterion used to classify the taluka into wet area and dry area is the average percentage of irrigated land in each village out of the land cultivated in the village for a period of 7 years from 1978-79 to 1984-85.

The following three formulae are used to work out the average percentage of irrigation and to classify the taluka into wet and dry areas.

I Percentage of land irrigated in each village for each year = \( \frac{\text{Total land irrigated in each village}}{\text{Total land under cultivation}} \times 100 \)

II Percentage of land irrigated in a village in a year = \( \frac{\text{Total land irrigated for seven years in a village}}{\text{Total land under cultivation for seven years in a village}} \times 100 \)

III Average percentage of land irrigated in each village = \( \frac{\text{Sum of percentages of land irrigated for seven years in 108 villages}}{108 \times \text{No. of villages}} \times 100 \)

i.e. \( \frac{1395.73}{108} = 12.92 \)

* Though there are 111 villages in the taluka the data on land irrigated and total land cultivated in three villages are not available. Hence only 108 villages are taken into account to work out the percentage.
Therefore the average percentage of irrigated land in each village is 12.92. So the village which has 12.92% irrigated land is considered wet area and that below this average percentage is regarded as dry area.

In this study 10 villages are considered in the wet area. The percentage of irrigated land varies from village to village, from 12.92 to 59.41 per cent. 10 villages are taken up in the dry area. In dry area, percentage of irrigated land varies from village to village between 0.61 and 12.91. There is a vast difference between the percentage of irrigated land in the wet area and dry area.

The average percentage of irrigation of the Karnataka State or Belgaum district does not give the exact average percentage of irrigation of each village in the taluka. The percentage of irrigation varies from village to village, taluka to taluka and district to district, as it depends upon different sources of irrigation. As state and district are the bigger units than the taluka, the average percentage of state or district do not tally with the village average. The present study is a micro study at village level. Hence the very nature of the study demands the village-wise irrigation percentage in the universe of the study. Therefore to
find out village-wise percentage of irrigation, inevitably the study followed its own above noted formulae.

**Selection of Sample and Size**

Hukeri taluka has a population of 2,72,111, and 111 villages. Hence it is practically difficult to have a survey of all the people and all the villages. So it was considered most suitable to conduct the empirical survey on a sample basis. For the selection of the villages, mass respondents, leader respondents and institutions, multistage sample method is used in this study. The sample consists of four stages. The villages are taken as the first stage, masses as the second stage, leaders as the third stage and institutions as ultimate unit of sampling.

**Multistage Sample Method**

**First Stage:**

**Selection of Villages:** It is a comparative study of wet and dry areas. Hence the villages of the taluka are divided into wet villages and dry villages. There are 37 wet villages and 71 dry villages and data on land irrigated and total land cultivated in 3 villages are not available, so these 3 villages
are not taken into consideration. Out of 37 wet villages 10 villages having the highest percentage of irrigated land are selected as sample wet villages. They come under the jurisdiction of five different Mandal Panchayats of wet area. Similarly, out of 71 dry villages, 10 villages having lowest percentage of irrigated land are selected as sample dry villages. They fall under the jurisdiction of five different Mandal Panchayats of dry area. These selected 10 wet and 10 dry villages are the sample villages for the selection of mass respondents, leader respondents and public institutions.

Second Stage:

Selection of Masses: 150 mass respondents are selected from 10 wet villages and 150 mass respondents are selected from 10 dry villages, so as to adequately represent 7 income groups, 6 land holding groups, 10 occupational groups, 6 literacy groups, and 12 caste/community groups. The classification of all these groups is based on the pilot study of the universe. To select the mass respondents, the electoral roll list of 1987 was used as a frame. Random sample technique particularly by lot system samples were selected. Samples were selected according to the quota allotted to each village, on the basis of its size of
population. To decide the size of samples from each village the following two formulae were used:

I  Percentage of voters in village 'A' = \[
\frac{\text{No. of voters in village 'A'}}{\text{Total number of voters in 10 wet villages.}} \times 100
\]

II  No. of respondents selected from each village = \[
\frac{\text{Percentage of voters in each village}}{\text{X 150}}
\]

The same formulae were used to decide the sample size of each dry village.

Third Stage:

Selection of Leaders:

Census Survey: For the selection of leaders, census survey method was used. The leaders were selected on the basis of the position held. In case of selection of the leaders of wet area all the members of M.P., Z.P., M.L.A., Ex.M.L.A., M.L.C., directors of Hira Sugar factory and H.T.C.R.E.S. belonging to the 10 selected wet villages were selected. They were 60. In the same way all the persons holding positions in the above said organisations in 10 dry villages were selected. They were 70.
Fourth Stage:

Selection of Institutions:

Census Survey: The sample selection of the political, economic and socio-political institutions in wet and dry areas was made on the basis of the census survey. All the political, economic and socio-political institutions functioning in the 10 wet and 10 dry villages were selected for the study. From the wet villages 5 political, 15 economic and 16 socio-political institutions were selected. From the dry villages 3 political, 10 economic and 8 socio-political institutions were selected. Totally 36 institutions belonging to wet area and 22 institutions belonging to dry area constitute the samples. The data of these institutions were collected by administering the questionnaire to the chairman or vice chairman of the institution. Inspite of repeated efforts to contact the pradhana or upapradhana of the two M.Ps of dry area, it was not possible to collect data on them.

Dummy Sample:

It was anticipated that some of the sample mass respondents selected through lot system might not be available as they might be working out side the village or had gone on
pilgrimage or some would not consent to an interview. So 15 dummy sample respondents from wet area and 15 dummy sample respondents from dry area were selected well in advance and used wherever it was necessary.

Tools of Data Collection

Different methods have been employed to collect the required data pertaining to the study. The following techniques were used to collect the data.

(1) Primary sources -

(a) 3 Set of questionnaires.
(b) Interviews.
(c) Participant observations.
(d) Non participant observations.

(2) Secondary sources.

Questionnaires, Interviews and Participant Observation

The study is based on field work, which was undertaken after using the available documentary sources related to the economic development and irrigation facilities in the taluka.
The questionnaires were the main tool used in the study for collecting information.

The questionnaires were designed with a view to enable the researcher to find out the correlation between political participation and such other variables like income, size of land holding, occupation, literacy, caste/community, etc.

To prepare the questionnaires, the necessary information about the universe of the study and socio-economic composition of the population of the Hukeri taluka was collected. On the basis of this study and in consultation with experts, 3 sets of questionnaires were prepared. The questionnaires were put to pre-test among 15 respondents. Again on the basis of the pre-test observation, some changes were made. Thus the questionnaires were finalised.

The first questionnaire was prepared with a view to administer to the masses. It was of 6 pages, consisting 28 questions and 4 supplementary questions with a view to extract detailed information from the respondents. Among the 28 questions, the first 14 questions were to collect information about the personal data and socio-economic background of the respondents. Questions from 15 to 26 were on the political participation in 11 activities from 1970 to 1985. The
questionnaire included questions on the participation in 1987 Z.P. and M.P. elections. The last two questions dealt with factors which motivated the respondents to participate and linkage to the economic development/income of the family of the respondent and his participation.

The second questionnaire was meant for leaders. It was of 9 pages involving 28 main questions and 9 supplementary questions. The first 13 questions pertained to personal data and the socio-economic background of the respondents. Questions from serial number 14 to 26 were to seek information on the leaders' participation in various activities. In addition to the questions on the activities administered to the masses, 12 more questions on activities like house to house canvassing, organisation of election meetings, processions, agitations, strikes, leading delegations and decision making process were added. The last two questions were related to the factors which motivated the leader to participate and linkage to the economic development of the family of the respondent and his participation.

The third questionnaire consisted 19 main questions and 3 supplementary questions. These questions were to collect data on the growth and democratic working of the public institutions.
All the three sets of questionnaires were close-ended with some questions being open ended to make the respondents express their opinions freely.

Interviews:

A great deal of reliance was placed on the interview technique. The interview schedule was started in the month of January 1989. Special care was taken to establish proper rapport with the respondents to seek their responses. They were asked questions from a fairly long questionnaire. Interviews were in the form of discussion. Though all three sets of questionnaires were printed in English, the researcher personally administered the questionnaires to the respondents in Kannada or Marathi as the case may be and himself recorded their responses. Interviews were by and large finished by the end of 1989.

Participant and Non-Participant Observation:

Non participant observation technique was used to collect information regarding meetings of the political institutions, particularly Mandal Panchayats and the participation of leaders in the discussion on the public issues and local problems, decision making process in the meetings and the manner in which meetings were held.
The impact of economic development on political participation involves the process of interaction at various levels, and it is complex and dynamic. It can be understood by observing the people who participate on different occasions. Hence canvassing, political processions, rallies, agitations, strikes, political meetings carried on by different political parties and leaders in the taluka were attended by the researcher with a view to observing the public and leaders' participation in them.

The researcher has the benefit of participant and non-participant observation of the universe of study, for a period of more than 15 years, in the capacity of the resident of the taluka, student, college teacher, research scholar, and as one of the organisers of strikes and processions between 1976 and 1981. These observations helped him to collect qualitative data for the study.

(2) Secondary Sources

Documentary: Both published and unpublished records of the Tahsildar office, Hukeri, the records of all the departments of the government of Karnataka available at the taluka level offices, the records of Hidkal Dam project, Hira Sugar Factory, Hukeri Taluka Co-operative Rural Electricity Society Hukeri, records of number of political, economic and
socio-political institutions of the taluka and published records from the office of the Deputy Director of District Statistical office, Belgaum, secretariat, department of statistics, government of Karnataka, Bangalore. Belgaum District Gazetteer, Census Reports and from many other sources the necessary information and statistical data were collected.

The researcher has visited several libraries like those of Institute for Social and Economic Change, Bangalore, Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi, J.N.University, New Delhi, Centre for the Study of Developing Societies New Delhi, J.N.Library of Bombay University, Bombay, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Bombay, etc to collect the background data and literature of earlier studies and to hold discussion with a number of experts in this field.

Data Analysis and Data Interpretation

After having collected the data through questionnaires they were edited, classified, tabulated and analysed with various perspectives based on the objectives of the study and hypotheses formulated for the study. Data analysis was carried out using the computer facility. The data were processed on I.B.M.Compatible PC/XT. Hand tabulation was also made wherever it was necessary. Data were analysed by means of frequency tables. In order to measure the independent
contribution of each variable an analysis was carried out by taking different acts of participation as dependent variable. All the variables were subjected to one or the other statistical treatment to identify their contribution and linkage to the political participation.

**Conceptualisation of Terms Used in the Study**

Here an attempt is made to define all unusual terms that could be misinterpreted. Some of the definitions used here are used in the traditional sense. These definitions help to establish the frame of reference with which the researcher approaches the problem.

(1) **Economic Development:**

Instead of several nominal definitions on economic development the researcher has taken the operational definition in this study. Economic development means the process of increase in the gross income of the families of the respondents, their capacity of consumption of goods and services, and increase in the size of irrigable land, the transport and communication facilities, level of literacy, change in the pattern of cultivation of land and crops over a period of time in the taluka.
(2) **Wet Area: (Operational Definition)**

Wet area means the village which has an average 12.92 per cent and above of irrigated land, out of the total land cultivated in the village.

(3) **Dry Area (Operational Definition)**

Dry area means the village which has an average below 12.92 per cent of land irrigated, out of the total land cultivated in the village.

(4) **Political Participation:**

Various political scientists like Sidney Verba, Norman H. Nie, G.A. Almond, G.B. Powell (Jr.) M.L. Goel and David Horton Smith, William M. Lafferty, Jack H. Nagel, Bashiruddin-Ahmed and Anil Bhatt have defined political participation in their own way. However all of them agree to a smaller or greater extent that political participation means citizens' voluntary involvement in political process. The political process involves selection of representatives of the people and influencing the decisions of the democratic institutions in various ways.
The meanings of these activities are taken in the traditional sense in this study. The scope of political participation in this study includes-voting, election campaign, distributing polling cards or literature,processions, rallies, agitations, strikes, contributing money, membership of political, economic, socio-political institutions and political parties, office bearership of political, economic and socio-political institutions and political parties, taking voters to the polling stations, giving political education as to why the people have to vote for one of the parties or candidates, organising election meetings, processions, leading delegations, solving the problems of the locality, contesting to elections, decision making process, etc.

(5) Leaders:

Leadership in this study includes persons holding elected offices in M.P., Z.P., Legislative Assembly, Legislative Council, Co-operative institutions including co-operative banks.

Plan of Work

This work is divided into five chapters. In the first chapter the profile of the Hukeri taluka is given. At the end
of this chapter a comparative picture of wet and dry areas is given. It not only gives profile of wet and dry areas in many respects, but traces the economic development in these two areas. It gives a comparative picture of economic development, social life, consumption of goods and services in the two areas. This chapter serves as a background for the next three chapters.

The second chapter deals with the impact of economic development on the political participation of masses. The chapter contains a brief note on 11 political activities as carried out in this area. It exposes the level of political participation by masses in 11 different political activities. How income, size of land holding, occupation, literacy, caste/community variables differentiate the level of participation between the masses of wet area and dry area are explored on the basis of the first hand data collected. Here hypotheses are put to test to find out the correlation between economic development and political participation.

The third chapter examines the hypotheses relating to leaders' participation and relation between economic development and participation by leaders. In this chapter the level of participation by the leaders of wet and dry areas in 16 political activities is analysed. The independent variable and mediating/intervening variables are put to test to find out
their influence upon the leaders' participation. It gives a picture of the patterns of leadership in the two areas from traditional to modern and upper caste to lower caste.

The fourth chapter deals with the growth and democratic working of the political, economic and socio-political institutions of wet area and dry area. Here an attempt is made to show the difference between the institutions of wet and dry areas in terms of their composition, functioning and the leadership provided by them.

The last chapter provides a summary of the major findings of the study. The linkage between economic development and political participation is established in the light of the findings of the study. As a result of economic development the changes taking place in the level and modes of political participation by the masses and leaders is explained. The study's contribution to the theory of economic development and political participation is explained. The chapter is followed by an appendix and a bibliography.
REFERENCES


4) Ibid, p.299.


17) Ibid., p.125.


25) The data on area irrigated and the total land cultivated in each village are collected from the Taluka Records of the Tahsildar Office, Hukeri.