CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

Generally, democracy is accepted as the best form of government. In the words of Bryce, the most significant change in the last hundred years was the universal acceptance of democracy as the normal and natural form of government.\(^1\) One of the main reasons for the popularity of democracy is the importance given to the people in the working of the government.

The primary aim of democracy is the welfare of the people. A democratic government has to function in the interest of the people. However, the main concern in this context is how a democratic government responds to the expectations of its people. A democratic government can fulfill the aspirations of the people through the political institutions like pressure groups, political parties, parliament, etc. A political party is one of the important institutional mechanisms available to the people through which they can best represent their interests and preferences. A political party is a channel between the people and policy makers. They are responsible for identifying policy alternatives.

Governance is defined as the manner in which ‘power is exercised’ in the management of the country’s economic and social resources.\(^2\) The primary concern of democratic governance is the welfare of the people. Political parties play a significant role in the governance of a country, for

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they are responsible for democratizing the process of governance. The interest and aspirations of the people are given preference in the policy making by the political parties. For democratic governance to be effective, there should be a good reciprocal relationship between government and people and this relationship is established by political parties. Thus, political parties play a significant role in democratic governance.

**STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM:**

Direct democracy is not workable today because of the vast size of the modern state. This paved way for the introduction of indirect or representative democracy. Political parties play a crucial role in indirect democracy, for among all the institutions, political parties are important and best available institutional mechanism to the people through which they can represent their interests and aspirations in an effective manner. Schattschneider declares that: “The only kind of organization that can translate into fact the idea of majority rule is the political party”. Political parties are necessary in order to organize and represent public opinion. Thus, political party is an institution, which expresses popular preferences.

In the words of Maurice Duverger, “Political parties are communities with general aims: they provide complete and coherent systems of thought about society; they aim at a total organization of national and even international life. This breadth of aim drives away from them many people

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who agree with them about some particular aim but not about the whole". Giovanni Sartori thinks, “parties are instrumental to collective benefits, to an end that is not merely the private benefit of the contestants. Parties link people to a government---.” A Political party is a part of the whole attempting to serve the purpose of the whole. It plays a significant role in democratic governance because the aim of democratic governance can be realized mainly through political parties.

The role of political parties in democratic governance is mainly classified into two forms i.e., political parties’ participation and their responsiveness. How political parties participate and the methods and techniques they adopt to win elections is crucial to understand. Contesting an election, campaigning, interest articulation and interest aggregation are some of the important functions of political parties. By performing these functions political parties participate in democratic governance. They are responsible for articulating and aggregating the interest of the people. They formulate the general policies and programmes and based on which they contest elections. After getting power it is the duty of a political party to put into practices the promised policies and programmes on which it contested and won an election. An effective responsiveness of a political party towards the interest and aspirations of the people which determines democratic governance. The interest and aspirations of the people should be reflected in the policy making of political parties. The nature of party

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5 Giovanni Sartori, Supra no.3, p.25.
politics affects both political parties' participation and responsiveness. The party politics is nothing but an interaction among parties on different issues, policies and programmes. The style of functioning of the parties affects the party politics.

A study of political parties is crucial in this regard, which is incomplete without the study of political parties' participation and responsiveness. The two concepts, participation and responsiveness are crucial for a proper understanding of the role of political parties in democratic governance. Thus both participation and responsiveness of political parties are equally important in democratic governance. It is through political parties' participation, the interests and aspirations of the people are articulated and aggregated. Based on the aggregated interests, political parties respond to various needs of the people, which, in turn, contribute to democratic governance.

Understanding popular participation and popular responsiveness is equally important in democratic governance, because people play a crucial role in democracy. Popular participation at the time of election and popular responsiveness in between elections strengthen democratic governance. People are responsible for electing their representatives. An active participation of the people may be an important indicator of their awareness about policies, programmes and promises made by different political parties. The act of understanding the means through which people participate in the political process is crucial in democratic governance.
Once the elections are over, generally the people hardly play any role. However, to ensure accountability of the political parties and to make them responsive towards the needs and interests of the people, popular responsiveness is very essential. A democratic governance can be made meaningful by empowering, enlightening and engaging citizens in the process of self-government.

Both political parties' participation and popular participation and political parties' responsiveness and popular responsiveness play a significant role in democratic governance because, a political party is an intermediate between the people and the government and people are the soul of democracy. Without an involvement of people there is no democracy and a political party is one of the best available institutional mechanism for the people to represent their will. For democratic governance to prevail there should be a healthy interaction between these two. Political parties cannot claim significance over the people in democracy as they are accountable to the people and people need political parties for the best representation of their will. It is through the political parties most of the people involve themselves in the process of governance.

In this study, an attempt is made to examine the nature of party politics in determining democratic governance in India. For this purpose, study of political parties' participation and responsiveness and popular participation and responsiveness during and after elections is very pertinent.
Parliamentary form of government has been adopted in India after independence. As we know political parties play a vital role in a parliamentary form of government. Without party parliamentary government is impossible.

The present study is confined to the period from 1989 to 2004 mainly for two reasons. In the first place, before 1989 the problem of democratic governance did not attract much attention. The concept of governance was popularized during 80's. In the second place, to make an in-depth analysis of the problem this study aims to confine to the coalition era from 1989 to 2004.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE:

In recent years, the study of democratic governance acquired significance among the political scientists. Moreover, the study of democratic governance will not be complete without the study of party politics. Party politics determines democratic governance. It is through political parties people participate in the government. Political parties give proper representation to the will of the people.

Atul Kohli's book on *Democracy and Discontent: India's Growing Crisis of Governability*, attempts to understand growing crisis of governability in India. This study analyzes political changes that have occurred during the period of Indira Gandhi and Rajiv Gandhi from the late 1960s to the late 1980s. The material for the study was mainly gathered through the fieldwork in India in 1985 and 1986. Five districts were chosen
as the units for understanding regional diversities at the local level. The districts chosen were the same, which were studied by Myron Weiner in his work, *Party Building in a New Nation: The Indian National Congress*, during early and middle 1960s. The reason for selecting the same districts may to study the subsequent developments.

Atul Kohli concluded the problem of governability based on local and national level trends. Atul Kohli attempts to explain how political process has been involved in the erosion of India’s established pattern of authority.

Mukesh Jain’s book on *Excellence in Government—A Blueprint for Reinventing the Government*, aims at seeking a government that works for the people, cleared of useless bureaucracy and waste and freed from redtapism and senseless rules. The work focuses on providing effective governance through bureaucracy. A government’s helplessness in providing basic needs and the people’s expectations are examined in lucid language in part I and II. Part III.

The work is meticulous in identifying the defects in government bureaucracy and suggests ways and means for improvement of the quality of management. It is a handbook and an excellent manual for managers interested in reinventing modern bureaucracies.

Lynn Laurence E. in his book, *Improving Governance: A New Logic For Empirical Research*, explains that, policy makers and public managers around the world have become preoccupied with the question of how their
goals can be achieved in a way that rebuilds public confidence in government. Yet because of public policies and programmes which are being administered through a complicated web of jurisdiction, agencies and public private partnerships, evaluating their effectiveness is more difficult than in the past. Though social scientists possess insightful theories and powerful methods for conducting empirical research on governance and public management, their work is too often fragmented and irrelevant to the specific tasks faced by legislators, administrators and managers. Proposing a framework for research based on premise, any particular governance arrangement is embedded in a wider social, fiscal and political context. Lowrence E. Lynn, Jr., Carolyn J. Heinrich, and Carolyn J. Hill argue that theory-based empirical research when well conceived and executed can be a primary source of fundamental, durable knowledge about governance and policy management. Focusing on complex human services such as public education they construct an integrative, multilevel "logic of governance", for the sophistication power and relevance of their work.

S.K. Chopra edited work on, Towards Good Governance, starts with an overview by three eminent public figures on their concept and views on Towards Good Governance. The overview is followed by four sections on the four topics of the seminar, namely, Meaning of Good Governance, Constitutional Aspects, Administration and Its Decentralization, and Science and Technology. Each section includes a summary of the discussions that took place in the respective seminar session, followed by
the edited version of four selected papers, which provide insights on different aspects of the topic. The concluding section includes remarks of the Chairman at the end of the seminar highlighting the issues on which, he believes follow up discussion needs to take place and the summary of the main points raised during the seminar, which need to be debated, for developing Action Programme on Towards Good Governance in the country.

R.P. Verma edited volume on, *People's Participation in Indian Politics*, deals with the concept of political participation, different modes of participation in general and the impact of social change on political participation of Indian masses in particular. It discusses voting behaviour as an expression of democratic system. The work examines the role of people in political development. The emphasis is on people's role in Indian democratic system.

The above works indicate the research lacuna in respect of the role of political parties in democratic governance. The works examined above are confined to the role of bureaucracy in good governance, meaning and significance of governance; they provide insight on different aspects of governance, overview by eminent public figures, etc. They highlight the significance of people's participation in Indian politics. There is a need to study the role of party politics in democratic governance because party politics plays an important role in democratic governance. The nature of
party politics determines democratic governance. Therefore, it is necessary to examine the role of party politics in democratic governance.

INTER-RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CONCEPTS:

PARTY POLITICS AND DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE:

Democratic governance presupposes governance in the interest of people. Political parties are the means through which the interests and aspirations of the people are represented. Political parties are responsible for democratizing public policies. The role of political parties in democratic governance is determined by the means by which it participate in elections and respond to the interest of people by formulating public policies, laws, and the like.

The nature of interaction among political parties affects the nature of public policy formulation. Political parties are basic institutions for the translation of mass preferences into public policy. While formulating public policy consensus building is very essential. It is also essential for maintaining stability and continuity in public policy. Here consensus does not mean just a uniformity of behaviour or total agreement. As it gives scope for debate and discussion, it strengthens democratic element of a political system. How political parties interact with one another to build consensus while formulating public policies is crucial for democratic governance.

The interactions among political parties can be classified mainly into two types: 1) intra-party interaction and, 2) inter-party interaction.  

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6 Giovanni Sartori, Supra no.3, p.28.
party interaction means the interaction within a political party. Intra-party interaction is one of the important features of multi-party system. In multi-party system primarily due to the presence of a large number of political parties, often government formation by a single party becomes very difficult. Political parties have to ally themselves with one or more parties to form government. Most of the time, parties organize themselves under one common name and formulate a manifesto of their party, which is generally known as Common Minimum Programme. In this type of government (coalition government), political parties have to arrive at two types of consensus, namely, consensus on formulating Common Minimum Programme and, consensus on formulating public policies. As parties in coalition government have their own ideologies, principles, policies and programmes, their arriving at consensus on issues of public importance is very difficult. Most of the time, their consensus is not based on any principle or value. Instead compulsion of sharing power may be the main reason for their arriving at consensus.

Equally important is the act of arriving at consensus among inter-party interactions. Inter-party interaction means the interaction among different political parties. However, having consensus among coalition partners is not enough for formulating public policies. The ruling party has to take into confidence the opposition parties for the effective formulation of public policies. Jawaharlal Nehru was successful in developing political consensus. The charismatic leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru and his style of
functioning influenced substantially the interaction patterns among the parties in evolving consensus on most issues in public affairs. He used to take both his party men and the leaders of opposition into confidence. One must say the new political style which emerged after his death affected the process of consensus. The confrontation style of politics introduced by Mrs. Indira Gandhi led to the breakdown of consensual politics. When Rajiv Gandhi became the Prime Minister there was a ray of hope for the revival of consensus building. Though he made a good beginning, his style of functioning was almost like Mrs. Indira Gandhi’s. In the post-Nehru era no government was totally successful in building consensus on public affairs.

Political parties have to observe certain norms for arriving at consensus. It is said, “Observance of certain norms for actors in the political process is a question of their orientation. One of the norms would be the subordination of the partisan approaches to the public policy issues in the interest of the people”. This democratic character of party politics makes its study crucial in democratic governance. Proper functioning of political parties is important for democratic governance. Thus, there is a close relationship between party politics and democratic governance.

The democratic style of working is crucial at arriving consensus on public policy issues. Moreover, formulation and implementation of public policy determines democratic governance. If political parties fail to arrive at

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8 Ibid. p. 158.
consensus on public policy making the next best available method is majority principle. However, the majority principle is not as democratic as consensus. Consensus building is mainly depended upon the nature of party politics. Thus party politics became one of the important determinants of democratic governance.

PARTICIPATION AND RESPONSIVENESS, AND PARTY POLITICS:

Democracy presupposes party government. Without political parties there is no democracy. Political parties' main aim is to capture power. How political parties participate and the methods they adopt to win elections are crucial to understand. Every party tries to be the party of the masses, which works for the interest of whole community. Usually political parties' interaction was formed in the form of allegation and counter allegation during the elections. Every political party mainly highlights the defects of other parties and the strength of it own party to attract voters.

The significant role played by voters in election, makes popular participation more important. Without popular participation, there is no meaning to the political parties participation. Political parties are participating in order to attract the voters and ultimately to get power.

Popular participation makes party politics more active. Popular participation is mainly based on the way in which political parties approach the people. Participation of people is crucial for democracy. Of course, participation of people in government is not direct. Modern democracy
based not on participation but on representation; it presupposes not direct exercise of power but delegation of power; it is not, in short, a system of self-government but a system of control and limitation of government.\(^9\)

Popular participation is essential in democracy.

After the elections, a majority party forms a government and minority party sits in opposition. Whether the parties are in the ruling or in the opposition, they are mainly the representatives of the people. They formulate public policies on behalf of the people. Therefore, their main aim while formulating public policies should be the welfare of people. Usually the ruling party or parties formulate the proposals of legislations and they introduced it in the parliament. Here the role of opposition party is not less important in formulating policies. While formulating a public policy, the ruling party has to take into consideration the views and opinions of the other parties.

Democratization of a public policy is mainly based on the nature of party politics. Both intra-party interaction and inter-party interaction play an important role in democratizing the policy making process. The responsiveness of political parties is evaluated by the type of policies formulated and their effective implementation. This is the main determinant of political parties’ responsiveness.

An effective formulation of public policy is crucial in determining political parties’ responsiveness. Congress under the leadership of

Jawaharlal Nehru succeeded in arriving at both inter-party and intra-party consensus. This contributed as one of the important reasons for the effective responsiveness of Congress party towards the aspirations of the people. In the Indian context, the presence of leftist, centrist and rightist parties in parliament can be one of the reasons for the difficulties in arriving at consensus on basic policy decisions. Leftist parties in India uphold Marxist ideology. Their bend is mainly towards the upliftment of working class and minorities. For example, CPI, CPI(M) and Forward Bloc are the leftist parties. The centrist bend is in both ways. For example, Congress(I), which is considered the centrist party. The rightist parties inclination is more towards maintaining the status quo for capturing power. An example for this is the BJP. Every party has its own policies, programmes, principles, etc. In view of this, both inter-party interaction and intra-party interaction play an important role in arriving at consensus on any policy, which affects political parties responsiveness.

Feedback is essential for any policy decision making. Popular responsiveness can be a good feedback for policy decisions. Based on the feedback the existing policies can be altered or refined. In fact, popular responsiveness makes political parties more responsive towards people’s interests. Thus, popular responsiveness contributes for the accountability and transparency, which are considered as the important prerequisites for democratic governance.
CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK:

Before proceeding to the discussion on the effect of party politics on the democratic governance in India an examination of the definition of various key concepts is necessary to understand their relevance to the present study.

PARTY:

The term ‘Party’ is derived from the Latin word ‘Partier’, which means to share or divide. According to Giovanni Sartori, “A party is any political group that presents at elections, is capable of placing through elections, candidates for public office”.\(^{10}\)

According to the Dictionary of Social Science edited by Julius Gould and William Kolb, “A definition embracing all phenomenon that are regularly called party in this age is a difficult task unless it be reduced to its most general form i.e., a party is a group framing general issues and putting forward candidates in elections”.\(^{11}\)

To Edmund Burke, “Party is a body of men united for promoting by their joint endeavors the national interest upon some particular principles in which they are all agreed”.\(^{12}\)

To E.J.Meehan, J.P.Roche and M.S.Stedman Jr., “In the simplest possible, a political party is an association whose goal is the acquisition of political power”.\(^{13}\)

\(^{10}\) Giovanni Sartori, Supra no.3, p.64


Alan Ware defines political party as, “an institution that (a) seeks influence in a state, often by attempting to occupy positions in government, and (b) usually consists of more than a single interest in the society and so to some degree attempting to ‘aggregate interests’.”

POLITICS:

According to the Webster’s New Twentieth Century Dictionary, politics means “prudent and sagacious in devising and pursuing measures”

To Avery Leiserson, “In dynamic manipulative terms, politics includes all the arts and processes of governance”

According to Robert Dhal, “Politics, in its broadest sense, is concerned with the distribution of advantages and disadvantages among people”.

According to D.C. Pavate, “Politics is a game of capturing political power for the purpose of running the machinery of government in accordance with the definite and specific policy concerned”.

PARTY POLITICS:

According to the Standard Dictionary of English language, party politics is “politics engaged by, expressed through the medium of, or considered from the view point of political parties as distinguished from other interests (as geographical sections or economic classes)”.

16 Robert A. Dhal and Dean E. Neubauer, Reading in Modern Political Analysis, Prentice-Hall, New Jersey, 1968, p.33.
The Dictionary meaning of party politics is, "Political acts and principles directed towards the interest of one political party or its members without reference to the common good".

RESPONSIVENESS:

According to Webster's New Twentieth Century Dictionary, "responsiveness is the quality or state of being responsive".

To Roland Pennock, "Responsiveness might be said to be the counter part of influence. The person or group that influences is influential; the person or group on whom it is exerted is responsive".  

POLITICAL PARTICIPATION:

To David L. Sills, "Political participation will refer to those voluntary activities by which members of a society share in the selection of rulers and, directly or indirectly, in the formation of public policy".  

Herbert McClosky defines, "political participation as those voluntary activities by which members of a society share in the selection of rulers, and directly or indirectly, in the formulation of public policy".  

To Myron Weiner, "Some people define as participation only those acts of citizens that are defined by law as legitimate - voting, demonstrating, petitioning, lobbying, etc, - excluding illegitimate actions. But in contrast, some radicals see illegal acts such as civil disobedience and..."
other forms of mass confrontation as the only genuine acts of participation in a democracy".\textsuperscript{21}

**DEMOCRACY:**

Kenneth Janda, Jeffery M. Berry and Jerry Goldman, argued that, "democracy, which means "authority in, or by, the people".\textsuperscript{22}

According to Guy Hermet, "Democracy is not a type of society but is, more restrictively, a type of political system".\textsuperscript{23}

To Samuel P. Huntington, "democracy exists where the principal leaders of a political system are selected by competitive elections in which the bulk of the population have the opportunity to participate".\textsuperscript{24}

**PARTY POLITICS AND DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE:**

Democratic governance is mainly affected by the nature of party politics. Politics being an ancient part of human activity has been in existence since times immemorial. People have used the word politics in different languages to indicate an activity which implies the use of power by some people in favour of others or against others.\textsuperscript{25} Aristotle's "Politics" is considered as first work on politics. Kautilya's "Arthashastra" puts forward the basic principles of politics. Religious works like the Bible, the


Kuran, the Ramayana, the Mahabharata, etc., contain valuable political ideas and suggestions of various types.

According to Aristotle politics was the affairs of the state. To Aristotle state was generally a city-state with small territory and less population where direct democracy could be practiced. But, slaves and foreigners were excluded from taking part into the affairs of the state. Thinkers like Polibius, Cicero, St. Augustine, Thomas Aquinas and others with some variations upheld the theme of Aristotelian thought. “Machivelli’s concept of politics can be described as politics of tricks and strategies for attaining one’s goals or purposes. The contractualist looks upon politics as a matter of instituting a sovereign, ensuring law and order and ensuring a medicum of peace and well-being of the people concerned. Hegel, Bosanquet, Green and Bradley represented the idealist traditions in politics”\(^{26}\).

In the present study, party politics is used in the sense of interaction among political parties. Party politics is one of the important determinants of democratic governance. Intra-party politics and inter-party politics play crucial role in the whole process of interest articulation and interest aggregation. Democratic governance is mainly concerned with how best the interests of the people are articulated and aggregated through the political parties. As political parties are crucial for democratic governance participation and responsiveness of political parties are equally important.

\(^{26}\) Ibid. p. 6.
Popular participation and responsiveness are crucial for democracy. To make political parties more responsive towards peoples’ interests and aspirations, people should regularly participate in the affairs of governance and should be alert and vigilant. The quality, efficiency and effectiveness of these institutions of governance depend on the interest the citizens take in their institutions of governance.\textsuperscript{27} Responsiveness of the people towards policy decisions makes political parties to be more responsive towards peoples’ demands. Responsiveness of people tends to increase political parties’ responsiveness and in turn contributes for democratic governance.

**OBJECTIVES:**

The following are the objectives of the present study:

1. To understand democratic governance in India.
2. To examine linkage between political parties and democratic governance.
3. To analyze popular political participation and political parties participation in democratic politics.
4. To critically examine popular political responsiveness towards common issues of public importance and policy decisions of government and political parties’ responsiveness to the aspirations of the people.

Political parties play a crucial role in the functioning of democratic political system. They represent the aspirations of the people. The

responsiveness of political parties towards people is determined by the popular responsiveness towards issues of public importance and policy decisions of government. To understand democratic politics in India a study of popular participation and political parties participation, and popular responsiveness and political parties responsiveness is essential.

HYPOTHESIS:

This study seeks to verify the following hypotheses:

1. Popular political participation in the democratic governance is not satisfactory due to the kind of party politics that prevail in India.

2. Popular political responsiveness adversely affects political parties responsiveness to fulfill the aspirations of the people.

METHODOLOGY:

The methodology adopted in the study is mainly documentary. The data used in the study are from both primary and secondary sources. This study based on primary sources of the data like party documents. Besides, this study based on secondary sources of the data like books, journals and newspaper clippings available in some of the leading libraries of India.

THE OUTLINE OF THE PRESENT STUDY:

The study is divided into seven chapters. The first chapter covers the statement of the problem and discusses the overviews of literature, interrelationship between concepts, conceptual framework, objectives of the study, hypothesis, methodology and outline of the present study.
The second chapter examines the theoretical aspects of democracy, political parties, political participation and responsiveness.

The third chapter is concerned with the role of party politics in democratic governance. How best political parties represent the aspirations of the people. Whether party politics really is a means to achieve democratic governance.

The fourth chapter mainly deals with political parties perception of governance.

In the fifth chapter, the focus is mainly on popular political participation and political parties participation.

The sixth chapter is concerned with popular responsiveness towards common issues of public importance and policy decisions of government and political parties responsiveness towards the aspirations of the people.

In the seventh chapter, the arguments of the study are summed up.