CHAPTER-I

INTRODUCTION

Political parties are considered by many as intermediate organizations between the citizen and the state. They are regarded as having an important place in a democracy, carrying the weight of expectations and aspirations upwards from citizen to state. Similarly they also take the responsibility of formulating the public policy for the betterment of their citizens downwards, from state to citizen. This in the words of political science is known as interest articulation and interest aggregation\(^1\). In this process, they perform multiple functions and develop multiple personalities as one can notice.

In recent years, reputation of both parties and leaders are in a state of disarray. Parties and politicians have been accused of eroding the democratic system by practicing and maximizing their personal gains and influence\(^2\). In short, political parties willfully pursue their own narrow political interest at the expense of the greater common good, which is actually a departure from theory. However, without their political organization and mobilization, the democratic system would not have worked. Major transformations have taken place since Independence in India's party system. The writings on these in fact examine and evaluate changes both within political parties and the party system. At the centre of the change in the party system, the rise of the BJP in India and in Karnataka\(^3\), actually have contributed to a shift in
politics in India should begin with an understanding of the role of political parties in
democratic systems in general.

This in other words reiterate that parties are undoubtedly essential to the
functioning of democracy; they perform varied functions within and outside the realm
of politics. Their leadership and policies, internal practices, and the patterns of
interaction with other parties and institutions can have profound consequences for the
system of governance. As a keystone political institution in representative regime, the
modern political party regularly fulfils three critical functions: nominating candidates
for public offices; formulating and setting the agenda for public; and mobilizing
support for candidates and policies in an election. Other institutions perform some of
these functions too. What, however, distinguishes parties is their emphasis on linkage.
Parties are seen, both by their members and by others, as agencies for forging links
between citizens and policy makers. Their raison deter is to create a substantive
connection between the ruler and ruled.

Political parties are central to Indian political life. Their role in political
mobilization, governance, the formulation and implementation of economic and social
policy, ethnic conflict, separatist movements, and the working of democracy has long
been the focus of analysis. Their centrality arises from the fact that they are the key
link between individual and state, and society. Political parties provide the crucial
connection between social process and policy makers, and influence debates and
policies on issues affecting the interests of various social groups in the political
system.
As more and more people participated in the democratic process, competitive politics and the party system have undergone a major change over the past two decades. The Congress and the ruling BJP led National Democratic Alliance face dissension at all levels extending from differences between the BJP and organizations it is affiliated with, such as the Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh (RSS) and the Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP), and between the party and its coalition partners.

To understand the significance and implications of these developments, many of which are spurred by electoral and political change, it is useful to distinguish two important phases in the development of the party system. One party dominance, moderate levels of political participation, and elite consensus characterized the first phase. This has given way to a second phase of greater democratization and the opening up of the political system to non-elite participants. The latter has resulted in the unfolding of unexpected political patterns. These include the replacement of the Congress system with multi-party competition, an intensification of party competition, the fragmentation of parties and emergence of coalition politics. Particularly significant is the decline of one-party dominance, the rise of the BJP as the single largest party in Parliament, and the advent of coalition politics. Coalition governments have come into their own because the last five parliamentary elections have failed to produce a single party majority. Equally important is the democratic upsurge amongst the hitherto underprivileged sections of society and their perceptible influence on the working of democracy and political institutions. Two issues are particularly vital. The first concerns the effect of institutional variables, principally, the electoral system and federalism, on the party system. The second pertains to the role of social cleavages,
more precisely, the relationship between social cleavages and political mobilization. These shifts rise number of questions of general interest for students of Indian politics. What are the conditions under which parties and party system change? How has the party managed to cope with social change? How do we understand the contemporary party systems and its impact on democracy. Do these political parties have a set agenda? Do political parties have different levels of operation? Do they foresee development? Do they contribute to urban expansion and growing expectations? And the like.

The Indian National Congress was unique amongst the Third World parties in dominating, almost without coercion, a competitive multi party system. Most accounts of the Congress party from 1947 to 1964 emphasize the role of Jawaharlal Nehru in the construction of a high modernist India in which the state would assume charge of economic development and nation-building activities with an appeal to the ideas of socialism, secularism, federalism, and democracy. Nehru dominated the Congress party from 1951 when he successfully moved against its conservative president, Purshottam Das Tandon. Under Nehru’s leadership, the party built upon the nationalist legacy in three ways: its development of party organization, its accommodation of diverse interests, and its relationship with other parties. Dominance by a single party coexisted with inter party competition, but the opposition parties had little prospect of replacing the Congress, except in a few states, its success was attributed to the elaborate party structure and extensive patronage networks. This helped the Congress to appeal to the vast middle ground of interests and values. Internally, it was a grand coalition of major social and political forces...
held together by its image as the party that won India independence and popularity of leaders like Gandhi and Nehru, as well as a very large number of provincial leaders who had participated in the national movement and had managed the party organization at the state level. Ideologically, the party was centrist, committed to democracy, minority rights, secularism, a centralized form of federalism, and mixed economy. Institutionally, the Congress system was a hierarchical organization radiating downwards from the central to the provincial and district levels, each level working in consonance with the corresponding level of government. However, this system began to crumble as the Congress electoral fortunes deteriorated after 1967. The problems facing the Congress were partly symptomatic of the growing democratization of traditional power relations throughout society and partly the result of its own actions, such as the failure to create a rational basis for generating a new leadership through political institutions.

There also began a period of acute instability in the party system. By the end of Indira Gandhi's life, the political landscape had changed unequivocally. The legislative majorities won by the Congress under her leadership were not used to implementing the radical policy promises made by her. This weakened the government, and in the long run the party's massive support drained away. Under both Indira Gandhi and Sri Rajiv, the organizational decline of the Congress was precipitous. Electoral majorities, such as the record breaking success in the 1984 elections in the wake of Indira Gandhi's assassination coexisted with structural decay and decadence. By the late 1980s there was a political vacuum in Indian politics. The Congress still remained the only party able to command support in every region
of the country, but its share of the vote declined dramatically. Not long after, it lost its parliamentary majority. This premier party with its nationalist orientation, broad social base, and a modicum of social cohesion, had begun a long decline.

The intensification of competitive politics has changed the party system from being a rivalry between national parties into one between alliances and coalitions of national and state parties. The nineties have witnessed a succession of minority or coalition governments. The Governments formed in 1989, 1990, 1991, 1996, 1998, and 1999 were coalitions of several parties. The BJP led government formed in 1999 is the eighth since 1989. In 1996, a fourteen party United Front government was formed, which was supported by the Left parties. It relied on the Congress to offer support from outside the government, with the aim of preventing the BJP, the largest party in parliament, from coming to power. The minority coalitions in 1989 and 1996 were toppled when their supporters outside the government, the BJP and the Congress respectively, withdrew support, whereas the 1998 coalition government fell after the AIADMK, a member of the coalition, withdrew support. The last two elections have seen the formation of four successive governments with a total of 25 parties contributing to governmental majorities, either as coalition partners or as supporters of minority governments from outside. Many small parties have acquired disproportionate influence because the few seats they held were crucial to forming a government. Even the smallest of parties, even ones with a member or two, can drive hard bargains with the larger parties, which need their support either for a majority or to shore up regional bases. Party divisions in Tamil Nadu exemplify the process. With Dravidian ideology in retreat, many groups that formerly supported the Dravidian
movement have formed parties of their own. The Marumalarchi Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam, Pattali Makkal Katchi, the Tamilzhaga Rajiv Congress, ad Puthiya Tamizhagam are breakway groups from the DMK and AIADMK; the Tamil Manila Congress broke away from the Congress party.

Trends in the last few elections suggest that a parliamentary majority is difficult to achieve in normal elections\textsuperscript{11}. Notwithstanding the BJP's claim that it favors coalitions, even if it wins a majority on its own, its long term political project demands a decisive majority so that it can reduce its dependence on other parties and can pursue its core policies. The Congress has not been able to win an electoral majority since 1984. Still, the party has not given up the hope of attaining a single party majority in the Lok Sabha. Even some of the most ardent Congressmen acknowledged at a brainstorming camp in Panchamarhi in October 1998 that there are some regions, Tamil Nadu, Uttar Pradesh, and Bihar, for example, where the Congress has little alternative but to ally with state based parties, if it wants to come to power\textsuperscript{12}. Yet, the central Congress leadership perseveres with the policy of assailing regional parties as the principal obstacle to single party rule.

While coalition governments have become the order of the day, capacity to govern. Parties and politicians have changed their loyalties so rapidly that sustainable coalition building has proved impossible. The formation of four governments and the necessity for three general elections after 1996 raised ungainly apprehensions of instability and lack of governance. The twelfth Lok Sabha lasted a mere thirteen months, arousing anxiety about its impact on economic development. Political
stability remains elusive because of the shifting calculations of rival parties in the political arena, which raises doubts about the viability of coalitions in a situation of rapidly changing alliances.

Thus, Party politics in India has confronted numerous challenges. Not only has the Congress system destroyed itself, but the fragmentation of the Congress coalition has triggered a new emphasis on self-representation which raise questions about the party system and its capacity to accommodate diverse interests, and also form stable state and national coalitions. An important test facing the polity is to evolve a party system or political parties that can effectively articulate and aggregate a variety of interests. This requires parties to project broader appeals.

The democratic ideal is strong parties with well developed political identification, programmatic goals, and organization. These are rare everywhere. In India, numerous small parties have emerged principally as vehicles for influential and charismatic leaders to gain power. Such leaders rarely advocate the institutionalization of parties, because parties as institutions constrain individual discretion and the personal power of charismatic leaders. Leaders of such parties, some of which may be little more than pressure groups, tend to avoid membership of umbrella coalitions and aspire to wield direct power to maximize their own influence and that of their constituencies. Well developed parties often emerge from below. The growth of the two communist parties and the DMK, AIADMK, Telugu Desam, and BSP indicate this possibility. However these parties are confined to a few states. Furthermore, not all
parties from below become institutionalized. On the contrary, leaders like Mayawati in Uttar Pradesh, M.G. Ramachandran in Tamil Nadu, N.T.Rama Rao in Andhra Pradesh showed no interest in promoting the institutionalization of their parties. This is true of national leaders too: Indira Gandhi destroyed the Congress as an institution. The development of the Congress after the 1969 split was in sharp contrast to its organizational development in there Independence period.¹⁵

With all their deficiencies, India’s myriad political parties have played a crucial role in organizing a competitive multi party based democracy and in forming representative party based governments, thus avoiding the challenges of non party, plebiscitary democracy, and strong executive leadership grounded in populist authoritarianism. Parties remain the best means of ensuring that government has a popular basis and social conflicts are mediated and settled within a process of accommodation and compromise. Even frequent elections have not alienated the majority of voters: to the contrary, they appear to give the mass of voters a sense of control over government. None of this, of course, minimizes the seriousness of the dilemmas facing India’s political parties and the political system. The overriding problem is the persistent inability of governments to deliver on their promises, and the inadequacies of parties in responding to the preference of all its citizens. Yet, despite the erosion of the institutional edifice of democracy, which so preoccupies intellectuals generally, and political scientists in particular, the Indian electorate to judge by its 60 per cent turnout in national elections appears satisfied with the extraordinary range of choices that the parties offer.
There is consequently an urgent need for rebuilding, both within individual parties and in relations among them. Since his election victory in the last week of 1984, Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi had begun, somewhat hesitantly, the process of rebuilding within the formal institutions of state. He had also, at least for the time being, restored a modicum of civility to relations between his ruling Congress-I party and the opposition, and this has in turn led to an improvement in relations between the central government in New Delhi and opposition controlled governments at the state level. Rajiv Gandhi had also indicated, through scorching criticisms, that he was well aware of the wretched condition of his own party. But he may also have missed his opportunity to rebuild it. If that is indeed true, then he could eventually experience the kind of vulnerability that caused him and his mother before him to seek all out confrontation with opposition parties. It could even lead civilian elites to abandon hope in parties and in open, competitive politics. Now it is the turn of Mr. Rahul Gandhi and the generation leaders like him in other parties too. It is however dependent on time to find answers to the hopes of people in political parties.

Purpose of this Study

The Indian subcontinent shares, with Mesopotamia and the Nile valley, a long history of urbanization. The first phase of urbanization in the Indus valley is associated with the Harappan civilization dating back to 2350 BC. The cities of this civilization flourished over a period of more than 600 years up to about 1700 BC and this was followed by a prolonged period of over a thousand years in which we have no evidence of urban development. From around 600 BC, we again come across towns
and cities associated with the two major, but closely related, cultural streams of India, namely the Aryan civilization of the North and the Dravidian civilization of the South. From this period onwards, for about 2500 years, India has had a more or less continuous history of urbanization. However, we know from historical evidence that there were both periods of urban growth and periods of urban decline. Thus cities grew in number and in size during the Mauryan and post-Mauryan periods (from 300 BC to AD 600) both in northern India as well as in the extreme south. Cities declined and were largely neglected during the post-Gupta period, that is from AD 600 to 1200. Urbanization on a subdued scale flourished in northern India under the influence of Muslim rulers, who came to India from Afghanistan and beyond from around AD 1200, and attained a second climax during the Mughal period, when many of India’s cities were established. The British came to India at a time when India was perhaps the most urbanized nation in the world, and the early part of British rule saw a decline in the level of Indian urbanization. During the later half of British rule, Indian cities regained some of their lost importance; further, the British added several new towns and cities, in addition to generating newer urban forms in the existing cities. The post-Independence period has witnessed urbanization in India on a scale never before achieved.

**Urbanization Process**

Ever since 2500 BC, urban places have played an important role in the evolution of India’s cultural, political, economic and social life. Throughout this long period 4500 years the proportion of the country’s total population living in urban
areas has fluctuated between five and twenty-five per cent. These statistics, however, hide the more significant events of the rise and fall of individual cities and of systems of cities, which made lasting impression south country's cultural and social advancement. The influence of cities, past and present, on our way of life, cannot by any standards be considered as a simple, one-dimensional process. On the other hand, the emergence, spatial spread, growth and decline of cities, have meant different things at different points in time and space. There are, in fact, not one but several processes of urbanization at work at any given point in time and space. These processes are interdependent and interrelated, yet varied in terms of their underlying causes and the manifestations of their impact. The history of urbanization in India reveals, broadly, four processes of urbanization at work throughout the historical period. These are: a) the emergence of new social relationships among people in cities and between people in cities and those in villages through a process of social change; b) the rise and fall of cities with changes in the political order; c) the growth of cities based on new productive processes, which later the economic base of the city; and d) the physical spread of cities with the inflow of migrants, who come in search of a means of livelihood as well as a new way of life. All these processes have been enriched by the influences of other world cultures; in particular those form west Asia and Europe. This being the process of urbanization, in the modern period, on one hand there is, on the other hand, a paradigm shift that is taking place in the formation, functioning, and practices of political parties in India today. As there is urban expansion one can see that there is more political activity, the indulgence of political parties seem to be on an increase in all walks of life. This process has lead to the
debate about the role of political parties in the process of Urbanization and hence the importance of this study.

**Objectives of the Study**

The study is primarily an empirical one. It aims at revealing the interrelationship that may exist between the process of Urbanization and the Political Parties. If there is an evidence of it prima-facie than, it was proposed to further investigate the issue with the following objectives;

- To study and understand the process of Urbanization
- To measure the rate of Urbanization in relation to the growth rate of political parties
- To carve out the role of political parties in the process of Urbanization
- And to understand and measure the rate and quantum of involvement of political parties in Urbanization through an empirical study.

**Review of Literature**

From about the 5th century BC to the 18th century AD, urban centers in India emerged, declined or even vanished with the rise and fall of kingdoms and empires. Pataliputra, Vijayanagar, Delhi, Bijapur, Golconda, Maduria and Kancheepuram are all examples of cities that flourished, decayed, and sometimes revived in response to changes in the political scene. Many historical Indian cities no longer exist today.
Some of these were the leading cities of India in their time. The ruins of cities at Hampi in Karnataka, Malkhed and Kalyani in Maharashtra, and Achichatra, Sravasti and Kausambi in Uttar Pradesh testify to the processes of urbanization of the past. Throughout the historical period, the capital cities occupied a position of primacy among all cities. The wealth and well being of a kingdom was measured by the scale and grandeur of its capital city. At a lower level, the provincial and lower administrative capitals owed their importance to political and administrative processes within kingdoms. While commercial and port cities also flourished during the historical period, it is the capital and administrative cities that dominated the urban scene in terms of their numbers and population.

During British rule over India, the administrative factor played an important role in the process of urbanization. The provincial capitals, the district headquarters, and the tehsil towns grew in importance and overshadowed the earlier urban centers. The administrative towns began to acquire a new urban form in the presence of the civil lines and cantonments. The national capitals, and some of the provincial capitals as well, shifted to the hill stations, such as Simla, Darjeeling, Shillong and Ootakamund during the summer, thus generating a new class of transient capital cities.

After Independence, the political administrative aspect of urbanization is seen in the emergence of new state capitals in Chandigarh, Bhubaneshwar and Gandhinagar, for example. The number of states in India has been increasing and the political processes in the country could well bring about further division of larger
states on administrative and political grounds. If this happens, new state capitals, and the related urban paraphernalia, will inevitably emerge. At a lower level, there has been a constant subdivision of districts and thus the number of districts in India has almost doubled since Independence. Naturally, the new district headquarters have acquired a higher status and this is reflected in their rapid growth. The community development programme, stated in 1952, has generated a new class of rural service centers, catering to the developmental needs of the rural villages. There are 5,026 Community Development Blocks in India, and although the majority of the headquarters of the Blocks are not recognized as urban places as such they do in effect perform some at least of the functions of urban places. In course of time, these centers will become full-fledged urban places.

Clearly therefore, administrative and political development have played an important role in urbanization in the past and they continue to be relevant today. The administrative or political factor often acts as an initial stimulus for urban growth; which is then further advanced by the growth of commercial and industrial activities.

It the age of globalization important for any researcher to survey all available literature concerning the problem at hand. He/She must necessarily survey and examine the literature available before a definite research problem is chosen and research design designed. This means that the researcher must be well conversant with relevant theories in the field, reports and records as also all other relevant literature. He/she must devote sufficient time in reviewing of research already undertaken on related problems. This is done to find out what data and other
materials, if any, are available for operational purposes. Knowing what data are available often serves to narrow the problem itself as well as the technique that might be used. This would also help a researcher to know if there are certain gaps in the theories, or whether the existing theories are applicable to the problem under study are consistent or inconsistent with each other, or whether the findings of the different studies do not follow a pattern consistent with the theoretical expectations and so on all this will enable a researcher to take new studies in the field for furtherance of knowledge i.e., he can move up starting from the existing premise. Studies on related problems are useful for indicating the type of difficulties that may be encountered in the present study as also the possible analytical shortcomings. At times such studies may also suggest useful and even new lines of approach to the present problem. Hence the importance of review of literature. The following some of the chosen books for this review.

Bose, Ashish. 1970. Urbanization in India: An Inventory of Source Material\textsuperscript{19} is a book that throws light on the introductory part of urbanization in India. As the itself suggests it is source material to gain an insight in to the world of urbanization in a developing country like India.

Bulsara, J. F. 1964. Problems of Rapid Urbanization in India.\textsuperscript{20} Deals with the problems faced by urbanization including the increasing slum dwelling, problems of Hygiene and a host of civic, health, and managerial problems.
Burgess, E. W. (ed.) 1926. The Urban Community. Chicago: is a book that gives a clear perception about the problems faced by urban communities in developed countries.

Das, Biswaroop 1993. Socio Economic Study of Slums in Surat city Surat: Centre for Social Studies. This book throws light on the much-needed study of slums exposing the realities of their socio-economic status. The limitation of this study is its restriction of the study area. However it a very important study.

Desia, A. R. and S.D. Pillai (eds.) 1970. Slums and Urbanization. This is similar to the study of Surat, as discussed above. This book throws light on the slum dwelling in Bombay and its effects on urbanization. This is more of a sociological study but it is useful for those who study any aspects of urbanization.

D'souza, Alfred (ed.) 1978. The Indian City: Poverty, Ecology and Urban Development, is a book deals with the major concerned of modern India that includes the economic disparity and ecological degradation. The book brings to light the contradiction between development and the socio ecological problems.

Diddee, J. and Vimala Rangaswamy. 1993. Urbanization: Trends, Perspectives and Challenges. This book examines the core of urbanization explaining the trends perspectives and challenges. This is useful for anyone who is seriously involved in search which holistically assumes importance to futuristic studies in urbanization.

Fox, Richard G. (ed.) 1970. Urban India: Society, Space and Image. The book deals with the nature of urban India and shrinking space in the urban areas. It attempts to highlight the new trends in the society and kind of image that these major cities in India are aiming at. King, Anthony D. 1976. Colonial Urban Development: Culture, Social Power and Environment. This is a book which deals with the trends in urban development in relation to its colonial past it is a treatise on culture, social power and environment there are also many other books which deal with urbanization in India and urban studies in general. Many articles, research papers especially in EPW Economic and Political Weekly journal Asian studies and Indian Labor journal etc., are worthy of review. However what is apparent is none of these throw any light on relationship that may exist between the political parties and the process of urbanization in particular hence the importance of this literature survey and the study.

Given this wide coverage of this topic, the literature to be surveyed include areas of Geography, Sociology, Economics and Political Science. In this regard efforts have been also made to visit important centers of research in this areas such as NIRD Hyderabad, Urban Studies Center, Hyderabad and ISEC Bangalore etc and review the available literature.
Hypotheses

Hypothesis is usually considered as the principal instrument in research. Its main function is to suggest new experiments and observation. In fact, many experiments are carried out with the deliberate object of testing hypotheses.

Ordinarily, when one talks about hypothesis, one simply means a mere assumption or some supposition to be proved or disproved. But for a researcher hypotheses is a formal question that he/she intends to resolve. Thus a hypothesis may be defined as a proposition or a set of propositions set forth as an explanation for the occurrence of some specified group of phenomena either asserted merely as a provisional conjecture to guide some investigation or accepted as highly probable in the light of established facts. Quite often a research hypothesis is a predictive statement, capable of being tested by scientific methods, that relates an independent variable to some dependent variable. Thus, the hypotheses drawn below or designed to direct the research undertaken.

1. That there is a linkage between the process of Urbanization and the role political parties
2. That this linkage is both in terms of interest aggregation and goal setting
3. And finally, that there is a need to enhance the role of political parties in helping the process of urbanization by setting its pace and direction;
Methodology

The study as said earlier basically is an empirical one firmly rooted in the case study method. This method is a very popular form of qualitative analysis and involves a careful and complete observation of a social unit, be that unit a person, a family, an institution, a cultural group or even the entire community. It is a method of study in depth rather than breadth. The case study pays more emphasis on the full analysis of a limited number of events or conditions and their interrelations. The case study deals with the processes that take place and their interrelationships with the other concepts that are at work together. Thus, case study is essentially an intensive investigation of the particular unit under consideration. The object of the case study method is to locate the factors that account for the behavior patterns of the given unit as an integrated totality in the achievement of its established goals.

According to H.Odum, "The case study method is a technique by which individual factor whether it be an institution or just an episode in the life of an individual or a group is analyzed in its relationship to any other in the group. Thus, a fairly exhaustive study of a person (as to what he does and has done, what he thinks, he does and had done and what he expects to do and says he ought to do) or group is called a life or case history. Burgess has used the words "the social microscope" for the case study method. Pauline V.Young describes case study as "a comprehensive study of a social unit be that brief, we can say that case study method is a form of qualitative analysis where in careful and complete observation of an individual or a situation or an institution is done; efforts are made to study each and every aspect of
the concerning unit in minute details and then form case data generalization and inference are drawn.

Keeping these issues in mind in this study the case study method is followed since this subject deals with two independent yet interdependent units of study, viz the political parties and the process of urbanization. In both these cases there is an involvement of both the individuals and the group. Further this is a comparative study of two districts and that makes the methodology more appropriate. Districts of Davanagere and Belgaum are chosen for this keeping in view their location and status.* At this stage in this thesis, in order to understand the interrelationship between the process of urbanization and the political parties we have employed the Complex Interdependence Theory with some major modifications. The term 'complex interdependence' was developed by Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye and refers to the various, complex transnational connections (interdependencies) between states and societies. Interdependence theorists noted that such relations, particularly the one that concentrates on the enhancement of economic activities in the region such as the one that we see between the process of urbanization and the political parties are found to be increasing. Reflecting on these developments, the theory argues that the decline of the role of political parties in this case should increase the probability of cooperation among the partners in urbanization. The theorists recognized that there are various and complex transnational connections and interdependencies between states and societies in transaction their business. Complex interdependence is characterized by three characteristics, involving; (1) The use of multiple channels of action between societies and its political institutions (2) The absence of a hierarchy of issues with
changing agendas and linkages between issues prioritized (3) Bringing about a
decline in the use of coercive force in view of the goal achievement. The work of the
theorists surfaced in the 1970s. It later on became foundational to liberal
institutionalism. Liberal institutionalism is a philosophy that believes in a type of
government that looks toward multilateral relationships to create cooperation and
interaction between differing viewpoints.

Problem to be investigated

In the age of globalization the government is overburdened with multifarious
activities and functions. Moreover, governmental machinery functioning at a remote
place cannot obviously find time and the requisite knowledge of all the different
areas. They can be understood and appreciated better, and attended to efficiently by
an organization which is constituted in the locality or area itself. This constitutes the
basic need for effective decentralization. Decentralization or distribution of
governmental powers and responsibility to the different units of the government is of
paramount importance in a democratic set up. As Laski points out, we cannot realize
the full benefit of democratic government unless we begin by the admission that all
problems in their incidence require decision at the place, and by the persons, where
and by whom the incidence is most deeply felt. Local problems need variety, whereas
the central government aims at uniformity. "The local bodies are the outcome of
natural groupings and associations which should be cherished and given a full scope
in any scheme of genuinely national self government. Besides, local governments is
itself the best school of political training for the mass living in the villages who
cannot take part in the provincial or the central government except through their representatives, and it is also to be cherished a school of social service and a most efficient factor of social progress.

In modern times local institutions are outposts of democracy. It is here that the programme of national development is put to action, and people learn participation in public affairs. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru rightly remarked, Local administration is the foundation of our democracy. A democracy at the top cannot be a success until the foundation on which the superstructure rests, is strong. It is no use starting such a superimposed democracy without proper base. According to De-Tocqueville, Local institutions constitute the strength of free nations. A nation may establish a system of free nations. A nation may establish a system of free government but without municipal institutions, it cannot have spirit of liberty.

Further, the observation made by Aristotle is worth mentioning. He said: “If liberty and equality are chiefly to be found in democracy, they will be best attained when all powers alike share in the government to the utmost”.

As the actions of the welfare state have multiplied rapidly, it tends to go beyond regulatory functions and becomes involved in the welfare of the common people, and this calls for decentralizations of powers to the local government. Hence the need for local government. In fact, local government today is more important in the daily life of a citizen than the state or central government. “Local authorities have greater opportunities today than ever before. If the powers of the central government
are increasing so are the powers of the local councils. Such as pointed out: "the local government of a developing country assumes the primary responsibility for national development but local government also has its share to contribute. Indeed, national government is not likely to succeed without a genuine partnership between the two".

Local problems are numerous and are of local character. Local governments can solve local problems in an efficient and speedy manner. Besides, it may become economical to manage local problems at the local level. It enhances the importance of local government also. Further local government serve as agencies for the town citizenry to participate in decision making and in implementing them. It provides an outlet for competent and public spirited persons of locality to render social service to the community. From can take up responsibilities for state and national levels. Local government, thus ensures a regular flow of talent to higher levels. The purpose served by local government is valuable on account of its service for the common welfare of the community. Former president of India, Dr. S.Radhakrishnan said: "the local bodies must have the sole objective of promoting the well being of the people." One writer has listed the major objectives of the local government as under:

1. The municipal government fulfils all the domestic needs of a civilized community.

2. It also creates among the citizens personal interest in their common affairs and throws the field open for their constructive and creative activities.
3. It serves as an expression of political consciousness and as a means of political education and renders the citizens fit for their civic duties and responsibilities by enabling them to participate in public affairs.

4. It generates in the people an aesthetic sense that makes them beautify and adorn the land they inhabit.

5. It provides the best opportunity to men and women to bring their local knowledge and enthusiasm to bear on the solution of their own peculiar problems.

Under these circumstance it becomes evident that the study of the forces of urbanization in the post welfarist period is an important area for an academic to work and this must have some vision to move toward in the era of globalization. Much of the civic services during this period are planned to be privatized. Under the circumstance it is likely that it may affect the local interests as the studies have shown. At this juncture the political parties which represent local interest must act collectively to realize the definite Ideology and provide justice locally. In doing so there is a need for mutual cooperation between the political parties and the projected process of urbanization which is pregnant with development plans for the future. Hence the problem to be investigated is very clearly to understand and dissect the relation between urbanization and political parties taking Belgaum and Davanagere districts as cases for an in-depth study and to measure their inter relationship in the post welfarist scenario.
Relevance of this Study

Soon after Independence in 1947, India embarked on a national programme of economic development and planning. The philosophy of planning encompasses policies regarding various aspects of the national economy and society, which provide the framework for programmes for bringing about orderly change. Urbanization is a natural outgrowth of socio-economic development in general, and industrialization in particular. However, while there are specific and detailed statements of policy for industrial development, agricultural development, population growth and so on, there is no national urbanization policy statement. This, however, does not imply that the government has no policy or policies with respect to urbanization, but only that these policies are not articulated in a collective and coherent document.

The absence of an urbanization policy statement may be explained in terms of the mundane observation that as yet less than a fourth of India’s people live in urban areas. Further, the relative proportion of the urban population remained more or less the same during the first two decades of planning. It is only in 1971-81 that this proportion showed some signs of rapid growth. Also urbanization, unlike industrialization, development of transpiration, etc., is a spontaneous rather than induced phenomenon. Planning is, by and large, biased in favor of induced changes in society and economy, and is less concerned with spontaneous and voluntary process. Urbanization is often perceived as a by-product of economic development, rather than as an agent of socio-economic change. As a result, economists and planners at best
perceive urbanization as a peripheral issue. All the factors noted above explain the
general lack of interest in formulating a national urbanization policy for the country.

It is perhaps necessary to assert that urbanization is not a trivial aspect of the
processes of socio economic development in India at the present time. First and
foremost, it should be emphasized that a phenomenal concentration of economic
activity has occurred around the four major metropolitan cities of India since the
1950s in lesser measure, concentrated economic growth has occurred in the one lakh
cities, while the rural areas have with a few exception is in Punjab and in the South
shown very little dynamism. Cities have been in fore front of economic growth in the
past few decades. More than half the gross national product originates in urban areas,
while more than 90 per cent of the government’s revenue also come from the cities.
The four major metropolitan cities alone contribute more than 70 per cent of the
income tax revenue at the national level. While cities have emerged as the primacy
vocational foci of industries, their role in inducing and promoting modernization of
agriculture is also impressive. Towns and cities have become focal service centers for
the rural economy. The role of the smaller urban centers is best illustrated by the fact
that during 1976-86 over 40,000 branches of scheduled banks have been located in
such centers to serve the rural economy and to integrate it with the national economy.
Despite the positive role that the cities have played in socio economic development,
the contrast in terms of incomes and amenities between rural and urban areas has
widened. Ironically, the expansion of the banking system, which was intended to
serve the rural areas, has itself become the instrument of transfer of capital from rural
to urban areas. All this indicates a need for a rational policy towards the development
of urban areas keeping in view the age old, but rapidly changing, inter relationships between rural and urban areas.

One major distinction has to be kept in mind in any articulation of national policy on urban areas. First, we have to have a policy with regard to the role of urban places, small and large, in relation to the entire settlement system, which includes both rural and urban places. Secondly, we also need a set of clear policies with regard to the internal problems of cities and towns, such as policies concerning land and land uses in cities, policies on slums, on urban transportation and so on. The first aspect may be designated as urbanization policy, while the second has to do with the Political parties that operate both at the societal level and at the administration level including Politics. It is here that the research undertaken gain relevance. The relevance of this study therefore, needs no more elaboration especially in a globalised world.

Proposed Research Design

A good design is often characterized by adjectives like flexible, appropriate, efficient, economical and so on. Generally, the design which minimizes bias and maximizes the reliability of the data collected and analyzed is considered a good design. The design which gives the smallest experimental error is supposed to be the best design in many investigations. Similarly, a design, which yields maximal information and provides an opportunity for considering many different aspects of a problem is considered most appropriate and efficient design in respect of many research problems. Thus, the question of good design is related to the purpose or
objective of the research problem and also with the nature of the problem to be studied. A design may be quite suitable in one case, but may be found wanting in one respect or the other in the context of some other research problem. One single design cannot serve the purpose of all types of research problems. “A research design is the arrangement of conditions for collection and analysis of data in a manner that aims to combine relevance to the research purpose with economy in procedure.”31 In fact, the research design is the conceptual structure within which research is conducted; it constitutes the blueprint for the collection, measurement and analysis of data. As such the design includes an outline of what the researcher will do from writing the hypothesis/ and its operational implications to the final analysis of data. Keeping in view the above stated design requirements the thesis is divided in to five chapters.

**Chapter-I** Introduction; this covers methodology, Hypotheses, problem to be investigated review of literature etc.,

**Chapter-II** ‘A Brief History of the Growth of Urban governments in India; A brief historical survey’. This Chapter covers the details of the growth of urban governments in India in a descriptive manner.

**Chapter-III** This deals with the ‘Theoretical aspects of Political Parties and Urbanization in India’

**Chapter-IV** Examines the ‘Working of Political Parties and the process of Urbanization in Davanagere and Belgaum Districts’. This is more of an empirical
study aimed at investigating into the actual relationship between Political Parties and the process of urbanization. This is the core chapter of this study.

Chapter – V ‘Conclusion’. This presents summary and inference of the study.

Thus, this study is an unique one and will throw light on the future of research in the areas urbanization and political parties.
End Notes:

17 Yogendra Yadav, Understanding the Second Democratic Upsurge: Trends of Bahujan Participation in Electoral Politics in the 1990s in Francine Frankel et al., op.cit.
24 Pradeep Chibber, Democracy Without Association: Transformation of the party System and Social Cleavage in India,
25 Vishnoo Bhagwan, Municipal Government and Politics in Haryana, S. Chand and Company, New Delhi, 1974, P.2
26 Harris, G.M., Comparative Local Government, Hutchinson’s University Library, London, 1948, P.9