

Lokniti Newsletter

4 / January 2005

IN THIS EDITION:

[Editorial](#)
[Contact Us](#)
[Next Issue](#)

[Events at Lokniti](#)
[Projects Undertaken](#)
[Recent publications](#)

'State of Democracy in South Asia'
[Cross-national survey](#)
[Qualitative Assessment](#)
[Case Studies](#)
[Dialogues](#)

EDITORIAL

Let me extend my warm wishes for the New Year to all the members of the Lokniti network.

The Tsunami disaster that has devastated countries of Asia and Africa has left an indelible impact on the institutions of the state and civil society. It would be unimaginable to attempt an understanding of human security in South Asia without including an account of the dynamics of this impact and the challenges that have been posed to these institutions. The Lokniti network has initiated efforts in this regard by attempting an analysis of the situation in three phases: response, relief and rehabilitation. For further information, kindly contact Ms. Banasmita Bora at banasmita@lokniti.org.

This issue of the newsletter includes updates on the SDSA project and events organised by Lokniti. Some summaries of the case studies that have been commissioned have also been included. For detailed information on Lokniti and the projects mentioned here kindly log on to our website www.lokniti.org.

With best wishes,
Edzia Carvalho.

‘STATE OF DEMOCRACY IN SOUTH ASIA’

Cross-national Survey

The attitudinal survey that is a component of the ‘State of Democracy in South Asia’ has been undertaken and completed in Sri Lanka and India and the data checking is in progress.

In Pakistan, the fieldwork has been completed in most of the parts and the coding of open-ended questions is being done. In Bangladesh, the fieldwork is in progress and is likely to be completed by the end of January or by early February.

The State of Democracy in Nepal Survey Report
The *State of Democracy in Nepal Survey Report* is available online. To download the report, please visit our website at <http://www.lokniti.org/nepalsurveyreport.htm>

Qualitative Assessment

The following drafts of the Qualitative Assessment Papers have been received:

Nepal

- ‘*Promise of Democracy*’ - Anil Bhattarai
- ‘*Design of Democracy*’ - Mihir Thakur
- ‘*Working of Democracy*’ - Mukta Lama-Tamang
- ‘*Outcomes of Democracy*’ - Hari Roka
- ‘*Futures of Democracy*’ - Krishna Khanal

Pakistan

- ‘*Working of Democracy*’ - Hasan Askari Rizvi
- ‘*Outcomes of Democracy*’ - Zafrullah Khan
- ‘*Futures of Democracy*’ - Akbar Zaidi

Bangladesh

- ‘*Outcomes of Democracy*’ - Shantanu Majumdar

Sri Lanka

- ‘*Promise of Democracy*’ - Devanesan Nesiah

Case Studies

A brief summary of three case studies that have been commissioned under the SDSA project follows:

- Prof. Gopal Guru, India: *Jan Sunwai: A New Instrument of Democracy in India*
The case study looks at the institution of the *Jan Sunwai*. By using the politics of testimony to impact the discourse agenda of democracy, it represents a new and innovative pathway for expanding this agenda in South Asia. The *Jan Sunwai* is, in a sense, an admission that the other institutions of democracy that are dedicated to addressing people’s concerns and meeting their needs are functioning imperfectly. It

For Further Information

On the Qualitative Assessment component of the SDSA project, please visit our website at <http://www.lokniti.org/projects.htm#sdsa> or contact Ms. Ritu Rao at ritu@lokniti.org.



can, therefore, be seen as both a critique and an extension of and an addition to the existing institutional matrix which produces a deepening of democracy. The case study seeks to elaborate on issues such as (i) why was the *Jan Sunwai* used, (ii) should it be seen as a particular institution which comes up to address a particular need and then dissolves, (iii) how does it function, (iv) does its legitimacy, and thereby its strength, lie in its temporary nature since it is focused and committed to the job at hand, since it impacts public discourse because it is newsworthy, and since it has a high moral standing because its members are people of repute and credibility who can only devote on a voluntary basis a fixed quantum of time to it which thereby prevents vested interests from taking control.

- Mr Rajendra Pradhan, Nepal: *An Ethnography of the Legal Process: A Case Study of a Land Dispute in Nepal*

The case study looks into the everyday experience of ordinary citizens who approach the judicial system for its services to settle disputes in a manner consistent with the principles of justice. This we know is the ideal to which the legal system aspires but we also know that in actual practice this is far from being the experience of ordinary citizens. An anthropological investigation of one citizen's experience of how the system dispenses 'justice' would provide an understanding of the resources an individual requires to be able to stay the course of seeking justice, to, in a sense, ensure that the judicial process follows the conditions of 'due process' and results in an outcome that is fair and just, that only impersonally looks at the merits of the case and is not influenced by fear or favour. This study seeks to not just expose the inner working of the judicial system but also offer some comment on the social and political capital required to work the system. This will result in a different reading on the 'rule of law' that is so integral to the definition of democracy.

For Further Information

On the Case Studies component of the SDSA project, please visit our website at <http://www.lokniti.org/projects.htm#sdsa> or contact Ms. Edzia Carvalho at edzia@lokniti.org.

- Prof Moonis Ahmar, Pakistan: *The Modern Elite, Clergy and the Islamic Movements in Pakistan*

The case study examines the relationship between the 'traditional' and the 'modern' in Pakistan by looking at the coalition of the clergy, bureaucracy and military against the political party. The suggestion is that the traditional and the modern can come together because of the exigencies of power, to oppose another modern, in this case the political party. The modernizing elite needs the orthodox clergy to give it legitimacy to stall the other force of modernization, the political parties. This is an interesting suggestion because it presents two issues that need further discussion, (i) the dictatorial versus the democratic route to modernity, and (ii) the compatibility between the traditional and the modern.



Dialogues

The following dialogues have been held in 2004:

Regional Dialogues

- *Regional Dialogue* - Mumbai, India, 16th to 21st January.
- *Regional Brainstorming* - Delhi, India, 18th to 21st July.

India

- *'Democracy in India'* (North-East India) - Imphal, Manipur, 26th and 27th February.
- *'Democracy in India'* (North India) - Delhi, 15th and 16th April.
- *'Democracy and Human Security'* - Hyderabad, 18th and 19th September.
- *'A Dialogue on Democracy'* - Jaipauri, West Bengal, 26th and 27th November.

For Further Information

On the Dialogue component of the SDSA project, please visit our website at <http://www.lokniti.org/projects.htm#sdsa> or contact Mr. Solano Da Silva at solano@lokniti.org.

Nepal

- *'Democracy: Majorities and Minorities'* - Kathmandu 11th and 12th August.
- *'Democracy and Human Security'* - Pokhara, 27th and 28th November.

Sri Lanka

- *'Democracy: Majorities and Minorities'* - Kandy, 20th September.
- *'Democracy and Human Security'* - Colombo, 24th November.

Pakistan

- *'State of Democracy in Pakistan'* - Lahore, 7th and 8th February.
- *'Democracy and Human Security'* - Karachi, 28th and 29th August.
- *'Democracy: Majorities and Minorities'* - Rawalpindi, 10th and 11th October.

Bangladesh

- *'State of Democracy in Bangladesh'* - Dhaka, 27th and 28th March.
- *'Democracy: Majorities and Minorities'* - Chittagong, 29th and 30th July.

EVENTS AT LOKNITI

Projects Undertaken

An **attitudinal survey** and an **ethnographic study** of a constituency, Poinguinim in South Goa were conducted in the month of December 2004. This constituency had the unique distinction of being the first in India, after the 91st Amendment was enacted to curb 'the evil of defections', where a candidate elected on a Congress ticket resigned, re-contested the consequent bye-election on a BJP ticket and won. The studies sought to understand the internal

Upcoming Events

A post poll survey will be conducted in the Indian states of Bihar, Jharkhand and Haryana during the Assembly elections to be held on February 2005.

[↑ Top](#)



dynamics of the constituency that have produced this result and its implications for our understanding of representative democracy.

Recent Publications

- Kumar, Sanjay ‘Aage Marandi, Peeche Munda’, (in Hindi), *Prabhat Khabar*, December 29, 2004
- Kumar, Sanjay, ‘Adhiktar Logo Ne Yah Tai Kar Liya Hai, Ki Kise Vote Dena Hai’ (In Hindi), *Prabhat Khabar*, December 14, 2004
- Kumar, Sanjay, ‘Alliance Arithmetic Holds the Key’, *The Hindu*, December 28, 2004.
- Kumar, Sanjay, ‘Jharkhand me Lokpriya Neta Ban Kar Ubhare Shibu Soren’, (in Hindi), *Prabhat Khabar*, December 26, 2004

The *Economic and Political Weekly* published a special issue ‘**National Election Study 2004**’ Vol. XXXIX, No. 51 on December 18, 2004 on the National Election Study 2004. A list of the articles published in it follows:

For Further Information

On the EPW issue, please visit our website at <http://www.lokniti.org/index.htm>

Special Articles

- Deshpande, Rajeshwari, ‘How Gendered Was Women’s Participation in Election 2004?’
- Lokniti Team, ‘National Election Study 2004: An Introduction’
- Mehta, Pratap Bhanu, ‘Constraints on Electoral Mobilisation’
- Palshikar, Suhas ‘Majoritarian Middle Ground?’
- Palshikar, Suhas and Sanjay Kumar, ‘Participatory Norm: How Broad-based Is It?’
- Rao, Ritu, ‘Assessing the Electoral System: A Positive Verdict’
- Sridharan, E. ‘Electoral Coalitions in 2004 General Elections: Theory and Evidence’
- Suri, K. C. ‘Democracy, Economic Reforms and Election Results in India’
- Yadav, Yogendra ‘The Elusive Mandate of 2004’

Suggested Reading

Jayawardena, Kumari, 2000 *Nobodies to Somebodies: The Rise of the Colonial Bourgeoisie in Sri Lanka*, Colombo: Social Scientists’ Association and Sanjiva Books.

‘(The book) examines the origins and growth of the bourgeoisie in Sri Lanka during British rule... It traces its evolution from a ‘feudal society and mercantilist economy to the age of plantations.... The study assigns primacy to class over caste, and details the rise of the new-rich ‘Nobodies’ of many different castes, ethnicities and religions into the ranks of the ‘Somebodies’.... (It) focuses on the rentier nature of the bourgeoisie and how they ... were basically collaborative with the colonial rulers. It highlights the constraints on further capitalist development, the obsession of the bourgeoisie with land acquisition and social status, and its consciousness as a class, especially on issues of political reform.’

-- The blurb

Analyses of States

- Baba Mayaram, ‘Chhattisgarh: BJP Consolidates Its Hold’
- Bath, Nani, ‘Arunachal Pradesh: Victory for the BJP’
- Bhattacharyya, Dwaipan, ‘West Bengal: Permanent Incumbency and Political Stability’
- Bora, Banasmita, ‘Sikkim: Pro-incumbency Factor’
- Chauhan, Ramesh and S N Ghosh, ‘Himachal Pradesh:



- Bipolar Contest'
- Chowdhary, Rekha and V. Nagendra Rao, 'Jammu and Kashmir: Electoral Politics in a Separatist Context'
 - Goswami, Sandhya, 'Assam: Mixed Verdict'
 - Joshi, Dhananjai and Praveen Rai, 'Haryana: Landslide Victory for Congress'
 - Kumar, Ashutosh 'Punjab: In Search of New Leadership'
 - Kumar, G. Gopa, 'Kerala: Verdict Against Non-Performance and Congress Factionalism'
 - Kumar, Sanjay and Annapurna Nautiyal, 'Uttaranchal: Story Behind Marginal Differences'
 - Kumar, Sanjay and Harishwar Dayal, 'Jharkhand: Reversal of Past Trends'
 - Lodha, Sanjay, 'Rajasthan: India Shines as BJP Trounces Congress'
 - Misra, Surya N. 'Orissa: Ruling Coalition Returns'
 - Palshikar, Suhas and Nitin Birmal, 'Maharashtra: Towards a New Party System'
 - Patel, Priyavadan, 'Gujarat: Anti-incumbency Begins'
 - Prasad, G. Koteswara, 'Tamil Nadu: A Tactical Alliance and a Sweep for the DPA'
 - Raj, Pushkar, 'Delhi: Benefiting From Two-Layered Incumbency'
 - Ramshankar, 'Madhya Pradesh: Social Tectonics in a Two-Party System'
 - Rodrigues, Maria do ceu, Prabhat Kumar, William Joe and Solano da Silva, 'Goa: Fractured Mandate'
 - Satapathy, R. K. 'Mizoram: Positive Vote for the State Government'
 - Shastri, Sandeep and Harish Ramaswamy, 'Karnataka: Simultaneous Polls, Different Results'
 - Singh, S. Mangi, 'Manipur: Elections in the Context of Social Conflict'
 - Suri, K. C. 'Andhra Pradesh: Fall of the CEO in Arena of Democracy'
 - Verma, A. K. 'Uttar Pradesh: Caste and Political Mobilisation'
 - Yadav, Muneshwar, 'Bihar: Politics From Below'

The first issue of the journal *Shodharthy* is in print. This contains Political Science publications translated in Hindi. It is a publication of Lokniti and is edited by Dr. A. K. Verma. It will be issued as a quarterly.

For Further Information

On how to subscribe to *Shodharthy*, please email Dr. A. K. Verma at anil_verma@vsnl.net

CONTACT US

You can contact us at:

Lokniti,
Centre for the Study of Developing Societies (CSDS),
29, Rajpur Road, Delhi – 110054, India.
Ph: 91 11 23981012
Fax: 91 11 23831290
Email: edzia@csdsdelhi.org, edzia@lokniti.org

NEXT ISSUE

The next issue of the Lokniti newsletter will be issued in February 2005.

↑ [Top](#)