POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF MINORITIES AND BACKWARD CLASSES IN ORISSA

SUMMARY

Thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in POLITICAL SCIENCE

BY

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SUMMARY

The theme of this study is political participation of minorities and the backward classes of Orissa. Political participation has been a topic of increased importance on recent years all over the world. However the study of political participation as such, has received relatively less than due attention in India vis-a-vis the West. The present study is an initial effort in the process of identification and analysis of salient trends in attitude and behaviour of minorities and the backward classes of a backward Indian state i.e. Orissa, towards politics.

Political participation has been conceptualized as 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. The mode of analysis of the study is empirical, the basis of which is the pilot survey, conducted by the researcher with the support of his friends, in six districts of Orissa involving 400 respondents. For the sake of this study respondents are randomly selected from four peripheral groups of the society
representing minorities and the backwards of Orissa. These groups are Muslims and Christians from minorities and Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes from the backwards. On the basis of data collected & computed, the analysis was made the details of which has been given in the previous chapters. The number was kept at lower level because of inadequate infra-structural facilities and lack of cooperation on the part of the respondents. These analysis leads us to the following conclusions.

The first thing taken up for analysis in the political sub-cultures of the groups under study. This is because they are vital to understand meaningfully the exact nature and process of various aspects of political participation. Study of political culture (or sub-culture) is a pre-requisite for the study of behavioral pattern of a group in the society. Political culture comprises of three types of orientations towards politics-(1) cognitive (2) affective and (3) evaluative. These has been discussed in details in chapter III of the thesis. The main concern of this chapter is to ascertain the extent of acceptance of democratic norms or orientations among minorities and
backwards of Orissa.

Cognitive orientations, broadly speaking, reflects on individual's knowledge of the political system. Also included in this are individual's information (correct or incorrect) about elected representatives, caste voting, knowledge about caste/community association, issues facing the country etc. Our data in chapter three (table- 3.1 and 3.2) leads us to conclude that minorities and backwards of Orissa seem to possess more-than-expected knowledge about the political system and the political process. They are amazingly knowledgeable citizenry in political matters.

As far as knowledge about candidates in the elections is concerned, 67 (1989) to 68 (1991-92) percent could correctly identify winner from their constituency and 64 to 65 percent could identify the party of the winner. Furthermore 63 percent could name the candidate they voted in the last election and 51 (1989) to 54 (1991-91) could correctly identify two or more candidates with their party affiliations. As regards knowledge about political parties are concerned more than 70 percent (a very high score indeed)
could name at least a single political party, but the percentage comes down to 47 percent in case of those who could correctly name three or more political parties. In 1989 survey 54 percent correctly name the party of the Prime Minister and 52 percent could correctly answer questions on party affiliation of the chief Minister. The positions improved slightly in 1991-92 survey.

On caste/community awareness 62 (1989) to 64 (1991-92) percent answered correctly the voting preference of their caste/community; nearly half of total respondents also knew about the voting preference of other caste or communities in the last elections. More than 60 percent answered correctly why their caste/community voted to a particular party. 55 percent are aware about the existence of various associations working for the upliftment of their caste/community, but much less- 45 percent- possess knowledge about the structure and functioning of these associations.

The knowledge about issues/problems also score a good mark by these peripheral groups conceived to be backward. As close as 2/3 could mention at least one problem of national magnitude and 46 percent (191-92) correctly
mentioned two or more problems being faced by the nation. On local issues at village/town level the score is 42 percent. 53 percent (in 1989) to 55 percent (1991-92) are aware about the problems being faced by their own caste/community.

It seems that they also possess a good knowledge about national symbols and heritage. As high as 4/5th in 1991-92 could correctly identify our national flag but only 23.5 percent could correctly describe its color pattern. Similarly, 57.5 percent (1991-92) could identify the national anthem but only a meagre 16 to 17 percent could recite it correctly. More than 2/3rd could name at least one great leader of our freedom movement; 57 percent know correctly about the 'Father of the Nation'. On knowledge about Nehru (as the first P.M) and his family the scores are 47 percent to 57 percent respectively. It seems that more people know about Mrs. Gandhi than Nehru. Only 30 percent know about our constitution.

The above-mentioned results about cognitive orientations of minorities and backward classes of Orissa lead us to safely conclude that they are a well-informed lot
as far as general political phenomena are concerned. However, when little bit of details were concerned, they score much less (-e.g. on color-pattern of national flag, reciting national anthem, knowledge about constitution). In total, close to 60 percent are well-informed citizens on the general political matter. It is a very high percent indeed - higher than corresponding figures reported by Eldersveld and Ahmad on general public of India, on the basis of nation-wide surveys in 1967 and 1971. Twenty years have passed between 1971 survey by Eldersveld and Ahmad and the survey for this research work. It shows that people are becoming more interested and paying more attention to political happenings around them as the time marches on. This is true because a glance at data in tables 3.1 and 3.2 show that in most cases there has been increase in percentage of correct answer respondents from 1989 to 1991-92. Thus the high level of cognitive orientation towards politics seems stable and increasing.

A categorywise analysis of our data places the Scheduled Caste group far ahead of others on the level of information on almost all issues. They are followed by
Muslims, who, it may be said conclusively, are also highly aware of politics and political matters. Scheduled Tribes and Christians are less knowledgeable than the former two. It is due to general backwardness of these groups. It is also observed that people of coastal plains (mostly SCs and Muslims) are more advanced than that of people of hilly districts (mostly STs and Christians).

Turning to affective Orientations which deals the extent of attention to political matters, feeling of attachment or detachment (alienation) with the political processes and the system, it is found that at least 40 percent show interest in politics and pay attention to it. However, more than 50 percent participate in the voting during national elections, shows that more them 40 percent (who said that they are interested in politics) are in attentive category. One revealing fact is that 45 percent on 1989 are apathetics; a close to 10 percent are cynics (view politics as immoral and dirty game) and 6 percent are alienated (those who are hostile to the system). So if we group together these three apolitical segment of the sample,
they outnumber the political stratum of our sample. This is an indication of system failure and pathology and can be cured by growing effort of political socialization. The STs are the most apolitical category and the SC are the least also leads us to conclude that level of disinterestedness and level of advancement go hand in hand and have a positive correlation. One strange phenomenon noted is that in some cases there is participation (especially voting turnout) despite having a feeling of alienation. The explanation is that people participate in voting due to many cross-pressures on them despite harboring alienative attitude. They don't participate voluntarily or willingly, but are forced by the situation to participate.

On evaluative orientations to politics our data in table 3.4 & 3.5 reveals that nearly 40 percent in 1989 and 35 percent in 1991-92 are supportive of party system while 34 percent in 1989 and 31 percent in 1991-92 support election held periodically. It is not that bad as compared to the system-support levels reported by others about the general population of India. Of special attention is the decline in the level of support to these subsystems of the political
system over a period of two years. These fluctuations or downward trend in the public support for parties and elections are not special to minorities and backwards of Orissa, but a nationwide phenomenon observed by other researches also. Only slightly over 40 percent said they are satisfied with the performance of the govt. at national and state level, but when it comes to local administration the percentage of satisfied citizen comes down to 30 percent approximately.

The causes for a relatively low degree of evaluation people give to the elections, party and the govt. may be due to unsatisfactory results they yield. These subsystems have failed to deliver goods to these peripheral groups in the society. One observable fact is that more backward group is also the more dissatisfied group and vice versa. It is because their demands of genuine nature are being ignored by the govt. That is why SCs are the most satisfied group and the STs the least satisfied one. Level of political efficacy is still lower than affective and evaluative orientations among the minorities and backward.
classes of Orissa. Approximately 60 percent think that
government officials or elected representatives don't care
much about people like them and a overwhelmingly 67.5 percent
hold the view that any initiative by ordinary people like
them has little chance of success as far as governmental
policy-decisions are concerned. Thus only only 30 to 40
percent are said to be some-what effacious depending upon the
case. Of course, there is nothing to be pessimistic as other
researchers like Masden, Edersveld & Ahmad also report a 40
percentage efficacy-level after a nation-wide survey.

In general there is strong data-based evidence that
a large proportion of minorities and the backward classes
are cognitively aware of politics but much less of them
support political sub-systems like elections and political
party and still less are of high opinion or evaluate highly
the political system as a whole although they are
psychologically well attached to the system. But their
psychological attachment is coupled with high degree of
criticism and pessimistic feeling about their capacity as
individuals to be effective in the system. They are not as
undemocratic as one might thought to be. Thus our hypothesis
that Minorities and the Backwards classes of Orissa possess a parochial and very restricted outlook towards politics and lack a minimum degree of knowledge about political phenomena stands disproved on the basis of findings in chapter 4.

In the chapter 4 we have discussed about the role political parties are playing to motivate these peripheral groups to participate in the political process. Political Parties are conceived as operative structural units of the political system which perform the function of drawing in ever more strata of the population from the periphery of the society towards the centre of organized politics. These functions of political parties are crucial for the survival and stability of the political system.

To determine the role of party on the political life of citizens, an index of campaign exposure has been devised (for details see Chapter 4). On the basis of this index, Campaign exposure score is recorded and then correlated with various types of participatory activities. The data given in table 4.1 reveals that, in 1989 approximately one-fifth of our sample are completely unexposed to campaign; one-third are
minimally exposed, a little less than one-fifth are considerably exposed while the remaining 27 percent (more than one-fourth) is highly exposed to various campaign measures of political parties. There is an improvement in the exposure groups in 1991-92. Thus, it can be said that ore and more people are responding positively to the campaign effort of political parties. To put it other way is that parties are using more sophisticated techniques and have succeeded in their efforts to penetrate into these peripheral groups in the society. A categorywise analysis puts SCs on the top as far as exposure to campaign is concerned followed by Muslims, Christians and STs.

A positive correlation is seen between exposure to campaign and party with that of political environment. Data in table 4.2 reveals a clear-cut pattern of correlation between political exposure and political involvement. After glance at table 4.2, it can be safely said that higher exposure leads to high degree of active participation in politics. In 1989, among the high exposure groups, 66 percent are interested in politics, 76 percent voted in elections and 51 percent are active beyond voting while figure increases to
68 percent interested in politics, 78 percent voted in elections and 52.5 percent active beyond voting in the year 1991-91. Conversely, among those having exposure score of '0' only 14 percent are interested in politics, 24 percent voted in election and 10 percent are active beyond voting in 1989. The corresponding figures for the year 1991-92 register a marginal increase only.

Another important aspect studied is the orientation of people who are mobilized to participate. It is very important as far as maintenance and development of a political system is concerned. For this, the mobilized group has been divided into four categories, viz. (1) Newly mobilized voters (2) Regular voters (3) Irregular voters and (4) Perennial Non-voters (for details see chap. 4). Data in table 4.3 dealing with orientations of different categories of mobilized groups places newly mobilized voters on the top of categories supporting the political system. They are the most active category followed by regular voters. Perennial non-voters are the least active group in politics and are least supportive of the political system. However, the
overall percentage of popular support to the system is more or less satisfactory. All these signifies that political development process is indirectly affecting orientations of people and socializing them to democratic norms. It also reveals the relevance of political parties for the expansion of popular support-base of the political system. In table 4.5 relating support for selected sub-systems (election-system and party system), with the exposed categories, an erosion of support is evident, the bulk of which comes astonishingly form highly exposed category. This can be explained in terms of negative perceptions of people which is slowly emerging in them due to too frequent elections and intense intra-party as well as inter-party conflicts that occurred in last few years. This has resulted in dampening the enthusiastic support for these sub-systems and has placed a question mark on their usefulness.

A very important aspect of party-role in political participation is the role of the leadership. It is more so when the focus is on the backward segment of the society who frequently turn to their leaders or power-brokers' for guidance. An attempt has been made to relate exposure to
leadership or elite-contact with political participations. The question is what role the political leadership (caste and community) play in so far as inducing people to participate meaningfully in the political process is concerned. The data on this is given in tables 4.6, 4.7 and 4.8. The conclusion is that these groups (although backwards and peripheral) are considerably exposed to the leadership - a total of 78 percent are exposed to the leadership in varying degree. Of course, many of these 78 percent elite-contacters are those who met leaders during campaign only by chance and not intentionally. If these elements are excluded then at least 42 percent are those who are serious on their contact with leaders and met them with a specific purpose in mind.

A positive correlation is established between elite-contact and political activism. Those having high degree of leader-contact or exposure are also very active in voting and vice-versa. In the high exposed category 48 percent are interested in politics, 62 percent voted in elections 32 percent are active beyond voting. As opposed to these among those who are totally unexposed to leadership (with zero
elite-contact) only 0.1 percent are interested in politics, 2 percent participated in voting and 0.75 percent are active beyond voting. Highest degree of political involvement is recorded from the group which has a personal contact with several leaders (see table 4.7 and 4.8).

On the basis of above discussion on the role of parties on the participatory activities of minorities and backward classes of Orissa, the hypothesis that these groups are closed ones and do not respond well to the various political stimuli by parties, does not hold ground. But on the other hand, it is found that exposure to parties and campaign are laudably high and they have a profound impact on the participatory activities of the groups under study. Political parties have succeeded in breaking the ice and penetrating the otherwise closed and rigid political culture (attitudes and orientations) of peripheral groups of Orissa. If political development means acquisition of new cultural orientations, new awareness and belief in institutions and processes, such as parties and elections—then clearly this has occurred within the minorities and backward classes of Orissa. Of course, the degree of development varies from one
category to other (SC is the most developed group and the ST the least one). Exposure of these groups to the parties serves as an independent variable in this regard.

In chapter 5 a very important aspect of participation—party identification—of minorities and the backward classes has been discussed in details and is related to various involvement activities. Commitment of citizens to political parties is vital not only for the stability but also for the continuously revitalizing the democratic institutions of the system. In order to measure it and relate it to other political behaviour, an index of party identifications has been constructed. On the basis of which identifiers are divided into (i) Strong Identifiers (ii) Weak Identifiers and (iii) Non Identifiers (see chap. 5 for details).

Hypothesis tested on this vital aspect of citizen participation in politics covers questions like extent/magnitude of party identification; crystallization of party loyalty (stability & fluctuation); interaction of this newly established identification with the age-old traditional or primordial group affiliations of ascriptive
nature and the role of institution like family on the continuity or change of party affiliations. Another issue taken for investigation is the impact of party identification on the political orientations of minorities and backward classes of Orissa.

As far as extent of party identification among minorities and the backward classes of Orissa is concerned on seeing data in tables 5.1 and 5.2 one cannot say that it is a causal agent but rather a part of new political configuration in the cognition of citizens of a slowly developing society. In considering the general backwardness of the populace under study, it is found that a good portion of them are exposed to parties and leadership. This resulted in the emergence of party identification to the extent of 42 percent in 1989 and goes up by 5 percent in 1991-92. This is a quite impressive score and is not far behind the all-India figure reported by other researchers. Thus identification is quite high and is gradually growing upwardly is an indication of maturity of the people on political front.
A strong linkage between party identification and political involvement is observed which goes to prove the hypotheses that party identification leads to political involvement. Those who are strongly identified are found to be more active than weak party identifiers. From data in table 5.9 it is evident that strong identifiers are twice or 1 1/2 times more interested in politics, and know about political system than weak identifiers. A categorywise analysis of the extent of party identification and its linkage with the involvement in the politics, places SC (23 percent identifiers) at the top of the table followed by Muslims (48 percent) Christians (32 percent) and ST's (9 percent) in the year 1989.

Affiliations to different political parties in 19-9 (table 5.3 & 5.4) shows that most of the people from these backward or peripheral groups are affiliated to the Congress (I) (20 percent of the total sample and 48 percent of all identifiers). The main rival party which is close behind the congress(I) is the Janta Dal to which 17 percent of total sample and 40 percent of all identifiers showed their affiliations. Other parties are insignificant. One importa-
thing to note here is the very low percentage of identification with the B.J.P in a state where the percentage of Hindus are as high as 94 percent. Similarly among the tribals only 2 percent in 1989 and 3 percent in 1991-92 reported that they are affiliated to the Jharkhand Party. But a new trend found in the year 1991-92 when the Congress(I) losses its dominant position to the Janata Dal (21 percent of total sample said that they are affiliated to the J.D. and 45 percent of all identifiers showed their affiliations for the same party). The B.J.P registered an impressive growth wherein 5 percent of total sample and 11 percent of all identifiers reported affiliations with it. Similarly communists and Jharkhand also registered impressive growth. Thus, a profound change in the pattern of party identification is seen in 1991-92. A very large percentage of Muslims switched over to the Janta Dal from the Congress (I) which spelt doom for the party in the election. The obvious reason is the Ramjanambhumi Babri Masjid dispute which alienated the community from the Congress (I).

Here the question about consistency in the party
identification or the crystallization of identification among the minorities and backward classes of Orissa comes to one's mind. On the basis of data in tables 5.6 and 5.7 one can safely conclude that it is not a fully crystallized or well-established phenomenon—rather of volatile nature to some extent. It is clear from the data that Muslims are the least consistent category while the ST's are the most consistent ones. It is observed that more advanced group is less consistent one and vice versa. It may be linked to caste or community awareness level (level of caste consciousness) which results in more advanced and aware groups taking or changing sides on keeping their caste or community interest in their minds. Thus the hypothesis that primordial and age old group affiliations rooted deep in the traditions of these groups do influence to some extent their preferences in politics is found to be correct.

Another hypothesis tested is whether party identification becomes stronger with the advancement of age. In some western studies this correlation between higher age group and strong party identification has been established. But data relating age with party identification in table 5.5
provides a completely different picture. Hence, among the minorities and backward classes of Orissa, it is found that older citizens are the least identified (only 9 to 10 percent) when it comes to strong party identification. Or the other hand, those in early middle age (31-40) are found to be most preponderant in the strongly identified category followed by youths (48 percent in 1989 and 54 percent in 1991-92). Thus stronger party identification is not necessarily correlated with higher age group as many in the West believe. Instead, the opposite is found to be more tenable as far as this study concerning minorities and the backward classes of Orissa is concerned. Older people are, it is found, either very weak in party identification or disinterested in politics generally.

As far as the hypothesis that generally children follow their parents in the party affiliation and the case is more so in the traditional societies is concerned, our study finds it a half-truth. Data on table 5.8 relates parental party affiliation with the off-spring shows that in 1989 out of 32 percent of respondents who could recall their fathers
party identification only 24 percent faithfully clung to it while 18 percent changed over to other party. In 1991-92 the percentage of respondents who changed over to party other than their fathers’ party increased to 22 percent. But still then 25 percent (out of 38 percent who could recall their father’s party identification) stick to their fathers party affiliation. Thus, the data shows a mixed picture. Many of them are still clung to their family’s choice which is a sign of the persisting influence of traditional loyalties over a newly established modern phenomenon i.e. party identification. But the percentage of deviators form father’s party identification is also quite impressive and is increasing day by day. This reflects the beginning of the end of the family grip and primordial loyalties in the political sphere of the life of minorities and backward classes of Orissa. The extent of negligible percentage of indentifiers with the B.J.P. in a largely Hindu dominated state and with the Jharkhand among the Tribals of Orissa also goes to prove that secular and democratic norms are satisfactorily gaining ground in the known backward region of India.

In fine, it can be said that minorities and the backward
classes of Orissa are well identified with political parties. This identification is a group political behaviour which helped them to behave in politics in a more meaningful manner. Although they are still influenced by primordial group loyalties, but the ice is fast melting to give way to more rational considerations. Extent of identification with political parties has enlightened and socialized them to an increasing amount of democratic norms. Younger generations are found to be more activity associated with parties than their elders. A change has been noticed in the pattern of party identification from 1989 to 1991-92 in which Muslims had played the most important role.

In the 6th chapter, various forms of political participation have been discussed and how far minorities and the backward classes of Orissa are involved in these types of participation has been taken up for investigation. The hypothesis tested on the basis of data available is whether there is an hierarchical participation in the sense of Mihbrath's typology? Also taken for investigation the socio-economic bases of political activism. Here the testable
hypotheses is which social category among these peripheral groups participate actively and meaningfully in the political process. What is the extent and degree of participation of different social and economic strata of the society in politics is also taken for discussion.

On the basis of the data shown in the tables of Chapter 6A and the analysis thereof, no particular pattern of typology has been found. There are several principal types of political involvement viz. allegiant, attentive, mass-participative, social-group associate, voting, electoral campaign and elite contact. Each of these principal types has several sub-types. Then political participation, as our data shows, has not an hierarchical typology. It follows a cosmic pattern.

As far as extent of participation in politics is concerned, the groups under study are found to be well-involved. Approximately 42 to 47 percent shows allegiance to one or another political party; half of them pay attention to political phenomena and a fairly good percent are engaged in mass-participative political activities (see table 6.4). It is also clear from the data that although most of the
participant choose peaceful methods of interest articulation, the percentage increase in the recourse to direct action is indicative of eroding faith in the peaceful way.

Social-group associate political behaviour has not percolated to these groups as the data in table 6.5 indicate. Roughly one-fourth reported that they have worked with the caste/community groups and a still lower percent (13 to 15 only) worked for a party. Voting turn-out is very impressive—more that 50 percent voted in the national elections and a little less than that percentage cast their votes in the local election,. Turnout is high among SCs and Muslims. So far as electoral campaign activity is concerned, on in every five is engaged in such type of activity although, due to their poor financial condition, they could hardly contribute to the party funds (table 6.6). Similarly, 20 percent are those who contact elites for the sake of their demands.

In considering the general backwardness of the group, the recorded extent of the participation in politics is impressive in deed. Political mobilization has taken place among minorities and backward classes of Orissa and is being crystallized as days pass on. This has an positive impact on
the system-integration and system-maintenance. On the part of the individual it helps in creating a sense of civic duties and political socialization.

As far as socio-economic bases of political participation is concerned, data shows that the days of urban dominance in politics is about to go. The rural folks are taking more interest in politics with the passage of time can be well observed from the data on table 6.9. Thus, the general belief and findings in the West that urban people rule the proceedings in politics can not be ascertained when it is applied to the minorities and backwards of Orissa. There is a close competition in which the urban people has a slight edge over the rural folks. Another finding is that politically advanced groups are less likely to be dominated by urban leadership and vice versa.

The widely held view in the West that higher education leads to higher participation is not found correct. Rather moderately educated groups are found to be most active in the politics. Our data in table 6.10 also reveals that a good percentage (17.5 percent) of highly active category comes
from illiterates. A correlation of age with political activism leads to the conclusion that men of middle ages are most active followed by youths. Older citizens are the least active in the politics (table 6.11). A positive correlation has been found between the income-level and political participation. In table 6.12, data shows that a very few (5 percent) people from low income group participate actively in politics. Those with a higher income are most active in politics. The occupational sub-group which is most active in politics are professionals, white-collar and business men (36 percent); followed by unemployed youths (26 percent). Workers and farmers follow them in descending order. One interesting finding is that about activeness of unemployed youth in politics which constitute a little over one-fourth of the total highly active citizenry. Politics has become vocation for them in a state where they have little chance of taking over to other profession due to lack of funds and opportunities.

A categorywise analysis of the chapter 6 makes it clear that participation has become a group phenomenon so far as minorities and backward classes of Orissa is concerned. The
SCs are the most active group followed by Muslims, although in some cases the latter category even surpasses the former. Christians and STs are more backward as far as participation in politics is concerned.

Every political action has some consequences at the levels of individuals, groups, and the system as a whole. The participation in the political process by these peripheral groups has following consequences:

1. The participation in politics has affected individuals from the backward and peripheral segment of population resulting in citizen enlightenment, better sense of civic duty and a higher degree of political socialization.

2. Increased participation has resulted in the emergence of popular and democratic leadership with a vast mass-base. This has also heralded an era of 'elite displacement' thereby effecting the existing elite structure of the society.

3. Certainly participation is a group phenomenon when it comes to minorities and backward classes of Orissa. This
has helped in to develop a sense of caste/community consciousness and an increased bargaining capability of the social groups in the politics.

4. One of the system-level consequences is the emergence of competitive party system and campaign process. This led to increase in the political knowledge of masses and better opportunity to decide in elections.

5. Lastly, participation in an increasingly larger scale by the minorities and backward classes citizens is of immense value for the integration and maintenance of the system. This is indicative of positive political development on the part of the political system. This trend must be maintained because still there is a vast percentage of people in these groups (approximately 45 percent) who do not participate at all and are averse to politics. They must be socialized in the mainstream of the political system which is the only way out to prevent them from becoming alienated and hostile towards the system.
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This is to certify that MR. IFTEKHAR AHMED has completed his thesis entitled "POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF MINORITIES AND BACKWARD CLASSES OF ORISSA" under my supervision. The work is original.

I feel that the thesis is suitable for submission for the award of Doctor of Philosophy in Political Science.

( A. F. USMANI )
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(IFTEKHAR AHMED)

23.7.94
India – a miniscule universe – is a land of self-contradictory values and peculiar paradoxes. A society in constant flux, it happens to be one of the most problematic systems to observe confidently and analyse systematically. Its size and geographical complexity, with diversity of cultural and historical traditions and a high degree of dynamicity in its political process has generated a lot of interest among scholars to develop convincing explanation theories on different aspects of Indian society. The study presented in the following pages is an initial effort on one of the most important aspects of Indian democracy, i.e., political participation. The area of study (Orissa) and the people taken for observation (Minorities and Backward classes) are from that sector of Indian society which had received relatively little attention in the past, as far as an empirical analysis is concerned.

If one has to study politics in a meaningful manner, its effective target ought to be comparison. The comparison need not be one between different entities and or components. This often ends up in misleading conclusions, especially when a third world country in compared with a Western counterpart. This can be done fruitfully within a
comparable atmosphere, for the same unit of observation at different points in time. This is exactly what in the present study has been attempted in order to explore the pattern, the dimensions (both psychological and behavioural), the bases and the consequences of political participation among the minorities and backward classes of Orissa, which constitute the peripheral social groups of the society.

The study based on the data collected after pilot surveys from interviews covering a sample of approximately 400 respondents. The first survey was conducted in 1989 and the second in 1991-92. The period is important because of coincidence of elections (and its aftermath) to the Parliament and the assembly when one can easily observe those political behaviour which could not be observed otherwise. Sampling, which poses special problems in such studies, was done with the use of latest electoral rolls and random probability selection procedure covering 6 districts of the state.

At first 6 districts representing different geographical regions were selected. They are Cuttack, Puri, Balesore Sarcalpur, Sundargarh & Koraput. They are politically important too as far as the population groups under study are concerned. In each of the districts a
probability selection of two assembly constituencies was made. The final step in the sampling process was to select respondents from the voters lists of eligible citizens from minorities and backward classes of the constituency. Only men are selected for potential respondents. The exclusion of women from the sample was due to inaccessibility of interviewers to them and the reluctance of women themselves to respond to questions of interviewers without permission of their men folk or even in their absence. Some important personalities of the area from among the groups under study were also included in the sample.

The questionnaire for the study was more or less the same (with some modifications to adjust the local conditions) which was used in the 1971 national survey by the Centre for the Study of Developing Societies. As for the field work itself, special training and instructions were given to the small group of interviewers to comprehend the questions, translate it and to code it effectively. One special problem was the interference during the interviews by the family members and curious onlookers insisting on being present; crowding into interview setting and on some times even attempting to participate or even moderate the interviews. However, this was avoided as far as possible.
One special problem was the inability of the respondents to comprehend the question itself and at some other occasions they were far from being cooperative.

As regards the selection of Muslims and Christians categories were concerned the only criterion was religion. Of the backward classes categories the SC and the STs are the most important social groups in the state and constitute 37 percent of the population. Encouraged by the large number of seats reserved (8 out of 21 in the Lok Sabha and 56 out of 147 in the State Assembly) for them under the Constitution and various other facilities granted for their upliftment, they have become increasingly mobilized to take active part in political processes. Thus, minorities and backwards (SC & ST) constituting more then 40 percent of the total population, are forces to be reckoned with in politics and demand a detailed empirical analysis.

The entire thesis is divided into 6 chapters. First chapter is devoted to resume of socio-political condition of Orissa from the days of British Raj till the formation of the new state of Orissa. In the next chapter the general theoretical aspect of political participation has been explained. The third chapter deals with the political subcultures (orientations towards politics) of these groups which are vital for the understanding of political
participation. Here the testable hypothesis is that the political sub-culture of the minorities and backward classes of Orissa characterized by (i) a very low degree of knowledge about the political system & political phenomena around them, (ii) a very thin affection towards the system as a whole, (iii) a large scale rejection and criticism of the system on the evaluative front, and (iv) a very low degree of political efficacy.

In the next chapter i.e. chapter 4, the role played by political parties to mobilize the masses to the centre of organised politics has been examined. How far political parties have succeeded in breaking the shell of isolation and luring away those peripheral groups to the mainstream of politics is the hypothesis tested in this chapter. Chapter 5th, deals with an important aspect of political participation i.e. party identification. Whether these groups have developed a sense of party identification and if yes, what is the nature and extent of this identification is examined in this chapter.

The last chapter (6th) takes various dimensions and bases (variables) of political participation. This is to ascertain who participate and what is the degree intensity as well as extent of participation among different social
formations. Whether participation is a cumulative political behaviour as suggested by Milbrath has also been tested.

Lastly, the findings of all the previous discussions have been presented in the 'Conclusions'(summary) of the thesis. It also deals with some of the consequences of political participation on individuals, groups and the political system itself.
CHAPTER – I

INTRODUCTION

ORISSA: THE STATE AND ITS PEOPLE

In the hoary past, the tiny Kingdom of Orissa had dazzled the entire sub-continent of Indian peninsula by her bold and commendable action, thereby permanently quenching the thirst of sanguinary Chanda-Ashoka and turning him into a venerate Dharma-Ashoka. It is a land whose tapestic culture and history mirrors a "living testimony to the speculative daring and artistic sensibility of a race that once knew how to live, love and worship and create in heroic proportions". Its dance— the Oddissi—a reflection of the aesthetic connoisseurship of the race has been woven around the sculptures seen in its temples where; as Tagore has succinctly and aptly remarked, "the language of man is defeated by the language of Stone."  

Geographical and Ecological Profile

Orissa is situated in the north-eastern Section of the Indian peninsula. A maritime state with a coast line of 482 kilometres along the Bay of Bengal, its precise location is between 17°-50' and 22°-34' of North Latitude and between 81°-27' and 89° east of Greenwich. It is bounded in the

north by Bihar, in the west by Madhya Pradesh and in the south by Andra Pradesh. The areas of the state is 155,707 square kilometres which is slightly bigger than the total area of England and Wales put together. Areawise it occupies tenth position among Indian states. 67.461 square kilometers of the state is covered by forests.

Morphology

The physical features of Orissa are widely different from one part of the state to another. There are alluvial plains, wide tracts of arid hills and dense and extensive forests. Broadly speaking, the state may be devided into four regions (1) Northern plateau (2) The Eastern Ghats, (3) The Central tracts and (4) The Coastal plains. the territories comprising Orissa come under the last two divisions. The Coastal division covers the districts of Balasore, Cuttack, Ganjam and Puri plains which come under the category of Eastern Ghats and Coastal regions in the All India Physical declaration. The rest of the state may be described as Orissa inland division, coming under the category of peninsular hills and plateau regions.

The Coastal plains are the gift of six major rivers, which by bringing silt from their catchments, have reclaimed this area from their catchments, have reclaimed this area from the depth of the Bay of Bengal. The rivers are the
Mahanadi, the Subarnarekha, the Brahmani, the Baitarani and the Rushikulya. Thus the Coastal plains can be termed as the land of "six deltas".

The mountainous region of Orissa covers about three-fourth of the area of the state. This region is a part of Indian peninsula. Here deep and broad valleys are cut by the Mahanadi, Baitarani and Brahmani rivers. The subdued plateaus reveal all the peculiarities of peninsular India. They are almost flat and monotony of arography is interrupted by the river valleys. These features are commonly met within the upper Baitarani and the Sabari basin of the Keonjhar and Koraphut districts respectively.

Climate:

Orissa enjoys a typical climate. Although rainfall is wide spread during the monsoons, some local variations are experienced due to orography. rainfall in Orissa varies from a maximum of 191.2 cms. at Bhadrak to only 107.5 cms. at Krishna Prasad in Puri district. In general the Eastern Ghats, due to the high relief receive more rainfall than the Coastal plains. The late monsoon are primarily cyclonic and

bring in enough rain to norther Orissa during the months of September and October.

The mean annual temperature is influenced by its latitude, elevation and proximitly to Sea. The temperature rises from 20.5° C in the Coastal plains to 21.4° C in the inland areas. Almost the whole of Orissa, with some minor exceptions, has got a mean annual temperature of 21.4° C to 26.6° C.6

Demography

The population of Orissa, as per 1981 census, is 267,72,054, ranking eleventh in India. 47.34% of the States populations live in the four Coastal districts which constitute nearly about 25% of the total area of the State, while the hill regions, which covers 75% of the area have got only 52.66% of its population. The density of population is 169 per sq. km. as compared to the all India average of 221. The average density of the population of the Coastal district and hill regions is 317 and 143 respectively.

Linguistically, Orissa is largely a homogeneous state in the sense that nearly 84.11 percent of its inhabitant speak Oriya. The second largest linguistic minority - Thelgus constitute only 2.28% followed by a host of tribal

languages. Urdu is spoken by 1.31% while only 0.88% speak Hindi.

Orissa has the distinction of having the highest percentage of Hindus in its population (96.25%), followed by Christians (1.73%) and Muslims (1.49). Inspite of such a preponderance of Hindus, communalism is virtually non-existent in the state and the state has an impressive track-record of communal harmony.

The literacy rate in Orissa is only 34.22% while the national literacy rate is 37.38%. This low literacy rate can be explained in terms of high SC and ST population constituting 38.20% of the population.

Orissa is a state of villages. Nearly 88.18% of the population live in 50,806 villages and 11.02 percent in 108 towns and four cities of Cuttack, Raurkela, Bhubaneswar and Barhampur. The low urbanisation is due to the fact that the land is predominantly agricultural. Nearly 77.4% people are engaged in agriculture. Most of them are marginal farmers or landless labour.

Orissa is a sad symbol of man's ingratitude to nature. She presents paradox in plenty. It is very poor in industrial front.

Culture

Orissa is a confluence of two streams of Indian culture. Orissa's language, culture, art and architecture bears incredible marks of Aryavarta (Northern) and Dakshinatya (Southern) civilisations.

Orissa has a very rich and glorious history. The people of Kalinga (as they were known 2000 years ago) were seafaring, making it a prosperous maritime state. Till the early part of 19th Century, the Oriya seamen kept the maritime flag of the country flying in the waters of South East Asia but the Portuguese pirates and enterprising British dealt a death blow to the prosperous maritime trade of Orissa. In this connection, it may be mentioned that ancient Orissa had an overseas empire.

Through centuries Orissa has been a land of peace and religion that have got strong appeal for the Oriya people, who are simple Unsophisticated and well-intentioned. Its culture is catholic in out look. The Tantra culture of Kamroop, the Dravadian culture of Gandwara and the Aryan culture of the South have all gone to evolve the cult of Jagannath, the Cult of love and tolerance.

Orissa culture is often termed as Jagannath culture. Oriyas have great faith in and respect for Lord Jagannath,
who controls and regulates every sphere of life of Orissa, political, economic, social and spiritual. The religion and deity are the product of the mental and spiritual development of the people. All religious, social customs and cultural activities in Orissa veer around Jagannath. He is sovereign, father, redeemer of the poor and cosmopolitan. In short, Orissa Culture means Jagannath and the vice versa.

The Sun-God temple at Konark-known as the Black Pagoda - is seven hundred years old and is being regarded by experts (in architect) as one of the World-class classic in perfect architectural design. Rabindranath Tagore so commented when he visited it: Konarks is "a living testimony to the speculative daring and artistic sensibility of a race that once knew how to live, love and worship and create in heroic proportions". Where one gets feeling that "the language of man is defeated by the language of stone". All through the ages Orissa has retained a cultural identity much more prominent than her political identity, while developing itself within the characteristics syndromes of Indian civilization, the Oriyan culture nevertheless acquired some distinctive traits of its own to enrich that multifaced Indian panorama."

Political Background

With a recorded history of nearly 3000 years, Orissa civilization is one of the oldest in India. If we peep into early history of Orissa, we find that the name of Kalinga is found in Brahmana Mahabharat composed in circa 1100 B.C. refers to Kalinga, odra, and Utkal. Thus Orissa, comprising Utkal, Odra and Kalinga, enjoys long enduring existence, since the Puranic ages and it is one of the citadels of ancient Indian civilization.

The East India Company came to Orissa 47 years after its conquest of Bengal in 1757. On 14th, October 1803 Cuttack fell to British army. Balasore and Sambalpur fell to the British on 2nd January 1804. After their final defeat at Wargaon the Bhonslas of Nagpur signed the treaty of Deogaon in 1804 with the British and ceded the province of Cuttack including the port and district of Balasore to the East India Company. Orissa from them onwards was administered from Calcutta in Bengal.

Growth of Political Consciousness

In Orissa, as elsewhere in 19th Century, India, social movements as well as the growth of national consciousness were facilitated mainly due to two factors; first, the rise of a middle-class intelligentsia due to the spread of the
Western education and secondly, the growth of mass-media and communication system like press, railways and postal services etc. The establishment of the English medium Schools, Colleges, and Universities led to the spread of Western ideas and slowly but steadily a new class intelligentsia with novel hopes and aspirations appeared on the Indian scene. The growth of railways, postal services and the press, both native and English provided the required media for giving necessary fillip to the growth of national consciousness. The report of the Inspectors of Schools, South-West Bengal for the year 1857-58 gave the following picture. There were three Zilla Schools in the head quarters of three districts: Balasore, Cuttack and Puri. There was an Anglovernacular school at Bhadrak. Besides, there were only 16 vernacular schools in the wholeprovince. Soon after the famine in 1867, the Govt. declared that the Cuttack Zilla School would be raised to the status of a 'High School' (Inter College) affiliated to the Calcutta University, and on 20th January 1868, the High School classes were started only with six students.

13. Utkal Dipika - Cuttack 25 Jan 1868 (Oriya).
First United Move

In April 1903 the Ganjam National Conference was held under the auspices of Ganjam Jatiya Samity. In this Conference the Oriyas of Ganjam led by the Raja of Khallikote expressed their desire for a united Orissa. Madhusudan Das, who was present in the Conference, proposed to convene another Conference on a much bigger scale to press the demand. Thus Utkal Sammilani or "Utkal Conference" was born in December 1903. "The moment was unique in that it embraced all - the high and the low, the literate and the illiterate, the official and the non-official - all were in it," wrote L. M. Patnaik. The Sammilani was ushered into existence by Madhusudan Das, the "Grand Old man of Orissa", and provided a platform where the then princes like Krushna Chandra Gajapati Dev, the Maharajha of Paralakhemundi, Sreeram Chandra Bhanja Deo, the Maharaja of Mayurbhanj and many other aristocrats of the time rubbed shoulders with the commeners for the realization of their demand - perhaps the earliest demand in India for a homogeneous linguistic state.

The first flicker of hope for the fulfillment of "this deepest dream and the most potent operations of the Oriyas" as Mayadhar Mansing has put it, spurred activities in

15. Quoted in Ghosh. S. op. cit, p. 15.
various fields. Gopabandhu Das, who in the words of Subhas Chandra Bose, was the "father of national movement in Orissa", founded at Sakhigopal, near puri, the Satyabadi open air school, on the model of Deccan Education Society of Poona. With the help of his able associates like Nilakantha Das, Godavarish Misra, Lingaraj Misra, Krupasindh Misra and Harihar Das, all leading intellectuals renaissance in Orissa. Gopabandhu who is hailed as "Utkalamani" (Gem of Utkal), swayed the masses as never before by his poetry, prose and oration and his passionate feelings poured out through the columns of weekly the SAMAJ and the monthly SATYABADI he had founded.

The School was, for about a decade, the main cultural centre of Orissa. The process, however, was set by their forebears like Gourishankar Roy in whose journal, Utkal Dipika, modern Oriya prose began to take shape. Fakir Mohan Senapati, Radhanath Roy and Madhusudan Rao - the great trio who along with Gangadhar Meher gave a distinct character to the modern Oriya language and literature drawing on the rich literary heritage left by Sarla Das, Balaram Das, Jagannath Das, Upendra Bhanja, Dinakrushna Das, Abhimanyu Samanta Singhar, Gopat Krushna Patnaik, Brajanath Badajena, Bhim Bhoi, and a host of others.16

In The Mainstream

Soon with the growing Congress influence and rising spirit of new nationalism the old structure of the Utkal Union Conference collapsed. Hopefully, and happily, the horizon was widened. The struggle for Insia's freedom naturally found its echo in Orissa. Hundreds of students including Harekrushna Mahatab, Nabakrushna Chaudhury and Jadumoni Mangaraj left schools and colleges without completing their educational career.

Gopahandhu Das resigned his membership of Bihar - Orissa Legislative Council and gave up his legal practice. It is at this time that Gopabandhu Chudhury, then a Deputy Collector, resigned his job and plunged headlong into the freedom struggle.

Congress Committees were formed in each district. Swaraj Ashram at Cuttack and Alakashram at Jagatsingpur became training camps for congress workers. Gopabandhu invited Gandhiji in the Nagpur session to visit Orissa. Gandhiji had accepted the invitation and come to Cuttack on March 23, 1921. From Cuttack he trekked to Puri and Barhampur.
It was during this tour that Gandhiji exclaimed, "Orissa is the epitome of India's poverty" and took vow that he would no wear a full dhoti till every Indian had got food and clothing for himself, a decision which earned him the sobriquet of 'Naked Fakir'. By June 1921 about 40,000 people had enrolled themselves as Congress workers.

It is exactly during this time that the clarion call of non-cooperation movement swept the country. C. Rajapalchari and Motilal Nehru visited Orissa in the August 1921. The message of the Congress spread like a wild fire. Two tenants were killed in the police firing. Gopabandhu Das and Bhagirathi Mohaptra were arrested on May 31, 1922. While referring to this unprecedented success of the movement Subahas Chandra Bose recalled once: "This was something new in Orissa and the result of Gopabandhu's Courage and sacrifice was to install into the heart of young Oriyas a spirit of sacrifice and fearlessness."

However, the move for a separate Orissa did not died down in the nascent nationalistic fever. Ways back in the Nagpur Session of 1920, Gopabandhu Das successfully persuaded Gandhiji and the Congress to accept the formation of linguistic provinces as the congress programme of reorganisation and a resolution was passed to that effect.\(^{18}\)

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17. Quoted in Ghosh. S. - ibid, p. 20.
It was in the Round Table Conference, in London in January 16th, 1931, the question was again raised and Maharaja of Parlakhemundi, K. C. G. Narayan Dev, presented the case of Oriyas forcefully. It was recognised that a "separate province of Orissa would perhaps be the most homogeneous province in the whole of British India both racially and linguistically, the communal difficulty is practically non-existent and its claim appears to have the support and sympathy of all parties in India.

The White paper was prepared by the India office on the basis of RTC recommendations. The Joint Parliamentary Committee which has also gone into the matter enlarged the boundaries by including Jeypore and Parlakhemundi: Parliament accepted the recommendation of the JPC. Orissa was given the independent administrative status as a province under the section 289(i) (b) of the Government of India Act, 1935. The draft order in the Council constituting Orissa was placed before the Parliament on January 21, 1936 under the title "The Government of India Order (constitution of Orissa) 1936". Thereafter, in February both the Houses of the Parliament presented an address to His Majesty praying that an order be made. Accordingly, His Majesty passed the Order on March 3, 1936 which came into effect on 1st April, 1936.19

The province as constituted consisted of six districts of Cuttack, Puri, Balasore, Sambalpur, Ganjam and Koraput. The province comprised as area of 32,695 square miles with a population of 80,43,681. Sir John Austen Hubback was sworn in as the First Governor of Province. The formal inauguration was held on April 1, 1936 at a meeting at Ravenshaw College, Cuttack amidst unprecedented jubilation of the people.\(^\text{20}\)

**Political Awakening in Princely States**

In Orissa, political awakening in the princely states took place as early as in 1931 in consequence of political agitation going on in the British Districts adjoining the states, in the form of Garjat Praja Sammilani'. It remained almost dormant till 1936 when Congress took up the causes of the people of the states. In 1937, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, one of the organising members of All India States Peoples Standing Committee, paid a visit to Orissa, and presided over a meeting of Praja Sammilan which was thereafter named as Orissa State peoples Conference.\(^\text{21}\) The meeting was held at Cuttack on 24 June, 1937. An Enquiry Committee consisting of Dr. H. K. Mahatab, Lalmohan Patnaik and Late Balwant Rai Mehta (a member of Servants of the people's society) was constituted in the second meeting of the

\(^{21}\) *Orissa Review 1952-53*, Orissa on 1937. Ed. Chapter II.
Conference held in June 1938. This committee conducted its inquiry from June 1938 to August 1938. The Committee examined 2000 witnesses in several sittings and published its Report in two Volumes in 1939. This report deals exhaustively with the maladministration then prevailing in the States and contains the evidences given by the people.

In 1938, the people of some States of Madhya pradesh and Bindhyachal carried on mass agitation against maladministration in these states. This news served as a great feeder to the prominent workers of Orissa States People conference. Political units known as 'Praja Mandals' were formed in many States. Each Praja Mandal prepared its 'demand sheets' containing the demands of the people like civil liberty, responsible government, rationalisation of assessment of the revenue and abolition of all illegal taxes, and that of contributions like forced labour etc. Thus the freedom fight started in the states of Orissa in an organised manner in the year 1938.

In the same year, the people of Nilgiri, Dhenkanal, Talcher, Ranapur, Gangpur under the leadership of the Prajamandal organised agitations which shook the confidence of the ruler. They roused from their age-long slumber and could not be put down by force. They (Princes) had to

22. Pradhan, P. M. Liberation Movement in Orissa review 1950-51, p. 32.
concede to the demands of the people, although partially. So temporary peace was established.

The out break of the Second World War strengthened the hands of the rulers by Defence of India Rules. Almost all leaders of Prajamandals in the States were arrested. This resulted in the temporary lull in the movement.

Then came the historic "Quit India" Movement of 1942 which caused an unprecedented upsurge in the country. People in some districts like Talcher and Dhenkanal rose on rebellion against the State authorities. The movement assumed such proportion that the authorities has to resort to aerial bombing and machine gunning. It was ruthlessly suppressed.

After India gained independence in 1947, the fudatory States assumed the attitude of independent sovereign states. Their rulers neither granted popular government nor were willing to merge their States with Orissa. The merging of the fudatory States with Orissa has been advocated in the report of the Congress State Enquiry Committee in 1929 and was no doubt in the minds of some of those who led the prewar Prajamandal agitations. But at that time the issue seemed remote; it took second place to independence.

By 1946, with the arrival of the Cabinet Mission, it was clear that the British were about to leave and that this was the time to stake out claims in the area of power left vacant. Dr. Mahatab often pleaded for the merger with the Congress leaders. The matter was discussed with Gandhiji on 5th April 1946 and on the 6th April, with the Cabinet Mission. At last Nehru on 10th June agreed in principle with Dr. Mahtab that small states particularly Orissa States should be amalgamated with the province.

On the other hand, the people were determined to wrest power by force if the Chief did not grant them freedom voluntarily. This preparation on the part of the people created panic among the Ruling Chiefs who approached Mahatma Gandhi for solution. Gandiji referred the matter to Sardar Patel who visited Orissa on 13th December, 1947, and asked the leaders of Prajamandals to remain restrained. He advised the rulers of the States to merge their States with Orissa and warned them about what would happen to them if they fail to accept his advice. The Chiefs gave in. Twenty five states including Saraikala and Kharaswan, signed the instrument of Accession on the 14th December 1947, and merged with Orissa on January 1, 1948. Only Mayurbhanj did

25. Ibid
not joined the other states. However, it signed later on and merged the same day i.e. 1st January 1948, with Orissa. Saraikala and Kharswan were transferred to Bihar in May 1948. As a result of the merger seven new districts were created totaling the number of districts to thirteen. These new districts are Bolangir, Phulbani, Dhenkanal, Kalahandi, Keonjhar, Mayurbhanj and Sundargarh.

Dr. Mahatab played a key role in the merger along with the 'Iron-man of India'. To quote Patel himself "I am happy that I helped him (Mahatab) to realise what was not only his dream but the ambition of all Oriyas. I am happier still that, it was that backward province, as they call it, which led the way for the rest of the India to follow."28

Map 1. The Districts of Orissa
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. No.</th>
<th>Name of the District</th>
<th>Area in Sq.km.</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Density per sq.km.</th>
<th>Literacy Rate in %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Cuttack</td>
<td>11,142</td>
<td>4,617,748</td>
<td>414</td>
<td>45.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Puri</td>
<td>10,182</td>
<td>2,911,720</td>
<td>286</td>
<td>45.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Balasore</td>
<td>6,311</td>
<td>3,253,090</td>
<td>357</td>
<td>41.84</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Ganjam</td>
<td>12,556</td>
<td>2,652,699</td>
<td>211</td>
<td>30.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>COASTAL DIST.</strong></td>
<td><strong>40,191</strong></td>
<td><strong>12,435,257</strong></td>
<td><strong>317</strong></td>
<td><strong>40.91</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Mayurbhanj</td>
<td>10,418</td>
<td>1,576,987</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>25.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Keonjhar</td>
<td>8,303</td>
<td>1,109,746</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>29.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Dhenkanal</td>
<td>10,827</td>
<td>1,576,569</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>36.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Phulbani</td>
<td>11,094</td>
<td>712,772</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>26.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Bolangir</td>
<td>8,913</td>
<td>1,452,675</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>25.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Kalahandi</td>
<td>11,772</td>
<td>1,329,780</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>19.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Sambalpur</td>
<td>17,516</td>
<td>2,274,125</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>34.02</td>
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<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Sundargarh</td>
<td>9,712</td>
<td>1,336,818</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>36.17</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>Koraput</td>
<td>26,961</td>
<td>2,467,329</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>15.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>HILL DISTS.</strong></td>
<td><strong>115,516</strong></td>
<td><strong>13,836,801</strong></td>
<td><strong>143</strong></td>
<td><strong>27.75</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td><strong>TOTAL:</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,55,707</strong></td>
<td><strong>26,272,058</strong></td>
<td><strong>169</strong></td>
<td><strong>34.21</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Census of India, 1981. Series 16, ORISSA (Provisional).
POPOPULATION OF MINORITIES & BACKWARD CLASSES OF ORISSA

Source: Census Report, 1981.
POPULATION OF MINORITIES & BACKWARD CLASSES OF ORISSA

- Percentage to total population of the state.
Source: Census Report, 19**1.
Chapter II

POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

A GENERAL CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Political participation means the involvement of groups and individuals at various levels in the political system. Huntington and Nelson John's definition refers to it as those activities by private citizens designed to influence government decision-making. According to Nie and Verbas it includes those legal activities by private citizens which are more or less directly aimed at influencing the selection of governmental personnel and the action they take. In the same vein Herbert McClosky refers 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."¹

Thus political participation refers to all those activities which are designed to have an impact on governmental decision-making and crisis management process. One can also call political participation as people's effort to influence the authoritative allocation of values in a society. To some extent, political participation is a function of the ambit of governmental activity (an issue involved in the meaning of the term concerns the inclusion

into the concept of psychological process leading to it or simply the act per se) Almond and Verba have focussed attention on the psychological or subjective attributes of political participation. Lazarsfeld Paul F. et al. have utilised interest in politics as the only means of measuring political participation apart from the ballot.

The scope of the term "political participation" has expanded lately. Earlier, in the narrow sense, it focussed on the citizen participation in the elections through voting, political discussions, mobilisation, canvassing voters and attending political meetings. In the extended sense, the concept now includes such activities during elections through which citizens try to influence government, decisions and divers issues involving individual's and groups in political processes.

Why do social scientists study political participation? To begin with, participation is an ingredient of every polity, large or small, oligarchic or democratic and traditional or modern. Moreover, these days, right to participate is an essential element of democratic government, inseparable from such others attributes of democracy as consent, accountability, majority rule, equality and popular sovereignty. Whereas traditional

monarchies restricted power and participation largely to
nobility and their agents, democracies have in principle,
transformed these prerogatives into rights enjoyed by
everyone.

The desirability of people's participation has been
elocuously extolled by political philosophers from Aristotle
to H John Dewey - as a source of vitality and creative
energy, as a defence against tyranny, and as a means of
enacting the collective wisdom. By involving the many in
the affairs of state participation on the one hand, should
promote stability and order, and, on the other, by giving
everyone the opportunity to express his interests it should
secure the welfare of all. In a representative democracy
this is essential to protect the overall social interest.
It develops a sense of belongingness and involvement in the
political processes. It also promotes harmonious
relationship between the rulers and the ruled, a condition
so essential for better social life.  

HISTORICAL EVOLUTION OF THE CONCEPT

The earliest references to political participation
are found in the work of ancient Greek political thinkers
like Plato and Aristotle. In Athenian democracy, an
equation was developed between the citizen and the city-
state. The citizen conformed his life to the tune of public law which he himself had accepted and which expressed his will. Pericles declared in his speech: "we alone regard a man who do not takes interest in public affairs not as harmless but as a useless character, and we Athenaians are able to judge...."

In Greek city-states political participation embodied the citizens life in the city. To Greeks, citizenship means capacity to rule and to be ruled in turn.

It implied active participation in the governance of the state. Greek democracy worked because every citizen had a deep and abiding reverence for the city-state and its law.

The concept of political participation also finds mention in the writings of Romans. For them not only did political sovereignty resides in the people, but even the laws were made by magistrates in agreement with popular assemblies. Pllybius, Cicero, and Seneca referred to democracy based on people's participation in the government of city-states in their classifications. The idea of popular sovereignty even become more established during the republican period and was also theoretically accepted during the imperial period. Popular sovereignty was regarded to be the basis of law which was an expression of popular will representing a mutual understanding among the people. The
prevailing dictum "the will of state is the will of aggregate of its citizens" amply elucidates the norm.

In the middle ages the idea of popular participation finds expression in the writing of Marsilio of Padua in the fourteenth contrary. His main objective was to place the authority of the church under the State. He was opposed to domination of Church over temporal authority. Ecclesiastical property was regarded to be grant or subsidy by the community. The doctrine of representation developed during the Middle Ages. A mediaval representative was a "trustee" rather than an agent of the people. Marsilio of Padua, however, advocated the idea of representation and popular sovereignty in their modern sense.

In the late 17th century the concept was further nurtured by the great English thinker John Locke. His concept of social contract clearly advocates the doctrine of popular sovereignty. (In his analysis, the individuals surrendered some of their rights which became the source and seat of all authority in the state. The people retain the right of removing the government that betrays its trust or is inefficient and to remove and alter the legislature by, to quote Locke himself, "appealing to the Heaveans". This power of people is, however, revolutionary and extra-legal in nature.
It was none other than the mystifying J. J. Rousseau who gave the finishing touch through the concept of General Will and through that to the theory of participation of people in the affairs of the state. The very concept of General will is still a subject of controversy and debate. It does not clearly specify the process of obtaining the General will.

The Marxist view of political participation enunciated by Marx and Engles was further elaborated by Lenin. Peoples participation was visualised on the basis of class. In a socialist state the communist party would act as the "vanguard of the proletariat" and the Centre for opinion aggregation. The party would be organised on the basis of "democratic centralism", which implied that every party organ was strictly bound by decisions of anybody with a higher position in the party hierarchy. Mao, latter on suggested that proletariat be replaced by peasantry as the vanguard of the revolution. Thus Marxists envisage political participation in terms of class with the majority represented by the working class and dominating over the minority.

Political participation is a complicated term to be defined as far as its meanings and forms are concerned. There are large differences of opinions regarding the
purposes and forms of political participation. It is broadly explained in terms of liberalist and Marxist views.

**Liberalist Approach:**

The liberalists emphasise the participation of individuals to support and sustain the system. This view includes only those voluntary activities which enable the members of the society to share in influencing directly or indirectly in the formation of public policies. For this objective they should legitimately have the freedom to select the decision makers. It, obviously, includes formal discussion on politics amongst various group as well as intense activities of fringe political groups and even elites.

However, the liberalist approach has been criticised as presenting only a restricted view of political participation. It generally restricts participation to voting and involvement in party activities and programmes. There is freedom of dissention and, therefore, pressure groups or interest groups are allowed to play a vital role in political process.

**Marxist perspective:**

On the other hand Marxist deny political participation at individual level or multigroup or multi party levels. They recognize it in terms of class conflict which has got
to be linked with the single party system. They held that participation is just not to hold power and influence policies but to take purposeful and active interest in political processes through a single party. Involvement of the working-class is "an essential process by which workers are educated to bring about the (socio-economic) revolution......Raising them to the level of ruling calls is to win the battle of Democracy".4

Positive aspect of this view is that it emphasises the "purposeful and conscious" participation of the multitude but does not allow a changing ideologically established system. The view has been only one-sided as, in practice, it is the party which alone finally decides the policies and regulates the changes. The high percentages of voting in a Socialist system does not actually reflect the influence of the voters on policies. The option before the people are restricted.

Typology

Apart from broad categorization of political participation some political scientists have attempted to formally work out typology of political participation.

Mudlbrath's Typology

Lester W. Milbrath has developed a kind of typology which has enumerated the political involvement in a hierarchical order.

1. Gladiatorial Activities: It includes:
   a) Holding public and party office.
   b) Being a candidate for the office.
   c) Soliciting political funds.
   d) Attending a Caucus or strategy meeting.
   e) Becoming an active member of a party.
   f) Contributing time in a political campaign.

2. Transitional Activities:
   a) Attending political meeting or rally.
   b) Making monetary contribution to a party or a candidate.
   c) Keeping contact with a political official of political leader.

3. Spectator Activities:
   a) Wearing a button or putting a sticker on the car.
   b) Attempting to talk to another to vote in a certain way.
   c) Initiating a political discussion.
   d) Voting.
   e) Exposing oneself to political stimuli.

It is apparent that the above kind of typology is broadly divided into three stages and the participation goes on decreasing when one ascends the hierarchy.

The study has been made in the US and it reveals that about 60% of people are involved in spectator activities while 7 to 9 percent in transitional activities and the percentage further decreases to 1 to 3 when it comes to gladiatorial activities. Milbrath suggests that his ordering involves a kind of logical natural progression of being involved in the political activities and that persons involved at one level are also likely to involve at "lower" levels. Central to this logic is the idea that ascending the hierarchy involves increasing cost in terms of time, energy and resources and at each level fewer people are able and willing to make the necessary investment. However the problem with this typology is that, participation is only possible when basic physiological and psychological needs of the person, such as food, sleep, safety etc. has been met with. 6 Again, the model also ignores such activities which are political in nature and are directed towards disruption of the normal process, examples being revolt, coup, agitation, strikes etc.

Rush and Althoff have also drawn a hierarchy regarding the typology of political participation. This includes most of the forms of political participation such as:

i) Holding political or administrative office.

ii) Seeking political or administrative office.

iii) Active membership of a political organisation.

iv) Active membership of a quasi-political organisation.

v) Passive membership of a political organisation.

vi) Participation in public meeting demonstrations etc.

vii) Participation in formal political discussion.

viii) General interest in politics.

ix) Voting.

x) Total apathy.

Participation at the top of the hierarchy is enjoyed only by those who hold various types of offices within the political system. Persons participating at such level can be distinguished from other political participants (to varying degrees) in that they are concerned with the exercise of formal political power. Power in itself may not reside in them but they are important because normally they are the formal repository of power.

8. Ibid., p. 76.
Besides the above category, there are a number of citizens who are members of various types of political or quasi-political bodies operating in a system. These include all types of political parties, interest groups, trade unions, and various forms of pressure groups engaged in articulating and aggregating diverse interests in the social milieu. They are agents of political mobilization by virtue of the fact that they help their constituent to participate in certain types of political activities, involving in the defence or promotion of a specific ideas, positions, situations or groups through political system.

Again participation in the form of public meetings and demonstrations may cultivate interest among the people regarding certain issues and problems confronting with the society. This may prove as an important stimulus encouraging the general citizen to become active in the realm of politics. Another intermittent form of political participation is the informal political discussion by individuals in families, peer-groups, relatives etc. Moreover, some people do not discuss political matters with others but may get things by way of using different divises of mass media. These people often restrict their participation only to the voting, which is the least active form of participation in terms of support to the system.
Another type is apathy, which indicates non-participation or casual interest. Whether this is by choice or on account of reasons beyond the control of the individual concerned is a matter of rigorous enquiry. Apathy may be due to poverty, ignorance, illiteracy, indifference, deliberate withdrawal and alienation. In the systemic progression this inactiveness however, does not substantially contribute. Rather it weakens the growth of democratic process.

So far as hierarchy developed in the U.S. study is concerned, it covers all probable activities. But this hierarchy is wanting in as far as a general theory is concerned. Firstly, political participation in terms of bringing change has been completely left out in the study. The countries like Cuba, Nicaragua and of late several eastern European countries could manage to develop their new-systems through revolutions. Hence it is wrong to conclude that revolution is disfunctional vis-a-vis political participation. Mao, highlighting this point said, "the truth of any knowledge and theory is determined not by subjective feelings but by objective results in social practices." Again, the U.S study have not touched upon the participation in military ruled states, i.e. government participating as an instrument of coercion.

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One of the important aspects of the study of political participation is the comparative study of varying degree of participation in different societies. Participation varies from system to system. Similarly, various limitations on political participation, formal and informal, would exist and consequently affect the degree of involvement. Participation may be limited in developing societies, on account of certain factors, such as the level of economic advancement, literacy and the general problem of communication. In some other systems, participation in political process is more or less controlled by the rulers. On the contrary in modern democracies, participation is usually by various means for seeking co-operation and confidence of the citizenry. The degree of valuation, however, has also been noticed in the case of developed systems. Again, where participation occurs at the same level, its nature and importance may vary from one system to another. This apart, some systems may provide ample choice to the voters, where as others may restrict it only for certain occasions. For example, British voters are faced with seven choices in one year, whereas his U.S counterpart is faced with nearly six times this number in the same period of time.  

10. See Rush & Althoff, p., op.cit., p. 81.
Scholars conducting research on voting behavior have correlated demographic factors and the extent of range of turnouts. Similarly, the citizens of advanced countries have a greater sense of participation in comparison to the developing ones. Table 1.1 and 1.2 reveals these observation as such:

Table 1.1
Comparison of Voting in different of Societies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stage of Economic and Social advancement</th>
<th>Vote as to % of Voting age population</th>
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<tr>
<td>a. Traditional</td>
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<tr>
<td>Primitive Societies</td>
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<td>b. Traditional civilisations</td>
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<td>c. Transitional Societies</td>
<td>...</td>
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<tr>
<td>d. Industrial</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Industrial Revolution Societies</td>
<td>...</td>
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<tr>
<td>e. High mass-consumption Societies</td>
<td>...</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The percentage in the table are mean for each country and there have a range of 30 to 78 percent, but the lowest turnout found was 1.9 % in Rhodesia and Nayasaland and the

highest 99.6% in the Soviet Union. Hence the actual range is very large indeed.

The realization that the extent of participation cannot be measured merely by the voting turnouts prompted scholars to find out the extent to which people are interested in politics. Following table indicates this phenomenon.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of Interest</th>
<th>USA</th>
<th>UK</th>
<th>West Germany</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) Great deal of Interest</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>11%</td>
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<tr>
<td>2) Some Interest/Interested</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) Not very much/ not really Interested</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4) Not at all Interested/none</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It shows that interest in political affairs is highest in the USA and lowest in West Germany. Nevertheless, the difference is not great, especially in the category of "some interested". But there exists a significant difference in "not at all interested" category. Thus, the table shows that political interest of the people vary from country to country even in the similar type of political system.

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There is not enough data available on the extent to which people participate in the demonstrations, strikes, meetings etc. Available data shows that the level of citizen participation in such activities is higher in Western democratic systems vis-a-vis developing ones. On this point the USA and Britain has an edge over others. Better means of communication, application of mass-media, functioning of bi-party system, better economy, stability etc. can be helpful in explaining the phenomenon.

Study on membership of voluntary organisation - which includes both political and quasi-political ones - as a means of mass participation reveals that such type of participation is higher in Western democracies and lower in emerging democracies. A comparative survey of USA, Britain, West Germany, Italy, France and Mexico shows that citizen participation in such organisations has been highest in the USA and lowest in Mexico. The extent of participation of
applicable for holding offices. McClosky reports that, "in some of the states of the USA, the suffrage is denied to Negros, Indians, illiterates, pauper, criminals and aliens."\(^\text{13}\) In some systems casting of the vote is compulsory for all citizen, thereby resulting in almost cent percent turnout.

Lindenfeld, after a national sample survey in the USA, concludes that those who express financial satisfaction are highly involved in the political activities.\(^\text{14}\) He also explores that among low socioeconomic status, financial dissatisfaction is related to feelings of political alienation and apathy.

While summarising various studies, Lipset suggests that a number of environmental factors influence the turnout; whether the election is taking place at the time of crises; the extent to which the individual has access to relevant information; the extent to which the individual is subjected to group pressure to vote and the extent to which individual is subjected to crosspressure.\(^\text{15}\)

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It is found in the available researches that political interest increases with the increase in age, income and occupational status. Almond and Verba maintained that higher occupational status generally involves more frequent voluntary association membership. They also found that men are more likely to be members of voluntary organisations than women. The five-nation study also support this assumption.

Urban-rural dichotomy did occur in some places but not in all cases. City dwellers with their increased exposure to mass media, higher education and greater pre-disposition to form voluntary associations participate more than those who live in rural communities. But in some countries having a long tradition of communal leadership or cooperative firms of agricultural organisations, participation is greater in rural than in urban areas. Japan, France and parts of Scandinavia may be cited as the best example to this.

Church attendants correlates positively with political participation in the USA. They scarcely adopt in Britain and negatively in West Germany and Italy. Some ethnic minorities in the USA e.g. Negroes, have very low turnouts where others like Jews have among the very highest. Almond and Verba also uphold the view that education is one of the contributory factors for increase in the political participation.

participation. But it has been observed in some cases that education has the negative impact and one starts feeling alienated himself because of no positive consequence of one's participation.

From the analysis which is made in the preceding paragraph, it can be safely concluded that variables in this category are so broad that they have a limited explanatory power. Often on they represent configurations which are/ cosmic (or not identical) in nature. Some demographic factors may have dramatically different consequences in a different political-cultural context. Similarly, social class differences may signify powerful inequalities in one culture and very trivial in other.

Thus, political participation does vary in relation to a number of important social characteristics. Milbrath enumerates four major factors in this regards.\textsuperscript{17} To him political participation varies;

a) to the extent to which the individual receives political stimuli;

b) to the extent of individual's personal characteristics,

c) to the extent of individual's social characteristics, and

d) the political setting or environment in which

\textsuperscript{17} See Mc Closky, H; \textit{op. cit.}, p. 257.
individual finds himself.

The above factors have been found considerably affecting the participation process at the level of gladiatorial activities.

Variations in Individual Cases

However, individuals who found themselves within the boundary of political set up are by no means equally interested in the realm of politics. Some people are indifferent to politics while some are deeply involved. Even those who are deeply involved only a few actively seek power and among power-seekers some gain more powers than others. Dahl has divided such people into i) the political stratum; ii) the power seekers and iii) the powerful. The paradigm has been graphically presented as follows:

![Graphical presentation]

Dahl sees several fundamental reasons for peoples differential involvement in the politics. They are:

1) People are less likely to get involved in politics if they place a low valuation on the rewards to be gained from political involvement vis-a-vis the rewards expecting from other kinds of activities e.g. family, friendship, affection. Income, recreation, playing etc.

2) People are less likely to be get involved in the politics if they think that there is no significant difference in the alternative before them and consequently what they do won't matter;

3) an individual is less likely to be involved in the politics if he thinks that he does not matter because he cannot significantly change the outcome.

4) people are less likely to be involved in politics if they believe that the outcome will be relatively satisfactory to them even without their involvement;

5) persons are less likely to get involved in politics if they feel that their knowledge is too limited for them to be effective if they become involved;

6) Finally, the greater the obstacles placed in ones way, the less likely one is to be get involved in politics. All these factors can also work in reverse direction.

The psychological correlates of political participation are no less important than other factors. In general psychological variables may be thought of as those stemming from individual personality traits and from cognitive structures. Participation survives by virtue of its capacity to give rewards. "Political observers throughout the ages have variously attributed man's political activity to his need for power, competition and achievement, affiliation, aggression, money, prestige, status, 19. Dahl Robert. A., op. cit.
recognition, approval, manipulation, sympathy, in short, virtually to every need that impels human behavior."\(^{20}\)

Unfortunately there are very little data available about the influence of these motives. Even there is no clear-cut evidence which can prove that there are some desires which can only be fulfilled by way of participation which compels people to be participant in the costly form of participation (e.g. managing a campaign etc.)

There are some personality traits which are influenced by social environment. These traits, such as dominance, social responsibility and self-confidence are positively associated with political participation. It is true that these are the signs of ego-strength and individuals lacking in them are more likely to avoid active involvement in politics.

Participants are also distinguished from non-participant by cognitive variables such as belief in one's own sense of adequacy and in amenability of social order to change. How far one feels about his own competence gives colour for making judgement about political effectiveness which in turns strengthens one's motivation to participate.

Another important factor which motivate people to participate is the sense of political efficiency i.e.,

faith in the efficiency of political system in general and
the ballot box in particular. It has been often observed
that non-participants generally subscribe to the view that
neither the government nor the political parties are
interested in the welfare of the common man. A citizen
having greater touch with election information and using
various media of communication have shown greater interest
in political life. These findings support the thesis
developed by Campbell who concludes that the weaker is one's
"sense of political efficacy", the less likely one is to
become involved.21

Party System

Party system of a country also play vital role in the
process of political participation. In general it is
understood that, where there is a clear-cut choice, there
will be more participation because of the feeling of
decisive role of the participants. This choice becomes more
clear when the parties are more divergent ideologically or
in policy matters. In Norway, for example, participation in
the political process is found higher than in America
because of this divergent nature of Norwegian political
parties vis-a-vis its U.S. counterparts. The assumption
that greater party-affiliation helps increase in the
participation is untenable empirically. Survey made in this

regard reveals that in France and other European countries party-affiliation are less common than in the U.S. but the turnout is higher in the former as compared to the latter.22

Political participation also varies from issue to issue. On the issue which are more closeness to the need of common men and present the common desire can elicit more support. Issues of anti-Emergency, Garibi Hatao anti-Rajiv feeling in the issue of Bofors case etc. could generate waves during poll days thereby increasing the participation. McClosky also points out that any issue can be a powerful stimulus to participation.

Political Apathy

As already pointed out all people do not participate in the politics. Reasons may vary from legal obstacles to disinterestedness. These non-participants are generally known as apathetics. Various terms have been used to express this syndrome e.g. cynicism, alienation anomie etc. But these are not same as apathy. Some scholars consider apathy as a form of participation. McClosky defines apathy as a "state of withdrawal from or indifference to such activities." (i.e. participating in the political process)23 Rosenberg has suggested three reasons for political apathy, viz (1) treating political activity as a threat to various

23. Ibid., p. 252.
aspects such as, social, occupational, family etc. (2) considering political activity as futile and (3) on account of certain political stimuli.

Cynicism is different from apathy. It is a feeling in which individual views the actions and motive of others with suspicion and doubt. He feels that politics is a dirty game and politicians are faceless men and deserve neither sympathy nor confidence. Similarly apathy is different from alienation, which means a degree of hostility to the system. Lane views alienation as the person's sense of estrangement from politics and government of his society.... the tendency to think of the government and the politics of the nation as run by others for the sake of others by an unfair set of rules. 24

In short, apathy is a lack of interest, cynicism is an attitude of distaste and disenchantment, while alienation and anomie both involve a feeling of estrangement or divorce from society; but where alienation is characterised by hostility, anomie is characterised by bewilderment. 25

In fine, it can be concluded that political participation ranges from decision-making process and involvement of people in it to pose a challenge to the existing system.

either through agitation, coup or some other type of violent activity. And the process of political participation is influenced by social, economic, political, cultural, environmental and psychological factors.
"Every political system is embedded in a particular pattern of orientation to political actions", says Almond. Sidney Verba has classified these "Politically relevant orientations" as being of three types: cognitive, evaluative and expressive. Every society evolves a set of belief and behavior towards political objects which are learned and shared. Individuals as part of Social Structures acquire certain attitudes and patterns of behavior about the actual nature of political life and the functioning of the system as well as notions about the goals and values they prefer for the political system. In the present chapter an attempt has been made to analyse the data on the aforesaid problem in relation to groups taken for research and then work out some theoretical framework to examine the emerging pattern of Indian political culture and sub-cultures which inevitably plays a vital role in the participatory activities of the citizenry.

The focus will be on empirical evidence about the beliefs and perceptions of minorities and backward classes (SC & ST) of Orissa and on their role in the system at micro level.

In order to understand the problem, it is necessary to take note of this context of the subjective political orientations in which these actions take place. In the process a reference is inevitably to be made to 'political sub-cultures' which alone are relevant for the people as they react in the political system through sub-cultures. The main concern under the circumstances would be to explain the extent of acceptance of "democratic" orientations among these segments of the population in the state. Are they cognitive and normative supportive of democratic system and their interaction in that system?

In a state-wide Survey, respondents were asked a variety of questions to determine the nature of their attitudes towards the political system. These questions are of different types falling generally into the three classifications used by Verba. 3

1) Cognitive questions: Individual's knowledge of the political system, especially accurate information about elected representatives, caste voting, knowledge about caste associations etc., problems the community is facing are included in this category. Furthermore, there were questions about what problems confront the country and the state, what the key election issues were, who the leaders in the Community were, including a probing of respondents

awareness of and contact with influential leaders at the local level.

2. Evalutive-normative questions: Respondents were asked their view about party system, election system (how necessary and how effective in making the government responsive), role of caste associations and the caste leaders, were officials doing a good job and did the respondent have a feeling of subjective competence or efficacy in acting in the system.

3. Expressive-affective questions: Under this category included are questions such as extent of respondents interest in politics of the local, state and national level. Whether he cared about the outcome of the elections; to what extent there was a feeling of closeness or loyalty to a party and whether there was faith and confidence in the national and state government.

These types of questions can help us to a beginning knowledge of political orientations of people under study. Although they can not claim to lead us to any profound knowledge about their trust or distrust of authority or how he perceive his historic, cultural identity (e.g. nativist, modernist, Gandhian etc), but they can suggest, as Eldersveld and Ahmad put it, "perceptivity of certain
salient political orientations alleged to be important for public participation in a democratic polity"\(^4\)

Peter Mayer \(^5\) in an empirical study of two cities in Tamil Nadu and Madhya Pradesh, tested certain propositions about support for democracy at the mass level and found no evidence of anti-democratic orientations and thereby contravened the views of Weiner and Morris-Jones. He also called for more empirical research on rural India because Indian politics has come to the stage where propositions about attitudes and beliefs must be tested empirically rather than inductively.

Cognitive Orientations

A look at the cognitive orientation of minorities and backward classes of Orissa gives an impressive result covering different aspects of individuals images of polity. The conclusions are derived from the pilot survey of these segment of population using two different observational time points (i.e. 1989 & 1991-92) which was conducted in both pre-election as well as post-election milieu in the state.

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## Table 3.1 Cognitive Orientation

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<td>% of total</td>
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<td>sample</td>
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<td>candidates,</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Correctly identify</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>78 61 68 61</td>
<td>68.25</td>
<td>79 62 70 62</td>
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<tr>
<td>the winner from his</td>
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<td>own constituency</td>
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<td>Could identify the</td>
<td>64.75</td>
<td>75 56 70 58</td>
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<td>75 55 77 59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>party of the winner</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Could name two or</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>41 61 43</td>
<td>54.75</td>
<td>64 43 67 40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>more candidates</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>from his constituency</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>with party</td>
<td>51.75</td>
<td>64 61 43</td>
<td>67.75</td>
<td>74 61 74 62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Could name the</td>
<td>68.05</td>
<td>76 60 71 66</td>
<td>67.75</td>
<td>74 61 74 62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>candidate he voted</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knowledge of parties,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Could name a political</td>
<td>71.00</td>
<td>80 63 72 65</td>
<td>71.74</td>
<td>84 68 79 67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>party</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Could name three or</td>
<td>47.25</td>
<td>51 40 56 42</td>
<td>48.00</td>
<td>51 38 58 41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>more parties</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Could identify the</td>
<td>54.00</td>
<td>62 44 64 46</td>
<td>52.00</td>
<td>61 40 67 44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>party of the F.M</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Could identify the</td>
<td>52.25</td>
<td>63 41 62 43</td>
<td>55.75</td>
<td>67 45 65 46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>party of the C.M</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Could name the party</td>
<td>67.00</td>
<td>75 58 74 61</td>
<td>66.00</td>
<td>70 57 75 62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they have voted in the</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>last election</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Perception of caste/community

| Know how his own caste/community voted in the last election | 62.00 | 68 55 69 50 | 64.50 | 70 60 70 58 |
| Know how other caste/communities voted | 48.25 | 51 43 54 45 | 50.25 | 57 44 53 47 |
| Could perceive a link between his own caste/community and a specific party | 63.25 | 70 57 68 58 | 60.50 | 73 56 68 50 |
| Knew about the existence of various voluntary organisations of their own caste or community | 55.25 | 66 49 56 50 | 56.75 | 69 51 57 50 |
| Correct or sound knowledge about the functions & role of these organisation in politics | 41.25 | 46 38 42 39 | 45.25 | 52 40 48 41 |
### Table 3.2
**Cognitive Orientations**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue and Problem Awareness</th>
<th>1989 % of total sample</th>
<th>BC</th>
<th>ST</th>
<th>Mus</th>
<th>Christ</th>
<th>1991-92 % of total sample</th>
<th>BC</th>
<th>ST</th>
<th>Mus</th>
<th>Christ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Could mention at least one problem facing the country</td>
<td>63.25</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>65.75</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Could mention at least two or more problems facing the country</td>
<td>44.00</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>46.50</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Could identify correctly main issue positions of the political parties in the last election</td>
<td>36.00</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>38.25</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hold an opinion on the reservation issue &amp; price rise issue</td>
<td>42.75</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>44.25</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Could mention local problems at village or town level</td>
<td>44.00</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>44.40</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Could mention the main problem facing the community/caste</td>
<td>53.00</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>55.25</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Had an opinion about the main problems facing the community/caste</td>
<td>51.50</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>54.00</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Knowledge of Symbols and Heritage</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Could identify the national Flag 77.25</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>80.00</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>79</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Could mention correctly the colour and patter of the national flag. 22.25</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>23.50</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Could identify the national anthem</td>
<td>56.25</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>57.50</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Could recite it correctly</td>
<td>17.25</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>16.50</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Could name at least one great leader of the freedom movement</td>
<td>63.50</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>69.50</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Could name two or more national leaders of the freedom movement</td>
<td>49.25</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>54.00</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knew the father of the nation</td>
<td>57.50</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>57.50</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knew about the first P.M</td>
<td>54.50</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>47.75</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knew about the Nehru family</td>
<td>56.75</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>57.75</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some knowledge about the constitution of India</td>
<td>31.50</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>32.00</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A cursory glance at the tables No. 3.1 & 3.2 gives the impression that the minorities and backward classes of Orissa seem to be amazingly "knowledgeable" citizenry when it come to politics. More than 2/3 to 3/4 could correctly identify the party and the candidate which won elections in their respective constituencies (Table 3.1). About 60% of Muslim and Scheduled castes could correctly name two or more candidates of their constituencies. As far as knowledge about the political parties is concerned more than 60% in each category could name a political party of national level and an average of 70% could answer the question correctly. An interesting point is that an average of 47% respondents could name three or more political parties and also most of them except Tribals of hilly region who are also mostly Christians could identify the parties of the Prime Minister and the Chief Ministers of the state. The Muslims and Scheduled Castes who belongs mostly to the coastal districts are more well-informed than the Tribals of hilly western districts who also forms majority in the sample of Christian population.

Perception of Caste, Tribes and community vis-a-vis politics is also encouraging (Table 3.1). Nearly 50% of the total respondents have the knowledge about the voting pattern of their respective community and castes almost 48% knew about the voting behavior of the others castes or communities. Nearly 70% Scheduled caste, 56% Scheduled
Tribes and 68% of Muslims and 58% of Christians could link their castes or communities to a specific political party. Although majority of each category knows about the existence of a voluntary organizations dedicated to their cause but a fewer of them possess a sound knowledge about their functioning and role in the politics.

Awareness of issues and problems facing the country, Caste and Community also score fairly in the data (Table 3.2). 65% of the total sample could mention at least one main problem facing the country, and a little more than 40% have a knowledge of more than two problem of national importance. Nearly half the respondent hold a view about the problems facing the country or the community. However knowledge about issue-positions of main political parties and problems of local nature is less than 50%, but considering the backwardness of the whole society the score is not that bad.

As regards knowledge of symbols and heritage the respondents from each category are sufficiently aware (Table 3.2) and 70 to 80% could correctly identify the Indian National flag and pin-point it from among a host of national flags of different nations while a small percentage (20-25) could correctly describe the colour-pattern of National Flag. Similarly, 48 to 68% identifies national anthem as

6. Most of the respondent identify steep price-rise and unemployment as main problem facing the country.
hearing it while any 18 to 23% could correctly recite it. It seems that respondents possess a good knowledge about great national leader of Indian freedom movement. 33.5% could not name even a single one of the lot and rarely 50% mention the name of two or more than that. A fair percentage (60%) could name the Father of the Nation and similarly most of them knew about the Nehru family. However, most of them (66%) lacks a simple knowledge about the Indian Constitution.

Thus a glance at the Cognitive orientation of the minorities and backward classes of Orissa reveals that they are a fairly knowledgeable people. Another thing is that, baring same deviations, the awareness of political issues shows comparably upward trend from the first survey (1989) to the second one (1991-92). This is more perceptible among the Scheduled Castes and Muslims and equally less among the tribals who are mostly Christians. The picture that emerges is that the people of coastal plains are more articulate than the hilly regions dominated by the tribals.

Affective Orientations

Another type of orientation is "affective" orientation to politics which deals with the extent of attention to political matters. One’s feeling of attachment or detachment to the political processes and the system is also included in it. Our data (in table 3.3) shows that a
Table 3.3 Affective Orientations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interest in politics</th>
<th>1989 % of total sample</th>
<th>SC</th>
<th>ST</th>
<th>Mus</th>
<th>Chris</th>
<th>1991-92 % of total sample</th>
<th>SC</th>
<th>ST</th>
<th>Mus</th>
<th>Chris</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Great deal of Interest</td>
<td>10.75</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>11.00</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some Interest</td>
<td>28.25</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>30.25</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voting in National Election</td>
<td>50.75</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>52.00</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apathetics (Disinterested or No interest)</td>
<td>45.00</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>42.75</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cynics (View politics as immoral and dirty game)</td>
<td>09.50</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>09</td>
<td>09.25</td>
<td>09</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alienated (a feeling of hostility due to estrangement)</td>
<td>06.00</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>09</td>
<td>06.75</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
considerable percentage (40% & 41%) of respondents have shown interest in politics. It is reasonably higher level keeping in view the general backwardness of the state. Furthermore, the respondents are from the most backward segment of the population in the state. However, when it comes to taking "great deal of interest" in politics the number slides down to 11% and people having some interest" in politics are nearly 30% of the respondents. A categorywise analysis reveals that Scheduled castes are more active participants (55 to 59%) followed by Muslims (45 to 49%) while Christian and Tribals do not go beyond 31% and 30%.

Interestingly the percentage of apolitical respondents is much higher in this segment of population. They constitute 45% and 42.75% of the total sample in 1989 and 1991-92 surveys respectively (Table 3.3). This phenomenon may be attributed is the large-scale backwardness of these people in almost every front of Social life. Another contributing factor is the lack of material development and nation-building efforts undertaken by the government. Nearly 40 years after the independence socio-economic status of these people remain by and large unchanged. More neglected and backward are more apolitical also. Table 3.3

7. Apathy has been determined by questions like "How much interest do you take in politics?" Answer choice are (a) Great Interest (b) Some Interest (c) No Interest at all/disinterested. Respondents answering the third choice are categorical as Apolitical.
shows that Scheduled Tribes are mostly apathetics (53%), which may be explained in terms of their socio-economic backwardness. The SC's are a bit well off is the reason for having less percentage of apathetics in them.

Cynics who view the game of politics immoral and dirty one - constitute 9% of the respondents. However, apathetics and cynics which together constitute nearly 54% of the total sample do not pose any threat to the system (Table 3.3). It only reflects the lack of effort on the part of the system to socialize them politically. But a dangerous phenomenon is the small but slowly emerging feeling of alienation among this portion of population. They have a feeling of estrangement and feel that the entire machinery of the system belongs to others and work for the sake of others. They nurture a degree of hostility towards the system. In 1989 study the percentage of alienated souls was 6% while it registered a 0.75% increase in the study conducted barely two years latter. This feeling is found most in the tribal areas especially where Jharkhand movement is in progress.

Involvement Despite Apathy & Alienation

One noteworthy observation is that a good number of respondents who are apathetic and cynics and alienated do

8. Cynics: The question asked to respondents to determine, his cynical attitude is "what do you feel about the game of politics?" Do you like or dis-like it?" Those who answered that they dislike it or view it immoral or dirty game are categorized as cynics.
turn out to voting. In 1989 survey 11.25% of the total sample and in 1991-92 survey a slightly less than this reveal that they vote regularly despite having negative feeling towards the system. Thus there is alienation and involvement at the same time for the same citizen in the lowest and most socially deprived sectors of the society. And some of them also do participate in the political activities beyond voting. This observation is in consonance in the Bashiruddin Ahmad and Samuel Eldersveld's findings that lower Castes and illiterates in the attitudes suggesting high criticism and rejection of the system also turn up for voting in considerable percentage and many of them are also highly active.9 We shall discuss the point in details in some latter chapter.

Evaluative Orientations

Turing to "evaluative" orientation of the minorities and backward classes of Orissa one notices some what fair support of democratic institutions among these group. Considering the backwardness of the people under study, a 41% and 35% support for partly and election system is not that bad at all (Table 3.4). But this support is first dwindling away as the 1991-92 survey result shows that only 35% and 31% of the total sample support these sub-systems of

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1989</th>
<th>1991-92</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% of total sample</td>
<td>% categori wise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>SC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How much do political</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parties mark the</td>
<td>A good deal</td>
<td>15.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>government responsive</td>
<td>Some what</td>
<td>26.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to peoples demands</td>
<td>Not much/Not at all</td>
<td>38.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td>20.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How much does elections,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>held so often makes the</td>
<td>A Good deal</td>
<td>14.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>government responsive</td>
<td>Some what</td>
<td>20.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to peoples need?</td>
<td>Not much/Not at all</td>
<td>48.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td>16.50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
the political system. These fluctuations in the public support for parties and elections are in consonance with the trends found elsewhere, in the West as well as in India. Ahmad and Elderveld also report the same trend—a decline of 24% and 22% in support of parties and elections from 1967 to 1971. Similarly, in a US study, in Nov. 1972, while 55% felt elections make the government "pay attention a good deal," only 33% felt that way in Nov. 1973.10

Another observable phenomenon is that a considerably high percentage (ranging from 40 to 50%) feel that parties and elections are unnecessary and serve little to make the government responsive to people's demands (see Table 3.4). This feeling is there and having an upward trend because of some long-standing demands of people which still remain unfulfilled after so many election promises by the parties. Hence, there is no wonder about election commission's reports about the total boycott or partial boycott of polls at several places (13 cases) in the state.11

As far as extent of satisfaction with the regime concerned (table 3.5) 39 to 41% have faith or are satisfied with the performance of the national government. More people support or express their satisfaction with the state.

government as compared to the national government, although the margin is very thin. This may be due to the charismatic personality of the state Chief Minister who is widely respected throughout the State. Still then we can see that a majority of them (nearly 58%) expressed their dissatisfaction in the performance of state government and nearly 60% are dissatisfied with the performance of the National government. However, the case of local administrative set up is the worst only 29.75% support or express satisfaction with the local administration while a massive 70% are dissatisfied with it (Table 3.5). This is due to the rampant corruption and nepotism in these local institutional set-ups with which ordinary citizen interact more frequently and directly as compared to the day today affairs at the state or National level.

Another observable phenomenon is that, categorically more the backwardness of a class or category deeper is its dissatisfaction with the govt and the vice versa. It has been constantly observed that the Scheduled castes are the most politically aware and active class amongst the four categories we have taken for our study, and it is this category which has successfully elicited various concession from the govt to its advantage. And the tribals are at the other extreme of the scale. Our data (table 3.5) shows that SC's score highest in satisfaction in the govt's performance while ST's are the most dissatisfied of the lot (62%).
Another aspect of evaluative orientations is the evaluation of governmental policies and a desire to have a say in the decision of the government. Most acutely felt phenomenon by which respondent were affected was steep price-rise. Most of the respondents (60%) felt that government should do something to control price-rise while only 25% have the view that it is beyond governments capability (Table 3.5), 15% of the total sample are undecided and confused. One striking thing is the faith of a rising number of people in the success of direct political action. In 1989 survey 35% are of the view that such actions (e.g. demonstrations, strikes, gheraos etc) succeed in influencing the decision makers and the number shuts up to 41% in the 1991-92 survey (Table 3.5). This explains the spurt in the number of such direct actions resorted to by many a political and quasi-political organizations to articulate their demands. This suggests that people are increasingly getting restless for the early redressal of their demands. They have become active politically and outspoken "political passivision" is on the verge of decline.

Political Efficacy

In the field of political efficacy, i.e. one's role-perception in the political system, minorities and backward classes of Orissa reveal an air of optimism. Over-all score shows that rarely 40% (Table-3.6) are efficacious which is
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Extent of satisfaction with the</th>
<th>1989</th>
<th>1991-92</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>performance of the Govt.</strong></td>
<td>% of total sample</td>
<td>% categori wise SC ST Mus Christ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satisfied with the National Govt's performance</td>
<td>39.50</td>
<td>44 38 36 40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satisfied with the State Govt's performance</td>
<td>40.50</td>
<td>46 39 39 38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satisfied with local administration's performance</td>
<td>29.75</td>
<td>33 27 30 29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;The Govt. should do something to control the ever-rising prices of essential commodities&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yes</td>
<td>59.50</td>
<td>61 58 60 59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;It is beyond Govt's capability&quot;</td>
<td>25.25</td>
<td>29 23 25 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Don't know what to do&quot;</td>
<td>15.25</td>
<td>10 19 15 17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Faith in direct political Action</th>
<th>1989</th>
<th>1991-92</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strikes, demonstrations, gheraos are the proper way to make those 35.00 in the authority to pay attention to the demands and grievances of the people</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1989 % of total sample</td>
<td>1989 % categori wise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. &quot;Government Officials or elected representatives do not care much what people like me think&quot;</td>
<td>58.75</td>
<td>53 62 59 61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. &quot;Politics and governmental affairs are too complicated for me to understand.&quot;</td>
<td>55.25</td>
<td>49 60 54 58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. &quot;Person like me do not have a say about what the govt does.&quot;</td>
<td>54.00</td>
<td>48 57 55 56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. &quot;Any move initiated by people like me or we ordinary defects in the govt. have very little chance of success.&quot;</td>
<td>65.50</td>
<td>62 68 65 67</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
at par with the all-India level. Ahmad and Elders\textsuperscript{\textcopyright}ld (1971) report 40% efficacy and Douglas Masden, who has done an authoritative study of political efficacy in India also reports a 39% efficacy level\textsuperscript{12}. But at a negative perspective, the 60% reply that "officials or elected representative don't care much about what people like me think" is certainly not encouraging. Nearly 55% feel that politics is too complicated a thing for them to bother. However, this feeling is going down-word as the data in table 3.6 shows. There is nearly 2% decrease in 1991-92 as compared to 1989 survey in the numbers of respondents having this feeling of political incompetency. The efficacy level is lowest when it comes to initiation of a move to influence the authority for the redressal of their grievances or to change a faulty policy-decision of the government. In table 3.6, 65% of the total sample in 1989 have the feeling that govt officials will not hear to their pleas for a change in policy-decision adverse to the interest of people. The number went up to 67.5% of the total sample who felt that "any move initiated by me to rectify govt. policy has a little chance of success." The resultant increase in the percentage on this point reflects that more and more people are loosing faith in responsiveness of the government. A sense of deep disappointment and helplessness gal re when this researcher talked to poor and ordinary people during

the course of interview. This is more evident in the western districts where tribal population is in majority.

Summary and Conclusions.

We can conclude the chapter with a few observations of general nature. There is firstly, a strong evidence from our data that minorities and backward classes are well aware of politics as far as cognitive orientations are concerned. On the subject of elementary nature of the political system (any aspect whatsoever), they are as aware as the other average citizens of general caste in Orissa. This awareness is highest among Scheduled Castes and Muslims while it is lowest in the tribals. However, when we come to some details and specific informations, the level of cognition is very low—nearly 17% in case of recitation of national anthem (Table 3.2). But considering the general backwardness of the people of the state, these results are not surprising.

On the affective front these people are second to none. Nearly 51% do turn up to vote in the national elections. More than 40% take interest in the politics. This is a good omen and shows that they are attached to the system. One interesting observation is that despite large-scale feeling of apathy and alienation (which is close to 60% in 1989 and a slight less in 1991-92 survey) people at least participate in the voting. It may be due to habitual participation.
Many a cynics and apathetics confessed that they vote regularly. However, considering the high percentage apathetics and cynics, the government must step up nation-building efforts to socialize them politically. The sample shows a relatively satisfactory degree of political efficacy score (40%). The feeling of subjective competence is 30% in certain cases, which can be developed with the socio-economic development of the populace. Nearly 40% people support partly and election process and 40 to 45% are satisfied with the performance of the governments at national and state level. A sense of deep distrust prevail over the performance of local administrative set up. More and more people are getting board at frequent and unproductive elections which result in the increase in the percentage of people who view politics and political parties with a sense of dis-interestedness and cynicism.
CHAPTER - IV
ROLE OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN MOBILISING VARIOUS GROUPS

Tremendous Socio-political changes have occurred in India since 1947. These changes are not peripheral to Society or restricted to voting behavior or party preferences, but of vital transformation in public orientations, towards politics. As the facts and discussions in the earlier chapter testify these changes have permeated in full measure like other Indian states among the minorities and backward classes of Orissa. Exposure to new political institutions, direct contact with political parties, involvement into elections and campaigning have by and large been responsible for new political perceptions which, in Weiner's terminology is the "emerging mass-political culture" as distinguished form the elite culture" of India. In this chapter, the nature and magnitude of political mobilization of minorities and backward classes of Orissa along in the role played by political parties that effect has been analysed.

In a society where open and competitive politics is a relatively new phenomenon. Political parties perform a crucial function for the institutionalisation of the political system and for the process of national integration. While competing among themselves for control of power institutions they mobilize every new groups at the "periphery" of the social system into the centre of
organised politics. As primary agencies of political mobilization. They provide foci of durable political identification among the large mass of hitherto apolitical voters and make the latter's participation in the political decision-making meaningful and relevant.

This is not true only of 'national' parties but also at regional parties espousing a transitory interest or a temporary cause. It is often being observed that 'national' parties, due to their ideological or structural constraint, do not relate themselves to a variety of local and regional issues of highly particularistic nature (especially variety of ethnic and religious interests) that normally arise in a culturally plural and socially diversified society such as India. In such a situation political parties having regional support-base and projecting specific ethnic group interest become instruments of political mobilization of left-out peripheral groups in the society. These mushrooming of numerous regional political parties in India, after independence, were not only to be expected but indeed necessary. Functional aspects of this development are

i) The headway of democratization in this highly diverse society.

ii) Easy translation of local issues into political terms.
iii) Easy weaving of diverse parochial sentiments into the mainstream of national politics, and finally

iv) Bringing up of numerous primordial groups into the framework of a common political discourse.

Thus D. L. Sheth rightly points out, "as the democratic process stretches out to the periphery, such a process of pluralist mobilization is likely to increase in the first instance, and rationalized into larger and less numerous entities later on".¹

In what follows, it is intended here to examine whether political parties perform in reality the function of political mobilization. Political parties have been conceived as operative structural units of the political system which perform the function of drawing in ever more strata of the population from the periphery of the Society towards the centre of organized politics. Political parties, regardless of their organizational and ideological boundaries tend to increase and diversity their support base, both by providing recurring channels to previously mobilized voters and by attracting new groups of citizens into the central political arena from one election to another. In the process the citizens come to develop

political identifications and interest perceptions—and gradually even take positions on larger issues—all of which inform their preferences in elections as well as their general behavior in politics.

These functions of political parties are crucial for the survival and stability of political system. System persistence depends on whether a large proportion of voter population is within the political system or outside it; whether an evergrowing number of people feel a "stake in the system" or are 'alienated from the system'. A 'consensus' on the legitimacy of the representative system and the rules of the game can be established only when a large segment of population has developed a secular collective identification with political parties which cut across primordial group identification. Whether the acute problems of economic development, gross disparities in income, regional imbalances, and group deprivation will work themselves out within the framework of democratic institutions or undermine the institutional arrangements of democracy which ultimately depends on how permeable and adaptive party structures are in absorbing vast peripheries of the population into their support structures and communicating their interest to the decision-making centres of the Society.
Campaign Exposure & Political Involvement:

To begin with, the relevance of partly exposure, both for interest in politics and attitudes revealing political systems support has been observed by dividing our sample to the extent of each respondents exposure to the parties in the campaigns of 1989 and 1991-92 respectively. Campaign exposure of the respondents has been determined by a device known as "Campaign Exposure Index", which is simply a summation of dichotomized responses to the following.

i) Followed politics in the media of mass Communication.

ii) Attended election meetings, rallies etc.

iii) Met Candidates and

iv) Contacted by party canvassers.

This resulted in scoring range from all four (Index - 4) to non-positive (Index - 0).

A glance at table 4.1 showing Campaign Exposure index of respondents reveals that nearly one-fifth (20.75%) of our sample is completely out of contact; one-third (32.5%) minimally exposed and 19.75% considerably exposed while the remaining 27% constitute the high exposure group in 1989 (Table. 4.1). In 1991-92 survey 17% are not exposed at all 31.5% minimally exposed more than one-fifth(21.5%) considerably exposed and 30% are highly exposed. The latter
Table 4.1 Campaign Exposure (Categorically)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1989 Campaign Exposure Index (%)</th>
<th></th>
<th>1991-92 Campaign Exposure Index</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SC</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ST</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mus</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christ</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>20.75</td>
<td>32.5</td>
<td>19.75</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Campaign Exposure Index is simply a summation of dichotomized responses to the following (i) Followed politics in mass-media (ii) attended election meeting (iii) met candidates and (iv) was contacted by party convassers. This resulted in a scoring range of the continuum of all four (i.e. Campaign Exposure Index of 4) to non-positive (i.e. Campaign Exposure Index of 0).
category shows a 3% increase within a short span of two years.

A close look at the table 4.1 shows that more and more people are responding to the campaign efforts of political parties. It also reveals that political parties are becoming more sophisticated in their campaign techniques and have succeeded in penetrating into peripheral groups of the society which constitute our sample.

A categoriwise analysis of the campaign exposure in table 4.1 clearly shows that Scheduled castes are the most exposed followed by Muslims, Christians and Scheduled Tribes respectively. Scheduled Castes and Muslims take more interest in the campaign during elections and are consequently more active in politics that the other two categories. Among the Scheduled Castes nearly 30% are highly exposed and 14% are not exposed at all while 28% Muslims are highly exposed and 16% not at all. Christians are close behind their Muslims brethren having 27% highly exposed and 23% not at all. Among the Scheduled Tribes only 23% are highly exposed while nearly one-third (30%) are not exposed at all. However, from each category nearly one-third are minimally exposed i.e. exposed to any one campaign activity of the political parties.
When we link this exposure to the campaign and party with that of political involvement a clear-cut pattern showing a specific correlation between the two emerges (table 4.2). Three factors viz i) interest in politics (some & great interest) ii) voting in elections and iii) active beyond voting has been chosen to highlight the over-all political involvement of respondents. Those having exposure index - '0' (N = 83) - constituting a little over one-fifth (20.75%) of total sample in 1989 - only 14% generally take interest in politics, 24% voted in the last election and 10% are active beyond voting. The percentage is impressive. It indicates that even among those who are not touched upon by the campaigning of parties a fairly good percentage are involved in the political process of the system. And we can notice a rise (although a marginal one) in this when we compare the data of 1989 with that of 1991-92 in table 4.2.

Coming to minimally exposed (i.e those having Campaign Exposure Index-1) category which is little less than one-third of the total sample we can see that a fairly good number (27%) of people are interested in politics while still more (42%) voted in the election but the percentage slumps down to 18% when it comes to active beyond voting. Thus, they are mostly dormant participants or active intermittently. This group or category is the bulk of all other exposed groups. In the considerably exposed category (19.75% of total sample) 45% are interested in the politics,
### Table 4.2 Campaign Exposure & Political Involvement.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Campaign Exposure Score (in %)</th>
<th>Campaign Exposure Score (in %)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1989</td>
<td>1991-92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0 (N=83)</td>
<td>0 (N=83)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 (N=130)</td>
<td>1 (N=130)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 (N=79)</td>
<td>2 (N=79)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 (N=61)</td>
<td>3 (N=61)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 (N=47)</td>
<td>4 (N=47)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Interested in politics</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>27</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>45</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>58</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>79</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Voted in the elections</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>42</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>54</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>68</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>87</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Active beyond Voting</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>18</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>29</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>47</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>58</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Diagram:**

- **Campaign Exposure & Political Involvement 1989**
- **Campaign Exposure & Political Involvement 1991-92**

- **Legend:**
  - ◼️: 0
  - ◼️: 1
  - ◼️: 2
  - ◼️: 3
  - ◼️: 4

- **A:** Interested in Politics.
- **B:** Voted in the Elections.
- **C:** Active beyond Voting.

- **Note:** Each bar represents a percentage score for each category as described in the table.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Camp. Exp. Index</th>
<th>% Interested in Politics</th>
<th>% Voted in Election</th>
<th>% Active beyond Voting</th>
<th>% Interested in Politics</th>
<th>% Voted in Election</th>
<th>% Active beyond Voting</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SC ST MU CH</td>
<td>SC ST MU CH</td>
<td>SC ST MU CH</td>
<td>SC ST MU CH</td>
<td>SC ST MU CH</td>
<td>SC ST MU CH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>3 3 4 3</td>
<td>5 5 5 6</td>
<td>3 1 3 2</td>
<td>4 2 2 2</td>
<td>6 4 5 4</td>
<td>3 1 3 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>12 6 10 7</td>
<td>15 13 14 14</td>
<td>8 3 7 5</td>
<td>13 6 11 6</td>
<td>15 12 14 13</td>
<td>8 3 7 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>13 6 11 8</td>
<td>12 10 11 10</td>
<td>8 3 7 5</td>
<td>14 6 12 7</td>
<td>13 10 13 12</td>
<td>9 4 8 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>13 7 10 5</td>
<td>13 9 12 10</td>
<td>10 4 8 6</td>
<td>12 7 11 7</td>
<td>14 10 13 8</td>
<td>11 15 9 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>14 5 10 8</td>
<td>13 8 12 9</td>
<td>9 4 8 5</td>
<td>15 8 13 8</td>
<td>15 9 14 10</td>
<td>11 6 10 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'N' =</td>
<td>55 27 45 30</td>
<td>58 45 54 46</td>
<td>38 15 32 23</td>
<td>58 29 49 30</td>
<td>63 45 59 47</td>
<td>42 19 37 24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
54% turned up for voting and 29% are active beyond voting in 1989. The percentage increased to 46% in interested in politics but slumps down a 2% decrease in voting turn out and stagnant in activeness beyond voting in the year 1991-92 (Table. 4.2). It can be observed that a little less than half of this category are active participant.

In the high exposure category we include those having exposure index of 3 and 4 constituting 27% in 1989 and 30% in 1991-92 of the total sample. We can safely conclude, after a glance at table. 4.2, that higher exposure leads to higher percentage of active participation in politics. In 1989, among the high exposure groups 66% are interested in politics, 76% voted in the election and 51% were active beyond voting, while the figure increase to 68% interested in politics 78% voted in the election and 52.5% active beyond voting in the year 1991-92.

As far as a correlation between campaign exposure and political participation is concerned a distinct pattern emerges out of above discussion i.e. exposure to partly and campaign is concomitant with the frequency of participation in political activity. Both march hand-in-hand and high exposure leading to frequent participatory activities and vice versa. Thus 4.1 shows that 0 exposure group take fewer interest in politics (14%) than that of 1 exposure group
(24%) and the percentage goes on increasing until we see that those having 4 exposure Index take interest in politics the most (i.e. 79%) in the 1989 sample survey. Similar is the case of other indices taken for showing political involvement in the table 4.1.

Table 4.2A shows the categoriwise data of relation between Campaign exposure and political involvement. Again, the Scheduled caste are more active participants than other categories. The 35% of exposed SCs were achieve beyond voting, 53% voted in the election and 52% showed interest in political matters while among the exposed category of Scheduled Tribes only 14% are active beyond voting 40% turned up to vote and 24% showed interest in political matters in 1989 survey. Muslims fare better than STs and Christians. Christians, among the minorities also constitute the bulk of Scheduled Tribes population of the Orissa state which explains their backwardness in the participatory activities also. However, political parties, as our data indicates has achieved astonishing success in penetrating to the overwhelmingly traditional outfits of the Indian Society. This contributed greatly to the nation-building (i.e. integration) effort of the nascent Indian state thereby bringing these peripheral groups of the society to the national mainstream.
Selected Orientations of Different Mobilized Sub-groups:-

Orientations of people towards the political system is very crucial for system's persistence, its maintenance and development. Here we deal with some categories of mobilized sub-groups. By mobilized subgroups we have, for the sake of convenience, taken voting behavior as the criterion. Respondents were divided into following mobilized categories.

1. Newly mobilized voters:- Under this category are included those (a) who become eligible to vote for the first time and voted for the first time in the last-held election and those (b) who were eligible to vote before but did not participate in previous elections, voted for the first time in the last-held election.

2. Regular Voters:- Regular Voters are considered to be those who uninterruptedly voted in the last three consecutive elections or more than that.

3. Irregular voters those who participated in the earlier elections but were dropouts in the last one or two elections.

4. Perennial Non-voters are those eligible persons who never turned up for voting.

Orientations to politics has been observed through three indices viz (a) general interest in the political matters;
Table 4.3. Selected Orientations towards Politics of Different sub-groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1989</th>
<th>1991-92</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Newly Mobilized %</td>
<td>Regular Voters %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Interested in Politics</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Believe that Parties are necessary and make the govnment response</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Believe that elections held periodically make the government responsive</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N =</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of total sample</td>
<td>20.5%</td>
<td>38.25%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1. Newly Mobilized voters includes: i) Those who become eligible to vote for the first time and voted for the first time in the last election only and (ii) Those who were eligible to vote but did not participate in elections. Voted for the first time in the last election.

*2. Regular Voters are those who uninterruptedy voted in the three or more than three elections preceding the last elections.

*3. Irregular voters are those who participated before but dropouts in the last one or two elections.
(b) attitude towards party system, which is determined through question like "Do you believe that political parties are necessary for making the government responsive to peoples needs or pay attention to their problems?" and (c) attitude towards election system determined through question like, "Do you believe that elections held periodically are necessary to make the government responsive or pay attention to the problems of people?"

As the data in table 4.3 indicates, the support to the political system comes from newly mobilized (most of them youths) voters in greater proportions than other categories. Consistent differences can be noticed between newly mobilized voters and other categories of respondents in table 4.3. In 1989 40% of these newly mobilized voters are generally interested in politics and a greater percentage (51% and 52% respectively) are supportive of party system and election systems. As opposed to these newly mobilized sub-groups, regular voters' support to the system is much less e.g., only 48% support party system and 44% support election systems although they are consistent supporters of the system which is of vital importance.

One interesting and important fact in the form of overwhelming support for the system among the newly mobilized sub-groups amply signifies that political development process is socializing the public to greater
support for the democratic competitive system. It also reveals the relevance of political parties for expansion of public support for the system. The percentage of public support is impressive considering the backwardness of the people under study. We can see the extent of support which the irregular voters have for the system. 37% are interested in politics; 30% believe in the relevance of party system in a positive way and 27% hold supportive view on periodic elections. Thus, we find a good majority of the total sample do support the political system and the role played by political parties are of great importance.

This relevance of parties in mobilizing public for systems support is dramatically evident when we determine the exposure to the parties during the campaign for each subgroup and then look at respondents orientations by exposure level. In table 4.4 we can see that highly mobilized and supportive subgroups (i.e Newly Mobilized and Regular voters) are also highly exposed to campaign effort of parties. Only 18% are not exposed at all in the newly mobilized voters which is 15% in Regular voters. In other words, 82% are exposed in the newly Mobilized category and 85% are exposed to campaign in Regular voters. However, 30% of the exposed are from low-exposure group in either

---

Table 4.4. Mobilized Sub-groups by the Degree of Campaign Exposure

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Campaign Exposure Index</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Newly Mobilized %</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regular Voters %</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irregular Voters %</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perennial non-voters %</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 82 153 114 51 97 169 103 31
categories. Nearly 50% comes under considerably exposed and highly-exposed category.

The exposure percentage in irregulars (77%) and persistent non-voters (61%) is not that dismal, but their voting turnout or other participatory activities do not conform to their campaign exposure (table 4.4). This can be explained in the way that during election periods most of the people in these categories got themselves involved and is exposed at the height of feverish campaign activities by political parties. They are mostly disinterested and unprepared for a deliberate involvement-type participation. A second fact observed during field work was that in villages many people come only to have a glimpse of the leader during an election meeting or a house-to-house canvassing or to see how it all goes. These people are never interested in political matters and rarely turn up for voting.

An important and a sort of eye-opening observation is the lowering of support for party system and election system in 1991-92 as compared to 1989 survey (table 4.3) in spite of an increase in the campaign exposure of the respondents (table 4.4). Popular increase in the dislike for the party system and election system in 1991-92 can be attributed to the tremendous increase in the factional in fightings on various national parties and the quick elections during the 1989 to 1991 (the period of the two
surveys). It appears that the people got fed up with frequent election and destabilizing role of political parties.

Turning to a categoriwise analysis of political support (or political Orientations) to the system by the degree of exposure to campaign by political parties, we find (in table. 4.5) a fare amount of support in all the four categories. However, the Scheduled Castes as in other participatory activities - are ahead of others. As high as 73% of highly exposed Scheduled Castes harbor a supportive attitude while the percentage goes on decreasing until we see (table. 4.5) that almost one-fifth (21% in 1989 and 20% in 1991-92) of those having '0' exposure index do have a supportive orientations towards party (for that matter to the system). It is actually very impressive. As usual the Scheduled Tribes are the other end of the scale having lowest support amongst all the four categories.

But one thing which defy this general perception of Scheduled Tribes back-seat-position is the fact that among the high exposure group (exposure index 3 & 4 in table 4.5) Scheduled Tribes have a better supportive role vis-a-vis their Christian counterparts in both the surveys. This can be explained in terms of leadership factor. Most of the leaders or elite of these two groups come from Tribesmen of Western Districts of the state. When we compare 1989 data
Table 4.5. Support for Political Parties and Elections by Degree of campaign Exposure

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1989 Campaign Exposure</th>
<th>1991-92 Campaign Exposure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Support party system.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(they are necessary</td>
<td>SC</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to make the government</td>
<td>ST</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>response to people needs</td>
<td>Mus</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Support Election system.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Election held periodically are necessary</td>
<td>SC</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to make the government</td>
<td>ST</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>respect to people needs)</td>
<td>Mus</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Christ</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
of 91-92, an erosion of support for parties and election system is evident in the table 4.5. also-the bulk of which comes astonishingly from those having considerably or highly exposed groups. This is attributed to the frequent elections and intense intra-party as well as inter-party fightings which has occurred in the last three years. This resulted in dampening the atmosphere of enthusiastic support to party and election system and undermining the usefulness of these participatory activities for the general well-being. Thus as atrophy of these sub-systems has occurred thereby affecting the image of the political system or the political process itself.

Exposure To Leadership

Since the focus of the study is on the backward classes, the role of leaders - party, caste or religious ones-is of great relevance as far as political participation of these people is concerned Table. 4.6 shows the data result of leadership exposure of all the four categories. Exposure to leadership have been categorised into various forms of exposure. Then we have tried to establish link of these exposed groups with three forms of participatory activities i.e interest in politics, voting turn out and activities beyond voting.
### Table 4.6. Leadership Exposure.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of Exposure to leadership</th>
<th>Total sample %</th>
<th>1989</th>
<th>SC</th>
<th>ST</th>
<th>Mus</th>
<th>Christ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Knows no leader and no contact with any leader</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>23</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Knows none personally but contact with one leader</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Knows none personally but contact with two leader</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Knows one leader but contact with him</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Knows one leader and contact with him</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Knows two or none leader and contact with one or two of them</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Knows leaders personally and received help from them</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Seeing table 4.6 we can safely conclude that these groups are considerably exposed to the leadership. Only a little more than one fifth (22%) are not exposed at all to the leaders. Thus 78% are exposed to the leadership in a varying degree of exposure which ranges from marginal exposure (i.e., knows none personally but contact with one) to high exposure (i.e., knows leader personally and received helps from them). Marginally exposed group constitute 36% of the total sample. A lot of them are those whose coming in contact with leader(s) was not an "intended" act. It was only by chance that they happened to meet the leader(s) during house-to-house poll campaigning. Thus all of these categories (i.e., category No. 2 & 3) are not purposeful "contacters".

Other categories (i.e., category 4 to 7) are really exposed to leadership and are actually come under participants category. They constitute 42% of the total sample - an impressive figure in deed, considering the general backwardness of the groups concerned. But the very high exposure groups - those to whom we can said of trying to influence decision-making process of the system - constitute a very small 16% of the total sample. However these-types are always relatively small in numbers in all societies.

The importance of such exposure for political involvement is obvious (Table 4.7). Respondents who were isolated from
Table 4.7: Leadership Exposure & Political Participation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Not exposed %</th>
<th>Marginally Exposed %</th>
<th>Highly Exposed %</th>
<th>% of total Exposed %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Interest in politics</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Voted in Elections</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Active beyond voting</td>
<td>0.75</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Leadership Exposure and Political Participation. 1989

A- Interested in Politics.
B- Voted in Elections.
C- Active Beyond Voting.
Table 4.8. Leadership Exposure and Political Participation.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of Exposure to leadership</th>
<th>Interested in Politics %</th>
<th>Voted in Elections %</th>
<th>Active beyond Voting %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SC</td>
<td>ST</td>
<td>Mus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Knows no leader and no</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>contact with any one</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Knows none personally</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>but contact with one</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leader only</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Knows none personally</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>but contact with two or</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>them</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Knows one leader but</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>contact with none</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Knows one leader and</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>contacted with him</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Knows two or more</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leaders and contacted</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>with one or two of them</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Knows leaders</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>personally received</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>help from them</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total % -&gt;</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
caste and party leadership were relatively non-participant-1% interested in politics, 2% voted in the election and 0.75% active beyond voting. Thus the segment of the sample which is not exposed to leadership (22% of the total sample) is the least participant one. This is because in a society having heavily dependent on traditions - where many think that politics is too complicated a matter for them to comprehend people often see their leaders for purposeful directions in political matters.

On the other hand, those who knew leaders personally were involved in a far more better degree in politics vis-a-vis. non-exposed category. In the exposed category 48% were interested in politics; 62% turned up for voting and 32% were active beyond voting (Table 4.7). Among the marginally exposed\(^3\) group 44% are interested in politics, 67% voted in elections and 18% were active beyond voting while highly exposed\(^4\) category the corresponding figures are 64% (interested in politics), 84% (voted in elections) and 91% (active beyond voting). Thus, there is a steep increase in participation with the increase in the leadership exposure.

Table. 4.8 reveals with monotonous regularity the Scheduled

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3. Marginally exposed groups constitute respondent form exposure-type No. 2 to 5. (i.e (i) knows none personally but contact with one leader (iii) knows none personally but contact with two of them (iv) knows one leader but contact with none and (v) knows one leader and contacted with him.

4. High exposure groups contains respondents from exposure type No. 6 and 7 (i.e 6-knows two or more leaders and contacted one or two of them and (v) knows leaders personally and received helps from him.
Castes advancement as opposed to others. They are followed by Muslims Christians and STs, respectively.

The analysis on leadership exposure does tells us that those who are active in "contacting" or knowing leaders are also active in parties and campaign. It suggest but does not demonstrate convincingly or thoracically that leadership exposure preceded political participation, and in deed the relation-ship might be very well reversed. Some leaders may prevail upon their peoples to abstain themselves from participating in political activities (e.g. many a time leader's advice resulted in total or partial boycott of elections by a caste or community or in a particular segment of the constituency). However, at least we know that a large number of "minorities and backward classes" of Orissa are in contact with political, Caste or Community leaders and with the increase in the frequency of interaction one also find increase in political activities. Furthermore, we cannot or should not discount the possibility that this exposure is a function of involvement.

What emerges from these data on the role of parties in mobilizing minorities and backward classes of Orissa are the following major observation. That parties has succeeded in

penetrating the otherwise close and rigid political culture of the groups under study. A fundamental change has occurred in the outlook towards political phenomena within these groups. Exposure to parties and campaign are laudably high and they have a profound impact on the participatory activities. Similar is the case with leadership exposure. As for as activities beyond voting is concerned the involvement is not suitably high. An interesting observation is the response of the "newly mobilized" category to the political campaign and analogous stimuli.

If political development means the acquisition of new cultural orientations - new awareness of and belief in new institutions and processes, such as parties and elections- them clearly such development has occurred within the minorities and backward classes (SC & ST only) of Orissa. Of course, the degree of development varies with different categories (SC's are more developed than others and ST's the least developed ones). Exposure of these groups to the activities of Political parties serve as an independent variable in this regard.
CHAPTER - 5

PARTY IDENTIFICATION AMONGST MINORITIES AND BACKWARD CLASSES OF ORISSA

The commitment of citizens to political parties is by all means, an inevitable linkage not only for stability but also for continuously revitalizing the democratic institutions. Political parties too strive to woo peoples' support by highlighting their own solutions or commitment in various national and/or international issues which may affect the rational health. The process of this linkage inevitably leads to identification of groups on various grounds - social, sociological, religious, economic and political. Each group tries to assert its identity for political gain and this group identifications becomes an integral part of total political system.

Political parties are those "operative structural units of the political system which performs the function of drawing in ever more strata of the population from the periphery of the society towards the centre of organized politics."1 Where as organizational apparatus, ideological

bases, leadership system or symbol, the parties must attract the attention of large segments of the population and enlist their support if party democracies are to survive. This is why all political parties, regardless of their organizational and ideological boundaries, tend to increase and diversify their support base by employing various methods.

In the process the citizen evolve an identifiable political status or identification and interest perceptions, which inform their preferences in elections as well as their general behavior in politics.

**MEANING OF PARTY IDENTIFICATION**

The commitment of citizens to political parties and their impact on the system has been the essence of the study of "party identification" in the West, where this phenomenon has become the key-note for analyzing the political behavior. They conceive of 'party identification' as the "psychological attachment to a political party, variously referred to as a feeling of belonging, affiliation and loyalty." 2 It is, by and large, the intensity and comprehension of this commitment and consistency of

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reliability that constitutes that linkage between various attitudes and behaviour which finally helps to determine the character and viability of a modern democratic polity.

The preferences of scholars differ regarding the operationalization of "party identification". For some it has an exclusively psychological meaning while others perceive it as an additional behavioral component. In the former sense the respondent's identity is determined by means of pre-set questions which explain his self-perception, his own choice of party and finally it follows to measure the intensity of his commitment to the party. This, in a sense, is the attituditional measurement of party identification.

However, psychological identification of measuring 'party identification' is incomplete unless a behavioural component also is added to it. This can help to analyse and explain the "party support", based on respondent's voting preferences. It is generally presumed that those who manifest psychological identification with a particular party tend to vote for the same party at the time of elections. However, various short-term factors and purposes operate on the
occasion which influences and even change the voters' predetermined preferences which, in turn diminish the earlier party identifications. These short-term influences—such as quality and style of campaign, the projection of party programs and leadership as well as personality and background of contesting candidates, local conflicts and issues—economic, social or otherwise, caste conflicts or similar other facts, discontentment with the governmental programs—can undermine long-term party identification of voters. This becomes particularly obvious in respect of those who cannot resist the temptation of being swayed away by immediate happenings. In normal conditions such influences may not be decisively effective and may not produce the desired results for swing of voting preferences. However, when the society is surcharged with tension—artificial or real— or when sentiment are played up beyond proportion or when some issues—national or international—have already influenced the social psyche and manipulated by vested interests the electoral fortunes take unpredictable course. The accumulated anger and disarming frustration decide the fate. This situation develops more aggressively during mid-term elections when a sort of mandate is sought on specific issues. It was well illustrated during parliamentary
elections in 1971, 1985 and 1989. The situation inevitably leads to: (i) development of new party identifications among the non-identified; (ii) strengthening of relatively weak identification and (iii) marked erosion of strong identification.

The concept of 'party identification' can be conveniently analyzed and explained within the parameters discussed above. Our index measuring 'party identification' combines both attitudinal and behavioural components and is deliberately so devised to differentiate 'strong identifiers' from weak ones and from 'non-identifiers'. The index is based on four different items.\(^3\)

1. Whether the respondent feels attached to a particular political party.

2. How strongly he feels this attachment.

3. Whether he actually voted in the last elections for the party for which he had expressed strong psychological attachment.

4. Whether in his future voting intention he reveals an inclination to vote for the same party or at least not to cast his vote against that party.

As regards method of indexing, we followed a 'funneling' device involving a series of 'steps'. In the first step, by using the question, "Do you feel close to any specific political party?", Party identifiers are separated from non-identifiers. The second step consists picking up those from among identifiers who, on the next dependent question, "Is your preference for this party very strong or not very strong?", replied that their preference was "very strong". In the third step, by using the question, "Did you vote in the last election? If yes, for which party or candidate?", those who reported voting for any party other than the one they strongly identified with were dropped from among "strong identifiers. In the fourth step, by using question, "If you could vote again, would you still vote for the same party or candidate?", those who expressed a clear intention of not voting for the party they had earlier strongly identified with and voted for in the last election were also dropped from the list of "strong identifiers'. Those who survived this four-step test were then identified as "strong party identifiers', and those who did not survive the full test as 'weak identifiers', where as those who at the very first step said they did not feel close to any political party were categorized as non-identifiers.
A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE STUDY (In India)

In India, scholars have been recognising, in the absence of clear empirical support, the probable importance for the system of strong attachment to political parties, both in helping to maintain democracy after independence in 1947, and in explaining the changes occurring in the system leading upto 1967 election - which is regarded by many as a watershed in the annals of Indian democratic polity. Thus, Rajni Kothari, while noting the "Crystallization of allegiance" even before Independence, and the downward communication of political affiliation after independence, notes with reference to 1967 that the "enormous shifting of political loyalties at the state level.... brought out a major weakness of the Congress organisation, its lack of sufficient institutionalization". He noted then that the need of congress was for "building strong party identities among lay supporters which would cut across more traditional loyalties." Similarly Gopal Krishna argues that elections have an integrative and legitimation function, and that


5. Ibid. p-137
displacement of traditional identities with new ones is part of this functional development. D.L. Sheth in an analysis links the emergence of "strong" partisanship to five different aspects of political development. In an earlier article, Eldersveld defection in 1967.

**BASIC ISSUES**

Certain viewed strictly from the Indian perspective alone, there some interesting and basic questions to pose in the study of part identification. Does identifying with a party seem to be generally meaningful to these backward segment of the Indian society under investigation or only to certain more "westernized" sector of population? Has the concept penetrated throughout the society. Since time is needed for crystallization of such loyalties,

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7. See Sheth, D.L. _Op cit._

is there evidence of temporal continuity and stability? How do party identification interact with more traditional primordial group affiliation? Do they have a cross-cutting relationship or do they substitute for tradition? What is the origin of such party identities and what is the role of family, peer groups etc. in this regard? Is Kothari's theoretical portion that it is not group conformity but rather individual initiative and deliberation which is determinative in forming of party allegiances holds true to the groups under study? Some other questions of interest raised are how are party identifications in India linked to other attitude, orientations and behaves? What are the social bases of party identifications of minorities and backward classes. Is identification congruent with other attitudes towards the political system and are those supportive or alienative attitudes? And what is the link of party identification and other forms of political participation -- consistent, supportive or vice versa? In sum, what is the evidence that party identification is linked to and relevant for meaningful involvement of citizens with the system, and functional to the competitive party system and development of an integrated policy?
Although there are ambivalence in Indian political development and in contemporary political scene in India, one would expect to find the emergence of important patterns of party loyalty and commitment there in the study of political behavior. For the less literate and less involved sectors of the population one might expect party identification to be more symbolic and ritualistic. Although social conformity may induce party identification in special ways in India, due to its special social status system, the extent of social conformity may not be too far as expected generally. India's competitive party system has a relatively brief history of existence. One would expect a shorter time period for political socialization and for familial transmission of political orientations, such as party identification.

One might then argue that stable, reliable and meaningful party identification could not develop in Indian political mellow in such a short time. But fact is that, as we saw in proceeding chapters, the very newness of competitive politics has made parties and all that associated with them very salient to Indians. In addition, parties have been "populist" and mobilization-conscious in their relations to the public education and enlisting mass support. Caste groups have become aware of importance of political
power and relevance of parties elections and votes. Individual citizen has become aware of parties as institutions which affect him and through which he can work. In brief, as Simile Eldersveld and Bashiruddin Ahead rightly point out, "one might theorize there has been a relatively fast politicization process in India." 9

Thus Indian citizen is learning fast. Politics is close to him, exiting and important. He notes the prestige of party leaders. He notes the ever larger number of candidates competing for public office; notes the seriousness and bitterness of party conflict and the resultant policy outcomes of parties. In this contest of rapid politicization one might well expect, in a society whose elite constantly compete and who exhort the public to be participant, a relatively fast crystallization of party loyalties. The pluralization of opposition to the Congress is true nationally, but at the local and regional level party continuity has been relatively high. India may go through successive periods and types of party crisis, as have Western democracies, but we would argue that the foundation for an

enduring system of party identification has already been laid and built on. It is in this theoretical perspective that data collected on party identification of minorities and backward classes of Eurasia should be interpreted.

MAGNITUDE OF PARTY IDENTIFICATION

On application of the aforesaid criteria of party identification it was found that 42 percent of the total sample in 1989 and 47 percent in 1991 were identified to a political party. Of them 17 percent and 19 percent are strong identifiers while 25 percent and 28 percent are weak identifiers in 1989 and 1991-92 respectively. However, majority in both the samples consist of nonidentifiers. (Table 5.1).

Nevertheless, considering these economic backwardness of the area under study, the percentage of identifiers is considerably high and shows an upward trend. Roughly speaking, one in every five shows strong partisan commitment and loyalty. Of the remaining four-fifths nearly one-third are attitudinal inclined towards a particular party. Of course, this inclination may or may not be backed by voting preference in the past elections and/or by voting intention
Table 5.1: Party Identification Among Minorities and Backward Class of Orissa.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Strong Identifiers (%)</th>
<th>Weak Identifiers (%)</th>
<th>Non Identifiers (%)</th>
<th>Total Identifiers (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>17(68)</td>
<td>25(100)</td>
<td>42(168)</td>
<td>58(232)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991-92</td>
<td>19(76)</td>
<td>28(112)</td>
<td>47(188)</td>
<td>53(212)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

EXTENT OF PARTY IDENTIFICATION (TOTAL SAMPLE)

SI=Strong identifiers, WI=Weak identifiers, NI=Non identifiers, TI=Total identifiers.
Table 5.2: Party Identification (Categorywise).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>% of T.S</th>
<th>% of SC</th>
<th>% of ST</th>
<th>% of MUS</th>
<th>% of CHRIST</th>
<th>% of T.S</th>
<th>% of SC</th>
<th>% of ST</th>
<th>% of MUS</th>
<th>% of CHRIST</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strong Identifiers</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weak Identifiers</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non Identifiers</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

T.S = Total Sample.

EXTENT OF PARTY IDENTIFICATION CATEGORYWISE

1989

- SI = Strong Identifiers
- WI = Weak Identifiers
- NI = Non Identifiers

1991-92

- SC
- ST
- MUS
- CHRIST

SI = Strong Identifiers, WI = Weak Identifiers, NI = Non Identifiers.
about the future elections. The trend shows that a considerable and ever-increasing chunk of the minorities and backward classes has developed partisan attitude which are difficult to undermine by short-term campaign tactics of parties and candidates. It offers an eloquent testimony to an advancing and growing political maturity of an otherwise backward segment of the Indian citizenry.

A categorywise analysis (table 5.2) indicates that SOS (with 58 percent identifiers) are ahead of others who think in terms of political parties and demonstrate some loyalty to them. Muslim with 48 percent identifiers are followed by Christians (32 percent) and SOS (30 percent) in 1989. The upward trend in almost all categories is clearly discernible from table 5.2. One in every four are strongly attached to a political party in the SC population while one-third of them are found attitudinal inclined to a political party in 1989. One-fifth of Muslims are strong-identifiers while a little over one-fourth are weak identifiers. Still the majority of Muslims (52 percent) do not have any special party loyalty and fall pray to various short-term voting tactics by the parties and candidates at the time of elections. Other two categories (SC & ST) are more prone to these traps of
"political brokers" due to a large presence of non-identifiers among them who constitute the so-called 'floating votes'.

IDENTIFICATION WITH A SPECIFIC POLITICAL PARTY.

As far as identification of respondents with a specific political party is concerned Congress (I) and Janata Dal are most successful in attracting people. In 1989 survey (Table 5.3), the Congress (I) identifiers were 20 percent of the total respondents or sample followed by Janata Dal's score of 17 percent. Other parties have insignificant identifiers as compared to two major parties. Of all identifiers in 1989 constituting 42 percent of total respondents- 88 percent identify with these two major parties (Table 5.4). Communists and B.J.P. are fighting neck-to-neck with both having 2 percent support of total identifier. Other political parties pull only 01 percent of electorate of which Jharkhand party has a major share because of inclination of Tribals and Christians in some areas.

Table 5.3: Partywise Breakup of Identifiers (Total Sample).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the Party</th>
<th>% of T.S</th>
<th>1989 Categorywise</th>
<th>1991-92 Categorywise</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SC</td>
<td>ST</td>
<td>MUS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congress(I)</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Janata Dal</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.J.P.</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communists</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jharkhand</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>02</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

T.S - Total Sample.

PARTYWISE BREAKUP OF IDENTIFICATION (TOTAL SAMPLE)

1989 vs 1991-92:
- SC: Dark bars
- ST: Striped bars
- MUS: Checkered bars
- CHRIST: Diagonal striped bars

A - Congress(I), B - Janata Dal, C - B.J.P.,
D - Communists, E - Jharkhand Party.
Table 5.4: Partywise Breakup of Total Identifiers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the Party</th>
<th>% of T.I</th>
<th>% Categorywise 1989</th>
<th>% of T.I</th>
<th>% Categorywise 1991-92</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SC</td>
<td>ST</td>
<td>MUS</td>
<td>CHRIST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congress(I)</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Janata Dal</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.J.P</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communists</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jharkhand</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

T.I = Total Identifiers.

PARTYWISE BREAKUP OF IDENTIFIERS ONLY.
1989 1991-92

Political Parties

A - Congress(I), B - Janata Dal, C - B.J.P
D - Communists, E - Jharkhand Party
One noteworthy thing is the sharp fall in the popularity of the Congress(I) among the electorate under study in 1991-92. This is interesting because these groups were considered to be traditional supporters of the Congress (I). Table 5.3 shows that rank of identifiers of Janata Dal soared to 21 percent and that of Congress (I) slumped by 6 percent. An increase in the party identifiers for other parties is also quite phenomenal in 1991-92. B.J.P. also registered a sharp rise due probably to its "Ramjanambhumi" and "Hindustva" appeal.

Another significant situation is the swing of Muslims from Congress to Janata Dal. The latter increased its base among the Muslims by effecting 26 percent increase amongst all identifiers (Table 5.4). It appears that sizable percentage of Muslims deserted Congress(I) in protest against the policies of the party in the highly emotive issue of Babri Masjid. It must be noted that Muslims had been traditionally with the Congress (except in 1978) and their alienation in 1991-92, no doubt, had an adverse effect on the poll-prospect of the Congress(I).

Party identification in 1991-92 depicts a configurative model. In 1989, two major parties - Congress (I) and Janata Dal - had 88 percent support among all identifiers which fell
down to 75 percent in 1991-92. This fall of 13 percent went to benefit other smaller parties in the state. The chief beneficiary was the B.J.P. which doubled its mark of identifiers. Among other smaller parties Jharkhand also registered a phenomenal rise. This shows the increasing popularity of these parties as well as the effect of chauvinistic appeals orchestrated by them. They successfully influenced the public opinion through short-cut. It seems that people have started turning their faces towards other political parties and the days of psychological attachment of these groups with the Congress are over. Looking at the magnitude of party identification, it seems clear that notwithstanding its traditional leanings the phenomenon of party identification has taken hold among minorities and backward classes of the state. 11

AGE AND PARTY IDENTIFICATION.

It has been found in the earlier studies that a larger proportions of party identifiers as well as of strong identifiers belongs to upper age group. This has raised the question whether strong party commitment is a consequence of old age or longer span of political socialization, or

generation gap of some other factors. Elderveld and Ahmad\textsuperscript{12} have established in their study that older citizens are not necessarily more committed to parties and early socialization is suggested as the more effective variable in this respect.

In the present study (See Table 5.5) it is found that older people are less in numbers as well as lower in the intensity of their identification as compared to younger generation. The first two categories representing the age groups of 20-30 and 31-40 are more strongly identified than the next two age groups viz. 41-50 and 51+. If we take all identifiers the second group have a slightly higher margin in terms of quantity. Of all identifiers in 1989 in 21-30 age group 48 percent are identifiers while in 31-40 age group 49 percent fall in that category. Similarly, there is a 2 percent increase in 1991-92. Among the next age group i.e. 41-50 only 40 percent were identified with a party in 1989 and 44 percent in 1991-92. As far as 51+ age group is concerned the percentage of identifiers dropped to 32 percent and 36 percent in 1989 and 1991-92 respectively (Table 5.5).

The above data shows that the majority in all age groups are non-identifiers. This further indicate that most people

\textsuperscript{12} Ibid.
Table 5.5: Age and Party Identification.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Category</th>
<th>1989 % of Age Category</th>
<th>1991-92 % of Age Category</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>21-30</td>
<td>31-40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Identifiers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strong Identifiers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weak Identifiers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non Identifiers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

AGE AND PARTY IDENTIFICATION

1989

1991-92

21-30 31-40 41-50 50+

All=All Identifiers, SA= Strong Identifiers, WI= Weak Identifiers, NI= Non Identifiers.
are not interested in the party programs which invariably remains the preserve of the elite. This fact notwithstanding, the percentage of identifiers remains impressive. What seems clear is that older citizens appears to be no more committed to parties and possibly less than younger ones. This makes an important difference between India and the West. As far as strong identification is concerned the youths - from 21-30 years - are the most committed lot. More people among identifiers in the last three categories are weak identifiers having potentiality to switch their allegiance in the year 1989. This actually materialised when we see the data of 1991-92. The increase in the rank of all identifiers has substantially swelled the rank of weak identifiers. There is only a marginal increase in the strong identifiers category of all age cohorts, while there is an impressive increase in the weak identifiers of the same age cohorts.

Then we can conclude that youth are more committed than the older people and there is the chance of shifting in the party loyalty of a considerable number of citizens who are committed to a party depending upon the performance and policy of a particular party. This also reflects their growing sign of maturity. One important thing to be observed
in the data of table 5.5 is that while in other age groups the percentage of non-identifiers has declined from 1989 to 1991-92 it has registered a two percent increase in the age group of 51+. This is in contrast to the general trend in other categories and signifies the growing apoliticization of the older generation. Conversely, the youths are getting more and more exposed to political stimuli and in turn responding to it in a positive manner.

**CONSISTENCY IN PARTY IDENTIFICATION.**

Consistency in party identification is an important variable of political participation affecting the political process in a society. It reflects the crystallization of political behaviour of individuals and groups in the society. Our study shows that (Table 5.6) in 1989 only 7 percent of all identifiers and 3 percent of total sample changed their party identification. The number increased to 9 percent of all identifiers and 4 percent of total sample in the year 1991-92. This shows that people are increasingly becoming disillusioned with traditional parties which they used to support over years. But one noteworthy thing is that over 90 percent (93 percent in 1989 and 91 percent in 1991-92) of all identifiers did not change their party affiliation, speaks
Table 5.6: Consistency in Party Identification.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Identifier with another Party earlier.</th>
<th>% of T.I*</th>
<th>% of T.S**</th>
<th>% of T.I</th>
<th>% of T.S**</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>07</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>09</td>
<td>03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never Identified with another Party /Never changed Party Identification.</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: *T.I=Total Identifiers only. **T.S=Total Sample.
Table 5.7: Consistency in Party Identification (Categorywise).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1989 % Categorywise</th>
<th>1991-92 % Categorywise</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SC</td>
<td>ST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Identified with</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>another Party earlier</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(% of Identifiers only)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Never Identified with</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>another Party/did never</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>change Party Identification. (% of Identifiers only)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. % of Total Sample who</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>never changed their</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Party Identification</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
eloquently of the consistency of party support among this
group of population in Orissa. It is observed that party
identification is most consistent in the younger and early
middle-age group.

A categorywise analysis of the consistency in matter of
party identification leads us to the conclusion that in the
year 1989 Christians were the most consistent identifiers
followed by STs, Muslims and SCs respectively. In table 5.7
it can be clearly seen that 96 percent of all identifiers
among Christians did not change their party identification
while 95 percent of STs, 93 percent of Muslims and 92 percent
of SCs fall under this category in the year 1989. So in the
year 1989 Christians are the most consistent party supporters
and SCs come lowest. This can be linked with the awareness
level of a particular category. It seems the most aware and
participant category is the least consistent as they use
their preferences considering their caste interests and issue
perception of the parties. The Christians, on the other hand
are mostly backwards (Most of them STs of hilly areas) and
are traditional supporters of the same party (Congress) and
faithfully clung to it (especially the leadership of the
party e.g. Mrs Gandhi, Mr.Rajiv Gandhi etc.).
FAMILY CONTINUITY IN PARTY IDENTIFICATION

The role of family in developing and maintaining partisan orientations is considered important in the West. Studies have often been conducted on whether the respondent can recall father's mother's and other relatives' party affiliation, as well as other aspects of family's political behaviour. Such studies have noted the close congruence of such perceived family party choice and subsequent party choice of off-spring. Great differences have been discovered in the West, however, in this phenomena. Dupeux uncovered the striking finding that in France only 25 percent of the public could recall their father's party identification, comported to 76 percent normally in the U.S. The proportion in India is even lower than in France - only 11 percent in the national survey in 1971 and 17 percent in 1965 sample survey in Kerala.13

As far as our data is concerned (in table 5.8) 32 percent of total sample and 76 percent of those who are identifiers can recall their father's party affiliation in 1989. Of these 24 percent of total sample and 57 percent of

13.Ibid.
Table 5.8:- Family Continuity in Party Identification.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1989 %oi</th>
<th>% Categorywise (T.I)</th>
<th>1991-92 %of</th>
<th>% Categorywise (T.I)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>T.I</td>
<td>SC</td>
<td>ST</td>
<td>MUS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Can recall father’s Party affiliation.</td>
<td>76 (32)</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Identifying with father’s Party.</td>
<td>57 (24)</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Identifying with other Party.</td>
<td>43 (18)</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note:- T.I= Total Identifiers only.  
% of total sample is in parentheses.
identifiers continued to support the same party as their fathers did. In other words, a majority of those who can recall their father's party affiliation identify themselves with the same party. However, 43 percent of total identifiers differ with their father's choice indicates the level of freedom of choice present in the social set-up. This figure has increase in the next survey in 1991-92 to 47 percent is a pointer to an emerging pattern of freedom of choice ands liberation from a primordial type loyalty.

When we analyse it on the basis of each category, startling phenomenon is observed in the form of deep fall in the family continuity of Muslims community. In 1989 nearly 60 percent of all identifiers among Muslims had followed their father's party while in 1991-92 there were only 49 percent who continued to support their father's party. This sharp fall of 11 percent is astonishingly high compared to the fall in other categories. This can be explained in terms of issue-positions. That the ambiguous policy of the Congress(I) in the highly emotive Ramjanambhumi-Babri Masjid case has resulted in the change of preference of even many a traditional Congress (I) supporters. A large number of Muslim identifiers reported during interview about this fact
in respect of the alienation of the community in general from the Congress (I).

ATTITUDINAL BASIS OF PARTY IDENTIFICATION

To understand whether party attachments represents is linked to systemic transformations at mass level, one must look at citizen orientations and attitudes towards politics, particularly to see whether party attachment converges with citizen attitudinal engagement with the system. In other words, what type of partisanship is emerging and is loyalty to party symbols an isolated phenomenon or is it associated with the expansion of public involvement in other respects? Almond and Verba have written of the need for "open and moderate partisanship" \(^{14}\) For our study, it is necessary to ask if partisanship is informed, aware, interest-related, system supportive and combined with a sense of political efficacy. If such linkages with partisan loyalty are present to a marked degree we have the basis for an 'effective' and 'enduring' partisan polity; if such linkage are not formed, partisanship may be irrelevant for mass participation or may have a transitory meaning for political life. The style and

Table 5.9- Political Attitudes of Party Identifiers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>KNOWLEDGE OF CANDIDATES</th>
<th>1989</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>1991-92</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SC</td>
<td>ST</td>
<td>MUS</td>
<td>CHRIST</td>
<td>SC</td>
<td>ST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Know 2 Parliamentary Candidates.</td>
<td>SI 55</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>WI 35</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Know 2 Assembly Candidates.</td>
<td>SI 71</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>WI 43</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CASTE/ COMMUNITY AWARENESS.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very-much Aware.</td>
<td>SI 51</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>WI 33</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moderately Aware.</td>
<td>SI 65</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>WI 46</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTEREST IN POLITICS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very-much Interested.</td>
<td>SI 51</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>WI 34</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generally Interested.</td>
<td>SI 70</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>WI 59</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note- SI= Strong Identifiers.
WI= Weak Identifiers.
basis of partisanship in a society is a central question in understanding its political behaviour.

The data on political attitudes of party identifiers in table 5.9 shows that they are knowledgeable as far as knowledge about political phenomena is concerned. Nearly half of the respondents knew about the 2 or more candidates in the parliamentary elections and as much as 65 percent are aware of 2 or more candidates in the assembly elections. On knowledge about the caste and community and their importance in political system, nearly 60 percent are generally aware and 45 percent are very much aware of this fact. When we come to 'interest in politics' the score is quite impressive. Most of the identifiers take interest in politics.

One observable fact is the deference in the level of awareness and interest between strong identifiers and weak identifiers. For instance, 71 percent of strong identifiers (SC) know two or more than two candidates in the assembly elections of 1989 while only 43 percent of weak identifiers (SC) knows about it in the same year. Again, in the year 1991-92, 74 percent (SC) of strong identifiers are generally interested in politics while figure for weak identifiers for the same SC category is just 60 percent. We can see
from the table 5.9 these types of differences on every item. Thus it is clear that strong identifiers are much more interested, knowledgeable and articulated in their attitudes than weak identifiers.

A Categorywise analysis reveals a configurative model. Generally, Scheduled Castes are more knowledgeable, show more interest in politics than other categories. The difference between Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are striking. 71 percent of strong identifiers SCs know about 2 or more candidates in assembly elections of 1989 while only 56 percent of that category STs knows about two or more candidates in their assembly elections. Similar is the case in general interest in politics. But one departure is in the case of Muslims in the year 1991-92. More muslim identifiers showed interest in politics than any other community. In the 'very much interested' category there are 48 percent of weak Muslim identifiers as against 40 percent of their SC counterparts. Thus strong identification is associated with greater interest in politics and greater knowledge of political phenomena.

Another noteworthy fact is the increase in the level of awareness and interest from 1989 to 1991-92 survey. It seems, if we look at the data in table 5.9, that there is a perce-
ptible and continuous growth in the interest and knowledge levels of each and every category. It is important to note here that this increase is a sign of growing attitudinal orientations of party identification. That there is strong evidence of sound bases of party identification among the minorities and backward classes of Orissa. Identifiers are system-supporters is another important inference which we can draw from the above analysis.

CONCLUSION

In India, political parties play a major role in political acculturation and mobilisation sequences has been duly discussed in the previous chapter. In this context, party identification is positively associated with the learning of a whole new set of systemic images and orientations. One cannot say that party identification is a causal agent but rather it is a part of a new political configuration in cognitions of citizens of a slowly developing society. Our analysis in this chapter supports these theoretical propositions. In considering the backwardness of the populace under study, we have seen that a good portion of minorities and backward classes in Orissa are exposed to parties and leadership of such parties. This exposure has
resulted in the emergence of party identification which is nearly 42 percent in 1989 and went up to 47 percent in 1991-92. Thus identification is fairly high and is growing is an indication of growing maturity of the people on political front.

We find strong linkage between party identification and political participation. Those who are strongly identified to a political party are more active, take more interest and posses more knowledge than that of weak-identifiers, although there are exceptions (some non-identifiers do have more knowledge about the system, keen followers of political events than identifiers). Strong identifiers are nearly twice or one and half (1.5) time more interested and aware than weak-identifiers (table 5.9) corroborates the point that strong party identification leads to greater participation in politics.

When we came to categorywise identification, SCs are the most leading group (58 percent identifiers in 1989) followed by Muslims (48 percent), Christians (32 percent) and STs (30 percent). A partywise breakup shows that in 1989 most people are affiliated with Congress(I) while the situation changed in 1991-92 when most of the respondent identified with the Janata Dal (table 5.4). The deciding factor seems to be
switching over of loyalty of Muslims en masse from the Congress(I) to Janata Dal on the wake of RamjanamaBhumi BabriMasjid dispute. Analysis on linkages between age and party identification shows that early middle age group (31-40 age group) is most committed one, while elder people have a low party identification. Older ones are mostly non-identifiers (62 percent).

As far as consistency in party identification is concerned, Christians seems to be most consistent ones while Muslims are the most inconsistent group. It is found that more politically advanced groups are more inconsistent in their party affiliation. The explanation may be their awareness about caste/community interest and knowledge about issue-positions which results in their frequent change in party support. The role of family in the continuity of party identification is found to be very important (table 5.8). A majority (57 percent) of those who can recall their fathers party affiliation do identify themselves with the same party. However, the rest 43 percent in 1989 and 47 percent in 1991-92 who differed from their fathers party identification indicates the increasing crumbling down of family grip and primordial loyalty in the political sphere.

In fine, we can say that minorities and backward classes
of Orissa are becoming more and more identified with the party and are participating in a increasingly constructive way in politics.
The involvement of Indian people in the political process is a recent phenomenon vis-a-vis Western Democracies of great significance not only for this country but for all the new democracies. This has supported the nascent political institutions of this large nation and interestingly, this is happening at a time when the country is witnessing a wide ranging socio economic change. While affecting the entire fabric of Indian society it conserves the uniqueness of Indian culture. Eldersveld and Ahmad rightly point out that "it is an involvement by 'traditionals' who are 'modern' while they remain 'traditional'." 1

The people of India for over forty-five years have been passing through large scale political socialization

persuading them to become conscientious actors in the political system. Since independence, they have been instructed in politics, exhorted to participate in politics and extend their support to the system. This has resulted in growing political maturity and a large amount of political involvement which is, by all means, remarkable. This image of mass mobilization in such a short span of time is almost incomprehensible but a reality to be understood in the context of resilience of Indian society supported by its cultural value system.

Scholars dealing with Indian politics are deeply concerned about the extent and meaning of public participation in politics because this would be an acid test of the success of Indian political development. Gopal Krishna has clearly stated: "The contemporary democratic political system in India has at its centre the system of free elections based on adult franchise". He feels that the electoral system, electoral politics and people's involvement in politics constitute the heart of democratic order. Many a scholar subscribe to this view of Gopal Krishna.

Krishna. For Edward Shils, commenting in 1968, India was not yet a "political society", because it lacks "a degree of interest in public affairs sufficient to impel most adults to participate in elections and to follow in a very general way what is going on in the country as a whole, with a reasonable and temperate judgment of the qualities of Indian candidates and issues".3

In systemic functional terms, scholarly reflections on electoral participation and public's involvement in politics in India has emphasized at least three major theoretical areas of interest. It argues that:

1. Public involvement is central to the achievement of political integration, legitimizing authority and building national consensus;

2. Public involvement is central to the articulation of a democratic mass-elite relationship, to a developing more responsible leadership, and the effective functioning of the competitive party system; and

3. Public involvement is central to the redistribution of

political power of social groups, to altering the hierarchy of influence to achieving more social equality, and presumably more beneficial policy related to social change.

The third point is of special importance for our research purpose, because we deal mainly with peripheral groups in society who are largely undermined, unprivileged classes in the political scene of India. Kothari terms it "social displacement" and goes on to add: "The politicisation of the majority population living in hitherto unpenetrated areas, and the resulting shift in the locus of political power, has led the much earlier politicised and for long privileged minority population represented by urban middle class to feel deprived and alienated and has led to their withdrawal from the participation and decision making channels of the democratic polity". 4

Generally, studies on people's participation in political processes are concerned with initial inquiries such as -- who is involved, types and style of participation, determinants and conditions for involvement as well as association of participants with basic political attitudes

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and orientations. But studies differ sharply in their theoretical goals, in the basic dependent phenomena to which they wish to relate these data. These theoretical concern can be diverse. A model of these diverse theoretical concern is presented below:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Common Descriptive Analytic Concern</th>
<th>Different Theoretical Levels of Concern</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Who participate?</td>
<td>A. For Individuals &quot;Self interest&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. In what ways?</td>
<td>&quot;Influence&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Because of what social and economic factors?</td>
<td>&quot;Politicization&quot; etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Conditioned or stimulated by what types of political environment?</td>
<td>B. For the group &quot;Cohesion&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Status&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Equality&quot; etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Linked to what norms, values, perceptions and attitudes?</td>
<td>C. For the processes of politics. &quot;Representation&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Interest Articulation&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Elite Responsiveness&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>D. For the System &quot;Legitimacy&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Integration&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Democracy&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Social Transformation&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Development&quot; etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5. I have borrowed this model from Eldersveld, S. J & Ahmad, B:Op Cit.p162
The thrust of the present study is primarily concerned with the nature of individual and group political behaviour and its relevance to system performance. The ways in which minorities and backwards of Orissa are 'engaged with' or 'involved in' the political system, the types of involvements, forces and factors are the basic areas of the present study. At the system level inquiry is on the levels of "effective citizenship".

THE CULTURAL HISTORICAL CONTEXT

The study of political participation of minorities and backward classes of a backward state Orissa poses particularistically special problems. One is that there is a great difference in nature and role of a seemingly identical political activity vis-a-vis the advanced Western Societies. Therefore societal context, historical and cultural environment, within which participation takes place must be incorporated carefully in any attempt to understand the political involvement of the people under study. It will certainly affect the meaning of participation for citizen, elite and the system.

This cultural - historical context in the study of political participation has led to differences of meaning in
different societies. As for instance, both in India and in the United States only 10 percent or 12 percent are politically active, but as Rudolph, Shils and others have pointed out that one must remember that Indian culture originally emphasized 'Self-restraint', 'non-violence', 'respect for legitimate authority', avoidance of conflict and groupism, a minimal or non-existent role of individual in political life (of dormant nature) and overwhelming apathy. This observation equally applies to the state of Orissa. Within the groups at its social bases great changes have been taking place. The question is whether in a span of nearly forty-five years since independence the role of individual and groups in politics has changed.

The crux of the problem is that minorities and backwards of Orissa --- largely uneducated, loyal to local groups and symbols, unsocialized to participate in the larger political system, having no sense of personal efficacy in the system --- were called on to be involved in the politics of a large society virtually overnight. This is the heart of

theoretical issue of political participation in the present study. This point has been amply aired by Gopal Krishna when he writes: "Paradoxically, the process of modernization ... has ... accentuated certain forces of parochialism by requiring mass participation in the political process when the attitudes of most of the population have not been modernized. The elections in these circumstances have come to play a major educative and mediating role between the modern, modernizing and traditional aspects of Indian society". 7

Thus, it is in the light of cultural norms, social conditions, historical experience and the ongoing development of the political system that one must try to understand the meaning of political involvement of the citizen in India today. It, indeed, is not a cake-walk. 8

Keeping in view the above discussion, the aim of the analysis of political participation of minorities and backward classes of Orissa is to explore the following from


the data collected for this study:

1. What is the extent of political involvement -- has the norm of participation penetrated into these social groups or is political activity still remote for these peripheral groups? What is the meaning of political participation for these groups?

2. Whether these "newer" social groups on the periphery, who have been just mobilized and now participate has led to the (as Kothari has observed) concomitant withdrawal or displacement of "older groups" frustrated by these trends? Above all is political participation in India a social group phenomena?

3. How people in these groups under study been stimulated to participate, as a result of what pressure, forces and circumstances? Has the family begun to assume a socializing role? Are the political parties important as socializing agents and, above all, is the caste assuming a politicizing function?

4. What is the relevance of patterns of participation to the political process with special reference to (a) adoption of certain types of politics (b) nature and quality of competitive relationships among the parties and (c) support for governmental economic and social goals?
5. What is the probable relevance of the pattern of political participation to such large system-characteristics as the achievement of system-stability, political integration, system-adaptability and redistribution of social power and a more egalitarian society?

6. In what way has political involvement changed the perspectives of minorities and backwards of Orissa towards society, replacing the old cultural norms of apathy, weak sense of political efficacy, distrust of politics, with greater interest, knowledge, and more optimistic view of the political world, and citizen's role in it? Or does there been a change in the pattern of earlier basic orientations persists? Has participation played the role of educating and enlightening while mobilizing and involving individuals of these peripheral social groups?

Many a scholar on Indian polity have focused on these above-mentioned problems in a variety of ways. Gopal Krishna in 1967, used aggregate analysis to deal with the integration of peripheral groups and regions classified by developmental status, caste or tribal reserved constituencies, and minority
relational group (Muslims) raised some significant questions. In the year 1971, Bashiruddin Ahmad examined different types of political activities in India, their inter-relationships, and patterns of political satisfaction of Indian Society. Similarly, Verba et al did a comparative analysis (using data from four Indian States) with the United States, Nigeria, Austria, and Japan to demonstrate the non-cumulative patterns of participation and to test in a very preliminary way a social mobilization model for explanation of activism.

TYPES AND EXTENT OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION.

Can there be a typology of political participation? To this question, Lester Milbrath long ago while attempting one, distinguished between "spectators" and the "gladiators." Verba and his colleagues suggested four categories for those members of public who do more than vote: "parochial"

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9. For details see Krishna Gopal "Electoral Participation and Political Integration", Economic and Political Weekly, Annual Number Feb 1967 p179-190

10. Ahmad B"political Stratification of Indian Electorate". Economic and Political Weekly vol-6 1971.

participants (who only contact leaders for personal reasons), "communalists" (who work with others on local problems), "campaigners" and "complete activists" (who engage in a wide range of activities beyond voting). Bashiruddin Ahmad, in stratifying Indian electorate, sees two categories beyond those who only vote: "auxiliaries" (activists beyond voting who have a medium level of interest in politics and political knowledge) and "politists" (who are engaged in two or more types of political activities and have a high level of political interest and information).

For the purpose of this study a seven-fold classification of basic-types of political participants has been drawn. There are many sub-types which is grouped under every basic-type. Let us take them separately.

1. **Alleqiants**: This type of participants are those who manifestly identify themselves with political parties. They are mentally / psychologically as well as behaviourally attached to a particular political party. They constitute 42 percent in 1989 survey and 47 percent in 1991-92 survey of total sample. However, alignment with a political party may be strong (long lasting) or weak (short lived or the
Table 6.1: Allegiant Political Behaviour.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of Participation</th>
<th>% of T.S</th>
<th>1989</th>
<th>% Categorywise</th>
<th>1991-92</th>
<th>% Categorywise</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>SC</td>
<td>ST</td>
<td>MUS</td>
<td>CHRIS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allegiants</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strong Party Identification.</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weak Party Identification.</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: T.S = Total Sample.

**ALLEGIANT POLITICAL BEHAVIOUR**

**1989**  **1991-92**

```
A = Strong Party Identifiers.
B = Weak Party Identifiers.
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preference may change). Based upon these criteria there are two sub-types viz. Strong identifiers (those who voted the same party in past elections and would not change their voting preferences in future) and "weak identifiers" (those whose voting preference may change in the future). The former constituted 17 percent in 1989 and 19 percent in 1991-92, while the latter constituted 25 percent in 1989 and 28 percent in 1991-92 survey. (Table 6.1)

A category-wise analysis of allegiant behaviour shows that SCs (58 percent) are most actively aligned to political parties, followed by Muslims (48 percent), Christians (32 percent), and STs (38 percent) in 1989. Comparison between two surveys leads to the conclusion that people are getting more and more involved in politics and using political parties as the medium of involvement. Viewed from another vantage point, one can safely infer political parties have successfully penetrated into these political groups in the society and increasingly drawing the masses into their fold.

One good consequence of this increasing allegiant behaviour is the emergence of mass-based leadership.
Political recruitment is becoming increasingly democratic.12 Another benefit is that political parties are becoming increasingly sophisticated, specialized and competitive giving people a variety in choice. It also helps in political socialization and nation-building functions of the political system. It has helped in system stability, system adaptability, political integration effecting redistribution of socio-political power equation in the society. In the process an emerging egalitarian society is coming into being.

2. **Attentives**: Politically attentives are those people who pay a lot of attention to the happenings in the political circle; closely observe and follow them through various media of mass communication (e.g. Radio, T.V., Newspapers etc.). They possess some interest in the politics and this interest leads them to contact political candidates, observe, follow and participate (often in a not-very-active way) in campaign.

12 Here assertion of Gopal Krishna that participation through political parties and election has led to social change, especially giving once oppressed communities for the first time a measure of effective influence in the public affairs and Rajni Kothari's similar view of "Social Displacement of old elite groups is found to be a well observed phenomenon in our case also."
Table 6.2: Attentive Political Behaviour.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of Participation</th>
<th>1989 % of T.S Categorywise</th>
<th>1991-92 % of T.S Categorywise</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SC</td>
<td>ST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Followed Politics in mass-media.</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Met Political Candidates.</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interest in Politics.</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interest in Campaign.</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knowledge about Politics.</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note:- T.S=Total Sample.
activities. These type of people generally posses a fair knowledge about the political system and its various sub-systems (such as parties, elections, issues etc.). They are enthusiastic about political matters, give and take advices about voting, talk about politics with friends and relatives. But most of them are not "political activists" -- rather they are dormant in their political activism.

In table 6.2, we have presented our data about political attentives among the minorities and background class citizens of Orissa. In 1989, 49 percent and in 1991-92 survey 51 percent of total sample fall under this category. As table 6.2 shows there are five sub-types of political involvement which have been taken as the indicators of political attentiveness. In 1989, 54 percent reported of following politics in media of mass communication (such as radio, TV, Newspapers etc). 51 percent had met political candidates, 39 percent have interest in politics, 46 percent responded that they take interest in campaign, and 53 percent posses at least some degree of knowledge about politics. In 1991-92, there is a marginal but perceptible increase in almost every category of attentive sub-types, which indicates that people are becoming more attentive towards politics and political system. Most of the respondents (a majority of total sample)
responded positively to at least three of the five sub-categories, which means they are high in attentive score. In other words, a majority of respondents are highly attentive citizens.

But the other side of the story is that many of them are not actually interested in politics. Only 39 percent and 41 percent are somewhat interested in politics in 1989 and 1991-92 surveys respectively. Of them only a marginal 11 percent are actually interested in politics (see table 3.3 in chapter 3). This fact implies one to conclude that the high percentage in the sub-types of table 6.2 may not be of voluntary nature. Actually, a number of citizen only come across or experience these political activities by chance or by accident. For example, many villagers, although illiterates, view programmes on TV, observe highly mass-appealing propaganda by political parties during campaign, meet candidates who come to their door-steps during election periods just casually, not intentionally and seriously. They are not actually interested in all these affairs. Low political efficacy (see table 3.6 in chapter 3) a relatively high percentage of apathetics (45 %) also support the above mentioned views.
A category-wise analysis of attentive behaviour of data in table 6.3 shows that as usual SCs are the most attentive group of all the four and the STs, the least one. But if we compare the data of 1989 with 1991-92, Muslims have registered a phenomenal growth in terms of percentage increase in items as "meeting political candidates" (a 4 percent increase as opposed to 0 to 2 percent increase of other groups) and showing / taking interest in campaign (9 percent increase vis-a-vis marginal increase of other groups). This sudden growth in the attentiveness of Muslim minority groups can be explained in terms of threat-perception of the community which acted as a powerful psychological stimulant in the form of controversial Babri Masjid issue and its related impacts throughout the Indian sun-continent. Here we can say without any exaggeration, that political participation has turned out to be a group phenomenon.

As far as consequence of this participation for the system as a whole is concerned, the first thing is that this increase in the attentiveness towards politics results in coming into being an effective body of good vigilant citizens in an otherwise backward segment of the population of the state. The increased attentiveness also affects the power
elites by effecting change in the political power of social groups. Again more attentiveness -- which signifies more participation -- also contribute in a meaningful way to a better system - integration (national integration).

3. **Mass Participatives:** These are the people who are involved in mass-actions. This type has two categories viz. (a) those people who attend political rallies, election meetings during campaign and by and large not involved in any violent type activity, and those who have joined in protest marches, demonstrations, strikes, gheraos etc. While in 1989 the former type constituted 42% of total sample, in 20 percent reported that they have participated in protest, demonstrations, strikes, gheraos (table 6.3). The corresponding figure of 1991-92 survey is 43 percent for the former sub-category and 23 percent for the latter category.

An interesting fact is that while there is only one percent increase in the sub-type of those who "attended political meetings & rallies" the increase is 3 percent in the sub-type of those who have "joined" protests, demonstrations etc.". This signals that people are increasingly taking recourse to violent type activities to
Table 6.3: Mass Participative Political Behaviour.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of Participation</th>
<th>1989 % Categorywise</th>
<th>1991-92 % Categorywise</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SC</td>
<td>ST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attended Political Rallies, Meetings</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joined Protests, Demonstrations, Gheraos etc.</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: T.S = Total Sample.

**MASS PARTICIPATIVE POLITICAL BEHAVIOUR 1989 1991-92**

- **A**: Attended Political Rallies & Meetings
- **B**: Joined Protests, Demonstrations, Gheraos etc.
press their demands, to draw attention of the authority towards their grievances. Popular faith in the effectiveness of peaceful and normal channels of interest articulation is gradually being atrophied or ended. The low political efficacy of people regarding the functioning of governmental machinery / officials and their increasing faith in violent means of interest articulation has been corroborated by the earlier part of the present study (see table 3.5 and 3.6 of chapter 3).

A category wise analysis of mass participative behaviour of political participation in the table 6.3 reveals that SCs are the leading population in the state who have engaged themselves more than any other groups in such type of activity. 58 percent i.e. 3 in every five people among the SCs have attended political rallies and meetings and nearly one third of them have engaged themselves in the direct political actions (demonstrations, protests etc.). Christians, on the other hand, have shown some degree of dissociation from attending meetings and rallies of political nature. This is evident in table 6.3 where we see that in 1989, 33 percent reported that they had attended political meetings and rallies and the figure slumps down to 30 percent in 1991-92 survey.
As observed earlier, while analyzing "attentive" behaviour, Muslims have registered a phenomenal growth in terms of percentage when we compare 1989 data with that of 1991-92. The same story repeats here also. In the sub-type of "attended meetings and rallies" they have registered an impressive 5 percent growth, and in second sub-category (i.e., joined protest and demonstrations) the increase is whopping 6 percent. Although they are far bellow their SC counterparts, but the newly observed involvement has a meaning and reflects their problems of identity crisis. It is a part of Pan-Indian problem of the community in the wake of Babri Masjid controversy which arose and activated them.

It is noteworthy that several previous studies on political participation have reported a very low percentage of mass-participative involvement by the people of India. Eldersveld and Bashiruddin Ahmad, for example, in their 1971 study about mass behaviour in India, reported that only 25 percent of people participate in political meetings and rallies and 5 percent participated in the protest,
demonstrations etc. But our figures of 1991-92 shows a rise of 43 percent and 23 percent respectively of both categories. This increase indicates to a changing trend in the political participation process of people in India and that pattern of popular participation in India is undergoing a structural change. Another inference is that society is passing through a period of socio-political tension due to apathetic attitude of the political decision-makers towards the long-standing demands of people at large. Frustration of people, especially these peripheral social groups (backwards and minorities), due to inaction of the government to ameliorate their genuine grievances since independence, has been increasing day by day. This has led to an increase in the percentage of "alienated" from 6 percent in 1989 to 6.75 percent in 1991-92.

SOCIAL GROUP ASSOCIATES.

Social group associates are those who engage themselves in other social international behaviours beyond voting. The sub-types of this category includes (a) those who belong to a particular political party, club etc., (b) those who ever

13. Eldersveld S & Ahmad B: op.cit. p176
Table 6.4: Social Group Associate.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of Participation</th>
<th>% of T.S 1989 Categorywise</th>
<th>% of T.S 1991-92 Categorywise</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SC</td>
<td>ST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOCIAL GROUP ASSOCIATE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belong To a Party, Club etc.</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ever worked for a Party.</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worked with Caste/Community groups.</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SOCIAL GROUP ASSOCIATIVE POLITICAL BEHAVIOUR**

- A = Belong to a Political Party.
- B = Ever worked for a Party.
- C = Worked with caste/community group.
worked for a political party and (c) those who worked (at least once) with a caste/community group or organization.

An analysis of the table 6.4 makes it clear that a total of 8 percent people belong to political parties and clubs in 1989 and the percentage goes up to 11 percent in the year 1991-92 survey. In fact they are the people who are not only strongly identified with one or other political parties but have formally enrolled themselves as members of the political organization. They are, in general, active political participants. A few of them also hold positions in the party hierarchy at different levels. In fact they are the politically active stratum of the society. They are the politically socialized citizens -- highly conscious of their rights and duties and posses good knowledge about the structures and functioning of the political system.

Again 13 percent of total sample in 1989 and 15 percent in 1991-92 are those who reported that they had worked for a political party. Most of them are politically aware that not politically active as the afore-said category. They are, barring some exceptions, dormant during normal times and become active only at some extra ordinary situations -- such as during feverish election campaign, during some socio-
political upheavals / movements and crises. They pay leap service to the politics -- sometimes willy willy; sometimes spontaneously. However, one characteristic feature of this sub-0type is that they are politically attentives and observe political process silently through media of mass-communication (Radio, TV etc.).

The third sub-type of social group associates are those who neither belong to a political party nor ever worked for any but certainly they are interested in their community / caste affairs and had worked with such quasi-political or non-political organizations for the development of their caste / community. They are not the ones who intend to involve themselves in politics but their participation and involvement in their respective caste / community organizations does affect the equations in the political circles of the society. Sometimes these groups directly get involved in influencing the decision making process of the political system. Our data in table 6.4 reveals that of all the sub-types in the Social Group Associates, this category is most preponderant group in the society. In 1989 survey a total of 21 percent and in 1991-92 a total of 25 percent reported to have ever worked with a caste / community group.
Thus in 1989 one in five and in 1991-92 one in every four person reported to have worked with the caste / community groups.

Analysis of Social Group Associate category throws light on some interesting aspects of the political behaviour of these groups in Orissa. First, a good percentage is associating themselves with the political parties which goes to prove that the political system is becoming successful in penetrating to the life of these peripheral groups in the state. The socialization process is working satisfactorily is also proved by this constant increase in the percentage over the years. The second thing is that of developing group consciousness among the groups under study. Such a large number of people are associating themselves with caste / community organizations eloquently speaks of social - group political participation. This has led to a change in the political power structure. It has led to circulation of elites.

A category-wise analysis of the data in the table 6.4 leads to the conclusion that while in the year 1989 SCs were the most active group, the position changed in the favour of
Muslims in the 1991-92 survey. In 1991-92 Muslims are ahead of their SC brethren in all three sub-types of political activities. STs are at the bottom of the ladder. This upsurge in the political activities, consciousness of Muslims, as stated earlier, is due to the prevailing socio-political tension during the time when the survey 1991-92 was being undertaken by the researcher. It has affected the very warp and woof of their psyche as has led to this upsurge in the political activism of the community.

**VOTING**

It is regarded as one of the easiest form of political participation by many a political scientist. Voting turnout indicate how the masses react to the various political stimuli in a given political system. It is an important indicator of participation as well as a very basic form of political participation. It is the very life blood of liberal democratic system. Although, totalitarian regimes also provides some sorts of voting rights to their citizens, but it is a stage-managed and strictly controlled phenomena where the participants have very restricted choice as in the case of former USSR and other ex-communist block countries.
Table 6.5: Voting Behaviour.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of Participation</th>
<th>1989 % Categorywise</th>
<th>1991-92 % Categorywise</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SC</td>
<td>ST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voted in National Election.</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voted in Local Election.</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

VOTING BEHAVIOUR

1989 1991-92

National Election Local Election National Election Local Election

SC ST MUS CHRIST
The high percentage of voting turnout in totalitarian systems reflect rulers' or elites' total grip over the masses rather than the freedom of masses to choose the ruler.

In the table 6.5 we have data of voting behaviour of minorities and backward classes of Orissa. In 1989, 51 percent of total sample participated in the national election held just prior to the sample survey. This seems to be a good percentage of voting turnout among the backward segment of the population. This shows that people are enthusiastic in exercising their voting rights and they are conscious about their political rights and privileges. In 1991-92 the turnout increased a marginal one percent; but what is important in the 1991-92 election data is a 4% increase in the turnout of Muslim voters (table 6.5) as compared to 1989. In 1991-92, 59 percent of Muslim sample reported that they had voted in the national election last held. This in itself a considerable percentage of turnout and speaks volumes on the political behaviour pattern of the community. They voted mostly for Janata Dal out of anger, disappointment and frustration after the Babri Masjid-Ramjanambhoomi controversy. It was a negative voting against the Congress-I.
As far as local elections are concerned, our data in Table 6.5 shows one significant point. i.e., the percentage of turnout is much less in the local elections than that of the national elections. In 1989, 47 percent of the total sample had cast their votes vis-a-vis 51 percent in the national elections. Similar is the case of the 1991-92 survey. It appears that pan-national issues act as more effective stimulants for political participation than the issues at local level. The motivations to participate in the politics is greater in the national elections due to more important issues affecting the nation — e.g., national unity and integrity etc. Stakes in the local elections are few, which explains less participation in the local elections. One thing is that the peripheral group of minorities and backwards are taking active is apparent because of the relatively high of good percentage of turn-out in the elections. Consequence of this fare participatory activity is the emergence of more competitive party and campaign process within the political system. It also leads to good and effective citizenship and better rapport between masses and elites.
6. **Electoral Campaign**: Campaign activity is one of the most effective type of political participation. The people who actively participate in the campaign also participate in other political activities in general. However, many a person participate in the campaigning due to circumstantial pulls or pressures. Some are attracted or lured to participate not out of any sense of political commitment but due to curiosity which develop in them when they observe the pomp and show associated with modern campaign activities. They are merely a lookers of political drama known as the election campaign.

Our data in table 6.6 shows the involvement of people in politics in the form of participation in campaign activity. In 1989, 18 percent of total sample reported that they have actively participated in the election campaign and in 1991-92 survey the percentage upto 21 percent. In other words, every one in five persons participated actively in the election campaign. It is a good sign of political development. All India figure of sample survey of campaign activity conducted in 1967 puts the figure of general population at 12 percent.\(^{14}\) Considering the political

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14. Eldersveld.S & Ahmad, B: op.cit. p177
### Table 6.6: Electoral Campaign

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of Participation</th>
<th>% of T.S</th>
<th>1989 Categorywise</th>
<th>% of T.S</th>
<th>1991-92 Categorywise</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>SC</td>
<td>ST</td>
<td>MUS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Active in Campaign.</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gave money in Campaign.</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>05</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Electoral Campaign Political Behaviour

1989

1991-92

- **A**: Active in campaign.
- **B**: Gave money in a campaign.
disadvantageous positions of minorities and backwards of Orissa, 18 percent active interest in politics is very good score. The increase of over 3 percent from 1989 to 1991-92 indicates that people are increasingly becoming interested in the politics. Another way of scoring the thing is that political parties have succeeded in breaking the shell of political isolation of these peripheral groups of the Indian Society.

But when we come to monetary donations to parties during the campaign, our data (in table 6.6) shows a very poor picture. Only 3 percent in 1989 and 5 percent in 1991-92 reported that they have contributed to the party funds for campaigning. Among these a majority of donations comes from large and medium businessmen. General people are too poor to donate money for campaigning in an election. Almost all regard it as a wastage of money only meant for the rich people. Even few businessmen part their donations willingly in most cases they donate either to ripen the post-electoral business benefits in form of concessions, price rise etc. or out of fear and owe.
A category-wise analysis shows that in 1991-92 Muslims are most active. 31 percent participated actively in the election campaign and 6 percent donated money to political parties for election campaign. As far as consequence of this campaign activity type of political participation is concerned, one is that is results in the more democratic political recruitment. It has also educative value, disseminates information to the masses. It also leads to greater political participation. Another consequence is that of coming into existence of a more competitive party and campaign process.

7. **Elite Contact**: Elite contact is one basic type of political involvement. For our research purpose we operationalise "elite contacters" as those who went or personally received political advice from party governmental or caste leaders. Role of elite in the society is well known. They motivate people, direct their mobilization and act as link between masses and the political system. Their role as medium or channel of interest articulation in our society is too obvious to be discussed. As far as our sample is concerned, it is clear that the more backward, politically under-developed a group is the more it is dependent on its
Table 6.7: Elite Contact (Voluntary).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of Participation</th>
<th>% of 1989</th>
<th>% Categorywise</th>
<th>% of 1991-92</th>
<th>% Categorywise</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SC</td>
<td>ST</td>
<td>MUS</td>
<td>CHRI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ELITE CONTACT (VOLUNTARY).</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contacted Party Leaders</td>
<td>15   19  11  18  13</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contacted Government Leaders</td>
<td>17  24  12  19  13</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ELITE CONTACT POLITICAL BEHAVIOUR 1989 - 1991-92

A= Contacted Party Leaders.
B= Contacted Govt. Leaders(Officers)
elite - structure for meaningful political participation. Hence is the importance of "political brokers" and "Opinion leaders" in developing societies.

In table 6.7, data on Elite Contact leads us to the conclusion that more than 15 percent of people have approached party or Government leaders for various reasons. In 1989, 15 percent are party elite contacters and 17 percent are govt. elite contacters while in 1991-92, the figures went upto 18 percent and 20 percent respectively. It is a good score as compared to all India figure of 1967 when only 9 percent were party -elite contacters and 20 percent were government -elite contacters.15

One thing which is most obvious from table 5.7 is that in both surveys, government-elite contacters out number party-elite contacters. This shows that people are still feeling shy in meeting party leaders vis-a-vis government officials whom they frequently meet for the redressal of various grievances -- both personal as well as group / village level problems. Another explanation is that party-leaders only come to public at the time of elections while

15 Ibid. p177
government officials are permanently stationed so as to cater to the needs of public. Hence it is easier to contact government leader than those in the party. In fact, many people complained to this researcher during field surveys that once elected as MLAs & MPs party leaders disappear till the next election date is declared. This has contributed to the growth of apathetics and cynics in the public.

A category-wise analysis of elite contact function shows that while in 1989 SCs are the most active group, in 1991-92 Muslims stole the leadership. As pointed out earlier, unprecedented situation in the form of Ramjanambhoomi - Babri Masjid dispute has awakened the Muslims from dormantness and has resulted in the upsurge of political activities.
CHAPTER-6(B)

SOCIO-ECONOMIC BASES OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION.

The analysis of political behaviour of minorities and backward classes of Orissa is central theme of the present work. In a society as diverse demographically and as structured socially as in India is, the analysis of political participation of social groups is of special importance. It explains which groups or levels of society are most active and whether there is an hierarchy of political involvement. It also helps to recognize the role of such groups in the political development of the society. Last but not the least, it will tell us whether social origins and status are at all important in explaining political activism as well as the nature of political conflict at mass level in a society. For this purpose five independent variables viz. (1) Education, (2) Age, (3) Income, (4) Occupation, and (5) Residence has been taken to explain the dependent variable of political activism.

For the aforesaid purpose a participation index has been constructed which quantifies the degree/intensity of political involvement in order to differentiate highly active citizens from relatively low-key activists. The index
includes (a) the voting frequency of the respondent in the two most recent elections, (b) whether he was active in campaign and (c) party membership. The index is assumed to be cumulative such that from those who voted in the last two elections, active in campaign and a party-member, score highest (4 points) to never voted in elections, no campaign activity and not a party member, score lowest (0 point). Those having scores of 3 and 4 points are placed in the category of 'high' degree of participants and those having less than that points are placed in the category of 'low' degree of political participants.

Table 6.8 shows data on the degree or intensity of political participation. It is evident that in 1989, 18 percent of the total sample are highly active in the political sphere, and the percentage registered a 2 percent increase by the year 1991-92. It shows that people are becoming more and more active politically with the passage of time. It is a growing sign of political development. A categorywise analysis of highly active citizen places SCs in top of the scale with 26 percent and 27 percent in the year 1989 and 1991-92 surveys respectively, however, if we take
the growth rate of participant in terms of percentage from first survey to the second one. Muslims leave all other categories far behind. They have registered a staggering 5 percent increase as compared to marginal 1 percent increase by all other categories. This sprout in Muslim participation may be the result of the threat-perception of the community in the wake of crisis situation generated by the Ramjanambhumi-Babri Masjid controversy.

We are primarily concerned here with the highly active citizens only (who score 3 & 4 in our participation index) so as to probe into the socio-economic bases of political participation. But one may question the wisdom of not including less participant groups who score 1 and 2 in our participation index. The reason behind this is obvious - that there may be some who score 1 or 2 points not by their voluntary and pre-determined intentions, but only by chance or coincidence of incidents. For example, during interviews for both surveys, some respondents admitted that their act of voting or participation in the campaign was not because they are interested in these but because of many a personas, social and economic pull (economic gains in term of taking
Table 6.8- Intensity/Degree of Political Involvement (Involvement Index).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INVOLVEMENT INDEX</th>
<th>% of TS</th>
<th>% Categorywise</th>
<th>1989</th>
<th>1991-92</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SC</td>
<td>ST MUS CHRIST</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HIGH (Score 3&amp;4)</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>26 12 21 13</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>27 13 26 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOW (Score 1&amp;2)</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>31 17 26 18</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>32 19 33 20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note- TS = Total Sample

INTENSITY/DEGREE OF POLITICAL INVOLVEMENT

![Bar Chart]

1989
- SC
- ST
- MUS
- CHRIST

1991-92
money from the candidates etc.). Hence is the cause of not taking into consideration of these low degree of participants while determining the socio-economic bases of participation.

However, when we see table 6.8 it is evident that 'low' participant out-number 'high' participants in both surveys and in each and every category. In 1989, 23 percent of the total sample are low participants as compared to only 18 percent 'high' participants. Similarly, in 1991-92, 20 percent are high participants and low participants are 26 percent. In other words, one in every five is a high participant citizen while one in every four is a low participant citizen. In most of the categories low participants are more numerous than the high participants. This is the sign of growing institutionalization of participatory machinery of the political system, for those who score 'low' in our index at present may get matured and become high participants in future. Potency for high participation lies hidden in them.

RESIDENCE AND POLITICAL ACTIVISM.

Among the social factors which influences political
participation the place of residence occupies a dominant position. In the parlance of social science it is known as "urban-rural dichotomy". One of the major mainstays of political research in the U.S.A has been the study of differences in urban and rural conditions and effect of these on political behaviour of the citizenry. As far as this study is concerned, most of the areas surveyed are rural. So it is important to consider place of residence as the basis of political participation. It has been found in many American studies that rural dwellers are less likely to become active in politics than city dwellers.16 Students of social mobilization also indicate that urbanization is associated with sharp increase in the level of political participation. In other words, urban society opposed to rural society is perceived as a participant society.

Our data in table 6.9 shows that urban population is slightly more participant than the rural one. In 1989

Table 6.9: Residence and Political Participation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INDEPENDENT VARIABLES</th>
<th>1989</th>
<th>1991-92</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SC</td>
<td>ST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RESIDENCE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

RESIDENCE AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

1989

1991-92
survey, 52 percent of highly participant citizens are from urban areas and 48 percent belongs to rural areas. Out of all highly active ST citizens 54 percent are from urban and 46 percent from rural areas - the difference is 10 percent. Similarly, a ten percent difference in urban-rural dichotomy exist among Muslims, while Christians have a 6 percent difference.

A comparison of 1989 data with that of 1991-92 reveals that urban-rural difference is gradually narrowing down. The difference of SC category was 4 percent in 1989 which comes down to 2 percent in 1991-92. There was, similarly, a decrease of 8 percent in the Muslim urban-rural difference over last two years. The case with ST is also identical - a 4 percent decrease. For Christian category the percentage decrease between both surveys is nil - an exception in deed.

One noteworthy fact which our data in table 6.9 reveals is the increasing rural participation in politics. There is an upward trend in the rural political activism while the opposite is true in urban areas. A comparison between the
data of two surveys clearly attest this view. Of all citizens who score high in political participation index in the year 1989, 52 percent (SC), 54 percent (ST), 55 percent (Muslim) and 53 percent (Christian) are from urban areas, while in 1991-92 survey the corresponding figure slumps down to 51 percent (SC), 52 percent (ST), 51 percent (Muslim and 53 percent (Christian). Similarly we can clearly see the upward trend from the table when we compare the rural percentage of highly active citizens of 1989 with 1991-92. Of all the groups, Muslims of rural areas have registered a phenomenal growth in terms of political activism. There is a 4 percent growth in 1991-92 - 45 percent in 1989 and 49 percent in 1991-92. Other categories, except Christians also registered marginal growth.

As a word of conclusion, it may be said that among the minorities and backward of Orissa, urban people are slightly more participant than the rural ones. But these lead of urban population is gradually crumbling down to ankle-deep difference in rural-urban dichotomy. Rural population is increasingly awakening to become active in politics. As a
consequence, the leadership pattern is changing. More and more leaders with rural background are coming up to challenge the long-held positions of urban elites. This also is the sign of success of political system to penetrate and mobilize hitherto dormant rural population into the mainstream or center-stage of organized politics.

EDUCATIONAL BASIS OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION.

One of the most widely documented research findings in political science is the relationship between education and political participation. Research findings in Social Science have co-related education positively with the political participation. Almond and Verbal concludes that political activities increase with the rise of educational levels of the respondents.17 This hold true in all the five nations they studied. Daniel Lerner, using UNESCO data from 54 countries also concludes that strong correlation exists between literacy and political participation.18 Others have


also held this view.\textsuperscript{19}

The objective is to test the university of these generalizations, done by Western researchers in Western, countries. These findings have not been tested in Indian or other Developing countries of Asia and Africa. Therefore, they are of limited nature. Studies in India does not fully support the above generalization. Eldersveld and Ahmad, on the basis of cross-national survey, conclude that the highest educated are not necessarily most politically active.\textsuperscript{20}. Similarly Goel also holds the same view using data from IIPO surveys.. Verba, Nie and Kim reported that "in India the educated individual is no more (perhaps even a touch of less likely) to vote than the lesser educated person."\textsuperscript{21}

\textsuperscript{19} See Milbrath, Lester W: \textit{Op Cit.}, p-122-124.

\textsuperscript{20} Eldersveld, S.J. and Ahmad, Bashiruddin: \textit{zOp Cit.}, p-189.

\textsuperscript{21} Verba, Sidney, Nie, Norman and Kim, Jae-on: \textit{The Modes of Democratic Participation : A Cross-National Comparison}, California, Sage Publishers, 1971, pp-60,61 & 76. The countries included are Austria, India, Japan, Nigeria, and the U.S.A. Only in the U.S. was education significantly correlated with voting.
Table 6.10: Education and Political Participation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INDEPENDENT VARIABLES</th>
<th>1989</th>
<th>1991-92</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SC</td>
<td>ST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EDUCATIONAL LEVEL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illiterates.</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary &amp; Middle.</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School.</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College.</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Education and Political Participation**

1989 1991-92

A= Illiterate, B= Primary & Middle, C= High School, D= College.
Our data in table 6.10 indicates that most highly educated are not most highly active in politics. Rather, those with high school education are the most active among the four educational sub-groups to which our sample is divided. Although college educated citizens are not far behind in general, but the difference is particularly striking among SC category. There is a 8 percent different in both 1989 and 1991-92 surveys. So, SCs having high school education dominate amongst the political active cadre of the caste. The difference is marginal one percent among the Muslims (29 percent high school and 28 percent college educated). However, these two educated sub-groups constitute roughly 3/4th or 60 percent of the highly active group of citizens among minorities and backward classes of Orissa. If we compare these two higher educated sub-groups with lesser educated sub-groups (i.e., illiterates and primary and middle educated), a clear conclusion is that higher educated are more active politically than less educated. But, if taken sub-groupwise separately, the most educated lot (college educated) are not most active.

Another observable fact is that illiterates are not as
isolated as has been reported by Eldersveld and Ahmad. Approximately 17.5 percent of those who score high in our participation index comes from this illiterate sub-group. That means, roughly one in every five highly active citizen is an illiterate. This shows that political norms of the society is increasingly penetrating into the vast body of illiterates or less educated masses of our country. That they are responding well to the political socialization measures is also evident from this.

Taken categorywise, a particularly observable fact is the vast number of highly active citizens among the minorities (both Muslims and Christians) come from lesser educated groups. 43 percent (Muslims) and 41 percent (Christians) of highly active citizens comes from lesser educated sub-groups. This is an impressive finding which can be explained in terms of threat perceptions from the majority community. A point to be highlighted is that among minorities and backward classes of Orissa, those citizens having a limited education (high school) and perhaps with anew since of

political competence, a sense of being able to have some impact on the political system, are most active in politics. This again underscores socially penetrative character of political development in Orissa.

AGE AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION.

Age is an important factor as far as political participation is concerned. In India it acquires special significance because of the traditional society where older generation hold considerable influence over the entire household and over the locality as a whole. This is particularly so in case of minorities and backward classes of a traditional society like Orissa. For the purpose of analysis we have divided the entire sample into four age cohorts/groups viz. (a) 21-30, (b) 31-40, (c) 41-50 and (d) 50+. Some previous research in the social science have concluded that older people participate more till they reach the age of 60\(^2\). Our purpose is to find out whether this assertion is true in India. Again which group dominate the most active

Table 6.11: Age and Political Participation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGE GROUPS</th>
<th>1989</th>
<th>1991-92</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SC</td>
<td>ST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21-30</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31-40</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41-50</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50+</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

AGE AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

1989

1991-92

AGE GROUPS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SC</th>
<th>ST</th>
<th>MUS</th>
<th>CHRIST</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>21-30</td>
<td>31-40</td>
<td>41-50</td>
<td>50+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21-30</td>
<td>31-40</td>
<td>41-50</td>
<td>50+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
cadre of political stratum in our society.

Our data linking age with political participation in table 6.11 leads us to conclusion that it is the youth and middle aged people who dominate the political active cadre among the minorities and backward classes of Orissa. Older generation particularly 50+ age group is rarely active. Hardly 10 percent from this age group are politically active. And those who are active at this stage were inducted into political activism in their youths when India has just acquired freedom from British Raj. Bulk of the older generation are not anyone interested in politics.

The age group of 31-40 is the most active one. Of all who score high in our participation index, this age group constitute one-third of the total lot. And there is an increase of 2 percent from 1989 to 1991-92, which shows that this group is becoming more and more politicized. The next age group which comes second in political activism is the 21-30 one. They are youths and mostly newly mobilized voters. They have zeal and enthusiasm and found politics an interesting game. This category constitute nearly 27 percent (more than 1/4) of the total highly active citizen. In other
words one in every four highly active citizen is a youth below the age 30. One important thing to note is that most of the respondent in this age group are either unemployed or under-employed. It is found that unemployed youths found politics as a good job to gain material benefits. As they are free, they can devote more time in various forms of political activity as compared to other age group citizen.

Another politically active age group is the middle age group of 41-50. They constitute a little over one-fourth (29 percent) of the total citizen who are high in political participation index. They are highly socialized, possess long experience in politics and understand it in a better way than the youths. They are those who have seen and helped the nascent India struggling to establish democratic norms and institutions. It is the immediate post-independent exposure of political phenomena which has succeeded in inducing political activism in this group. One noteworthy observation about this group is the decline of a marginal percentage from 1989 to 1991-92. This means that they are finding the recent politics not as salient as it used to be when they were in their prime. A small but perceptible sign of displeasure over
the new mode of politics may be the root cause of beginning of a slow and gradual withdrawal from political activism.

INCOME AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Most political scientists in the West have reported a positive correlation of income and political activism. Their findings, based on the sample surveys in Western democracies, is that more affluent citizen participate in politics more actively than less affluent citizen. It is also perceived generally that more prosperous are more likely to possess those characteristics which facilitate comprehension of politics. They are more likely to be in a position to influence the decision of the political system and have greater degree of political efficacy. This is more so when one investigates about the backward sector of population in which domination of rich and prosperous is an age-old phenomena and where feudal grips still hangs over the minds of people. But as far as Indian condition is concerned, it

Table 6.12: Income and Political Participation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INDEPENDENT VARIABLES</th>
<th>1989</th>
<th>1991-92</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SC</td>
<td>ST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INCOME LEVEL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower.</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle.</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper Middle.</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

INCOME AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

1989

1991-92
is reported that highly rich section do not directly participate in different modes of participation except voting and financing in campaign. They largely operate from behind the scene. As far as this study is concerned, highly rich citizens are rare among the minorities and backward classes of Orissa. Therefore, they are not included in our sample. The sample has been divided into three income groups viz. (a) lower, (b) middle and (c) upper-middle.

We found truth in the assertion that higher income groups are more active than lower income groups. Our data in table 6.12 attests this fact. Only 5 percent people from lower income group come in the category of the highly active political stratum in 1989 and the corresponding figure for the year 1991-92 is 7.5 percent - an increase of 2.5 percent in deed. On the other hand a little over 40 percent people in the highly active cadre come from middle income group in 1989 and a slight decline of one percent is found in 1991-92. By far the most predominant group in term of income in the highly active stratum of the sample is upper-middle income group. They rule the roast with a share of 54 to 55 percent among the citizen who score high in our political
participation index. Thus more well-off are also the more active class in politics holds true in case of minorities and backward classes of Orissa.

One interesting observation is that lower income group is not far behind their affluent brethrens as far as voting behaviour is concerned. The poor people has only one political activity in which they even out-number rich is the voting turn-out. In other forms of political behaviour e.g., campaign activity, party membership etc. the higher income group have a clear advantage. This is probably so because of the time and money which is required if one intends to participate in the other forms of political activities except voting. Sometimes poor people vote only out of curiosity, by the pull of social or caste/community factors. Another factor which induces poor to vote is the money factor - they virtually sell-out their votes to the candidate or party which pays more.

A categorywise analysis of the table 6.12 puts Muslims as most active group among the lower income group. In 1991-92 out of total Muslim activists, 9 percent are from lower income group viz-a-viz 8 percent SCs, 7 percent Christians
and 6 percent STs. In the higher income group STs are more than any other categories followed by Christians, Muslims and SCs in a descending order. Of all highly active citizens STs higher income group have a share of 56 percent followed by 54 percent Christians, 51 percent both Muslims and SCs. It seems that the pattern is like this—the less politically developed a group is it is more likely to be dominated by the upper income group or the affluent section of the society. Conversely, more advanced political groups are less likely to be dominated by its affluent section.

**OCCUPATION AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION**

Occupation of a person has considerable influence on his political behaviour. It is found that people with particular occupations are more active in politics than others. Our concern here is to explore a link between occupational sub-types with political activism. For this purpose the entire sample has been subdivided into 4 occupational groups viz. (i) farmers, (ii) workers, (iii) professionals, white-collar and businessmen and (iv) unemployed.

Data on table 6.13 establishes it that professionals,
### Table 6.13: Occupation and Political Participation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INDEPENDENT VARIABLES</th>
<th>1989</th>
<th>1991-92</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SC</td>
<td>ST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmers.</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Workers (Farm &amp; Non-farm)</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professionals, White-Collar &amp; Businessmen</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed.</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### OCCUPATION AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

#### 1989

A = Farmers, B = Workers, C = Professionals, White-Collar & Businessmen, D = Unemployed.

#### 1991-92

A = Farmers, B = Workers, C = Professionals, White-Collar & Businessmen, D = Unemployed.
white-collar and businessmen is the most active occupational group, accounting for more than one-third of all active citizens. They are followed by unemployed, workers and farmers in descending order. Approximately 26 percent unemployed are there among the highly active citizen class of the sample and their number goes on increasing (although a marginal one) from 1989 to 1991-92. On the other hand the percentage of provisional, white-collar and businessmen has decreased from 1989 to 1991-92. Workers are fairly active in politics having a 22 percent share in 1989 and 22.5 percent share in 1991-92 among the high participant citizen of the sample. One in five highly active citizen is a worker.

Farmers are the least active occupational group as the data on table 6.13 shows. In 1989, of all high participants there are only 15.5 percent farmers and the corresponding percentage for the year 1991-92 is just 17 percent. The low level of farmers' participation in active politics is perhaps due to their preoccupation with land and farming. It is in contrast to Eldersveld and Bashiruddin Ahmad's findings, wherein farmers are reportedly the most active group in the Indian society. But the case of farmers belonging to the
minorities and backward classes of Orissa have a different study to tell. They are generally poor and marginal land holders who, with their backward paraphernalia of farm technique, mostly have to work hard to meet their family expenses. It is difficult for them to spare time for politics.

The high degree of unemployed participation is a recent phenomenon. Back in 1971, Eldersveld and Ahmad found this group to be least participant. But due to rise of unemployment more and more youths are taking politics as a profession and there has been a sprout in this category taking active part in voting, campaign and party activities. This has led to the formation of a new elite-class known as the Young Turks in every level of party hierarchy. This has turned out to be a highly rewarding job for them. Hence is the high degree of active participation among the youths.

As a word of conclusion it can be said about the dimensions of political participation there is no particular topological scale as suggested by Milbrath. There are several principal types of political participation. On the basis of our data a seven-fold classification of political
participation has been constructed. They are viz., (1) Allegiant, (2) Attentive, (3) Mass-participative, (4) Social-group Associate, (5) Voting, (6) Electoral Campaign and (7) Elite Contact. There are sub-categories of each of the above-mentioned principal category. On the basis of our data no hierarchical pattern has been found. In stead a configurative model has been noticed. At times there are great fluctuations e.g., 18 percent in 1989 and 21 percent in 1991-92 in various campaign activities while only 3 percent and 5 percent in donated money for campaign in both years. There is participation (especially voting) despite alienation. So participation among minorities and backward classes of Orissa follows a cosmic pattern.

As far as the extent of participation in politics is concerned, it was found generally that these peripheral groups to be sound in political participation. 42 to 47 percent showed the sign of Allegiant activists; approximately 45 to 50 percent are engaged in attentive political behaviour (those who pay attention to political phenomena); a fairly good percentage are engaged in mass-participative political behaviour, although large fluctuation exists between two
sub-categories of this form of participation (43 percent attended rallies and meetings while only 23 percent reported to join demonstration, protests, gheraos etc.). This indicate that most of the participants are peace-loving and prefer non-violent means of interest articulation. However, sudden rise in "join protest, demonstration and gheraos" sub-type is an indication that people are gradually losing faith in the former type and shifting to more violent mode of political participation for influencing the decision-making machinery of the system. They found it more paying. Muslims and SCs are the leading groups in this type of political participation (see table 6.4).

So far as social-group associate type of participation is concerned, the overall participation percentage is not encouraging. Only 8 to 11 percent belong to a political party, clubs etc.; 13 to 15 percent reported that they had (at least once) worked for a party and 21 to 25 percent reported that they had worked with caste/community organizations (table 6.5). However, the percentage participation on Muslims and SC is somewhat satisfactory.

Voting turn-out - regarded by many as the simplest form
of political participation showed impressive trend. Approximately 51 to 52 percent turned out in the national polls while 47 to 48 percent reportedly participated in local elections. Turnout is particularly high among SCs and Muslims. One interesting point is that many a respondent who are apathetic reported that they had cast their votes during elections.

A very low percentage (18 to 21) reported participating in electoral campaign and still a few (3 to 5 percent only) donated funds for campaign (table 6.6). This is because mostly they are poor who has no time to spare for such activities. Only business class donate money for campaign which is the cause of low percentage of respondents donating for campaign. Similarly, very low percentage of the general masses among minorities and backward classes or Orissa are engaged in elite-contact behaviour. Approximately 15 to 18 percent only reported that they have contacted party leaders while 17 to 20 percent are those who contacted government officials. Most of them are contacters who approached leaders or officials for the redressal of their personal grievances.
When we come to socio-economic bases of political participation, for the purpose of our research, a participation index has been constructed in order to facilitate socio-economic bases of political involvement (for details see chapter 6). It is found that 18 percent in 1989 and 20 percent in 1991-92 are highly participant citizens (table 6.8). On urban-rural dichotomy, the conclusion is that urban domination is gradually giving way to rural populace. In 1989, urban people were more active as compared to 1991-92. This is indicative of penetration of participatory institution and orientations to rural areas. This also helps in system integration.

The assertion or general belief that higher education leads to high degree of participation is not found correct. Those with some or moderately educated are more active in political than highly educated. One interesting fact is the fare percentage of illiterate participation (approximately 17.5 percent).

The correlation of age with political activism also don't have a fixed pattern. Age advancement do never leads to high degree of participation. On the contrary, older citizens
are largely apathic and those in their youths and early middle age are highly active (table 6.11). Level of income have a clear correlation with the level of participation. Participation level increases with the increase in the income level as far as the present study in concerned.

On occupational basis of political participation, data in table 6.13 leads us to conclude that professionals, white-collar and businessmen group is the most active (36 percent) followed by unemployed youth(26 percent). Farmers are the least active occupational group. Workers with about 23 percent is a fairly active group of participants. Earlier study by Eldersveld and Ahmad in 1971 had reported farmers as the most active group and unemployed as the least active group. But our data has this different story to tell - may be this is due to the backwardness of the people and region under study.

The consequences of these participatory activities in relation to individuals groups and the system is concerned, we arrived at following conclusions.

1. Participation norms and modalities have affected these peripheral groups thereby resulting in higher degree of
socialization, better sense of citizenship and enlightened masses on the political front.

2. Increased participation (especially by rural folk) has resulted in mass-based leadership recruitment. It has developed group consciousness (caste/ community consciousness). Participation is a social group phenomena as far as minorities and backward classes of Orissa are concerned. It has led to more democratic and competitive party system. Political parties in their frantic bid to woo these groups have adopted various sophisticated means which helped in increasing cognition of the masses.

4. Mass political participation by these peripheral groups has affected the formation of already existing elite-class of the society. Older city-based elites are giving way to newly inducted elites from rural background.

5. Last, but not the least, the participation on a large scale has helped in achievement of greater system-integration function. The process runs like this- participation leads to socialization and good citizenship which in turn results in system-integration. This is of immense significance as minorities and backward classes of Orissa (peripheral groups,
as they are called) needed to be assimilated in the mainstream of the society which may prevent them from alienation and hostility towards the system.
Conclusions

The theme of this study is political participation of minorities and the backward classes of Orissa. Political participation has been a topic of increased importance in recent years all over the world. However, the study of political participation as such, has received relatively less than due attention in India vis-a-vis the West. The present study is an initial effort in the process of identification and analysis of salient trends in attitude and behaviour of minorities and the backward classes of a backward Indian state i.e. Orissa, towards politics.

Political participation has been conceptualized as 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. The mode of analysis of the study is empirical, the basis of which is the pilot survey, conducted by the researcher with the support of his friends, in six districts of Orissa involving 400 respondents. For the sake of this study respondents are randomly selected from four peripheral groups of the society.
representing minorities and the backwards of Orissa. These groups are Muslims and Christians from minorities and Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes from the backwards. On the basis of data collected & computed, the analysis was made the details of which has been given in the previous chapters. The number was kept at lower level because of inadequate infra-structural facilities and lack of cooperation on the part of the respondents. These analysis leads us to the following conclusions.

The first thing taken up for analysis in the political sub-cultures of the groups under study. This is because they are vital to understand meaningfully the exact nature and process of various aspects of political participation. Study of political culture (or sub-culture) is a pre-requisite for the study of behavioral pattern of a group in the society. Political culture comprises of three types of orientations towards politics-(1) cognitive (2) affective and (3) evaluative. These has been discussed in details in chapter III of the thesis. The main concern of this chapter is to ascertain the extent of acceptance of democratic norms or orientations among minorities and
backwards of Orissa.

Cognitive orientations, broadly speaking, reflects on individual's knowledge of the political system. Also included in this are individual's information (correct or incorrect) about elected representatives, caste voting, knowledge about caste/community association, issues facing the country etc. Our data in chapter three (table- 3.1 and 3.2) leads us to conclude that minorities and backwards of Orissa seem to possess more-than-expected knowledge about the political system and the political process. They are amazingly knowledgeable citizenry in political matters.

As far as knowledge about candidates in the elections is concerned, 67 (1989) to 68 (1991-92) percent could correctly identify winner from their constituency and 64 to 65 present could identify the party of the winner. Furthermore 68 percent could name the candidate they voted in the last election and 51 (1989) to 54 (1991-91) could correctly identify two or more candidates with their party affiliations. As regards knowledge about political parties are concerned more than 70 percent (a very high score indeed)
could name at least a single political party, but the percentage comes down to 47 percent in case of those who could correctly name three or more political parties. In 1989 survey 54 percent correctly name the party of the Prime Minister and 52 percent could correctly answer questions on party affiliation of the chief Minister. The positions improved slightly in 1991-92 survey.

On caste/community awareness 62 (1989) to 64 (1991-92) percent answered correctly the voting preference of their caste/community; nearly half of total respondents also know about the voting preference of other caste or communities in the last elections. More than 60 percent answered correctly why their caste/community voted to a particular party. 55 percent are aware about the existence of various associations working for the upliftment of their caste of community, but much less- 45 percent- possess knowledge about the structure and functioning of these associations.

The knowledge about issues/problems also score a good mark by these peripheral groups conceived to be backward. As close as 2/3 could mention at least one problem of national magnitude and 46 percent (1991-92) correctly
mentioned two or more problems being faced by the nation. On local issues at village/town level the score is 42 percent. 53 percent (in 1989) to 55 percent (1991-92) are aware about the problems being faced by their own caste/community.

It seems that they also possess a good knowledge about national symbols and heritage. As high as 4/5th in 1991-92 could correctly identify our national flag but only 23.5 percent could correctly describe its color pattern. Similarly, 57.5 percent (1991-92) could identify the national anthem but only a meagre 16 to 17 percent could recite it correctly. More than 2/3rd could name at least one great leader of our freedom movement; 57 percent know correctly about the 'Father of the Nation'. On knowledge about Nehru (as the first P.M) and his family the scores are 47 percent to 57 percent respectively. It seems that more people know about Mrs. Gandhi than Nehru. Only 30 percent know about our constitution.

The above-mentioned results about cognitive orientations of minorities and backward classes of Orissa lead us to safely conclude that they are a well-informed lot
as far as general political phenomena are concerned. However, when little bit of details were concerned, they score much less (-e.g. on color-pattern of national flag, reciting national anthem, knowledge about constitution). In toto, close to 60 percent are well-informed citizens on the general political matter. It is a very high percent indeed — higher than corresponding figures reported by Eldersveld and Ahmad on general public of India, on the basis of nation-wide surveys in 1967 and 1971. Twenty years have passed between 1971 survey by Eldersveld and Ahmad and the survey for this research work. It shows that people are becoming more interested and paying more attention to political happenings around them as the time marches on. This is true because a glance at data in tables 3.1 and 3.2 show that in most cases there has been increase in percentage of correct answer respondents from 1989 to 1991-92. Thus the high level of cognitive orientation towards politics seems stable and increasing.

A categorywise analysis of our data places the Scheduled Caste group far ahead of others on the level of information on almost all issues. They are followed by
Muslims, who, it may be said conclusively, are also highly aware of politics and political matters. Scheduled Tribes and Christians are less knowledgeable than the former two. It is due to general backwardness of these groups. It is also observed that people of coastal plains (mostly SCs and Muslims) are more advanced than that of people of hilly districts (mostly STs and Christians).

Turning to affective Orientations which deals the extent of attention to political matters, feeling of attachment or detachment (alienation) with the political processes and the system, it is found that at least 40 percent show interest in politics and pay attention to it. However, more than 50 percent participate in the voting during national elections, shows that more than 40 percent (who said that they are interested in politics) are in attentive category. One revealing fact is that 45 percent on 1989 are apathetics; a close to 10 percent are cynics (view politics as immoral and dirty game) and 6 percent are alienated (those who are hostile to the system). So if we group together these three apolitical segment of the sample,
they outnumber the political stratum of our sample. This is an indication of system failure and pathology and can be cured by growing effort of political socialization. The STs are the most apolitical category and the SC are the least also leads us to conclude that level of disinterestedness and level of advancement go hand in hand and have a positive correlation. One strange phenomenon noted is that in some cases there is participation (especially voting turnout) despite having a feeling of alienation. The explanation is that people participate in voting due to many cross-pressures on them despite harboring alienative attitude. They don't participate voluntarily or willingly, but are forced by the situation to participate.

On evaluative orientations to politics our data in table 3.4 & 3.5 reveals that nearly 40 percent in 1939 and 35 percent in 1991-92 are supportive of party system while 34 percent in 1989 and 31 percent in 1991-92 support election held periodically. It is not that bad as compared to the system-support levels reported by others about the general population of India. Of special attention is the decline in the level of support to these subsystems of the political
system over a period of two years. These fluctuations or downward trend in the public support for parties and elections are not special to minorities and backwards of Orissa, but a nationwide phenomenon observed by other researches also. Only slightly over 40 percent said they are satisfied with the performance of the govt. at national and state level, but when it comes to local administration the percentage of satisfied citizen comes down to 30 percent approximately.

The causes for a relatively low degree of evaluation people give to the elections, party and the govt. may be due to unsatisfactory results they yield. These subsystems have failed to deliver goods to these peripheral groups in the society. One observable fact is that more backward group is also the more dissatisfied group and vice versa. It is because their demands of genuine nature are being ignored by the govt. That is why SCs are the most satisfied group and the STs the least satisfied one. Level of political efficacy is still lower than affective and evaluative orientations among the minorities and backward
classes of Orissa. Approximately 60 percent think that government officials or elected representatives don't care much about people like them and a overwhelmingly 67.5 percent hold the view that any initiative by ordinary people like them has little chance of success as far as governmental policy-decisions are concerned. Thus only only 30 to 40 percent are said to be some-what effacious depending upon the case. Of course, there is nothing to be pessimistic as other researchers like Masden, Edersveld & Ahmad also report a 40 percentage efficacy-level after a nation-wide survey.

In general there is strong data-based evidence that a large proportion of minorities and the backward classes are cognitively aware of politics but much less of them support political sub-systems like elections and political party and still less are of high opinion or evaluate highly the political system as a whole although they are psychologically well attached to the system. But their psychological attachment is coupled with high degree of criticism and pessimistic feeling about their capacity as individuals to be effective in the system. They are not as undemocratic as one might thought to be. Thus our hypothesis
that "minorities and the Backwards classes of Orissa possess a parochial and very restricted outlook towards politics and lack a minimum degree of knowledge about political phenomena stands disproved on the basis of findings in chapter 4.

In the chapter 4 we have discussed about the role political parties are playing to motivate these peripheral groups to participate in the political process. Political Parties are conceived as operative structural units of the political system which perform the function of drawing in ever more strata of the population from the periphery of the society towards the centre of organized politics. These functions of political parties are crucial for the survival and stability of the political system.

To determine the role of party on the political life of citizens, an index of campaign exposure has been devised (for details see Chapter 4). On the basis of this index, Campaign exposure score is recorded and then correlated with various types of participatory activities. The data given in table 4.1 reveals that, in 1989 approximately one-fifth of our sample are completely unexposed to campaign; one-third are
minimally exposed, a little less than one-fifth are considerably exposed while the remaining 27 percent (more than one-fourth) is highly exposed to various campaign measures of political parties. There is an improvement in the exposure groups in 1991-92. Thus, it can be said that ore and more people are responding positively to the campaign effort of political parties. To put it other way is that parties are using more sophisticated techniques and have succeeded in their efforts to penetrate into these peripheral groups in the society. A categorywise analysis puts SCs on the top as far as exposure to campaign is concerned followed by Muslims, Christians and STs.

A positive correlation is seen between exposure to campaign and party with that of political environment. Data in table 4.2 reveals a clear-cut pattern of correlation between political exposure and political involvement. After glance at table 4.2, it can be safely said that higher exposure leads to high degree of active participation in politics. In 1989, among the high exposure groups, 66 percent are interested in politics, 76 percent voted in elections and 51 percent are active beyond voting while figure increases to
68 percent interested in politics, 78 percent voted in elections and 52.5 percent active beyond voting in the year 1991-91. Conversely, among those having exposure score of 0, only 14 percent are interested in politics, 24 percent voted in elections and 10 percent are active beyond voting in 1989. The corresponding figures for the year 1991-92 register a marginal increase only.

Another important aspect studied is the orientation of people who are mobilized to participate. It is very important as far as maintenance and development of a political system is concerned. For this, the mobilized group has been divided into four categories, viz. (1) Newly mobilized voters (2) Regular voters (3) Irregular voters and (4) Perennial Non-voters (for details see chap. 4). Data in table 4.3 dealing with orientations of different categories of mobilized groups places newly mobilized voters on the top of categories supporting the political system. They are the most active category followed by regular voters. Perennial non-voters are the least active group in politics and are least supportive of the political system. However, the
overall percentage of popular support to the system is more or less satisfactory. All these signifies that political development process is indirectly affecting orientations of people and socializing them to democratic norms. It also reveals the relevance of political parties for the expansion of popular support-base of the political system. In table 4.5 relating support for selected sub-systems (election-system and party system), with the exposed categories, an erosion of support is evident, the bulk of which comes astonishingly from highly exposed category. This can be explained in terms of negative perceptions of people which is slowly emerging in them due to too frequent elections and intense intra-party as well as inter-party conflicts that occurred in last few years. This has resulted in dampening the enthusiastic support for these sub-systems and has placed a question mark on their usefulness.

A very important aspect of party-role in political participation is the role of the leadership. It is more so when the focus is on the backward segment of the society, who frequently turn to their leaders or power-brokers' guidance. An attempt has been made to relate exposure to
leadership or elite-contact with political participations. The question is what role the political leadership (caste and community) play in so far as inducing people to participate meaningfully in the political process is concerned. The data on this is given in tables 4.6, 4.7 and 4.8. The conclusion is that these groups (although backwards and peripheral) are considerably exposed to the leadership- a total of 78 percent are exposed to the leadership in varying degree. Of course, many of these 78 percent elite-contacts are those who met leaders during campaign only by chance and not intentionally. If these elements are excluded then at least 42 percent are those who are serious on their contact with leaders and met them with a specific purpose in mind.

A positive correlation is established between elite-contact and political activism. Those having high degree of leader-contact or exposure are also very active in voting and vice-versa. In the high exposed category 48 percent are interested in politics, 62 percent voted in elections; 2 percent are active beyond voting. As opposed to these among those who are totally unexposed to leadership with zero
elite-contact) only 0.1 percent are interested in politics, 2 percent participated in voting and 0.75 percent are active beyond voting. Highest degree of political involvement is recorded from the group which has a personal contact with several leaders (see table 4.7 and 4.8).

On the basis of above discussion on the role of parties on the participatory activities of minorities and backward classes of Orissa, the hypothesis that these groups are closed ones and do not respond well to the various political stimuli by parties, does not hold ground. But on the other hand, it is found that exposure to parties and campaign are laudably high and they have a profound impact on the participatory activities of the groups under study. Political parties have succeeded in breaking the ice and penetrating the otherwise closed and rigid political culture (attitudes and orientations) of peripheral groups of Orissa. If political development means acquisition of new cultural orientations new awareness and belief in institutions and processes, such as parties and elections- then clearly this has occurred within the minorities and backward classes of Orissa. Of course, the degree of development varies from one
category to other (SC is the most developed group and the ST the least one). Exposure of these groups to the parties serves as an independent variable in this regard.

In chapter 5 a very important aspect of participation - party identification - of minorities and the backward classes has been discussed in details and is related to various involvement activities. Commitment of citizens to political parties is vital not only for the stability but also for the continuously revitalizing the democratic institutions of the system. In order to measure it and relate it to other political behaviour, an index of party identifications has been constructed. On the basis of which identifiers are divided into (i) Strong Identifiers (ii) Weak Identifiers and (iii) Non Identifiers (see chap. 5 for details).

Hypothesis tested on this vital aspect of citizen-participation in politics covers questions like extent/magnitude of party identification; crystallization of party loyalty (stability & fluctuation); interaction of this newly established identification with the age-old traditional or primordial group affiliations of ascriptive
nature and the role of institution like family on the continuity or change of party affiliations. Another issue taken for investigation is the impact of party identification on the political orientations of minorities and backward classes of Orissa.

As far as extent of party identification among minorities and the backward classes of Orissa is concerned on seeing data in tables 5.1 and 5.2 one cannot say that it is a causal agent but rather a part of new political configuration in the cognition of citizens of a slowly developing society. In considering the general backwardness of the populace under study, it is found that a good portion of them are exposed to parties and leadership. This resulted in the emergence of party identification to the extent of 42 percent in 1989 and goes up by 5 percent in 1991-92. This is a quite impressive score and is not far behind the all-India figure reported by other researchers. Thus identification is quite high and is gradually growing upwardly is an indication of maturity of the people on political front.
A strong linkage between party identification and political involvement is observed which goes to prove the hypotheses that party identification leads to political involvement. Those who are strongly identified are found to be more active than weak party identifiers. From data in table 5.9 it is evident that strong identifiers are twice or 1 1/2 times more interested in politics, and know about political system than weak identifiers. A categorywise analysis of the extent of party identification and its linkage with the involvement in the politics, places SC (58 percent identifiers) at the top of the table followed by Muslims (48 percent) Christians (32 percent) and ST's (30 percent) in the year 1989.

Affiliations to different political parties in 1989 (table 5.3 & 5.4) shows that most of the people from these backward or peripheral groups are affiliated to the Congress (I) (20 percent of the total sample and 48 percent of all identifiers). The main rival party which is close behind the congress(I) is the Janta Dal to which 17 percent of total sample and 40 percent of all identifiers showed their affiliations. Other parties are insignificant. One important
thing to note here is the very low percentage of identification with the B.J.P in a state where the percentage of Hindus are as high as 94 percent. Similarly among the tribals only 2 percent in 1989 and 3 percent in 1991-92 reported that they are affiliated to the Jharkhand Party. But a new trend found in the year 1991-92 when the Congress(I) losses its dominant position to the Janata Dal (21 percent of total sample said that they are affiliated to the J.D. and 45 percent of all identifiers showed their affiliations for the same party). The B.J.P registered an impressive growth wherein 5 percent of total sample and 11 percent of all identifiers reported affiliations with it. Similarly communists and Jharkhand also registered impressive growth. Thus, a profound change in the pattern of party identification is seen in 1991-92. A very large percentage of Muslims switched over to the Janta Dal from the Congress (I) which spelt doom for the party in the election. The obvious reason is the Ramjanambhumi Babri Masjid dispute which alienated the community from the Congress (I).

Here the question about consistency in the party
identification or the crystallization of identification among the minorities and backward classes of Orissa comes to one's mind. On the basis of data in table 5.6 and 5.7 one can safely conclude that it is not a fully crystallized or well-established phenomenon—rather of volatile nature to some extent. It is clear from the data that Muslims are the least consistent category while the ST's are the most consistent ones. It is observed that more advanced group is less consistent one and vice versa. It may be linked to caste or community awareness level (level of caste consciousness) which results in more advanced and aware groups taking or changing sides on keeping their caste or community interest in their minds. Thus the hypothesis that primordial and age old group affiliations rooted deep in the traditions of these groups do influences to some extent their preferences in politics is found to be correct.

Another hypothesis tested is whether party identification becomes stronger with the advancement of age. In some western studies this correlation between higher age group and strong party identification has been established. But data relating age with party identification in table 5.5
provides a completely different picture. Hence, among the minorities and backward classes of Orissa, it is found that older citizens are the least identified (only 9 to 10 percent) when it comes to strong party identification. Or the other hand, those in early middle age (31-40) are found to be most preponderant in the strongly identified category followed by youths (48 percent in 1989 and 54 percent in 1991-92). Thus stronger party identification is not necessarily correlated with higher age group as many in the West believe. Instead, the opposite is found to be more tenable as far as this study concerning minorities and the backward classes of Orissa is concerned. Older people are, it is found, either very weak in party identification or disinterested in politics generally.

As far as the hypothesis that generally children follows their parents in the party affiliation and the case is more so in the traditional societies is concerned, our study finds it a half-truth. Data on table 5.8 relates parental party affiliation with the off-spring shows that in 1989 out of 32 percent of respondents who could recall their fathers
party identification only 24 percent faithfully clung to it while 18 percent changed over to other party. In 1991-92 the percentage of respondents who changed over to party other than their fathers' party increased to 22 percent. But still then 25 percent (out of 38 percent who could recall their father's party identification) stick to their fathers party affiliation. Thus, the data shows a mixed picture. Many of them are still clung to their family's choice which is a sign of the persisting influence of traditional loyalties over a newly established modern phenomenon i.e. party identification. But the percentage of deviators from father's party identification is also quite impressive and is increasing day by day. This reflects the beginning of the end of the family grip and primordial loyalties in the political sphere of the life of minorities and backward classes of Orissa. The extent of negligible percentage of indentifiers with the B.J.P. in a largely Hindu dominated state and with the Jharkhand among the Tribals of Orissa also goes to prove that secular and democratic norms are satisfactorily gaining ground in the known backward region of India.

In fine, it can be said that minorities and the backward
classes of Orissa are well identified with political parties. This identification is a group political behaviour which helped them to behave in politics in a more meaningful manner. Although they are still influenced by primordial group loyalties, but the ice is fast melting to give way to more rational considerations. Extent of identification with political parties has enlightened and socialized them to an increasing amount of democratic norms. Younger generations are found to be more activity associated with parties than their elders. A change has been noticed in the pattern of party identification from 1989 to 1991-92 in which Muslims had played the most important role.

In the 6th chapter, various forms of political participation have been discussed and how far minorities and the backward classes of Orissa are involved in these types of participation has been taken up for investigation. The hypothesis tested on the basis of data available is whether there is an hierarchical participation in the sense of Mihbrath's typology? Also taken for investigation the socio-economic bases of political activism. Here the testable
hypotheses is which social category among these peripheral groups participate actively and meaningfully in the political process. What is the extent and degree of participation of different social and economic strata of the society in politics is also taken for discussion.

On the basis of the data shown in the tables of Chapter 6A and the analysis thereof, no particular pattern of typology has been found. There are several principal types of political involvement viz. allegiant, attentive, mass-participative, social-group associate, voting, electoral campaign and elite contact. Each of these principal types has several sub-types. Then political participation, as our data shows, has not an hierarchical typology. It follows a cosmic pattern.

As far as extent of participation in politics is concerned, the groups under study are found to be well-involved. Approximately 42 to 47 percent shows allegiance to one or another political party; half of them pay attention to political phenomena and a fairly good percent are engaged in mass-participative political activities (see table 6.4). It is also clear from the data that although most of the
participant choose peaceful methods of interest articulation, the percentage increase in the recourse to direct action is indicative of eroding faith in the peaceful way.

Social-group associate political behaviour has not percolated to these groups as the data in table 6.5 indicate. Roughly one-fourth reported that they have worked with the caste/community groups and a still lower percent (13 to 15 only) worked for a party. Voting turn-out is very impressive—more that 50 percent voted in the national elections and a little less than that percentage cast their votes in the local election. Turnout is high among SCs and Muslims. So far as electoral campaign activity is concerned, on in every five is engaged in such type of activity although, due to their poor financial condition, they could hardly contribute to the party funds (table 6.6). Similarly, 20 percent are those who contact elites for the sake of their demands.

In considering the general backwardness of the group, the recorded extent of the participation in politics is impressive in deed. Political mobilization has taken place among minorities and backward classes of Orissa and is being crystallized as days pass on. This has an positive impact on
the system-integration and system-maintenance. On the part of the individual it helps in creating a sense of civic duties and political socialization.

As far as socio-economic bases of political participation is concerned, data shows that the days of urban dominance in politics is about to go. The rural folks are taking more interest in politics with the passage of time can be well observed from the data on table 6.9. Thus, the general belief and findings in the West that urban people rule the proceedings in politics can not be ascertained when it is applied to the minorities and backwards of Orissa. There is a close competition in which the urban people has a slight edge over the rural folks. Another finding is that politically advanced groups are less likely to be dominated by urban leadership and vice versa.

The widely held view in the West that higher education leads to higher participation is not found correct. Rather moderately educated groups are found to be most active in the politics. Our data in table 6.10 also reveals that a good percentage (17.5 percent) of highly active category comes
from illiterates. A correlation of age with political activism leads to the conclusion that men of middle ages are most active followed by youths. Older citizens are the least active in the politics (table 6.11). A positive correlation has been found between the income-level and political participation. In table 6.12, data shows that a very few (5 percent) people from low income group participate actively in politics. Those with a higher income are most active in politics. The occupational sub-group which is most active in politics are professionals, white-collar and business men (36 percent); followed by unemployed youths (26 percent). Workers and farmers follow them in descending order. One interesting findings is that about activeness of unemployed youth in politics which constitute a little over one-fourth of the total highly active citizenry. Politics has become vocation for them in a state where they have little chance of taking over to other profession due to lack of funds and opportunities.

A categorywise analysis of the chapter 6 makes it clear that participation has become a group phenomenon so far as minorities and backward classes of Orissa is concerned. The
SCs are the most active group followed by Muslims, although in some cases the latter category even surpasses the former. Christians and STs are more backward as far as participation in politics is concerned.

Every political action has some consequences at the levels of individuals, groups, and the system as a whole. The participation in the political process by these peripheral groups has following consequences:

1. The participation in politics has affected individuals from the backward and peripheral segment of population resulting in citizen enlightenment, better sense of civic duty and a higher degree of political socialization.

2. Increased participation has resulted in the emergence of popular and democratic leadership with a vast mass-base. This has also heralded an era of 'elite displacement' thereby effecting the existing elite structure of the society.

3. Certainly participation is a group phenomenon when it comes to minorities and backward classes of Orissa. This
has helped in to develop a sense of caste/community consciousness and an increased bargaining capability of the social groups in the politics.

4. One of the system-level consequences is the emergence of competitive party system and campaign process. This led to increase in the political knowledge of masses and better opportunity to decide in elections.

5. Lastly, participation in an increasingly larger scale by the minorities and backward classes citizens is of immense value for the integration and maintenance of the system. This is indicative of positive political development on the part of the political system. This trend must be maintained because still there is a vast percentage of people in these groups (approximately 45 percent) who do not participate at all and are averse to politics. They must be socialized in the mainstream of the political system which is the only way out to prevent them from becoming alienated and hostile towards the system.
QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Let us first talk about this (village / town) you live in. How long have you lived here? (If not at all life probe for number of years lived here).

IF NOT AT ALL LIFE

1a. Where have you lived most of your life -- in town or in village?

2. Now talking about the problems of your village / town, how much attention would you say the village panchayat / municipality pays to the problems facing the people here -- a great deal, somewhat or not at all?

1  A great deal
2  Somewhat
3  Not at all

3. In several villages / mohallas we find there are individuals who have influence over how others in their villages / mohallas vote. Is there any such individual in this village / mohalla who has influence over how others vote?

1  Yes
2  No
3  D.K. --- Go to Question No:4

IF YES
3a. What do you think is the basis of his influence over the votes of the people here?

3b. How about you, do you generally consider his advice in matters of voting or not?

1 considers
2 does not consider

4. Generally speaking, did the people of your village vote for one party or different parties in this election?

1 Different parties
2 One party
3 D.K.

4a. Do you think it is important or not important to vote the way others vote in this village / mohalla?

1 important
2 not important
3 Other (specify)

5. Besides you were there others in your family who voted in this election?

1 No
2 Yes
IF YES

5a. Did they vote the same way you did or did they vote differently?

   1 Same way
   2 Differently

5b. Do you think it is important for all voting members of the family to vote the same way or not?

   1 Not important
   2 Important

6. In talking to people about the recent election to the Lok Sabha, we find that some people were able to vote and some were not able to vote. How about you? Were you able to vote or not?

   1 Voted
   2 Did not vote -- Go to question No: 7

IF VOTED

6a. Whom did you vote for?

   Name of Candidate  Party  Symbol

6b. What would you say was the main consideration you voted for
(Name of the candidate or party)?

(RECORD EXACT ANSWER)

6c. When did you finally make up your mind about whom to vote for, on the polling day, or during the campaign, or before the campaign started?

1 on the polling day
2 during the campaign
3 before the campaign started

IF NOT VOTED

7. What was the main reason you did not vote in this election to the Lok Sabha?

(RECORD EXACT ANSWER)

7a. We have talked about the Lok Sabha elections, how about the Assembly elections in this state -- were you able to vote in the Assembly elections?

1 Yes
2 No --- Go to question no: 8

IF YES

7b. Whom did you vote for?

(RECORD EXACT ANSWER)
7c. What would you say was the main consideration you voted for?
(Name the candidate or party)

(RECORD EXACT ANSWER)

8. How about the elections for the Lok Sabha four years back in 1985? Were you able to vote then?

1 Yes
2 No  --- Go to question no: 9

IF YES

8a. Whom did you vote for?

(RECORD EXACT ANSWER)

9. And how about the elections for the Lok Sabha before the 1984 elections that is the one held in 1981? Were you able to vote then?

1 Yes
2 No  --- Go to question No: 10

IF YES

9a. Whom did you vote for?

10. Now let us talk about the parties and the candidates in (Name the constituency) Parliamentary Constituency -- which were
the parties and candidates that contested in the elections just held for the Lok Sabha from this Parliamentary Constituency?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Candidate's Name</th>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Symbol</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

11. Who won from (Name the constituency) for Parliament in this election?

11a. How about the Assembly elections --- which were the parties and candidates that contested in the elections from (Name the constituency) Assembly Constituency?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Candidate's Name</th>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Symbol</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

11b. Who won from (Name the constituency) for Assembly in this election?

12. Now let us talk about the campaign during this election: How interested were you in the election campaign this year, great deal, somewhat, or not at all?
1 Great deal
2 Somewhat
3 Not at all

13. During the campaign did you tell any people why they should vote for one of the parties or candidates?

1 Yes
2 No

14. What about the election meetings that parties and candidates organized during the campaign. How many of these did you attend --- many, some, or none?

1 Many
2 Some
3 None --- Go to question no: 15
14a. Which were the parties whose meetings you attended?

(RECORD NAME OF PARTIES)

1
2
3

(PROBE: Did you attend meetings of any other parties?)

15. How about newspapers -- did you get the news about the election campaign from any newspaper?

1 Yes
2 No --- Go to question no: 16

IF YES

15a. Would you say you got such news regularly or often or once in a while?

1 Regularly
2 Often
3 Once in a while

16. What about the radio --- did you listen to news and programmes about the elections on the radio?

1 Yes
2 No --- Go to question no: 17
IF YES

16a. Would you say you did this regularly, often or once in a while?

1 Regularly
2 Often
3 Once in a while

17. Generally speaking, would you say that you personally cared quite a lot, somewhat, or not at all about who won the Lok Sabha election from (Name the constituency) Constituency?

1 Quite a lot
2 Somewhat
3 Not at all

17a. How about the assembly election -- would you say that you personally cared quite a lot, somewhat, or not at all about who won the Assembly election from (Name the constituency) Constituency?

1 Quite a lot
2 Somewhat
3 Not at all

At election time parties and candidates contact as many people as possible to ask for their support.
18. Did any candidate, party workers, or canvassers come to your house during the campaign to ask for your votes?

1  Yes
2  No —— Go to question no: 19

IF YES

18a. From which parties or candidates did they come?

(RECORD EXACT ANSWER)

19. Did you receive any handbills or other literature from parties or candidates?

1  Yes
2  No —— Go to question no: 20

IF YES

19a. From which parties or candidates?

(RECORD EXACT ANSWER)

Now I would like to talk to you about some of the things people do to help a party or candidate in an election. I wonder if you could tell me whether you did any of these things yourself during the last election campaign?
20. Did you help organize any election meeting?

1   Yes
2   No

20a. Did you join in any procession and demonstration during the campaign?

1   Yes
2   No

20b. Did you engage in house to house canvassing for any party or candidate?

1   Yes
2   No

20c. Did you help to get voters to the polling station?

1   Yes
2   No

20d. Did you distribute any polling cards or literature for a party or candidate?

1   Yes
2   No
20e. Did you contribute any money for the election campaign of any candidate or party?

1 Yes
2 No

20f. Is there anything else you did to help in the election campaign of a candidate or party?

1 Yes
2 No --- Go to question no: 21
IF YES

20g. What was it?

21. How about the leaders of this village/ward, generally speaking did they all support one party or candidate or did they support different parties or candidates?

1 One party
2 Different parties
21a. **IF ONE PARTY**

Which party?

__________________________

__________________________

__________________________

**IF DIFFERENT PARTIES**

Which parties?

__________________________

__________________________

__________________________

22. Now talking about the leaders of your caste / religious group, did they support any candidate or party in this election?

1 Yes

2 No --- Go to question no: 23

3 D.K.--- Go to question no: 23

**IF YES**

22a. Which party or candidate?

**IF KNOWS CASTE LEADER’S CHOICE ASK:**

22b. Did you agree with caste / religious leader's choice of party supported?

1 No

2 Yes

3 D.K.

23. Generally speaking, did most members of your caste /
religious group vote for one party or for different parties?

1 Different parties --- Go to question no: 23a
2 One party --- Go to question no: 23a
3 D.K. --- Go to question no: 24

24. Do you think it is important to vote the same way your caste / religious group votes?

1 Important
2 Not Important
3 D.K.

25. Some political parties specially care for the interest of particular caste / religious group while others don't. How about your caste / religious group? Is there any political party that looks after the interest of your caste / religious group?

1 Yes
2 No --- Go to question no: 26
3 D.K. --- Go to question no: 26

IF YES

25a. Which party?

25b. Are there any non-political voluntary organization association which specially care for the interest of your caste.
community?

1 Yes
2 No
3 D.K.

IF YES

25c. Can you name one or two such organizations?

(RECORD EXACT ANSWER)

25d. How these organizations work to further the interest of your caste/community?

(RECORD EXACT ANSWER)

26. Leaving aside the period of elections, how much interest would you say you have in politics and public affairs, a great deal of interest, some interest, or no interest at all?

1 Great deal
2 Some interest
3 No interest at all
27. Now would you please tell me how often do you discuss politics and public affairs with others, never, sometimes, or frequently?

1 Never
2 Sometimes
3 Frequently

28. How about your father, is he (was he) interested in politics and public affairs or not?

1 Not interested
2 Interested

28a. Does he (did he) support any party?

1 Yes
2 No --- Go to question no: 29

IF YES

28b. Which party?

29. Let us now talk about political parties: could you tell me the names of different political parties in the country (probe: any other) RECORD PARTIES IN THE ORDER THEY ARE MENTIONED.
30. Is there any political party you particularly feel close to?

1  Yes

2  No --- Go to question no: 31

IF YES

30a. Which is that party?

30b. Is your preference for this party very strong or not very strong?

1  Not very strong

2  Very strong

30c. What are the things about (Name the party) which you like most?

30d. Is there any other party besides this party that you like?

1  Yes--- Go to question no: 30e

2  No --- Go to question no: 31

30e. Which is that party?

(RECORD EXACT ANSWER)
31. Is there any party for which you will never vote?

1   Yes

2   No --- Go to question no: 32

IF YES

31a. Which is that party? (RECORD EXACT ANSWER)

31b. What is it that you do not like about this party?

Now I would like to ask you about the present Government in New Delhi, the things that were done by Mrs. Indira Gandhi's government in Delhi during the last four years, that you may have liked or disliked?

32. Was there anything that the government in New Delhi did during its present term of office that you particularly liked?

1   Yes

2   No --- Go to question no: 33b

IF YES

32a. What was it?
33. Was there anything in particular that you did not like?

1 Yes
2 No --- Go to question no: 34

33a. What was it?

34. In general, how well do you think that the present Prime Minister has done his job as Prime Minister? Would you say he has done a good job, a fair job, or a poor job as Prime Minister?

1 Poor
2 Fair
3 Good

35. Talking about the elections just completed what do you think was the main thing around which the election was fought this time in the country?

(RECORD EXACT ANSWER)

36. Do you think your vote has any effect on how things are run in this country or you think your vote makes no difference?

1 Has effect
2 Makes no difference
3 D.K.
4 Other (Specify)
37. Do you think that the Government in this country can be run better if there were no parties, assemblies and elections?

1 Yes
2 No
3 D.K.
4 Qualified Answer (RECORD EXACT ANSWER)

Let us now talk about some specific issues on which different people seem to have different opinion. We would like to know your personal opinion on some of these issues?

38. What do you think are the main issues / problems in front of the nation at present?

(RECORD EXACT ANSWER)

38a. Which party in your opinion would be most likely to do what you want on these issues?

(RECORD EXACT ANSWER)
38b. What are the main problems of your locality (village or town)?

(RECORD EXACT ANSWER)

38c. What are the main problems being faced by your caste community in general?

(RECORD EXACT ANSWER)

39. Have you heard about Mandal Commission Report, that is about reservations in Central Govt. jobs for the other backward classes of the country?

1 Yes
2 No --- Go to question no: 40

IF YES

39a. Do you think it as proper for the government to implement it?

1 Proper
2 Left as they were
3 D.K.
4 Qualified answer (RECORD EXACT ANSWER)

40. Have you heard about Babri Masjid - Ramjanambhoomi dispute at Ayodhya?

1 Yes
261

2 No

40a. Who, in your opinion, is responsible for this crisis?

(RECORD EXACT ANSWER)

40b. Is the Government in Delhi handling the situation satisfactorily?

1 Yes
2 No

41. Who is, at present, the Prime Minister of our country?

1 Correct Answer
2 Incorrect Answer
3 D.K.

41a. Can you say from which party the present P.M. belongs to?

1 Correct Answer
2 Incorrect Answer
3 D.K.

42. Who is, at present, the Chief Minister of Orissa?
42a. To which party does the Chief Minister belong?

1 Correct Answer
2 Incorrect Answer
3 D.K.

43. Would you say that the people like you have no influence over what the government does or that you have some influence over what the government does?

1 No influence
2 Some influence
3 D.K.

44. How much in your opinion do political parties help to make government pay attention to the people -- good deal, somewhat or not much?

1 Good deal
2 Somewhat
3 Not much
45. People are generally concerned about what government do -- some are more concerned about what the government in Delhi does, others are more concerned with what the state government does. How about you, are you more concerned about what the government in Delhi does or about what the State Government does?

1. Not interested in either
2. State Government
3. Both
4. Government in Delhi

46. Now talking of the information people receive about politics and public affairs which type of information interests you most -- information about national affairs or state affairs.

1. Not interested in either
2. State affairs
3. National affairs
4. Both

47. We find that people differ in how much faith and confidence they have in the national government and the state government. In your case do you have more faith and confidence in the national government in Delhi or the state government?
1 Neither
2 State Government
3 Both
4 Government in Delhi
5 D.K.

48. How much does having elections from time to time make the government pay attention to the people --- good deal, somewhat, or not much?

1 Good deal
2 Somewhat
3 Not much
4 D.K.

49. Would you say that voting is the only way that people like you can influence what the Government does or would you say that there are several other ways also by which people like you can influence the government?

1 Voting only way
2 Several other ways
3 D.K.

50. Would you say that people we elect by voting generally care
about what people like you think, or that they don't care?

1  Don't care
2  Care
3  D.K.

51. Would you say that politics and government are so complicated that people like you can't really understand what is going on, or would you say that you can understand what is going on quite well?

1  Can't understand
2  Can understand
3  D.K.

52. Supposing there was an election when the party you supported put up a candidate that you did not like. What would you do? Would you still vote for your party, or vote for another party or not vote at all?

1  Vote for the party he supports
2  Vote for another party
3  Not vote
4  Undecided - D.K.

53. Can you identify (show the calendar containing national flags of several countries) the Indian National Flag from this calendar?
1 Identified correctly
2 Could not identify correctly
3 D.K.

53a. (Don't show the calendar now). What are the colour pattern of our national flag?

1 Correct answer
2 Incorrect answer
3 D.K.

54. (Recite a few lines of National Anthem, then ask) What do you know about this poem just recited?

1 Identified correctly
2 Identified incorrectly
3 D.K.
54a. Can you recite it?

1 Yes
2 No

(If yes, then hear from him)

55. Can you name some of the Great Leaders of our Freedom Movement?

1
2
3
4

56. Who is known as the Father of our Nation?

1 Correct answer
2 Incorrect answer
3 D.K.

57. Who was the first Prime Minister of India?
57a. What do you know about Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru?

(RECORD EXACT ANSWER)

57b. Who were Indira Gandhi and Rajiv Gandhi and how they are linked to Nehru?

1 Correct answer
2 Incorrect answer
3 D.K.

58. Have you ever contacted any government official for any need or problem?

1 Yes
2 No

IF YES

58a. Generally for what kind of problems have you contacted government officials --- you personal problem or problems of this village / town?

1 Personal problems
2 Both
3 Problem of village / town

59. Over the last few years there have been many demonstrations,
strikes, gheraos, etc. in our country, some people say such actions are a proper way of making those in authority pay attention to the grievances and demands of the people, others say that those actions are not a proper way. How about you? Would you say these actions are a proper way of drawing attention to people's grievances and demands or not a proper way?

1 Proper
2 Not proper
3 D.K.
4 Qualified answer (RECORD EXACT ANSWER)

60. Are these methods more effective as compared to non-violent methods like giving petitions, meeting officials and cajole them etc.?

1 Yes more effective
2 No
3 D.K.

61. Thinking about the last ten years would you say the law and order situation in the country has improved, deteriorated or remained about the same?

1 Improved --- Go to question no: 62
2 Same
62. Who do you think are responsible for the present law and order situation?

(RECORD EXACT ANSWER)

62a. What do you think should be done to improve it?

(RECORD EXACT ANSWER)

63. Aside from caste and religious organizations, do you belong to any other association and organizations like the cooperatives, farmers' association, trade unions, welfare organizations, cultural and sports organizations, etc.?

1 Yes --- Go to question no: 63a

2 No --- Go to question no: 64

63a. What are these?

(PROBE: ANY OTHER)
64. Are you a member of any political party?

1. Yes  --- Go to question no: 64a

2. No

64a. Which party?

(RECORD EXACT ANSWER)
BACKGROUND DATA

1. Age (Years) 

2. Religion 

3. Caste 

4. What is your father's occupation? 

5. (If retired or dead) What has been his (father's) occupation most of his life? 

6. What is / was the highest level of education he reached? 

7. What is / was his monthly income? 

8. What is / was your grand father's occupation? 

9. What is your main occupation? 

10. (If retired), What was your occupation most of your life? 

11. What is the highest level of education you reached? 

12. What is your monthly income? 

13. Besides you how many persons are living here in this
14. Besides you how many earning members are there in your household?

15. Are there any (other) unemployed members in your household? (If yes), How many?

16. What is the total monthly income of the whole household, including your income?

17. What would you say, was the monthly income of your household 5 years back?

18. How much land you and your family own? (Record exactly)

19. Have you or your family taken any land on tenancy from others?
   1   Yes
   2   No
   
   IF YES
   19a. How much?
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