Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

The concept of political development has emerged as a new focus in Political Science studies.The emergence of large number of new states in Africa,Asia and Latin America after the Second World War challenged the perspectives and the theoretical capacities of all social science disciplines and opened up new dimensions. The rapid changes, which were taking place in these countries, informed Political Scientists to refashion their tools of social investigation and to extend their universe from limited Western societies to these sweeping changes in new states As a result, vast area studies were made and empirical researches were conducted to meet the urgent need of studying the development processes of these countries, which led to the emergence of a new concept of political development In fact, "there can be little doubt that the concept of political development has become the central pivot around which most of the recent thoughts in Political Science tend to organize itself "[1]

Political Development: Meaning, Varieties of Definitions and Development Syndrome

The term, 'Political development' defies precise connotation Almost every scholar or group of scholars concerned with the politics of developing areas has come up with at least one formulation The names of Gabriel Almond, james Coleman, Leonard Binder, Herbert Feith, Myron Weiner, David Apter, Harold Lasswell, Karl Deutsch, Daniel Lerner, Tallcott Parsons, F Boles, Edward Shils,

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[1] Daya Krishna, *Political Development A Critical Perspective* (Delhi, 1979), p 1

Joseph La Palombara, C E Ward, A F K Organskik, Sydney Verba, C E Black, C E Welch, F W Riggs, Samuel P Huntington, Alford Diamant, Dankwart A Rustow, Robert Holt, J C. Turner, S.N. Eisenstadt, S K Arora and a host of other social theorists may be referred to in this connection Even to itemize them all would be a tiresome and not a particularly useful task

However, in his *Aspects of Political Development*, Lucian W Pye has completed a fairly comprehensive listing of ten meanings, which have been attributed to the concept of political development [2] Pye has summarized diverse definitions in to ten points and after commenting upon them, he comes out with certain conclusions

Pye begins with those scholars such as Paul A Baran, Norman S Buchanan, Howard S Ellis, and Barbara Ward, who believe that political and social conditions play a crucial role in impeding or facilitating the economic growth But according to Pye, this view does not focus on a common set of theoretical considerations Besides, economy change far more slowly than political arrangements, and in most of the under developed countries people, clearly are concerned about and anxious to facilitate political development quite independent of its effects on the rate of economic growth [3]

Pye then comments about those social scientists such as W W Rostow, etc., who try to identify the process of political development with the pace of industrialization But Pye rejects it on the ground that it ignores the role of several

2 Lucian W Pye, *Aspects of Political Development* (New Delhi,1972), Indian edn, pp 31-48
3 Ibid, pp 33-34

other factors like forces that threaten the hold of the vested interests, an appreciation of the values of orderly legal and administrative procedures, and an acknowledgment of politics as a means and not an end in itself [4]

Various social scientists like James Coleman, Karl Deutsch, S M Lipset identify political development with political modernization and assume that advanced and modern countries are the pace setters of political development But Pye however feels that it is against the view of cultural relativism, which questions the propriety of identifying industrial-, i e, western practices as the universal standards for all political systems [5]

Some social scientists such as K.H.Silvert, Edward Shils, McCord, etc, are of the opinion that political development means the organization of political life and performance of political functions in accordance with the standard of a nation state This view identifies political development with *nationalism* But Pye rejects this view too on the ground that *nationalism* is merely a necessary condition of political development, it is not a sufficient condition. [6]

Scholars like Max Weber, Talcott Parsons, A M Henderson, and Joseph La Palombara, etc, emphasize on the need of organization building or a need of effective legal and administrative order for political development Pye, however feels that this approach too ignores various factors such as the problem of

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[4] Ibid, pp 34-35
[5] Ibid, pp 35-36
[6] Ibid, pp 36-37

citizenship training and popular participation both of which are clearly aspects of political development [7]

Social theorists like S N. Eisenstadt stress on the role of a politically awakened citizenry and the behaviour of the people in the direction of an expanded popular participation This view too is rejected by Lucian W Pye, who thinks that such view "is fraught with the danger of either sterile emotionalism or corrupting demagoguery " [8]

Pye is also critical of scholars like Joseph La Palombara who assume that political development is synonymous with the establishment of democratic institutions and practices as, Pye feels that this view "can be seen as effort to push upon others American or at least Western values" [9]

Writers like F W Riggs and Karl Deutsch assert that any form of economic or social advancement does generally depend upon an environment in which uncertainty has been reduced, and planning based on reasonably safe predictions is possible Pye rejects this view also because this view, according to him does not answer that how much order is necessary and desirable and for what purpose change should be directed Besides, coupling of stability and change is not something that can occur in the dreams of far better classes of society than most under developed masses and maintenance of order however desirably stands second to getting things done and thus development calls for a somewhat more positive view.[10]

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[7] Ibid, p 38

[8] Ibid , p 39

[9] Ibid, p 40

[10] Ibid, pp 41-42

Some scholars like James Coleman, Gabriel Almond, and Talcott Parsons take the view that political development can be evaluated in terms of the level or degree of absolute power, which the system is able to mobilize Pye criticizes this approach on the ground that this view ignores the case of development where the mobilization of power is deliberately kept limited "[11]

Pye, however, agree with social scientists such as Millikan ,Blackmer and Daniel Lerner, etc , who regard it worthless to try to isolate too completely political development from other forms of development They say sustained political development can take place only within the context of multi-dimensional process of social change. Pye appreciates this view [12]

In addition, there are also other interpretations of political development. For example, James Coleman, Norbert Weiner, etc., believe that development means a sense of national selfrespect and dignity in international affairs [13]

In a noble effort at synthesis diverse views on political development, Pye attempts to summarize the most prevalent common themes on political development as involving movement towards, [i] increasing equality- mass participation in political activities, universalistic nature of law, the recruitment to political office reflecting achievement and standards of performance [ii] increasing capacity - capacity of a political system through which it can produce "output" and the extent to which it can affect the rest of the society and economy. [iii] increasing

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[11] Ibid

[12] Ibid

[13] Ibid, pp 45-48

differentiation it is, not fragmentation and isolation of the different parts of the political system, but specialization based on ultimate sense of integration [14]

Among various components of political development, equality is related to political culture, capacity is related to the performance of the authoritative structure of Government, and differentiation indicates towards performance of the non-authoritative stuctures and the general political process in the society. In the last analysis, the problem of political development revolves around the relationships between the political culture, the authoritative structures, and the general political process

Political Development : A Concept of Continuous Debate

Though L W Pye has made an appreciable effort to summarize prevalent notions of political development and to present a comprehensive definition covering main themes of them, yet the difference of opinion on the concept has not sinked and the "quest of political development" in John Montgomery's phrase has necessarily led Political Scientists to provide different view's on this concept

One such difference can be noticed on the relationship between political development and modernization The major tendency was to think of political development as virtually identical with political modernization The principal dissent from this point of view came from Samuel P Huntington in 1965 He argued that "though the process of political development is affected by the process of modernization, it is independent of modernization process He defined this term as the institutionalization of political organization and procedures He observed, "This

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[14] Ibid, pp 47

concept liberates development from modernization It can be applied to the analysis of political system of any sort ,not just modern ones. Huntington also forcefully challenged the dependence of political developments study on sociology, and especially on structural functional approach, popularized by Almond and his followers It is stated that structural functional approach is under serious criticism even within Sociology because fo its insensitiveness to and limited usefulness in the study of change [15]

By the late sixties, however, the focus in Political Science studies clearly began to shift from the infra-structural studies to analysis of the will and capacity of political actors and institutions Apart from Huntington, a whole group of writers, Eisentadt,[16] Halpern,[17] Diamant,[18] and Nye,[19] etc., developed the political developments study variously known as "will and capacity approach or institutionalization "

In addition, a number of theories for the direct study of political change were also evolved in the late sixties by various writers ,which can be broadly divided into three categories Firstly, the theory of componentenal change, which

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[15] Refer Samuel P Huntington, "The Change to Change Modernization, Development and Politics," *Comparative* Politics, vol 3, No 3, April, 1971, also see Wilbert Moore , " Social Change and Corporate Studies," *International Social Science Journal*, (Paris), vol 15,1963

[16] S N Eisenstadt, " Modernization and Conditions of Sustained Growth," *World Politics*, (Princeton) vol 14, July 1964

[17] Malfred Halpern, "Towards Further Modernization of the Study of New Nations," ibid, vol 17, October 1964, pp 157-81

[18] Alfred Diamant, "Political Development Approaches to Theory and Strategy", in John D Montgomery
and William J Siffin, eds , *Approaches to Development Politics, Administration and Change*(New York, 1966), pp 15-48

[19] Joseph Nye, " Corruption and Political Development," *American Political Science Review,(Washington,D C), vol 61*, June 1967, pp 417-27

was propagated mainly by Huntington ,who believed that the relationship between political participation and political institutionalization should be taken as the central focus of political change

Secondly, the theory of crisis change, which was represented by two schools of thought's, one of Gabriel Almond and the other by W W Rustow Almond extended his conceptual framework (of 1960 &1966) in1969 by his study of equilibrium devlopment which, according to him, will be predicted by determinancy or choice Rutow like Almond placed a primary emphasis on the choice to be made by political leadership

Theory of complex change was added by Brunner and Brewer in 1971 who in brief, believed that political change was a complex affair and spelt out some twenty two variables and a number of parameters involving the rural and urban sectors and tried to trace the relationship among these variables and parameters in twelve questions, which he derived from general theories of modernization and from the analysis of certain developing countries directly in the span of twenty years

Viewing such vast differences about the concept of political development, Helio Jaguaribe, a Latin American writer, tried to develop in his various writings a comprehensive theory of political development after scanning the literature on this concept He regarded political development as political modernization plus ✓ institutionalization. As a process, political modernization involves an increase in the operational variables of a polity, namely, (a) rational orientation (b) structural differentiation and (c) capability and political institutionalization the last variable

involves an increase in the participation variables of a polity namely (1) political mobilization (2) political integration, and (3) political representation.[20]

This concept of political development has thus been a subject of continuous debate As indicated above, even the comprehensive definition of Pye has been debated Leonard Binder has referred Pye's three concepts of equality, capacity and differentiation as a shorthand description and has attributed five attributes to political development (1) change of identity from religious to ethnic and from parochial to societal; (2) change in legitimacy from transcendental to immanent sources, (3) change in political participation from elite to mass and from family to group; (4) challenge of distribution from status and privilege to achievement, and (5) change in the degree of anti legal penetration into social structure and out to remote regions of the country

However many works on political development give little attention to conceptualization For example despite its title, *The Recent Understanding of Political Culture* by Weiner and Huntington, contains no index entry for the term, even though the work begins with an acknowledgement of the variety of definitions of political development Richard Bensels in his, *Sectionalism and American Political Development, 1880 -1980* discusses political development only in sense of "historical changes in the American political system ",i.e.,political developments F W Riggs argues that the term is not a concept, but only a "power word" that offers not analytical virtue but political power to those who can control it Harry Eckstein

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[20] S P Varma, *Modern Political Theory A Critical Survey* (New Delhi, 1982) , revd edn, p 354

admits that " the present literature on political development simply does not represent developmental inquiry properly"[21]

These differences over the concept of political development notwithstanding, one can use Lucian W Pye's views about equality, capacity and differetiation in a system to determine the degree of its political development[22] According to him, the signs of political development could be traced at the levels of the population as a whole, governmental and the general systemic performance , and the organization of the polity

As the present study is an analysis of the political development among the tribal communities of Kerala, the indices of political development traced here comprise of political mobilization and involvement at various levels, cognitive levels of the tribals, rationality, differentiation of basic structures, continued leadership by elites from their own community, nationalism, political socialization and political cuture levels, etc These variables provide a comprehensive vision based on various views expressed by the writers on this concept

Before we go ahead with our study of political development among the tribals of Kerala with a special reference to the tribals of the Palakkad district, it is, however, relevant to present an overview of the developmental challenges of tribals in India as a background to our case study

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[21] Cited in, Stephen Chilton, *Defining Political Development*, (Denver,1988), p 5

[22] Varma, n 20, p 337

Tribals in India

Tribals are found in almost all parts of the world. India has the largest tribal population of the world with about 68 34 millions and they constitute 8 08 per cent of the total population of the country. The tribes are the autochthonous people of the land who are believed to be the earliest settlers in the Indian Peninsula They are generally called the *adivasis* implying original inhabitants The ancient and medieval sources of information including the *Vedic* and the Epic literature mention various tribes like the *Bharatas*, the *Bhils*, the *Kollas*, the *Kiratas*, the *Kinnaras*, the *Kiris*, the *Matsyas*, the *Nisadas* and the *Banars* [23] The tribals or *Adivasis* are thus the reminiscence of the timeless tradition and culture of India The cultures running back for tens of thousands of years are the cultures of many *Adivasi* communities in the subcontinent The tribals are the people who live today in large and small groups in the hilly and forest areas of the country.

Etymologically, the term tribe derives its origin from the word 'tribes' meaning three divisions For Romans, the tribe was a political division In the Western World, as also in India, the term tribe had totally different connotation than what is prevalent now The tribe was the highest political unit comprising several districts which in turn were composed of clans. It occupied a definite geographical area and exercised effective control over its people Permenant settlement in a particular area gave geographical identity to a tribe The territory under the domain of a particular tribe was generally named after it. It is believed that India derived its name, *Bharat* from the mighty *Bharat tribe* Even today, there are a number of regions which owe their names to the tribes inhabiting them In the North-East, the

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[23] R C Verma, *Indian Tribes Through the Ages* (New Delhi,1995), revd edn, p 1

states of Mizoram, Nagaland and Tripura are named after the Mizo, Naga and Tripuri tribes respectively. With the growth of nationalism in Europe, the term tribe came to denote a race of people within a given territory [24]

The Portuguese travel writers and missionaries described the variety of ethnic and occupational groups and sects of the Indian subcontinent in terms of "caste" and "tribe" These terms gradually become part of the Indian society In the early period of India's contact with the western nations, the two terms were used as synonyms The synonymy was finally shattered through a legal intervention by the colonial rulers when an official list of communities was prepared by them [1872] as the list of tribes A similar list was prepared in the previous year for communities that were mistakenly thought of as 'criminal' and were covered by the provisions of an inhuman " Criminal Tribes Act of India, 1871." Since then the "tribes" are perceived as a distinct segment of society.[25]

The tribal communities in India are classified into three groups on the basis of their racial ancestry . The Negritos, the Mongoloids and the Mediterranean The Negritos are believed to be the earliest inhabitants of the Indian peninsula. They have almost disappeared However, some traces of Negritos are still found among the tribals of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, known as Onges, the Great Andamanese, the Sentinelese and the Jarwas and also in Kerala among the Kadars, the Irulars and the Paniyans [26]

The tribals of the Sub-Himalayan region belongs to the Mongoloid race. The Mongoloids are divided in to two categories - Palaeo Mongoloids and the Tibeto ongoloids The tribes living, in Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, and

[24] Ibid, p 2

[25] G N Devy, "Rethinking Tribals", *The Hindu Folio, ADIVASI*, July 16, 2000, p 6

[26] Verma,n 1,p 2

Manipur belong to the first category and, in Sikkim and Arunachal Pradesh to the second category.

The Mediterranean people form a bulk of the tribal people and are generally known as the Dravidians. Dravidians is, however, the name of the language spoken by these people and has no ethnic significance The tribes believed to be belonging to the Dravidian race are found in the Chotanagpur Plateau, the Rajmahal hills region, the Aravalli ranges, the Central Vindhyachal, the Decan Plateau region and Nilgiri Hills The Dravidian language still survives not only in southern India, where Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam and Kannada are its leading representatives, but also in Central India, where its traces are found in the dialects spoken by the Oraons, the Gonds, the Mundas, the Malers, the Khonds and the other tribes The Dravidians are presumed to be of two stocks, the Kolarians who speak a dialect called Mundari and the Dravidians proper whose languages are represented by Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam and Kannada.[27]

Whatever may be the variety of the tribals in India, their plight began with the arrival of the British into India. Once settled here they conquered the *Adivasis* for the promotion of the British colonial interests By passing the Crown's Control Over Forests Act in 1865 they took away the autonomy of tribals over the forests making them " encroachers" on land that had been their's for ages With one legislative change, they became trespassers in their own forests They were victimised by externally motivated systems of forest management that directly violated various facets of their economic and cultural survival Their forests and other ressources in their areas were increasingly seen as commodities, their lands expropriated as private property and their growing dependence on ruthless money

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[27] Ibid, p 3

lenders linked with powerful feudal landlords and local politicians led to massive land alienation, and permanent or seasonal migration.[28]

Added to this environmental transition was the imposition of an alien judicial system and "law and order " machinery that subjugated them further compounding their vulnerability and subservience Their own highly subtle and organically embedded systems of conflict resolution were undermined. As a result of all these changes, the tribals lost their self respect and dignity to a considerable extent Not surprisingly, now they are facing a crisis of identity

At present therefore the tribals are one of the most vulnerable sections of the population. They are exploited by the most age old social and cultural handicaps, coupled with environmental factors.The age old exploitation and repression of the tribals have cut them off from the main stream of socio-economic and political development of the country as a whole. This is despite the fact that after the independence the union and state governments have made several efforts towards developing the living standards of tribals in accordance with the Constitution of India, which has made definite provisions for the welfare and upliftment of the tribal people

Constitutional Safeguards

There are many provisions in the Indian Constitution to safeguard the interests of the tribals Under Art 342 of the Constitution of India, certain tribes have been specified as Scheduled Tribes. Scheduled Tribes have been specified in all states and Union territories, except the States of Punjab and Haryana and Union territories of Chandigarh, Delhi and Pondicherry

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[28] Smitu Kothari, "To be Governed or to Self-govern", *The Hindu Folio, ADIVASI*, July 16, 2000, pp 18-19

In the state of Jammu and Kashmir, 12 Scheduled Tribes have been specified for the first time vide the Constitution (Jammu & Kashmir) Scheduled Tribes order, 1989, as amended by the Constitution (Scheduled Tribes) Order (Amendment) Act, 1991 It may be noted that constitutional safeguards are applicable to the Scheduled Tribes and not to other tribal groups which are not so specified Unlike Scheduled Castes, there is no religious bar for specifying a tribe as a Scheduled Tribe

Art 46 offers promotion of educational and economic interests of scheduled tribes Art 244 provides special administration of scheduled tribe areas Art 275 provides for grants-in-aid from the Consolidated fund of India to states for implementation of tribal development programmes Art 330- mandates reservation of seats for Scheduled Tribes in the House of the People. Art.332- mandates reservation of seats for scheduled tribes in the legislative assemblies of the states Art 335 allows special claims to them to services and posts under the Union or of a state Art 338 directs the President to appoint a special officer for Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes to investigate all matters relating to the safe guards provided under the Constitution. And finally, Art.339 gives control to the Union over the administration of scheduled areas and the welfare of Scheduled Tribes [29]

Tribal Development

From the first Five Year Plan onwards various special programmes for tribal development have been implemented by the union and state governments During the Second Five Year Plan, many multi purpose tribal projects were created in selected tribal areas. On the recommendation of the Varner Elwin Committee, tribal development block system was implemented under the Third Five Year Plan.

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[29] D K Singh, *Constitution of India,* (Lucknow, 1983), revd edn, pp 116-21

In the Fourth Five Year Plan period, land colonization schemes were established, co-operative societies for tribal development were introduced and a number of concessions were offered to the tribals by forest, excise, and revenue departments in their respective fields.

A Tribal Sub Plan (TSP), which emphasizes on area development for areas of tribal concentration and family oriented programmes for dispersed tribals, was implemented during the Fifth Plan During the Sixth Five Year Plan, a definite target of assisting fifty per cent of the Scheduled Tribe families in the country to cross poverty line was adopted During this plan period, 181 ITDP's (Integrated Tribal Development Projects), 245 MADA(Modified Area Development Approach) pockets and 72 primitive tribe projects were put into operation in India. During the Seventh Five Year Plan, the tribal development strategy was a judicious mix of area-cum family development About 40 lakh Scheduled Tribe families below the poverty line were targeted to be provided economic assistance under the plan

The total Scheduled Tribe population in India , as per 1991 Census, is about 6 78 crores, which constitutes about 8 08 per cent of the total population The Scheduled Tribe population in Kerala is 320,967 (1991 Census). It is 1 10 per cent of the state population. There are 35 Scheduled Tribe communities in the state. While the decadal growth rate 1981-1991 for the ST population is 22 75 per cent, for the general population it is only 14.75 per cent The growth rate in the number of tribal house holds was 32 47 per cent, whereas for the general population it was only 24 64 per cent The literacy rate of the tribals in Kerala is 57 22 per cent

In Kerala State, the Scheduled Tribe Development Department is the major agency involved in the implementation of development programmes benefiting the ST people The Department provides educational concessions, scholarships and

other kinds of assistance to tribal students from primary to post-graduate levels Many schools and hostels for ST students are functioning under the ST Department In educational institutions, five percent of seats are reserved for these students

There is an Intensive Habitat Development Programme (IHDP) for integrated development of the most backward ST habitats. The ST Department assists construction and repairing of existing houses. The Kerala Government has initiated several steps for providing better medical facilities to the ST of the state Conduct of District-State level festivals of ST, assistance to their *Mahila Samajams*, assistance for marriage of their girls, implementation of the Prevention of ST Atrocities Act, inter cast marriage grant, etc , are other schemes for their welfare

The Kerala State Development Corporation for SC/ST (K S.D C) and Kerala Institute for Research Training and Development Studies for SC/ST (KIRTADS) implement various programmes for the benefit of Scheduled Tribes. Besides, the schemes implemented by the Scheduled Tribe Development Department, other developmental departments are also implementing schemes for SC/ST people by ear-marking a portion of annual plan outlay under Special Component Plan (SCP) and Tribal Sub- plan(TSP) The Government of India releases a lumpsum amount as Special Central Assistance (SCA) for SCP and TSP to alleviate poverty among ST people. Poverty alleviation programmes like Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP), Training of Rural Youth for Self Employment (TRYSEM), *Jawahar Rozgar Yojana* (JRY), *Indira Avas Yojana* (IAY), Development of Women and Children in Rural Areas (DWCRA), etc , are implemented to develop the ST people.

The administrators and planners are thus devoting considerable time and energy for sustainable development of Scheduled Tribes. The Government has spent several thousand of crores of Rupees for various tribal welfare programmes There is a lot of statistics, which shows the huge expenditure for tribal development

schemes as success of the scheme. But doubt exists about whether the fruits of these schemes reach them or not.

Most of the tribal people in Kerala live in forest and hilly areas They are therefore naturally isolated from the mainstream of the society. Their isolated life prevents them from utilizing many of the advantages of modern civilization "In the name of development the, the catch word of the Government, the bureaucracy and the willy-nilly politicians, the tribals have been robbed of water and food, even the traditional sources of medicinal facilities they got from forests". In Kerala, the tribals have never been a vote bank for the political parties, so they have never been a bargaining force A bottle of cheap liquor and some cajoling on the eve of the poll is all the tribals need [30]

The massive illiteracy among the tribals in general, when accompanied by their unorganized structure and the unscrupulous bend of the dominant groups, made way for undesired diversion of many of the tribal development programmes without reaching the tribals and rather moving in favour of non tribals Even if the programmes meant for the tribals reach them, they hardly take full advantage of these programmes due to their inherent weaknesses All these make the tribal development programmes far off from achieving the desired end

The exploitation of the tribals are still continuing, the Government and party leaders alike are pretending ignorance of this. They are more interested in the number of votes they can secure They neglect the unorganized tribals in favour of other dominant groups The lack of political development among tribals is both the cause and consequence for this neglect It is inn this context that it is highly

[30] A Sathish, "Development or Deprivation?", *Indian Express* (Kochi), 9 November 1996

desirable to analyse the political development among tribals of Kerala as a factor in their overall development.

As we propose to devote this study to an examination of political development among tribals of The Palakkad district of Kerala, it is necessary to begin with a brief discussion of the history, geographical location and socio-economic conditions of the Palakkad district to have a better understanding of the tribals residing there The next chapter therefore provides an overview of these features of the Palakkad district