CHAPTER-II

DEMOCRATIC DEFICIT:
A CONCEPTUAL ANALYSIS
CHAPTER II

DEMOCRATIC DEFICIT: A CONCEPTUAL ANALYSIS

2.1 THE SETTINGS

Democracy as a form of government has now a days got recognition as the best or ideal form of government on the ground that it is the only form of government that gives chance to every citizen to participate in the process of governance or in the process of decision making. It is true that great Greek philosophers Plato and Aristotle did not recognize democracy as the best form of government and condemned it as perverted but at the same time no one can deny that it has emerged as the only form of government that disrupts the monopoly of a few and establishes power of common man. One of the reasons for which democracy has been identified as the best form of government is that it recognizes the rights of every citizen by giving emphasis on both majority and minority interests. Social Watch in India in its report of 2004 stated that “Democracy works when citizens and the most marginalized people have the capability to ask questions, seek accountability from the state and participate and in the process of governance.” It clearly implies that for the successful working of democracy or democratic institutions every constituting part of it must be able to make their choice in structuring and functioning of it. “Democracy becomes meaningful when people can shape the state and the state in turn creates enabling social, political, economic and legal conditions wherein people can exercise their rights and achieve freedom from fear and want.” It is not that only an institution formed by the people with their choice is democratic. It in turn must be able to respond to the needs and aspirations of the constituting parts. In absence of both there emerges every possibility of destruction or failure of the institution and government. Fulfillment of only democratic procedures does not provide every justification for the success of a system. For instance, one can refer to the democratic system of the largest democracy of the world, India, where every process of democracy is followed but the substance or outcome is very low or minimal.
But with the passage of time lots of debates have come up by analyzing the nature and working of existing democracies. Among the most prominent theorists, Giovani Sartori and his views on democracy has been identified as an important theory for offering the criticism and synthesis of the debates on democracy and of the problems surrounding the theories of democracy. Sartori made a distinction between real and ideal democracy by identifying the democratic regimes that exist, as real and democracies as some scholars would like them to be, that is, imagined democratic region as ideal. This analysis of Sartori regarding difference between real and ideal democracy constitutes an important component of the democratic deficit perspective. Over the years, it has been observed that on the one hand participation of the people in the processes has declined and on the other hand dissatisfaction of the people has increased day by day. Various governmental, non-governmental reports provide ample evidence of these negative trends of declining participation in elections. This is happening in both the developed and developing countries. Increasing dissatisfaction of the people over the present status of democracies has become a common feature of these countries. Among the academicians who have brought this issue to the forefront, first comes the name of R.D. Putnam who wrote the book ‘Bowling Alone’ where he highlighted on the declining trend of political participation of the citizens with reference to America. Robert Putnam along with Susan Pharr conducted a study in 13 advanced democracies of the world to examine support base of the political system or of the government. They found that those countries are experiencing steady decline in public trust and support for politicians. They labeled this trend as ‘crisis of confidence’. Similar trends were identified by some other writers also. Most important among those are R.C. Carty, F.D. Weil, Gallup and Environics etc. F.D. Weil tried to give evidence regarding this declining trend of political participation in countries like USA, France, Spain, England and Germany. Another survey conducted by CBOs in Poland shows that between 1993 and 2005, dissatisfaction and lack of trust in government increased from 52% to 63%. The point which needs mention here is the reason for the growing of this type of dissatisfaction among the citizens all over the world. Most common factors among those are negative economic, social and political performance of the democratically elected government for a very long period, increased visibility of corruption of political and permanent executives etc. Along with these, gap between the rich and poor is also
increasing both in the developed and least developed countries. Poverty, famine, child death, poor maternal health and such other problems still dominate the social scenario of the developing countries. Hence it can be said that citizen’s lack of trust in political institutions has strong objective foundations. Democratic deficit as a term has emerged under such a trend to measure and identify the quality of governance of any institution or system. Andrew Moravcsik hence considers this problem of democracy as central question in contemporary world politics. He discussed the problem of democratic deficit in four types of democracies i.e. libertarian democracy, pluralist democracy, social democracy and deliberative democracy.

2.2. History of the Term

Democratic Deficit is a term specially related to measure the quality of governance. The study of a system through Democratic Deficit perspective does not mean studying the loopholes of the system. It is a study done mainly to see the democratic norms and values within it. The term used in the academic debate for the first time in 1970, when a British Labour Party academic David Marquand mentioned it to describe the weakness of the democratic legitimacy of European Union. The notion “Democratic Deficit” first arose in the debate about the legitimacy of European Union. The core decision making institution in the EU, EU Parliament has been regarded by some commentators as falling well short of the standards of democratic accountability and transparency which exists at national level within each of the member states. Thus the original idea judged only the legitimacy of the government, but later it was used in a wider sense. Democratic Deficit became a tool to measure the whole performance of the government, like: is the government failing to fulfill the public aspiration, are the government taking steps to protect the minorities etc… Thus the term used in different literature to measure legitimacy of the different institution at global, national and local level. Various factors in terms of debate, theories, criticism have helped in the growth and evolution of the Democratic Deficit perspective. An important factor among those is the analysis given by Giovani Sartori through a distinction between real and ideal democracy. Gianfranco Pasquino of John Hopkins University puts that Sartori’s conceptual definition of what a democracy is and is not, serves to guide the scholars to the study of
real democracies, their structures, their functioning and eventually, their deficits, that is, their ever-present shortcomings.\textsuperscript{12}

\subsection*{2.2.1 Conceptual Dimension:}

Scholars argue that as deficit implies shortage or lack of something hence Democratic Deficit means that something is lacking or missing in democratic regime or process. Democratic Deficit tries to assess democratic norms of an institution. But it is very difficult to assess an institution from only one background as there are no standard norms for democracy. EU glossary defines Democratic Deficit as “a concept invoked principally in the argument that the European Union and its various bodies suffer from a lack of democracy and seem inaccessible to the ordinary citizen because their method of operating is so complex.”

As democracy is a multi-faceted complex phenomenon so the concept of deficit can be judged from different angles. At various times various efforts for measuring or assessing democracy have been taken. In 2006, Netherland Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relation had released a report entitled “The State of our Democracy: Towards a Policy Agenda for Democracy in the Netherlands” where they have identified eight problems of democracy. These are:

\begin{itemize}
  \item Fragile social cohesion, especially affecting new citizens of non western origin, few of whom felt them to be Dutch.
  \item An increase in the number and seriousness of incidents in which freedom of expression had been suppressed due to violence.
  \item The larger political parties were less rooted in society and losing popular support for their candidate and policy selection procedures.
  \item Political arenas were being displaced from representatives and accountable department of government to new administrative bodies and quangos. (a quango is a committee which is appointed by government but works independently)
\end{itemize}
• Overlapping administrative competencies were producing unnecessary complexities for citizens.
• The vulnerability to constant media exposure had developed a political culture of risk avoidance,
• The internal procedures for overseeing EU policy and legislation were inadequate
• Poll findings showed decreasing public confidence in politicians and government.¹³

All the above problems deal with the structural as well as functional deficit of a democratic government. Besides those there are some other deficits which may be included in the broader term of Democratic Deficits. These include – declining level of party activism, poor representation of women, high level of poverty and inequality, limited scope and independence of local level government etc.

The problem of democratic deficit can be analyzed from the perspective of democratic theory. The normative perspective of democratic deficit denotes failure of the political arrangements to fulfill the expectation of the citizens. From the empirical perspective governments are deficit if the citizens believe that they cannot use their resources and opportunities to fulfill their needs. From functional point of view, government are in Democratic Deficit when they fail to generate the legitimacy to govern from the people. From the perspective of democratic theory it is totally clear that government should be responsive towards its citizens and ensure citizen’s participation in decision making process through election, pressure, public deliberation, petition or other activities. The lapse of all those problems create deficit in the democratic process. Pippa Norris has identified and discussed the problem of Democratic Deficit in terms of system support.¹⁴ Norris defines the concept of political support as a multidimensional phenomenon. According to him the distinct component of political support are-

1. The most general and fundamental attitudes of citizen towards belonging to the nation state, exemplified by feeling of national pride, patriotism and identity.

2. Agreement with core principles and normative values upon which the regime is based, including democratic values and ideals.
3. Evaluations of the overall performance of the regime, exemplified by satisfaction with democratic governance and also general assessments about the working of democratic processes and practices.

4. Confidence in regime institutions notably the legislative, executive, judicial branches of government, the security forces as well as central state and local government; and lastly

5. Approval of incumbent office holders, including attitude towards specific party leaders, legislators and public officials as well as support for particular parties and for leadership elites and authorities in public sector agencies.

Like the concept of democracy, Democratic Deficit perspective also encompasses a large number of aspects such as deficit in governance, deficit in transparency, accountability and predictability, deficit in representation, deficit in economy which exports a lot but does not produce employment, deficit in the way it treats their minority, deficit in the relationship between the local government and national government, deficit in the way we degrade our environment by paying little attention to our next generation, deficit in the way health, food, water, shelter and the many other fundamentals of living are implemented. Thus, the concept is very much comprehensive in nature.

It refers not only deficiency in the system of governance and representation rather it covers deficiency in all aspects-social, economic, cultural, political and environmental. Thus from above it can very clearly be commented that like the notion of democracy the notion of Democratic Deficit is also much wider than the government or the political structure. If people or group of people consume as much resources of nature and donot think about the sustenance of the future generation then it also comes under the deficit of democratic process of living and making use of the resources given by the nature. Democratic Deficit is a multidimensional term. It can be analysed from different angles. In political sense it means lack of proper representation, lack of people’s active participation, lack of structural opportunity for participation, lack of accountability of bureaucracy, lack of commitment towards the work, lack of legitimacy towards the system. In social aspect, Democratic Deficit means unequal social status in terms of
caste, creed and gender. In economic sense Democratic Deficit means unequal
development process, unequal distribution of resources etc. In environmental sense,
Democratic Deficit looks towards the concept of sustainable development.

Democratic Deficit suggests wide reaching and pervasive problems that threaten the
legitimacy and stability of the political system. Democratic Deficit refers to a situation
where democratic organization, institution and governments are seen as falling short of
fulfilling the principles of democracy in their practices and operations.

**Figure 2.1.**

Indicator of System Support

![Diagram](image)

University Press, Delhi.
While analyzing the notion of democratic deficit it appears pertinent to study the process of analyzing democratic nature of EU through whose study it has come into existence. Author like Gianfranco Pasquino of John Hopkins University has examined EU through input-output model. From this input-output model he found deficits in EU. In the selection of various EU officials, European citizen have no influence at all. Pasquino identified this as input deficiency. Regarding output deficit, he was of the view that it has not been able to perform to the satisfaction of the European citizen. For him, input deficiency can be considered as structural deficit and the output deficiency can be put under behavioral deficit. For mitigation of these deficits he suggested changes in rules, procedures and institutions.

Democratic Deficit is not the outcome of only two factors, that is, structural or behavioural and functional failure. Failure on the part of the citizen also leads to the emergence of deficits in a democratic regime. In other words, ideal democracy demands democratic citizen or citizen who is conscious, educated and well informed. Lack of these also leads to the failure of the system. Deficit from citizen perspective can be analysed by showing people’s participation in political process or by showing people’s knowledge about the programmes and working of the government. Performance of voting power does not constitute the sole factor behind political power. Rather it is a small portion of political power. But, non performance of this power by the people leads to electoral deficit.

From the output method, it has been identified that large scale distance between promises and performances of the representative leads to Democratic Deficit in a democratic regime. It is true that total fulfillment of the aspirations of the citizens is not possible but efforts towards it in the form of accountability may contribute towards the strengthening of a democratic regime or structure.

Pippa Norris tried to examine Democratic Deficit from citizen’s perspective. He used this perspective to analyse democratic deficits in EU through Euro barometer. It is a method through which citizen’s level of satisfaction is identified. On the basis of the level of the satisfaction of the citizen, failure or success of a system is identified.
Already it has been mentioned that Pippa Norris has analysed the concept of democratic deficit through system support. For this he used the System Theory developed by David Easton known as Input-Output model. Easton was of the view that a system can survive only when there exists balance between input and output. And to establish a healthy relationship between input and output some intermediary organizations such as political party, pressure group, media etc are needed. Input refers to the aims and aspirations of the masses and output refers to the performance of the governing institutions or government. If the performance or outcome does not reach to the aspirations of the people then there occurs Democratic Deficit. If this type of deficits appears in any system then it will automatically face resistance or various types of movements will occur ultimately leading towards political instability. Pippa Norris has explained this through the following diagram-
FIGURE 2.2:
GENERAL MODEL OF DEMOCRATIC DEFICIT GIVEN BY PIPPA NORRIS.

Demand – side
Rising public aspirations for democracy due to growing cognitive and civic skills and evolving self expression values

Intermediary
Negative coverage of government and public affairs by the new media

Supply – Side
Failure of democratic or policy performance of the state to match public expectations

Democratic deficit
Disparities between the perceived democratic performance and public aspirations

Consequences for Political activism compliance with government and democratization

2.3 FACTORS THAT CAN BE USED FOR IDENTIFYING DEMOCRATIC DEFICIT

Democratic governance refers to a state of government where people’s human rights and fundamental freedoms are respected, allowing them to live with dignity, people have a say in decisions that affect their lives, people can hold decision makers accountable, inclusive and fair rules, institutions and practices govern social interaction, women are equal partners with men in private and public sphere of life and decision making, people are free from discrimination based on race, ethnicity, class, gender or any other attribute, the needs of future generations are reflected in current policies, economic and social policies are responsive to people’s need and aspiration, economic and social policies aim at eradicating poverty and expanding the choice that all people have in their lives.¹⁷

The factors that lead to democratic deficit of a system can be analyzed in two broad categories—

1. Structural Deficit
2. Functional Deficit

2.3.1 Structural Deficit-

1. **LEGITIMACY CRISIS**: Legitimacy refers to the ability of a political system to show that the power it has and power it uses are just, right or reasonable.¹⁸ When people feel that the political system to which they belong is governed by an authority, which they do not support then the question of legitimacy arises. As democracy is considered government of the people so the authority must get the support base of the people. Legitimacy crisis ultimately means that the authority has not derived power from the people. As a result it leads to democratic deficit.

2. **CONCENTRATION OF POWER IN ONE GROUP OR IN ONE POLITICAL PARTY**: Scholars are of the view that concentration of political power in one party or in one leader for a very long period may ultimately lead towards the development of democratic deficit. This type of situation on the one hand does not give choice to the people or voter to choose an alternative and on the
other hand the system does not help in the proliferation of political power to other people.

3. **LACK OF PROVISION FOR PROPER MINORITY REPRESENTATION:** Democracy does not mean only majority rule but it includes minority views or interest too. In other words it gives equal opportunity to all. But in a democratic regime if some group or segments of the people do not get the chance to have their voice then automatically it will lead towards deficits in the system. It is true that constitutional guarantee of rights can assure a good status to the minority but giving chance or creating an environment for enjoyment of the given rights constitutes an important side of the process. So, lack of proper environment for enjoyment of benefits given by the law of a land can go a long way in development of deficits in a system.

4. **LACK OF PROVISION FOR WOMEN REPRESENTATION:** Women constitute half of the world population. For being an egalitarian society in the real sense of the term, there must be equal participation of both men and women in the functioning of the regimes. But in reality what is seen is that most of the institutions related to the governance do not incorporate the women community. The case is similar to the so called democratic regimes also. Lack of women participation in the process makes the institution as well as its functioning one sided, leaving the issues of a section aside. If this type of things happens in democratic regimes then scholars of the democratic deficit perspective call it as one of the deficits of the democratic structure.

**2.3.2. Functional Deficit-**

The notion of democratic deficit not only examines structural deficits but it also includes functional deficits. Functional deficit of a system lies on the way of functioning. Functional deficit includes the following-

1. **NON ACCOUNTABILITY:** Non accountability may be in terms of both political leaders and administrative officials or permanent executives. When both these political and permanent executive become non accountable to the people then each and every measures taken for the welfare of the people may go in vain. It may take the system of
administration far away from the people and may result in non participation of the people in administration.

2. **NON-TRANSPARENT**: If the people of a state or a region are not in a position to know about the working and working process of the governance system then there may emerge every possibility of political and executive dictatorship. This ultimately leads to the failure of the structure even after being democratic.

3. **FAVORATISM-NEPOTISM**: This appears as the most important hindrance towards the efficiency of both the political and administrative machinery. In the political sphere it leads towards the selection of inefficient representative and ultimately creates problems towards the solution of the problem of the people and in the administrative sphere it leads towards the appointment of the officers who are inefficient and unskilled and thus leads to the failure of the administrative system. Both these affect the people in a severe way.

4. **CORRUPTION**: Corruption in its various forms, deprive people from the services and from their rights over their resources and money. It can make the system paralysed if not checked and stopped. Developing countries like India is an ideal example of such a situation where out of the total money allocated for the development of the people only around 3% reach to the people. Remaining money goes to various pockets in the form of black money.

5. **NON RESPONSIVENESS OF THE PERMANENT EXECUTIVE TOWARDS THE PROBLEM**: In an administrative structure of a developing country attitude, behavior and culture of the bureaucrats play a very important role both in the continuity and wellbeing of the administration as well as the citizens. But, if they become irresponsible and ignorant towards their primary duty then it may lead towards the failure of the system because ultimately it is the permanent executive in the form of bureaucrats who are to implement the democratic norms and policies enshrined in the Constitution for the wellbeing of the citizen.

6. **LACK OF CHANCES FOR GROWING OF OTHER POLITICAL PARTY**: One party dominance in the political arena is a unique feature of the countries in the Third World although all of them have differentiation in this regard. There are some
countries where constitution of the country recognizes the existence of only one party. Latin American countries represent such a situation. But on the other hand there are some other countries like India where popularity or predominance of one party leads towards the insignificance of some small or new born parties. In democracy people should have the choice of changing the government if it cannot perform according to their needs. One party dominance or recognition gives little scope for this to the people.

7. **ILLITERACY OF THE MASSES**: Education constitutes an important element for having democratic citizenship, one of the pre requisite for success of democratic regime. Knowledge gathered through education enriches and empowers the people. It helps the people to question about the working of the institutions. It makes people aware about their rights and privileges. Once people become aware about their right’s they start to raise demand for these. It ultimately compels the government or administrative institutions to listen to the demands made by the people. Education can make people conscious from every aspect. Lack of it may pave the way for dictatorship of the governing institutions. This has happened in most of the developing countries. If people are unaware about the working of the government, then it becomes easier for the government agencies to bypass the issues related to the people. This ultimately leads to the failure of the institution or to the failure of the motive of the institution.

8. **IMPLEMENTATION CRISIS OF THE WELFARIAN PROGRAMMES**: Democratic form of government is a form of people’s government and it works for the wellbeing of the people. For this, it takes various types of welfare measures. Welfare of the people depends on the proper implementation of welfare programmes and distribution of these programmes according to the need of the people. If the benefits and outcome of these programmes do not reach to the people then the issue of welfare and wellbeing of the people become a mere dream. This puts tremendous pressure on the government existing in the societies.

9. **VIOLATION OF MINORITY RIGHTS**: In a democratic form of government and in a democratic society although majority views are accepted for the convenience of governance, minority views can never be ignored or bypassed. It is the only form of government that incorporates the views of each and everyone in the society. While
hearing the majority it must acknowledge the rights and privileges of the minorities too. If minorities do not get proper protection then there is no use of having it.

10. **USE OF UNFAIR MEANS IN ELECTION**: Election represents one of the most important procedures for a democracy or for a democratic institution. It is the process through which people elect their representatives to raise the issues related to their lives. Only a strong and fair method of election can make this possible. If unfair means are used in this process then there occurs no chance of getting right and proper representatives. Lack of knowledge, education, political and social consciousness and some other factors contribute towards the use of unfair means in election.

2.4 CHARACTERISTICS

The notion of Democratic Deficit is very comprehensive and all encompassing. It refers not only to deficiency in the system of governance and representation but also to the deficiency in all aspects-social, economic, cultural, political and environmental.

Democratic Deficit is a tool to measure the performance of the government. Through it, it can be examined whether the government is performing towards the needs and fulfilling aspirations of the people for whose welfare it has been formed. This in turn will help in finding remedy to the problems of the system as well as of the government.

Democratic Deficit refers not only to the deficit in the structure but also it implies functional deficiencies such as non accountability, corruption, lack of chances for growing of other political parties, implementation crisis of the welfare programmes, violation of minority rights, use of unfair means in election, non-transparency, favoritism-nepotism and so on and so forth.

Democratic Deficit is very much close to democratic legitimacy. If the citizens of a regime do not like or support the system then there may occurs deficits.
2.5 PERSPECTIVES FOR THE STUDY OF DEMOCRATIC DEFICIT

From the above discussion it can be commented that Democratic Deficit concept has been analyzed by various scholars through various perspectives. Most important and prominent among those are-

2.5.1 Input-Output Method or Perspective

Input output perspective tries to analyze a democratic regime through structural and functional aspects. Structural or input method examines the structures of the institution and analyses whether there is any deficit in the system from the structural point of view and the functional or behavioural method tries to analyse the functioning of the institutions.

2.5.2 Democratic Citizen Perspective

This approach argues that if the citizens are not democratic in the sense that they are not educated, conscious and influential, the working of the government may go against democratic norms. Literal meaning of democracy demands rule or participation of the citizens of the regime in which it exists. Unless and until citizens have voice in its functioning, nothing can be regarded as democratic or legitimate. For this, not only the law of the land should be democratic but the implementation of it must be democratic. Along with these, the citizens also must have a democratic mind, willingness for participation and awareness. This will not only make them democratic but will also help in establishing a democratic regime in the real sense of the term where the representatives and other executives will be compelled to behave in a democratic way.

Mere participation of the citizens do not guarantee a democratic regime in its actual form. Conscious and influential participation only helps in making a democratic government work. Citizens must be able to leave or have impact on the policies and programmes of the government. They must be able to change the anti democratic elements that exist in the functioning of the government. Scholars like, Gianfranco Pasquino has identified lack of participation and lack of influence of the European citizen on EU as an important Democratic Deficit in EU.
2.5.3 Democratic Legitimacy Perspective

The debate regarding Democratic Deficit and democratic legitimacy coincide with each other. Legitimacy can be defined as the recognition of political system by the citizen. Legitimacy transforms the exercise of power into acceptable political authority. The authority is accepted by those affected by the exercise of power, i.e. citizen. According to Gurr “governance can be considered legitimate in so far as its subjects regard it as proper and deserving of support” The greatest social contractualist Rousseau says that “The powerful is never powerful enough, unless it transforms its political power into rights and compliance into obligation” Beetham considers a political authority to be legitimate if it fulfils certain criteria which are complementary to each other-

- When the political authority is created and conforms to a set of established rules (legal validity)
- When these rules are justified based on principles and beliefs widely accepted by the society regarding the- i) Sources of power of the governance ii) the aims of the ruling authority (moral jurisdiction).
- When the actions of the ruling authority are confirmed by the consent and public support of the governed. (consent).

Scholars like Victor Bekkers and Arthur Edward have analysed Democratic Deficit in terms of legitimacy perspective. They examined legitimacy in governance practice through three categories - Input legitimacy, Throughput Legitimacy and Output Legitimacy. Input legitimacy focuses on government by the people which include opportunity for citizen’s participation. Throughput legitimacy refers mainly to the government of the people where people not only take part in political activities but also keep a strict vigilance on the activities of the people and put influence on the activities of the government through collective decisions. Output legitimacy refers to the government for the people. It implies responsiveness, accountability, transperancy of the government. And lack of either all these or one of these may lead to deficit in a democratic regime.
2.5.4 Democratic Decentralisation Perspective

Decentralization is regarded as the most viable way of deepening democracy. But, decentralization of the mere process does not automatically solve the problem of the people. For this, the institution created for the devolution of power must be able to exercise its powers and functions in the real sense of the term. Lack of these constitutes an important weakness of the Panchayat System of India where these local level institutions are totally dependent on the State government especially in financial matters. This has hampered the proper and effective functioning of these institutions and as a result expected outcome is not going to the people.

It is true that decentralization of power from top to bottom enables people to participate in decision making more directly. But in reality it has simply transferred power from one section of elite to another. For decentralization in the real sense of the term, widening of participation is necessary. It must be able to incorporate voice of the marginalized section such as poor, women and minority. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Report 2002 in this regard mentioned the example of India’s Panchayati Raj system and explained this as meaningless till the reform of 1992 that incorporated provision for women and minority reservation along with constitutional status to it. The report said that before the 73rd and 74th Amendment of the Constitution of India, the Panchayati Raj system of India did a simple transfer of power from one section of elite to another section of elite. The report states that decentralisation helps poor people most when local politics are democratic with strong structures and open participatory practices.

2.5.5 Democratic Institution Perspective

Democracy in itself, does not guarantee equality, justice, political and economic stability. The link between democracy and the above values must be established through the proper functioning of the institutions. Failure on the part of the institutions towards the establishment of the link between democracy and the said values will automatically lead towards the development of deficit in the system. So, to establish a democracy in the real sense of the term there must be democratic institution both structurally and
functionally. Unless and until both the structure of the political institutions as well as their functions are not democratic, the whole system is subverted by Democratic Deficit.

Democratic Deficit triggering a virtuous cycle for human development requires promoting democratic politics. Promoting democratic politics means expanding capabilities such as education, to enable people to play a more effective role in politics and fostering the development of civil society groups and other informal institutions to help democratic institutions to better represent the people.

Existence of democratic political institution can never be recognized as a genuine democracy. It must be an approach or a measure for collective well being not an institution of the well being of the majority. It must be able to change the minds and actions of the people. It must be able to cultivate democratic practices among the minds of the people for becoming democratic in their thinking and in their actions. Then only democratic institutions will be effective and workable because, ultimately it is the people who run the institutions established for administration.

Democratic consolidation can be judged from various aspects. Robert A. Dahl proposes five criteria for judging democratic consolidation. These are:

1. Inclusion: Participation of all permanent adult residents.
2. Political Equality: Equal and effective opportunity for the citizens to participate in the decision making process.
3. Enlightened understanding: Citizen’s ability to know about the policies of the government and its consequences.
4. Control of the Agenda: Opportunity for the citizens to decide which matters are placed on the agenda and how.
5. Effective Participation: People must have view of the policies that will be taken.

In the same line, regarding democratic consolidation, Huma Baqai suggests following-

1. Well functioning democratic institutions
2. An improvement of social and economic conditions
3. A flourishing society
The UNDP report 2002 feels democratizing the institution is a necessary precondition of deepening democracy. So it suggests the following measures for strengthening formal democratic institutions-

1. Developing stronger vehicles for formal political participation and representation through political parties and electoral systems.
2. Strengthening checks on arbitrary power by separating powers among the executive, judiciary and legislature, and by creating effective independent entities.
3. Democratic decentralization and through it devolving power from the central government to provinces and villages, underpinned by stronger local democratic institutions and practices.
4. Developing free and independent media.

If the constitution cannot guarantee rights to the citizen and if it fails to enforce the rights guaranteed to the citizen through various types of institutions established under the constitution, then there may occur Democratic Deficit. In other words gap between demand and supply and gap between institution and its working may lead to Democratic Deficits. And this has been proved by various studies and surveys conducted at various times.

2.6 DEBATE ON DEMOCRATIC DEFICIT AT GLOBAL LEVEL:

It has already been mentioned that the concept of Democratic Deficit emerged to analyze the defaults of the global institution like European Union, IMF, World Bank etc. At the global level the concept of Democratic Deficit was used to determine the legitimacy, people’s participation, equal treatment and the process of decision making of an institution. For example when some scholars like Gianfranco Pasquino and Kubra Dilek Azman discussed about the Democratic Deficit of the European Union their arguments were drawn on two dimension of European Union. First argument asserts (Institutional) that the EUs institutional design and structure is not democratic. Second argument (socio psychological) claims that EU is not capable of being a real democracy in principle, since the structural and social prerequisites, on which democratic rules
depend are lacking at the European level. Some other analysts criticized EU as it does not take legitimacy from the people through the process of electing the representatives by election. They argued that people in the EU observe Democratic Deficit as there is no linkage between the domestic politics of its member states which are considered as democratic and the EU politics which is mostly technocratic and bureaucratic in nature. The limited representation mechanism is translated into issue of accountability of the European institution to the European citizen.

Like EU the debate on Democratic Deficit also questioned the nature and the way of functioning of the global financial institutions like IMF, World Bank, WTO etc. The Human Development Report of 2002 stated that although developing countries are deeply affected by the decisions of institutions such as the World Bank, IMF and WTO they have little power in their decision making. There is an unavoidable Democratic Deficit in international organizations because people do not get to directly elect their representatives. The report also explains how the decision making power of these institutions are dominated by the most advanced countries like USA or UK by unequal voting power and all the decisions are made considering their market policy. Thus the report also unmasked some direction of democratic deficit of the global international organizations.

Besides these there are some other works related to global institutions which are discussed in terms of Democratic Deficit. However it is also found that the concept of Democratic Deficit was broadly used to examine the nature of a nation state by some scholars.

Regarding status of present democracies, UNDP in its 2002 report entitled “Deepening Democracy in Fragmented World” has commented that on the one hand there is expansion of formal democracies, but on the other hand substantive democracy is under great threat. In number, one will be able to find more number of formal democracies than earlier. But there is lack of civil and political freedom of the citizens in the real sense of the term. Lack of accountability on the part of the government constitutes an important limitation of the existing democracies. Along with the political field, economic field also reflects the same. On the one hand there are many more economic opportunities across the world, but a huge share of world population is still denied access to them. Again, war between nations are less frequent, but various types of civil
conflict have increased in a significant way which reflect some type of inequality, injustice entered in the State system.

2.7 CONCEPT OF DEMOCRATIC DEFICIT IN INDIAN CONTEXT

India is considered as one of the largest democratic countries in the world. The Constitution of India has enshrined all the principles of Democracy such as equality, justice, liberty etc. Even the Preamble has declared democracy as basic ideology of the Constitution of India. So in terms of procedural Democracy, one cannot raise question against India. But mere democratic procedure in the constitution does not mean success in democratic practice. India is one of the greatest examples of it. If we look at the substantive part of Indian democracy, then we find that India is far behind from the democracy. Indian democracy has been facing many crises in the recent past. The crises arise because of the failure of the State to ensure equality and the inability of civil society to create a public sphere capable of generating critical engagement with social issues. This context raises the question that despite institutional support, the functioning of Indian democracy during last 63 years has perpetuated and deepened differences within society.\(^{28}\)

The institutional mechanism of Indian democracy given by the Indian Constitution provides political equality like right to cast vote, right to participate in the administration, right to question the authority, freedom of expression and association regardless of social differences. Yet in practice, Democracy has not been able to secure justice to all, its dispensation has been distorted because democratic rights have not been accessible evenly to everyone.\(^{29}\)

The representation system is considered as the backbone of democracy. Through the process of representation the citizen proves their supremacy and at the same time makes the representative accountable towards them. But the structure of India’s representation system is suffering from Democratic Deficit. One of them is the manner in which majority is determined. Democracy being the rule of the majority, the process through which the majority is formed is crucial. India has adopted a direct system in which whoever gets the largest number of votes is elected. This system does not necessarily
ensure that those who enjoy electoral success have the mandate of the majority of those who exercise their right to vote. It is conceivable that those who wield power on behalf of majority have in fact the support only of a minority.\textsuperscript{30}

Again the representation process has suffered from Democratic Deficit in another way. In democracy the representation system should permit a free and fair social condition in which each and everyone has a chance to elect himself. But in India class composition of the society does not permit everybody to contest in election. The political class in India is drawn from affluent educated and socially powerful section of the society. The system is so much under their thumb that the poor and marginalized hardly have a chance to make it to the pulpit.\textsuperscript{31} As a result of it our democratic system is driven by a particular group of people and it is predetermined.

Though the Constitution of India has given the citizen of India a large number of rights but in most cases majority of the people have no stakes in functioning except participating in the battle of ballot. The life of large section of people remains untouched by democratic rule as a result a kind of discontent has been installed in their minds. In most cases the cases of violence and insurgency has emerged because of this discontent. The state instead of drawing out any solution to mitigate the problem uses military to suppress the problems. As a result a large section of people feel alienated from the mainstream democratic institution.

Another deficit of the democratic system of India is over centralization of the authority. Though the Panchayati Raj system has been adopted for affecting vertical expansion of democratic practice yet in many parts of the country it has not really become effective. Even the provision of decentralization through the Panchayati Raj has not encompassed all the areas of the country. For example the Sixth Schedule areas of India are not covered under the Panchayati Raj system. As a result common citizens have no voice in the actual working of the democratic structure.

The concept of cultural equality is another cornerstone of democracy. Cultural pluralism is the backbone of Indian democracy. But the absence of cultural equality in the practical field has led to the exclusion of many from mainstream life. The process of nation building had made a cultural distinction in Indian society in terms of caste and
religion. This process of nation building on the one hand has kept some groups in an advantageous position and on the other hand marginalized section of the society has to pay for it. The greater role of caste and religion in politics depicts another deficit of Indian democracy. Both the elements do not follow democratic principles. Rather it divides the society into sections.

The economic development process is also not distributed equally to all sections of the society. The country has denuded its resources as colonial administration. The system of communication and transport has not adequately developed, the social reach of education is limited, and the facilities of medical care are unsatisfactory.32

Along with mainstream politics, local level institutions and politics are also suffering from some kind of problem for which study of these from Democratic Deficit perspective becomes pertinent. BTAD, an important plain’s tribal Autonomous Council was formed with an intention of decentralization of power. But over the years lots of controversies have emerged regarding its structure and function. Under such a situation study of BTAD from Democratic Deficit perspective attains great relevance.
References and Notes


2ibid
3www.paperroom.ipsa.org/..paper_12779 (Downloaded on 15 March, 2013)
5ibid.
6ibid
7ibid
8ibid
9ibid
12ibid
13www.onzedemocratie.nl (Downloaded on 15 march, 2013)
14ibid
16www.paperroom.ipsa.org/..paper_12779 (Downloaded on 15 March, 2013)


24 ibid


29 Ibid

30 Ibid

31 Ibid

32 Ibid