



Lokniti Newsletter

1 / October 2004

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EDITORIAL

Welcome to the first issue of this new series of the Lokniti newsletter!

This endeavour is intended to enable members, friends and well wishers of the Lokniti network around the world to keep informed about the events that have been organised by Lokniti and its partner institutions. We also aim to keep you informed of programmes that are in the pipeline to facilitate your participation in them.

We would appreciate your comments and suggestions towards improving this venture. A prototype of the Lokniti website has been uploaded recently. The web address is www.lokniti.org. We request the Lokniti network members to send in their suggestions about the website at solano@csdsdelhi.org, solano@lokniti.org.

With best wishes,

Edzia Carvalho.



‘STATE OF DEMOCRACY IN SOUTH ASIA’

The *State of Democracy in South Asia* (SDSA) Report is an initiative to carry out a base-line evaluation of the democratic enterprise in the five South Asian countries of Bangladesh, India, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka. The project is being supported by International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA), Stockholm, the Ford Foundation and the European Union. The programme has four principal components: sample survey, qualitative assessment, case studies, and dialogues on democracy.

Cross-national Survey

One of the principal ambitions of this project is to conduct a South Asia wide sample survey of opinion, attitudes and values of the citizens. This collaborative research project will be carried out in the tradition of rigorous social scientific survey research identified with the Centre for the Study of Developing Societies (CSDS) in association with the *Lokniti* network in India and other collaborating scholars from South Asian institutions.

The questionnaire for the survey was designed after consultations with all the three Principal Investigators, members of the Advisory Council, all the country coordinators, and other experts with experience of survey research. The meeting to discuss the questionnaire was held in Colombo between June 18th and 20th 2004. The questionnaire was finalised in a meeting of the country co-ordinators held in Delhi from July 18th to 20th 2004.

A four-day trainers’ training was held at CSDS, Delhi from July 18th to 21st 2004 where participants from all the five South Asian countries were trained in survey research. This training workshop was attended by the three Principal Investigators of the project, the 5 country coordinators and about 25 senior researchers who will supervise the survey work in their respective countries.

The fieldwork for the survey has been scheduled from August to December 2004. The fieldwork in Nepal began on 6th August and will continue for almost a month. The three-day training of the field investigators was held in Kathmandu from August 2 - 4, where the investigators were imparted training in survey research. Dr. V. B Singh and Mr. Sanjay Kumar of the CSDS joined the Nepal country co-ordinator and the local team in conducting this training workshop.

The fieldwork in Sri Lanka has begun from September 15, 2004. A 3-day training workshop for field investigators for the survey in Sri Lanka was held in Colombo from September 8 - 10, 2004. Dr. Sandeep Shastri and Mr. Sanjay Kumar joined the Sri Lanka country co-ordinator and the local team in conducting the workshop.

The fieldwork in Pakistan, Bangladesh and India has been scheduled to be completed by the end of November 2004.

Announcements

The network meeting to discuss the logistics of the SDSA survey in India has been finalised for October 2nd and 3rd, 2004 in Bangalore, Karnataka, India. The dates and venues for the workshop for the investigators for the survey will be decided here.

Qualitative Assessment

While public perception is essential to evaluating democracies, it is not sufficient. It excludes a large range of qualitative questions that require a separate investigation. The democracy assessment framework evolved by International IDEA in its *Handbook on Democracy Assessment* has been accepted as the starting point for the Qualitative Assessment component of the SDSA project. Democracy will be assessed at the following five levels:

- The *promise* of democracy
- The *design matrix*
- The *working* of democracy
- *Outcomes* and
- *Futures*

Assessment would be made with respect to the following domains of public-political activity:

- State institutional domain
- Party political domain
- Non-party political domain
- Economic, social and cultural domain

Methodologically, it will involve the following steps:

- Qualitative assessment will be based upon assessment schedules to be filled by experts and subjected to verification.
- The schedules will be evolved after extensive consultation with experts and activists in each area.
- The experts will use different techniques to gather information required in the schedule but will principally rely on existing literature including primary and secondary sources.

The experts who have been identified for this purpose are:

Nepal:

- *Promise*: Anil Bhattarai
- *Design*: Mihir Thakur
- *Working*: Mukta Lama-Tamang
- *Outcomes*: Hari Roka
- *Futures*: Krishna Khanal

Sri Lanka:

- *Promise*: Devanesan Nesiah
- *Design*: Sundari Alwis
- *Working*: Ambika Sathkunathan
- *Outcomes*: Kishali Pinto-Jayawardena
- *Futures*: Asanga Welikala

Bangladesh:

- *Promise*: Mijarul Quayes
- *Design*: Prof. Nazmul Ahsan Kalimullah
- *Working*: Mohammad Tanzimuddin Khan
- *Outcomes*: Shantanu Majumdar

- *Futures*: Amena Mohsin

Pakistan:

- *Promise*: Khalid Ahmed
- *Design*: Sayed Jaffer Ahmed
- *Working*: Hasan Askari Rizvi
- *Outcomes*: Zafarullah Khan
- *Futures*: Akbar Zaidi

India:

- Shefali Jha
- Sandeep Shastri
- Sanjay Palshikar
- Rajeshwari Deshpande
- Aditya Nigam
- Surinder S. Jodhka
- Pratap Bhanu Mehta
- Rajiv Lochan
- K.C.Suri
- Manjari Katju

Case Studies

The case studies have been deliberately chosen to complicate and problematize the discourse on democracy. They are seen as ‘inconvenient facts’ that compel students of democracy to look

beyond the subtle rhetoric of democracy and draw different conclusions, to perhaps see in these cases a puzzle of the democratic process. The following case studies have been commissioned for the project:

- Dr. Binayak Sen, Bangladesh: *A Street View of Policing: Does Democracy Protect Against Tyranny for the Children on the Street?*
- Dr. Hossain Zillur Rahman, Bangladesh: *The Informal in Democracy: Reflections on the Micro Credit Movement in Bangladesh*
- Dr. Jani de Silva, Sri Lanka: *Democracy, Power and Violence: Party Politics and the Transformation of the Village Feud in the Sri Lankan South*
- Dr. Kumari Jayawardena, Sri Lanka: *Dynasties and Democracy: The Family in Politics in Sri Lanka and South Asia*
- Dr. Markus Mayer, Sri Lanka: *Youth and Democracy's Future: Social Change and Alternative Political Expressions -Selected Cases from Sri Lanka*
- Dr. Saba Gul Khattak, Pakistan: *Women's Rights are Extended During a Dictatorship and not by Democracy*
- Dr. Sunil Bastian, Sri Lanka: *Patronage Networks as Resource Transfer in Sri Lanka*
- Dr. Vimla Ramachandran, India: *Democracy and Compulsory Education in India*
- Mr. Alito Siquiera, India: *Life of a File: An Anthropological Study of the Citizen's Experience with Bureaucracy*
- Mr. Kanak Mani Dixit, Nepal: *Monarchy in a Democracy: The Case of Nepal*
- Mr. Lakshman FB Gunasekara, Sri Lanka: *Media as an Industry and not as Democracy's Watchdog and Source of Public Information: The Case of Sri Lanka*
- Mr. Rajendra Pradhan, Nepal: *The Ethnography of the Legal Process: A Case Study of Nepal*
- Mr. Suresh Dhakal, Nepal: *Transforming Local Government: The Case of Bhaktapur*
- Ms. Shandana Khan Mohmand, Pakistan: *Devolution of Power in Pakistan: For or Against Democracy?*
- Prof. Errol D'Souza, India: *Corruption's Impact on Political Institutions*
- Prof. Gopal Guru, India: *Jan Sunwai: A New Instrument of Democracy in India*
- Prof. Moonis Ahmar, Pakistan: *The Modern Elite, Clergy and the Islamic Movement in Pakistan*

Dialogues

The dialogues are a conscious attempt to incorporate the insights of democracy activists who may adopt a sharper focus and have more in-depth knowledge and critical expectations of political process. They will contribute to the project in the following ways:

- They will serve as a source of data collection for some of the research questions.
- They will help interpret the data collected through various means.
- They will help disseminate the findings of the report to a broader group of activists and opinion makers.

The following dialogues have been held so far:

- **India:**
 - Democracy in India – Bangalore, Karnataka (South India), 5th and 6th December 2003.

- ‘Caste and Democracy’ – Delhi, 9th January 2004.
- Democracy in India – Imphal, Manipur (North-East India), 26th and 27th February 2004.
- Democracy in India – Delhi (North India), 15th and 16th April 2004.
- Democracy and Human Security – Hyderabad, Andhra Pradesh, 18th and 19th September 2004.
- **Nepal:**
 - Democracy in Nepal – Dhulikhel, June 2003
 - Democracy in Nepal – Dhulikhel, November 2003
 - Democracy in Nepal -- Constitutional Democracy – Kathmandu, 22nd to 23rd July 2004
 - Democracy: Majorities and Minorities – 11th to 13th August 2004
- **Sri Lanka:**
 - State of Democracy in Sri Lanka – Colombo, 11th to 12th December 2003
 - Democracy: Majorities and Minorities – Kandy, 20th September 2004
- **Pakistan:**
 - State of Democracy in Pakistan – Lahore, 6th to 7th February 2004
 - State of Democracy in Pakistan – Karachi, 28th to 29th August 2004
- **Bangladesh:**
 - State of Democracy in Bangladesh – Dhaka, 27th to 28th March 2004
 - Democracy: Majorities and Minorities – Chittagong, 27th to 28th July 2004

EVENTS AT LOKNITI

Lokniti: Institute for Comparative Democracy was established in 1997 as a research programme of the Centre for the Study of Developing Societies (CSDS), Delhi. By bringing various projects of the CSDS on elections and party politics together, under a single programme, Lokniti seeks to engage with global debates on democracy.

Projects Undertaken

The **National Election Study, 2004** was carried out during the elections to the 14th Lok Sabha of India. The post-poll survey was conducted in all the states with a sample size of 27,000 respondents. The survey was partially supported by *The Hindu*, the European Union grant for ‘Participatory Assessment of the State of Democracy in India’ under the ‘EU Economic Cross Cultural Programme’. The preliminary reports of the survey have been published in a special supplement in *The Hindu*.

A post-poll survey was conducted in Delhi, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Chattisgarh and Mizoram during the Assembly elections held in these states in November 2003. The reports were published in *The Hindu*, which financially supported the survey.

The Delhi Survey 2003, a survey of the opinions and attitudes of the people living in Delhi was conducted by Lokniti. 14,460 face-to-face interviews were conducted using a standard structured questionnaire. The survey was conducted at about 1,450 locations spread all over the city of



Delhi. The survey was financially supported by the *Hindustan Times*. The reports of the survey were published in the *Hindustan Times*.

Lokniti has collaborated with International IDEA, Stockholm, for the **Electoral Process Information Collection (EPIC)** Project. EPIC is a cooperative research venture between International IDEA, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the International Foundation for Election (IFES). The purpose of the project is to establish a database of election-related information which will be easily available. The information has been collected country by country, following an agreed upon research instrument and according to topic areas reflecting the processes of organising elections, including electoral management, boundary delimitation, voting operations and so forth.

Lokniti is also a part of the **CSDS-CSAS Electoral Studies Project**, a collaborative effort of the Centre for the Study of Developing Societies (CSDS), Delhi and Center for South Asian Studies (CSAS), University of Michigan. This project hopes to bring together a group of scholars with the aim to compile the contributions into an edited volume on Indian elections published by a major academic/university press in the US and India. The project has been funded by a Title VI grant of the UD Department of Education to CSAS.

An exchange programme on ‘Democracy and Diversity in Comparative Perspective’ between West African and South Asian scholars Lokniti has been running in collaboration with the Centre for Democracy and Development, Lagos, Nigeria and has been funded by the Ford Foundation. This programme was started in 2000. Mr. Surajudeen Oladosu Mudasiru is the research scholar who is at Lokniti as part of this programme. He is working on ‘Federalism and the Management of Internal Security: A Comparative Study of Nigeria and India’. The three Indian scholars due to leave for Nigeria are:

- Dr. Sanjay Lodha, M. L. S. University, Rajasthan, India who will be working on ‘Fighting Corruption: An Enquiry into Civil Society Initiatives for Securing Freedom of Information’
- Dr. Ashutosh Kumar, Department of Political Science, Panjab University, who will be researching ‘Globalization and Democracy in Post-Colonial India: Identity, Marginality and Development’
- Mr. Anandswarop Verma who will be working on ‘Federalism and the Management of Internal Security: A Comparative Study of Nigeria and India’

Events Organised

A dialogue on the current river water dispute involving the states of Punjab, Haryana and Rajasthan was held at the CSDS on Sunday, 29 August 2004. The participants included experts, public intellectuals and activists from the three states involved in the present dispute. Shri Kuldeep Nayar, Justice Rajinder Sachchar, Professor Amrik Singh, and other experts helped steer the dialogue.

Upcoming Events

International IDEA, Sweden has embarked on a research programme on political parties ‘to assist in... strengthening them to function as effective actors of democratisation and good governance’. Lokniti is considering the possibility of being a partner organisation for carrying out this work in India.





A Workshop on ‘Decentralization: Institutions and Politics in Rural India’ was held on 5-6 August 2004, at the India Habitat Centre, Delhi. The workshop was organised by the UN – Inter Agency Working Group – Decentralization and convened by Lokniti, Centre for the Study of Developing Societies and Department of Political Science, Delhi University. The workshop aimed at creating a forum that facilitated a conversation between three communities -- practitioners, academicians and policy makers for reflection on political, fiscal and other issues of decentralization.

A Workshop on ‘National Election Survey’ was organized by Lokniti, Centre for the Study of Developing Societies (CSDS), New Delhi, March 19-21, 2004 which was preceded by the questionnaire preparation workshop on March 6-7, 2004.

Upcoming Events

A National Seminar on ‘Reconstructing Democratic Concerns in Modern India’ will be organised by Lokniti from the 8th to the 10th of October 2004 at CSDS, Delhi. For further information, visit <http://www.lokniti.org/upevents.htm>

Selected List of Recent Publications

- CSDS Team, ‘How India Voted – Verdict 2004’, *The Hindu*, May 20, 2004.
- DeSouza, Peter Ronald (ed.) *Contemporary India: Transitions*. New Delhi: Sage, 2000.
- Kumar, Sanjay ‘Janata Regionalised: Contrasting Bases of Electoral Support in Bihar and Orissa’, in Rob Jenkins (ed.) *Regional Reflections: Comparing Politics Across India’s States*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Kumar, Sanjay and Dhananjai Joshi ‘DU Politics: Just 17 pc Students Interested’ in *Hindustan Times* (Delhi), September 2, 2004.
- Palshikar, Suhas and Rajendra Vora, *Indian Democracy: Meanings and Practices*, Delhi: Sage, 2003.
- Singh, V. B ‘Political Profile of Delhi and Support Bases of Parties: An Analysis’, in Veronique Dupont, Emma Tarlo, Denis Vidal (eds.) *Delhi: Urban Space and Human Destinies* Delhi: Manohar, 2000.
- Sheth, D. L., and Gurpreet Mahajan (eds.) *Minority Identities and the Nation State*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- Yadav, Yogendra ‘Open Contest, Closed Options’, *Seminar* ‘Beyond the Verdict’, #534, February 2004.

Suggested Reading

‘Political Parties and Elections in Indian States: 1990-2003’, *Journal of Indian School of Political Economy*, Joint Issue, Vol. XV, Nos. 1&2, January-June 2003.

‘.... This volume is most valuable for a conceptual frame that focuses insistently on the special burden of democracy in India.’ -- ‘Beyond the Verdict’ *Seminar*, # 534, February 2004.

Selected List of Contributions to Reports

- DeSouza, Peter Ronald ‘Overview of Rural Decentralization in India’, World Bank, September 27, 2000, Vols. 1-3.
- Kumar, Sanjay ‘Election Campaign Management: Methods, Techniques and Tools’ paper presented at Workshop on *Election Campaign Management: Methods, Techniques and Tools*, New

For Further Information

On our publications please visit our website at <http://www.lokniti.org/publications.htm>



Delhi, 29 June 2004.

- Singh, V. B., Yogendra Yadav, Sanjay Kumar, E. Sridharan & Sanjay Mishra 'National Election Audit, 1999' *A Report submitted to The Election Commission of India on Election Expenditure in the Thirteenth General Election to the Lok Sabha, New Delhi.*

THE LOKNITI NETWORK

The Lokniti network spans the Lokniti State Co-ordinators in India, the SDSA Country Co-ordinators and Programme Officers, and institutional partners. In the process of undertaking all the studies and surveys, Lokniti has built this nation- and world-wide network of scholars based in universities and other research institutions. All the major studies are conceptualised, operationalised and executed by this network. Given below is a list of the Lokniti network in India:

- | | |
|---|---|
| ➤ A. K Verma, State Co-ordinator, Uttar Pradesh | ➤ Muneshwar Yadav, State Co-ordinator, Bihar |
| ➤ A. K. Baruah | ➤ Nani Bath, State Co-ordinator, Arunachal Pradesh |
| ➤ Amiya K. Chaudhuri | ➤ Nitin Birmal, State Co-ordinator, Maharashtra |
| ➤ Annapurna Nautiyal, State Co-ordinator, Uttaranchal | ➤ Praveen Rai, State Co-ordinator, Haryana |
| ➤ Ashutosh Kumar, State Co-ordinator, Punjab | ➤ Priyavadan M. Patel, State Co-ordinator, Gujarat |
| ➤ Baba Mayaram, State Co-ordinator, Chhattisgarh | ➤ Pushkar Raj, State Co-ordinator, Delhi |
| ➤ Dwaipayan Bhattacharya, State Co-ordinator, West Bengal | ➤ R. K Satapathy, State Co-ordinator, Mizoram |
| ➤ G. Gopa Kumar, State Co-ordinator, Kerala | ➤ Rajendra Vora |
| ➤ G. Koteswara Prasad, State Co-ordinator, Tamil Nadu | ➤ Rajesh Dev, State Co-ordinator, Meghalaya |
| ➤ Harishwar Dayal, State Co-ordinator, Jharkhand | ➤ Rajeshwari Deshpande |
| ➤ K. C. Murry, State Co-ordinator, Nagaland | ➤ Ram Shankar, State Co-ordinator, Madhya Pradesh |
| ➤ K. Debbarma, State Co-ordinator, Tripura | ➤ Ramesh K. Chauhan, State Co-ordinator, Himachal Pradesh |
| ➤ K.C Suri, State Co-ordinator, Andhra Pradesh | ➤ Sandeep Shastri, State Co-ordinator, Karnataka |
| ➤ Maria do Ceu Rodrigues, State Co-ordinator, Goa | ➤ Sandhya Goswami, State Co-ordinator, Assam |
| ➤ Mukund Giri, State Co-ordinator, Sikkim | |
| ➤ Rekha Chowdhary, State Co-ordinator, Jammu & Kashmir | |
| ➤ S. Mangi Singh, State Co-ordinator, Manipur | |

For Further Information

On the Lokniti network in India, please visit our website at http://www.lokniti.org/lok_network_india.htm

- Sanjay Lodha, State Co-ordinator, Rajasthan
- Suhas Palshikar
- Surya Narayan Misra, State Co-ordinator, Orissa

As part of the project on the State of Democracy in South Asia (SDSA) Lokniti formed linkages with scholars based in universities and research organizations in the other South Asian countries. The following are the names and details of the South Asia Country Coordinators:

- Professor Imtiaz Ahmed, Bangladesh
- Dr. Krishna Hachhethu, Nepal
- Prof. Mohammad Waseem, Pakistan
- Prof. Jayadeva Uyangoda, Sri Lanka
- Mr. Sanjay Kumar, India

Projects Undertaken

Dr. Anil K. Verma is the Uttar Pradesh State Co-ordinator for Lokniti. He has been the Editor of *The Lokniti Bulletin* published by Lokniti, Centre for the Study of Developing Societies (CSDS), New Delhi, since 2002. He is also the editor of *Shodharthy – An Abstract of Journals* published by the Centre for the Study of Society and Politics (CSSP), Kanpur. The project is designed to help the students of Political Science in the universities and the colleges in the Hindi speaking states of India to read good Political Science journals. The journal carries lengthy abstracts of selected articles appearing in leading national and international Journals of Political Science, and related disciplines appearing in English. The abstracts are in Hindi.

Dr. Sanjay Lodha is the Rajasthan State Co-ordinator for Lokniti. He is the Principal Investigator for an ICSSR Project titled ‘Ensuring Transparency and Accountability through Gram Sabha – A Study of State and Civil Society Initiatives in Rajasthan’ and for an National Foundation of India project titled ‘Generating Leadership and Social Capital: A Preliminary Enquiry into the Functioning of Jaagrak Manch’.

Events Organised

- Seminar on ‘State Politics with Special Reference to the Electoral Politics in India: Emerging Trends’, organized by Department of Political Science, Punjab University, Chandigarh, India, March 17-18. 2004.

For Further Information

On the Lokniti network, please visit our website at http://www.lokniti.org/lok_network.htm

Upcoming Events

A seminar on ‘Social Movements and Social Transformation’ sponsored by ICSSR, and organised by Goa University and MES College, Goa will be held from the 30th to the 31st of October 2004. For further information, email mariadoceurodrigues@yahoo.co.in

Upcoming Events

A Seminar on ‘Challenges to Indian Foreign Policy in the New Era’ will be held from the 29th to the 30th of October 2004. For further information, email annpurna43@hotmail.com



Selected List of Recent Publications

- Chaudhuri, Amiya, *Legislative Control over Public Administration*, Minerva Publications.
- Kumar, Ashutosh 'Hamza Alavi and Post-colonial State', *Economic and Political Weekly*, August 7, 2004.
- Lodha, Sanjay (ed.) *Indian Foreign Policy and the Emerging World Order* Jaipur: Print Well Publishers, 1998.
- Nautiyal, Annpurna, 'US Policies in the Post Cold War Era: An Indian Perspective' *Strategic Analysis*, (New Delhi) Vol. 28, No. 1, Jan-Mar 2004.
- Verma, A. K. 'Uttar Pradesh: Will BSP and Congress Gain?' *Economic And Political Weekly*, 1 May 2004.

Selected List of Papers Presented

- Kumar, Ashutosh 'The Indian Constitutional Framework for Autonomy (Its Historical and legal Evolution) and Its Impact on Norms of Citizenship', presented at the workshop on 'First Dialogue on Constitutional Strategies for Accommodating Pluralism: The Indian Framework of Autonomy', organized by Mahanirban Calcutta Research Group on 29-30 March, 2004 at Varanasi, India.

Suggested Reading

Ahmad, Dohra, Iftikhar Ahmad and Zia Mian (eds.) 2004. *Between Past and Future: Selected Essays on South Asia by Eqbal Ahmad*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.

The blurb says...

'In these writings, Eqbal Ahmad illustrates how history, identity, power and privilege have made Pakistan what it is today, and points the way to understanding how the mature of Pakistan's state, its society, radical Islam and nuclear weapons are shaping a perhaps fatal path for the country's future.'

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CONTACT US

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NEXT ISSUE

The next issue of the Lokniti newsletter will be in November 2004.

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