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Iconic Forms of Gugga: A Popular Folk Deity of Himachal Pradesh

-Balkrishan Shivram & Rajender Kumar

Abstract

Gugga is among the most popular folk deities in Himachal Pradesh, with numerous shrines (*madi*, shortened colloquial term for *samādhi*). He is a warrior-hero and a prominent deity of the *Nāga* cult worshipped as a saint and a 'snake-god'. To understand how Gugga has achieved such a revered status in Himachal Pradesh, this article will delve into the intricate details of the folk traditions associated with the Gugga cult. It will examine how local customs and caste dynamics influence and interact with religious experiences and practices within the broader social milieu. By exploring these multifaceted dimensions, this research aims to comprehensively analyse the complex interplay between the region's local customs and religious practices.

Key Words: *Folk Deity, Gugga, Gorakhnath, Pir, Madi.*

Introduction

Gugga or Goga is a popular folk deity in the northern states of India, including Rajasthan, Haryana, Uttarakhand, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Jammu, and Himachal Pradesh. He is a warrior-hero of the region, venerated as a saint and a 'snake-god'. Though there are references to Gugga in various folklore including Himachal Pradesh, there is little historical information about him. The followers of Gugga come from all faiths as his history falls within folk religion. He is worshipped as a demigod in the *Nāga* cult and revered as a serpent deity. His life story and the tales of his miraculous deeds are recited in an oral epic tradition almost evenly in Punjab and Himachal besides Rajasthan. Most colonial accounts, such as those by Alexander Cunningham, R.C. Temple, William Crook, H.A. Rose, J.Ph. Vogel, and G.W. Briggs portray him as having more popularity amongst castes considered lower (or sometimes *avarnas*) than the upper-caste (*savarnas*, *dwij*, lit. twice born) in Punjab and Himachal. Indian scholars like Bhai Vir

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Sing, Giani Ditt Singh, Gurdit Singh, H. S. Bhatti, Harjot Oberoi, etc. have confirmed this genre.

The aforementioned claim has also been confirmed from the newest research (Kumar, 2023) that in Himachal Pradesh Gugga was a popular deity of the castes including *Chamars*, *Julahas*, *Dumanas*, *Bhangis*, *Dagis*, *Chanals*, *Naths*, *Telis*, *Hesis*, *Kolis*, and *Giraths*. During the Medieval and later Medieval periods, the deity did not receive any patronage, especially from the princely rulers and wealthy communities of the region, probably being non-Sanskritic.

Hence, no large temples were built specifically to honour Gugga during that period. However, the picture began to change in the early 20th century after Sanskritic rituals were associated with it. Public offerings by the ruling and *savarnas* have been common features since then. There are now *brahmin* priests managing and performing rituals at Gugga's shrines in Himachal Pradesh. Although the worship of Gugga is common among *savarnas* for their daily needs, their chief deity unlike *non-dwij* remains Sanskritic.

Historical account

The history of Gugga falls within *folk religion* and therefore his followers include people from all faiths. Historically the deity was most popular among those engaged in agrarian pursuits, for whom the fear of snakebite was common. Although a Hindu, he has many Muslim devotees and is chiefly considered to be a saint (*pir*) who had the power to cure the effects of poison (*jahar*). In a Muslim oral tradition, he learnt the way of entering and leaving solid earth from a Muslim Pir Hazi Rattan. Although there are references to him in folklore, little historical knowledge of Gugga exists other than his lineage and that he ruled the small kingdom of Dadrewa (Rajasthan) and was a contemporary of Prithviraj Chauhan. The first recorded mention of Gugga's Chauhan lineage is found in the 17th-century text *Kyamkhan Rasau* by Jan Kavi (1996) and later in the celebrated *Munhta Nainsi Ri Khyat* (pp. 59-79). Afterwards, in the book *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, James Tod refers to him as Gugga of Bhatinda, who along with his forty sons, died fighting against Mahmud of Ghazni (Tod, 1829, p. 807).

However, R.C. Temple (1884, Vol. 1, p. 158), William Crook (1926, p. 202), G.W. Briggs (1938), Harjot Oberoi (1992, pp. 20-23) and Anne Murfy (2015, pp. 170-92) have drawn our attention to the contradictory period of Gugga. Their research has shed light on the complex nature of Gugga's historical timeline, which has been a subject of debate and discussion among scholars for many years. Through their work, they have highlighted the various factors that have contributed to the confusion surrounding Gugga's timeframe, providing valuable insights into the subject. According to colonial records, the legends of Guga were widely popular among *Chamārs*

and other allegedly low castes throughout northwestern India. The Gugga deity is significant as a symbol of protection for 'lower castes' who seek blessings through prayer, rituals, and offerings. The colonial records acknowledge the cultural importance of this deity and its role in the lives of these communities. For instance, Gugga *Jayanti* (birth anniversary) is celebrated with great enthusiasm in Himachal Pradesh. During the field study, Gugga's shrines over 300 across Himachal Pradesh (*madi, thaana & gugaheri*) mostly were found in localities of so-called lower castes. Interestingly these shrines have the same level of sanctity as the main shrine at *Gogamedi*.

Gugga is being worshipped at aforementioned shrines in Himachal Pradesh throughout the year in various forms and reasons. People recite his life story and tales of miraculous deeds with great enthusiasm. Alexander Cunningham (Archaeological Survey, 1882, p. 84), attests to the fact that Gugga worship was common among the lower castes in the hill states surrounding Shimla. The devotees mostly belong to the castes such as *Bhangi, Chamar, Dumna, Julaha, Koli*, and *Dagi*. Historically, certain castes allegedly have been prohibited from entering the temples of mainstream deities. This exclusion probably has meant that members of these castes have had to seek alternative places of worship, possibly in the form of smaller, less formal shrines or other religious spaces. Thus, the lack of direct access to mainstream temples has possibly resulted in the development of alternative religious practices and beliefs. One can observe a significant impact of monotheistic saints on their beliefs and actions. According to popular belief, Gugga belongs to the *Jaferpanth* cult of Nath. This fact has been confirmed by the colonial writer G.W. Briggs. As a result, Gugga was given the name *Jaharpir*, which is a distorted version of *Jafarpir* (Briggs, 1920, pp.51-71). His stories are performed in different genres like songs and plays, and across various regions, castes, and religions as part of a living tradition. The genres mentioned share a common storyline. As per the legend, it is believed that Gugga, the incarnation of Padam Nag, was born to Queen Bachala of Dadreva with the blessing of Guru Gorakhnath. In one different version, he fought a battle against Mahmud of Ghazni and died. Gugga's heroic struggle against the Turkish invaders or the armies of the Delhi Sultanate became one of the factors in his glorification and subsequent deification. However, it would be wrong to attribute the popularity of Gugga solely even primarily to his acts of valour against the Turks and the Sultanate militaries. Other factors, emerging from the concerns and needs of pastoral peasant communities played a more crucial role in the process of deification of Gugga (Dhali 2016). The historical and legendary details concerning the life and deeds of Gugga in no way warrant us to project him solely as a Rajput hero fighting against the Muslims.

Popular legends

There are numerous facets to Gugga, and there are many legends surrounding his life and afterlife. As has also been underlined ‘Hindu myths have no single basic version and are retold with minor and major variations over the years’ (Doniger, 1975, p. 21). The earliest bardic accounts, mostly composed at Kings’ courts, such as *Goga ji ra Rasawala* by Vithu Meha and *Goga Ri Pidhi* by Gadan Pasayat (written during the late half of the 16th century), depict Gugga as a hero who saved cows from his cousins. This account sheds light on a long-standing and bitter feud between Gugga and his cousins over land and territory, revealing the intensity of their conflict. *Nainsi Ri Khyat* of the 17th century recorded the story of his miraculous powers. Nainsi puts him contemporary of Pabuji another folk deity of Rajasthan and Guru Gorakhnath. *Vamsh Bhaskar* by Suryamal Mishran of 18th-century text records the lineage of Gugga. Suryamal of the Bundi court considered Gugga from the Chauhan lineage, the ancestor of Bundi rulers.

It’s worth noting that Gugga is revered by some as a deity associated with snakes. The Gugga shrines contain the image of a snake inscribed on a stone. To save the life of a victim from snakebite, a ritual is performed which includes recitation of Gugga’s name and tying a thread on the affected part of the victim’s body (Prasad, 1997, p. 14). Some legends suggest that Gugga is the manifestation of Padam Nag (Sharma 1974, p. 13). In another legend, Takshak Nag, the king of the snakes, tried to kill Gugga but was instead swallowed by him. The poison of Takshak entered Gugga's body, making him the king of all snakes. The individual's triumph over the snake led to admiration and reverence from the community. According to G.W. Briggs, Gugga, also known as Zahar Pir, was converted to Islam from Rajput (Briggs, 1920, pp. 151-171). During the medieval period, many Chauhan Rajputs converted to Islam and claimed descent from Gugga Chauhan, identifying themselves as Gogawats (Briggs, 1938, p. 236). Dominique Sila Khan examined the dual identity of Gugga and other medieval folk deities. All such deities were regarded as both Hindu gods and Muslim Pirs, highlighting the interaction between the two religions. She argues that saint-heroes or Pirs, such as Ramdev (a 14th-century saint whom Hindus regard as the incarnation of Lord Krishna), had disciples from various religious backgrounds. She attempted to establish a connection between Islam and religious ambiguous figures like Gugga and Ramdev. During the 18th century, these folk heroes underwent a process of Rajputization (Khan, 1997, pp. 60-95).

The Gugga cult in fact follows a uniform tradition whereby an ordinary person embarks on a journey towards a heroic death while protecting land, cattle, and women’s sexuality. Not all deaths are deified, only some attain divine status. The tale revolves around an exhilarating demise, where one’s

fate hangs in the balance between mortality and godhood, and danger lurks at every turn. Recognition of power through deification came from violence and death. Singing life stories, participating in performances, and building a 'cult of deified dead' demonstrate triumph over death in folk songs. Heroic death allows heroes to transcend the boundaries of time and place, becoming immortalized in tradition. In ancient Brahmanical texts, death was worshipped as a deity. However, in modern times, the deceased are often remembered and revered through various forms of memorialization (Blackburn, 1985, p. 260). The term 'hero' reflects the cultural values of the groups or societies that idolize them. Heroism and heroic deeds differ between Brahmanical and folk traditions. In such tradition, local heroes protect cattle and crops while Brahmins protect the kingdom and the chastity of women (Blackburn, 1978, pp. 131-149). The Rajput noble warrior identity preserved its status amidst political changes. The main focus is to amplify the voices of bravery, courage, and the warrior spirit. The tradition of sacrificial heroism has been equated with the tradition of ascetic renunciation. He was a warrior and ascetic who gave up his life to establish social and cosmic harmony (Maheshwari, 1980, p. 56). There is cultural primacy of the classical epics with references to regional story-telling traditions. This transformation was the product of literary – historical and religious processes. It is a well-known fact that the Bhakti cult was prevalent in medieval north-west India. So the folk legends associated themselves with the Bhakti cult. Gugga associated himself with the Nath sect and was the disciple of Guru Gorakhnath. This is another example of an inclusive approach (101). The folk heroes and their cult did not grow in isolation but adopted some cultural elements from each other. Starting from Pabuji's story, the modern version of the Gugga tale includes Pururva and Urvashi's story from the Purana (Nainsi, 1993, p. 168). These stories' adaptations and adoption make it difficult to trace the original version.

Synoptic view of Himachal Pradesh

There are varied Gugga's legends and rituals. Indeed, the role of the deity is not fixed but changes as the narrative evolves. The meaning of legends often evolves across local and regional borders. It appears that the Gugga cult was introduced in the Western Himalayan from Rajputana while many families migrated and settled here. As the mountainous region had different social setups than Rajputana, the narrative evolved differently. Similarly, during the early medieval period, Nath cults, especially Charpat Nath, migrated from the plain areas to Chamba in Himachal Pradesh along with many menial classes. The Gugga cult was able to reach many people through the use of various mediums. The Gugga in Himachal Pradesh is worshipped as a deity with power over snakes and the ability to cure those bitten by them. Therefore, it is particularly popular during the snake-infested rainy season.

Gugga's story is the subject of an epic in Himachal Pradesh, sung overnight by *bhagats*, the ritual specialists associated with his cult. In terms of iconography, he is depicted with his horse and accompanied by his sister *Guggari*. Due to its popularity in Kullu, Nicholas Roerich (Russian painter), depicted the statues of *Gugga* and *Guggari* in several of his paintings including *Guga Chohan* (1931) and *Kuluta* (1936).

It is interesting to note as confirmed by latest research all of the famous Gugga shrines in Himachal Pradesh were established by *non-dwij* families. For example, Gugga Saloh by Girath and Baba *Sibo-da-than* by Nai (barber) family respectively. The beginning of the cult in this area can be traced from the following details provided in the census records (1911), 'around 500 years ago, there was a barber named Sibbo who used to worship a Gugga. Pleased with his devotion Gugga directed him to set up a shrine. So, he raised a shrine (*Sibo-da-than*) in which he enshrined the image of God, Gugga gave him the power to cure snake bites' (Rose, 1911-19, pp. 183-89).

The other famous shrines of Gugga include Chaksarai (Una), Lahra (Hamirpur), Loren (Kullu), Nalagarh, Palewar in Sahu (Chamba), Haripur (Sirmour), etc. Not only are the functionaries of these shrines from such castes but the position of the priest is also passed down hereditarily. Each of these shrines contains images of three deities –Gugga, *Guggari*, and Gorkakhnath, all of whom are mounted on horses. In the shrines of the Chamba district, Gugga (*mundlikh*) is represented by a stone figure of a man on horseback. He is accompanied by similar figures of his sister *Guggari*, a deified heroine, his wazir, *Kailu*, and others (Sharma, 1987, p. 44). During the rainy season, many festivals and fairs are celebrated in honour of the deity Gugga. The Gugga Navmi festival is celebrated on the Navami day in the Bhadrapada month (August). His *chhadi* (flag-bearing stick) is taken out in a religious procession. To honour Gugga Ji, devotees go from door to door collecting grains on *Chhat* (a wooden umbrella) from Raksha Bandhan till Gugga Navmi.

The cult in question consciously incorporated various aspects of the local traditions, including their rituals and methods of worship, into their practices. This syncretism resulted in a unique blend of different beliefs and cultural expressions within the cult's religious framework. The devotees paid homage to Gugga in novel ways by revering Gugga *Charri*, enacting his saga of extraordinary accomplishments through the medium of oral ballads. As there are no specific written norms, so these can be easily modified. The impact of print media and interaction with indigenous belief systems is causing an evolution in the beliefs and practices of the Gugga in Himachal Pradesh. The fusion of different elements has given birth to a unique and innovative form that enriches the entire tradition (Blackburn, 1978, pp. 131-149). This process of story building in Gugga's case started after the hero's death and

established a link with mainstream deities (Kamphorst, 2008, p. 16). Understanding the impact of rituals on narratives is a crucial aspect to consider. It is important to gain insight into how rituals can alter or shape the stories that are told and have a better understanding of their role in cultural and social contexts.

Conclusion

In light of the reasons mentioned above, the ceremonies and practices of Gugga performed in the state of Himachal Pradesh exhibited unique and distinct characteristics. The Gugga *Madis* are housed with engravings of various deities such as *Snakes* and *Gorakhnath*. These structures serve as a place of worship for followers who come to offer their veneration and prayers for specific purposes. Many rituals are performed in Himachali fashion including *Matha Tekna*, *Rot Chadhana*, *Mannat Mangna*, *Guggle Dhoop Jalana*, *Dera Dena*, *Gugga Mittee Lena*, *Gugga Bhartha Gana*, and chanting *Gugga Mantra*. The simplicity of the structures used in these *Madis* reflects the widespread popularity of this cult. *Bhagat*, *Chela*, and *Gur* who performed rituals are often from low castes. Under the process of Sanskritization, traditional rituals are being replaced. Gugga *Madis* has turned into a temple and Gugga images are housed with Sanskritic deities. The impact of cultural exchange is undeniable. Whenever two distinct cultures or traditions interact, they influence each other in various ways. The Gugga cult is a perfect example of this phenomenon as it showcases both Sanskritic and non-Sanskritic characteristics simultaneously. The Gugga cult is a fascinating intersection of the great tradition and the little tradition, where different cultural elements merge and evolve, creating a unique and dynamic cultural phenomenon.

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National Identity in International Conflict: Cultural Context of Russia-Ukraine War

-Shounak Baidya

Abstract

Ongoing Russian special military operation in Ukraine became source of a major European military conflict in February, 2022. This Russia-Ukraine war initiated a new stage in insurgency going on Donbas region. This article discusses how political construction of cultural markers of national identity within Ukraine has provided a context for a large-scale geopolitical conflict. Based on historical literature on nationalism in Ukraine, the article uses Roger Brubaker's triadic framework to explain the role of political de/constructions of the Ukrainian national identity in leading to Russia-Ukraine war. It also provides explanation for the rise of such international war in case of Russian annexation of Donbas region, not in the case of Crimea.

Keywords: *Russia-Ukraine War, National Identity, Roger Brubaker, Ukrainian national identity, Novorossiya, Donbas, Crimea.*

Introduction:

Vladimir Putin, President of Russian Federation, gave a televised address on 24th February, 2022 announcing a special military operation by the Russian military to address 'a permanent threat from the territory of today's Ukraine'. This inter-state Russia-Ukraine war can be seen as a direct extension of the armed conflict that has been going on since 2014 in Eastern parts of Donetsk and Luhansk regions within Ukraine. Parts of the territory of these two East Ukrainian oblasts have been considered as 'Temporarily Occupied Territory' by Ukrainian governments since 14th May, 2014. The Autonomous Republic of Crimea and the city of Sevastopol were also annexed by Russia after the Supreme Council of Crimea unilaterally declared independence from Ukraine after a disputed referendum in March, 2014. The 'war' involving two separate national militaries started only in 2022, while the conflict among armed militias has been going on in the Eastern Donbas region. Ukrainian militia Azov Battalion has been an important armed group in the conflict since the Anti-terror operation by the Ukrainian state in April, 2014.

Russia-backed militia groups have been controlling the war from the same time. But the current stage in the conflict was instigated by the acknowledgement by the Russian Federation in September-October, 2021 of the declaration of independence of the two above-mentioned Ukrainian oblasts made in April, 2014. This led to these 'republics' 'willingly' acceding to the Russian federation and becoming federal territory under the Russian Federation. The question remains why a large-scale war broke out in the case of Russian annexation of these two oblasts in Donbass region but not in the case of 'Crimean annexation'. The answer, if it is given only in terms of military strategy, will be a truncated one. The similarities as well as differences in historical and cultural context of these two regions need to be acknowledged to fully explain the outbreak of this new stage of hostilities. This brief research paper wants to focus on the cultural context of the conflict that started in 2014 and to show how conflicting cultural construction of national identity has provided a fertile ground for the further escalation in 2022.

Reflecting on the current situation in his country, Ukrainian historian Yaroslav Hrystak (2022, YouTube) commented that 'war is norm, peace is rather exception'. He views the ongoing war as a clash between the authoritarian political culture of Russia and democratic political system of Ukraine. This is a major strand of argument regarding causes of this particular war. This is broadly in tandem with liberal theory of international politics, which considers authoritarian political systems as one of the main causes of the war. This is how the recent war has been portrayed in most of the western news media as well as official declarations by the USA and EU. This puts the blame of the war solely and exclusively on Russia. The reaction of a major number of states from the Global South has contradicted this claim. While most of them appealed for a ceasefire and political resolution of the conflict, they didn't follow the call by the USA and its allies on punitive sanctions on Russia. Both India and China followed a similar stance while differing in various details. This international muted response against Russia has been accompanied by repeated claims of Nazi involvement within the ruling regime in Kiev. Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky's address to the Greek Parliament was overshadowed after a man claiming to be member of far-right militia, 'Azov battalion', was seen to appeal for assistance in a video message during the speech. Greek government spokesman reiterated that the incident was 'mistaken and inappropriate' (Reuters, 2022). A similar incident happened recently when the speaker of Canadian House of Commons, Anthony Rota, was forced to quit after praising a guest speaker, Yaroslav Hunka, called in for Ukrainian President Zelensky's visit to Ottawa in September, 2023. Rota praised the 98-year old veteran Hunka as a war hero from the Second World War. Later, it emerged that Hunka was part of Waffen-SS Galicia Division, 'a Nazi military unit whose crimes against

humanity during the Holocaust are well-documented' (The Wire, 2023). Realist scholar Mearsheimer (2014, p.4) mentions that the Ukrainian government, formed after the Euromaidan protests in 2014, involved four high-ranking members, 'who could legitimately be labeled neo fascists'.

Mearsheimer has argued for a long time that the United States and its European allies share most of the responsibility for the Ukraine crisis. The main reason behind the conflict is the complete disregard of Russian core strategic security interests by USA and its European allies to integrate Ukraine into EU and subsequently NATO (p. 2). This stems from a delusional perspective of the world ruled by such liberal concepts of rule of law, democracy and economic interdependence. He (2022, YouTube) opined that the west will never consider Ukraine a vital strategic interest for going to full-fledged war. The resolve of the Russian side in this scenario is wholly different as for them; this is a matter of core strategic interest. The Russian response in 2014 was a reaction to the ouster of the democratically elected pro-Russian President in Ukraine. The escalation to war in 2022 came after Russia's demand on security guarantees regarding NATO's eastward expansion was rejected and the insurgency in Eastern Donbas seemed beyond any political resolution with Ukraine, supported by the western powers. Western misunderstanding of Russian resolve on this issue is the main origin of the crisis in 2008 when Ukraine and Georgia were first declared to be potential candidates for future NATO membership. Russia went to war with Georgia in 2008 over the same issue.

Harvey (2022) opined similarly that the policies followed by the USA and its allies were responsible for the war. He specifically emphasizes the economic decline of Russia after the dissolution of USSR, 'the impact of "shock therapy" upon Russian political, cultural and economic life was predictably far worse'. This economic decline and the enlargement of NATO constituted the main axis of insecurity in Russia and the strategic insecurity was related to that. While Mearsheimer (2014) termed the western belief in a perfectly liberal international order as delusions, Harvey (2022) considered the imagination of a peaceful 1945 world order as myth. Even in the constant background of bipolar rivalry in the cold war, 'hot' wars have ravaged many parts of the planet, most of the time perpetrated or supported by the same western powers. This militarization of world order has been constantly aided by the military-industrial complex as identified by US President Eisenhower and subsequently 'military keynesianism' a la Reaganomics in the era of neo-liberal economic reforms after the 1970s.

While both strands of argument have their own merit, they ignore Ukrainian context in recent history, finding the principal causes of the conflict primarily outside Ukraine. Hrystak acknowledges the Ukrainian context but it is limited only as far as Ukraine's acceptance of liberal democratic ideals.

Similar arguments also implicitly point to a rigid divide between Russia and Ukraine in terms of national political culture. This brief paper wants to understand the cultural context of the war in a wholly different manner than viewing political culture as a monolith in terms of nation-states. Such a view fails to take into account the historical changes in cultural context which is conditioning ideational construction of political community in and around Ukraine. Social construction of political communities is achieved in myriad ways with the aim of marking out a clear distinction between ‘self’ and ‘other’. Politically dominant narratives of national identity play a significant role in this cultural construction. This paper looks at such cultural construction of national identity in Ukraine and Russia to understand the cultural context of the war in 2022.

Analytical framework:

Cultural markers of national identity are important in constructing ‘nation’ demarcating who to be considered inside (or outside) of the national political community. The role of culture in building the nation is acknowledged in various theories of nationalism. ‘Nations are produced centrally by cultural practices which encourage members to situate their own identities and self-understandings within a nation’ (Calhoun, 2007, p. 38). Such cultural practices are inherent part of nationalist projects, which, as a matter of political principle, held that ‘the national and the political boundaries of a state should be congruent’ (Gellner, 1983, p. 5). Such projects upheld intra-state cultural similarity as well as inter-state cultural difference as the foundation of national identity. In such cases, ‘discourse of nationalism is inherently international’ (p.56). National identity is not only claims of horizontal solidarity, internal cohesion within the boundaries of the nation-state, but also claims of difference from other nations involving a desire to be self-sufficient and autonomous within a world of nation-states. Discipline of International Relations traditionally takes the nation-state as the pre-given unit of international politics; issues of national identity are set aside as belonging to the sphere of domestic politics, outside the purview of the discipline. Such issues gained considerable scholarly attention in the early 1990s in the context of the dissolution of Yugoslavia into several distinct ethnic nations (p.51). In this context, nationalism was seen as a resurgent factor of world politics or as a source of conflict.

The issues of national identity in Eastern and Central Europe have been historically different from Western Europe as they were conceptualized in ethno-cultural as well as politico-territorial terms. Such ethno-cultural imagination of the political community had explicit and implicit territorial imagination regarding ‘incipient’ nations such as Poland, Ukraine and Russia in the 19th century. Bilenky (2012) analyzed the writings of then contemporary East European intellectuals – political thinkers, activists,

literati and scholars – to show how certain mental maps for these nationalist projects overlap with each other and how such mental maps were based on certain cultural markers, which Brubaker (1992, 1996, p.102) termed ‘nation-centered idioms’. Even in the heydays of nationalist imaginaries in the 1830s and 1840s, such territorial imagination of the national political community also had to accommodate itself within the dominant matrix of rival political units- Romanov empire in the East and Habsburg empire in the west. These imperial powers never fully embraced, rather sometimes tolerated, the nationalist rhetoric. In this scenario, these competing nationalist projects are often superimposed on one another. The Ukrainian ‘case’ was ‘a search for “national” territory including its very name’ as patriotic Ukrainians (traditional Little Russian activists as well as activists with modern Ukrainian imagination) had to construct their ‘ideal fatherland’ at the intersection of the Russian and the Polish nationalist imagination in the 19th century (p.9). Cultural construction of the Ukrainian nation has been historically connected to similar construction of ‘neighboring’ national political communities such as Polish and Russian. Szporluk (1997, p.86) similarly opined that the making of modern Ukraine needs to be viewed in an international context. While the Russian as well as the Polish nationalists defined themselves as superior in connection to their borderlands, literal meaning of Ukraine, consisting of current Ukrainian territories, they were themselves in an unequal, core-peripheral relationship with dominant Western Europe, ‘civilization’. ‘In sum, then, the Ukrainian nation-building project was nothing more nor less than an undertaking to transform the peripheries of several nations, which themselves were civilizational peripheries of the West, into a sovereign entity able to communicate directly with the larger world – with what was seen in the nineteenth century, even more in the twentieth, to be centers of modern civilization, in politics, culture and science, and economics’ (p.86).

The influence of Tsarist policies towards Ukrainian nationalist questions and its effects is discussed by Miller (2003) and Hillis (2013). They showed that the tsarist policy changed significantly over time in details concerning Ukrainian nationalists. While it never accommodated Ukrainian nationalist identity in any way, it also never uniformly persecuted it. Similarly, the Polish influence and importance of Vienna in Ukrainian nationalism is well discussed in Magocsi (2002) and Szporluk (2001). Ukrainian nationalist thought had a separate though related history in Galicia which was part of Polish- Lithuanian Commonwealth and subsequently Austro-Hungarian Empire. Galicia, currently known as Western Ukraine, became part of today’s Ukraine in 1944. The current geography of Ukraine was put forward for the first time after the Proletarian revolution of 1917. The borders of the first Ukrainian nation-state crystallized under Soviet rule comprising mainly the central and eastern part of today’s Ukraine in the 1920s. Szporluk (2006,

p.621) shows that it was Lenin's Bolsheviks who drew the borders of the Ukrainian republic and accepted Ukraine as an equal, separate nation from Russia. The first few years of the Soviet Union indeed saw state-led institutionalization of Ukrainian language and culture for the first time. While these policies were significantly reversed during Stalinist period, institutionalized political-territorial practices had a significant effect on crystallization of ethno-cultural identity. The putting together of all the 'borderlands' of at least two to three disparate political units to produce the modern geographical frontiers of a Ukrainian republic was only achieved after 1945 when western Ukraine, formerly known as Austrian Galicia and later part of interwar Polish state, came under soviet rule and was incorporated in Ukrainian SSR. Crimea was added in 1954 to Ukraine by Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev. Institutionalization of political territoriality of Ukraine also played a part in defining material as well as cultural interests of the Ukrainian republic within the USSR. Yekelchuk (2011) gave an interesting example of soviet influence in even post-1991 Ukrainian national historiography. 'For historians trained in the soviet era, the national school was not as difficult as one might think. In much the same organicist way as the nationalists, the Soviet authorities since the late 1930s had encouraged the historical profession to think nations as subjects of history (as in "the great Russian people" or the "reunification of Ukraine with Russia")' (2011). This goes on to show the Soviet influence in conceptualization of the Ukrainian nation within its current boundary.

With such variegated and divided historical background, issues of Ukrainian national identity have remained contentious and fractured. Brubaker (1996) published a set of essays describing a framework for analyzing conflicts involving national identity in post-soviet spaces. Brubaker rejected the view of nationalism as resurgent or receding. He took such discussions as meaningless as far as 'nation' is not a realist category but a category invoked by an ensemble of "'nation'-oriented idioms, practices and possibilities that are continuously available or "endemic" in modern cultural and political life' (p.10). The issues of national identity in post-soviet spaces are different from 'state-seeking and nation-building nationalisms on which most theories of nationalism have been built' (p.10). Brubaker opined that such issues are conditioned by discourses of nationalism in eastern and central Europe historically. Writing from these premises, Brubaker postulated a framework for study of conflict in the post-soviet space in eastern and central Europe. This framework consisted of three related sets of heuristic elements- 'nationalizing states', 'national minority' and 'homeland nationalism', which may interact to produce conflict in specific circumstances. He contended that the very policies regarding national identity pursued by the USSR provided the historical basis for such triad (in addition to other pre-existing factors). Territorial nationhood and ethnic nationality, 'as fundamental cognitive and

social forms', were pervasively institutionalized in the cultural imagination of the Soviet system (p.18). Based on such historical premises, this paper will apply Brubaker's framework for analysis of the cultural context of the war in Ukraine. Indeed, Brubaker (p.47) himself considered the possibility of conflict in Ukraine along these lines in future. This research paper takes up this task to see how the tension between 'Ukraine as a national territory and Ukrainian as a personal nationality' has worked to exacerbate the current conflict ultimately turning it into an inter-state war.

Ukraine as nationalizing state

The first element of Brubaker's framework is 'nationalizing states'. Brubaker first set it apart from 'nation-building' newly independent states of post-colonial Asia and Africa, which have been the focus of much theoretical and academic reflection in modernization and developmental studies. He contended that conception of national integration in such studies transforms the notion of 'national' into a matter of scale and scope, which effectively means 'state-wide' (p.80). A nationalizing state is understood as a state for a particular ethno-cultural 'core nation', distinct from the entire citizenry of the state, which must be protected and promoted by the state (p.103). In defining this core nation, language, religion etc are discursively constructed as nation-oriented idioms. Protection and preservation of such 'idioms' becomes the responsibility of the nationalizing state. This is deemed as a 'compensatory' or 'remedial' project as such idioms were viewed as historically being suppressed by another entity. This later entity becomes the 'other' for distinguishing the core nation, the self. In Ukraine, the historical and political construction of national identity has shifted over the years after the disintegration of the USSR. Such a shift has become more and more pronounced in the last decade. Language, religion etc. have increasingly become nation-oriented idioms in the last decade.

Language has been fundamental in Ukrainian nationalist projects since the 19th century due to the prevalent romantic nationalist discourse. Such emphasis on language as a marker of separate national identity became more and more pronounced during Perestroika in the last years of the USSR. In 1989, Ukrainian SSR declared 'Ukrainian' as the sole state language. Apart from Ukrainian, the other dominant language in the socio-economic sphere is Russian. According to the 2001 census, 29.6% of all citizens declared Russian as their mother tongue. Most of the Russian speaking population is concentrated on the southern and eastern Ukraine; specifically the areas which had historically longer connections with the Tsarist empire. Use of language isn't always determined by ethnicity as even ethnic Ukrainians in southern and eastern Ukraine sometimes preferred to use Russian in their daily communication. Western Ukraine, which was added to Ukraine only after 1944, has an overwhelming majority population who generally speaks

Ukrainian. There is also a large proportion of Ukrainians who are adept at using both the languages, current Ukrainian President Zelensky being one such bilingual speaker. He comes from the predominantly Russian-speaking southern city of Kryvyi Rih and first made his name as a comedian performing in Russian (France 24, 2019). There are other languages used by some other sections of populations such as Romanian, Belarusian, Hungarian etc but the debate around languages is generally bipolar i.e. involving the use of Russian and Ukrainian and their status. Kuzio (2002, p.18; cf: Delwaide, 2011-2014) opined that language is an 'indispensable' marker of Ukrainian national identity, as otherwise, 'the Ukrainian state would be hard pressed to define itself as different from Russia'.

While language was a key factor explaining polarized results in parliamentary and presidential elections between 1994 and 2012, a political equilibrium existed regarding language in Ukrainian policy till then (Arel, 2018). A 'brittle' political consensus defined the politics in Kiev which built on symbolic pre-eminence of Ukrainian as the sole state language, state incentives to use Ukrainian (strong in school, weak in media and publishing industry) and informal predominance of Russian as medium of informal communication in cities outside of western Ukraine. This consensus was broken in 2012 with the passing of 'On the Principles of the State Language Policy', known as Kolesnichenko-Kivalov law, under Yanukovich (2018). This law permitted official use of a 'second' state language in regions with more than 10 percent of the local population speaking that language. This meant Russian can also be used as official language in state institutions in the cities of Kiev, Sevastopol as well as in various oblasts such as Donetsk, Luhansk, Odessa, Kherson, Sumy, Mykolayiv, Kharkiv etc. This law was one of the causes of 2014 unrest in Kiev which ultimately saw the ouster of Yanukovich. After this, the parliament hurriedly voted to abolish the law on 23rd February, 2014. Ukrainian interim president Oleksandr Turchinov did not sign the parliamentary resolution. Ultimately, the law was revoked by Ukraine's constitutional court on 25th February, 2018 as the bill was seen as unconstitutional. The law was supposedly based on the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, it was perceived as a means to make Russian a second state language by a section of Ukrainian society specifically in the western parts. Stefan (2016) opined that the law was a 'novel' step towards federalization in a 'unitary' state like Ukraine without affecting the status of Ukrainian as the sole state language. In contrast, Arel (2018) emphasized that the law was seen to be removing the state incentives to learn and use Ukrainian in the backdrop of necessary diffusion of the Ukrainian as the state language. This was seen as weakening the foundation of national identity. This is the reason that the attempt to revoke the law was made in such a hurry after the ouster of President Yanukovich without following the procedure laid down in Article 111 of the Constitution.

A new language law, 'On Maintaining the Functioning of the Ukrainian Language as a State Language', was signed by the president Poroshenko in May, 2019. This law has also divided opinions with its attempts to promote the dominance of the Ukrainian language in all spheres of public life. The UN Human Rights Mission in Ukraine (2019, p.1) criticized the law for not ensuring sufficient clarity on the protection of minority languages in Ukraine. It also criticized the 'unjustified' distinction created between minority languages, which are included in EU and which are not, providing preferential treatment to the former category. An earlier piece of linguistic legislation was the law on medium of education which allowed only primary public and private education in languages other than Ukrainian. This was roundly criticized by not only Russia but also EU countries like Greece, Hungary, Poland, Romania and Bulgaria. The 2019 amendments to this law allow students in minority languages, which are EU official languages, more leeway in the medium of education. But this doesn't apply to the Russian language as it is not one of the EU languages. Venice Commission, an advisory body of the Council of Europe, (2019, p.29) opined that 'it was treating in the area of education the minority languages which are not official languages of the EU- in particular Russian- in a less favorable manner compared to other minority languages'.

Similar claims of absolute distinction between Ukrainian and Russian identity have percolated in the realm of religion, urban geography etc. Such claims of distinction are not new; their apparent historical basis consists of projecting Russia as the absolutist aggressor on the Ukrainian identity. After 2014, such claims have significantly hardened and corresponding political stances have become more uncompromising. Close intertwining of religion and state in Ukraine after 2014 was discussed by Shestopalets (2020). Orthodox Christianity in Ukraine was divided in parishes of three churches- Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the Moscow Patriarchate (UOC-MP), Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the Kyiv Patriarchate (UOC-KP) and the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church (UAOC). In December, 2018, the last two constituents joined together to form Orthodox Church of Ukraine (OCU) as a national church breaking away from any relation with UOC-MP. Evolution of President Poroshenko's religious discourse was a key political factor behind the process of autocephaly achieved by the OCU (Shestopalets, 2020, p.152). 'In particular, after the events of 2014, the new Ukrainian political elites in power decided to get directly involved in the conflict between various Orthodox Churches and settled their disputes in accordance with the current state interests' (p.171). In the public discourse of Poroshenko, the autocephalous church and membership of OCU became another nation-oriented idiom. OCU became a central nodal point and key pillar of Ukrainian sovereignty encapsulated in Poroshenko's slogan for post-2014 Ukrainian national identity, 'Army! Language! Faith!' Founder of

UOC-KP, Patriarch Filaret, have long advocated for such a schism with Russian Orthodox Church, which guides the UOC-MP, after 1992. But UOC-MP kept its dominance till 2014; even Poroshenko himself was a parishioner in UOC-MP. After 2014, the agenda of UOC-KP was de facto transformed into official state ideology after 2014 (p.171). Poroshenko increasingly blurred any distinction between the 'Russian state' and 'the ROC' in his statements.

Similarly, political construction of various nation-oriented idioms premised on distinguishing between 'Ukrainian' and 'Russian' nationality have been seen in case of reassessment of historical characters (such as Stepan Bandera), names of various streets in urban cities of Ukraine under the aegis of the state. The participation by far-right nationalist militias in Ukrainian National Governments' retaliatory military action against Donbas insurgency also precipitated the threat of government-backed vigilantism against Eastern Ukrainian Russian speaking population. All of these show how the Ukrainian state post-2014 period has increasingly become symptomatic of a nationalizing state. While Brubaker (1996, p.106) contended that most of the post-soviet successor states would be nationalizing in some form and to some degree, such a tendency has been increasing in Ukraine, specifically after 2014.

Russians as national minority in Ukraine:

In discussing the second element of the triadic framework, Brubaker (1996, p.60) insisted that this is not an element based on objective fact of ethnic demography, but a subjective precipitate of popular self- understanding. This was due to institutionalization of the idea of personal ethnic nationality by the Soviet regime. The case of the ethnic Russian or Russian-speaking minority in post-soviet republics became extremely important due to historical and cultural reasons. In the last two decades of the USSR, the Russian-speaking population in non-Russian republics became more conscious of their ethnic nationality due to increased self-assertion by 'titular' nationality in these republics. Minority elites in this context often represent minorities living within the territorial boundary of particular states as belonging to a different nationality than the 'titular' nationality of those states. The political demands arising from such representation will vary from 'modest demands for administration or education in the minority language to maximalist claims for far-reaching territorial and political autonomy verging on full independence' (ibid.). The current situation in Crimea and Donbas and their demands for secession from the Ukrainian state should be seen in this context.

Crimea became part of Ukraine only in 1954 after Khrushchev officially transferred the territory to Ukraine SSR commemorating '300th' anniversary of 'reunification' of Russian and Ukrainian nations i.e. the Pereyaslav Agreement, a ceremonial pledge of allegiance by Cossacks in today's Eastern

Ukraine to the Tsar. Crimea was the only large administrative sub-division in Ukraine where ethnic Russians overwhelmingly outnumbered ethnic Ukrainians. This created large-scale uncertainty during Ukraine's severance from the USSR. A section of the Crimean population wanted to go back to the region's 1945-46 republican status as a subject of the USSR and a party to the new Union Treaty. Ukrainian parliament eased the tension surrounding any such potential secession by reinstating Crimean autonomy within the borders of modern day Ukraine on 12th February 1992. Still, the issue of secession from Ukraine persisted in Crimean politics significantly. The election of Yurii Meshkov as Crimean president in 1992 was controversial in this regard. He wanted to put Crimea back into the ruble zone and was occasionally seen threatening secession 'to guarantee (our) autonomy in the economic field' (Resler, 1997, p.99). He also projected his image of being 'anti-tatar' with his negative attitude towards reservation of seats in Parliament for Crimean Tatars. At that time, the Ukrainian central government eventually agreed to grant economic sovereignty to Crimea and pledged to support the Crimean Tatars. Crimean political discourse was oriented towards a greater connection with Russia and was one of the main bastions of the Party of Regions led by Yanukovich. Russia Bloc, which was allied to the Party of Regions, was the political face of the Russian Community of Crimea (ROK). ROK was again allied to the paramilitary Crimean Cossack Union. Members of the later organization were 'traditionally Ukrainophobic, intolerant of all religious denominations other than Russian Orthodoxy' and used to fly Russian imperial banners and flags (Kuzio, 2015, p.41). So, the idea of secession from Ukraine has been present in Crimean political discourse. This assertion reflects a desire to (re)inscribe themselves in the contemporary global political order, which allows the residents to perform their sovereignty through democratic institutions like referendums, whose results are predetermined anyway. (Bobick, 2014, p.8). This was the case of Crimean secession from Ukraine.

Cultural context of Donbas region in Eastern Ukraine is historically different from Crimea. The region primarily consisted of two oblasts in Ukraine- Donetsk and Luhansk. The city of Donetsk became one of the earliest industrialized cities in the Tsarist empire in 1869. Its industrial development accelerated during the soviet era and Donbas became one of the most crucial industrial bases for the USSR. This region has been the most industrialized part of Ukrainian SSR. Wilson (1995) opined that the region has had two strongly contradictory historiography of its origin since the late 1980s. While historians in Western Ukraine and Kiev have consistently tried to bolster Ukraine's historical claim to the region, such attempts have been countered in historical accounts of local and regional historians from Donbas region, increasingly used by regional and Russophile political parties. This local historiography is dedicated to show that the Russian character of the region

emerged out of conscious free choices of the population, not because of any policy of Russification by the Tsarist Empire or Soviet Union (p.279). This looked at incorporation of the region within Ukrainian SSR as a result of gift by Lenin in 1921 and the short-lived Donetsk - Kryvyi Rih Republic of 1918 is seen as a genuine popular expression of the desire to be part of the Greater Russia than a companion of Kiev-based Ukrainian nationalist. Delwaide (2011-2014, p.190) opined that the March 1991 miners' strikes in Eastern Ukraine constituted a critical tipping point resulting in an overwhelming positive vote for Ukrainian independence from the Soviet Union in this region. Pirie (1996, p.1095) explained this result in terms of the prevailing anti-Kremlin attitude among Miners in Donbas region and their desire for local control over their enterprises and direct democracy, which put them in the same camp of Ukrainian nationalist. They didn't have significant attachment with the Ukrainian national idea. The urban working population in the Donbas region wanted a stronger voice in the economic affairs of the newly independent country. So, this region had milder demands of autonomy than Crimea largely focusing on economic matters with aims of decentralized federal state and strengthening local self-government. These demands weren't met in the prevailing unitary political structure of Ukraine. Economic decline and lack of improvement opportunities influenced a shift in public opinion among residents of Donbas. This led to frictions which resulted in another large scale miners' strike in 1993. Since then, Donbas remained one of the bastions of anti-Kiev regional politics in Ukraine. The rise of Yanukovich and his Party of Regions since 2006 wanted to transform this into real political influence within the Ukrainian parliament. After Yanukovich's overthrow and revoking of Kolesnichenko-Kivalov law, which was quite popular in Donbas, large scale chaotic street fights started in Donbas as well as other regions in Eastern and Southern Ukraine.

Pirie (p.1095) envisaged that any viable pro-Russian future separatist movement demanding reunification with Russia is much more plausible in Crimea than in the Donbas. The national identification in Donbas is much more mixed with continual support for closer ties with Russia but not strong enough demand for full-fledged reintegration with Russia. Arel and Driscoll (2023, p.124) described the political and social chaos in Ukraine after Yanukovich's ouster in 2014. Importantly, they showed that the Party of Region tried to resuscitate itself after Yanukovich fled to Russia. Such reorientation started in Kharkiv regional Congress, where a set of demands was formulated to start a political negotiation with the newly installed Kiev government. The Party of Regions was hesitant to fully break with Kiev as the plan was to organize a regional alliance to politically oppose Kiev (p.127). Ultimately, most of the regional governments except Luhansk Oblast came to terms with Kiev. Political elites in Luhansk only undertook such a stance after significant pressure from street gangs and groups. One of the

important factors in the political scenario was the ‘streets’, which became the arbiter of the political situation as established political elites, both national and regional, lost control of the situation. There were numerous political fights, confrontations happening between pro-Kiev and pro-Russian groups across all the regions of Southern and Eastern Ukraine (except Crimea) including Kharkiv, Odessa, Donetsk, Mariupol etc. While these fights were ongoing, most of the established regional political institutions, parties adopted nuanced bargaining positions, not outright secession with Kiev (p.133). But the stakes remained very high as the negotiations saw the threat perception in existential terms. There were frequent street fights going on in Donetsk and Luhansk too. The Luhansk administration was the only one to give in to demands by Pro-Russian groups while the Donetsk administration didn’t openly break with Kiev demanding only a vague ‘referendum’. In both these places, the established political leaders lost control of the situation on the ground as local self-defense groups took control of administrative buildings. Consequently, the Donbas insurgency didn’t have any known political faces in leadership position. The violence in the streets slowly solidified into frontiers of a frozen conflict in these two regions.

Before any external ‘covert’ Russian state involvement in the Donetsk and Luhansk regions, the fight there as well as elsewhere in Eastern Ukraine was genuinely between Ukrainian citizens who are divided in Pro-Maidan/ Pro-Kiev/ Pro-Ukraine and Anti-Maidan/ Pro-Russian camps. In Odessa, there was an unfortunate incident where 48 Anti-Maidan protestors, all Ukrainian citizens, died after a series of confrontations between these rival groups during a football match in 2nd May, 2014. But slowly this street violence came to an end as Ukrainian government established its control apart from the parts in Eastern Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts. This violence should be seen in the context of violence in Euromaidan protests. The pro-Russian self-defense groups were formed following the self-defense groups of Euromaidan protesters against the Police and were a reaction to the fear of far-right militia and neo-nazi involvement in those (p.142). The linked political demand in all these Anti-maidan agitations remained moderate though, from referendum to federalization. Reaction of ‘Russians’ or ‘Russian-speaking’ minority in Ukraine can’t be seen in terms of ethnic demography or linguistic preference alone. The decisive demand for secession never came as Russian-speaking elites in Eastern Ukraine didn’t formulate such demands either out of loyalty or in reaction to ongoing or potential violence. Pirie (1995, p.1096) explained this ambivalent attitude regarding the politics of national identity characteristic of late Soviet and post-Soviet political culture. There is a propensity to support mutually contradictory claims specifically in case of ‘fundamental issue of Ukraine’s existence as a separate state and people and, its relation towards Russia and Russian culture’. The institutionalized regional politics in Eastern Ukraine

never found its ground again especially after the loss of Donetsk, the center of anti-Kiev regional politics. The electoral divide between East and West was blurred in subsequent elections. In 2019, Dnipro-based Zelensky from Eastern Ukraine obtained a majority in both east and west Ukraine. Construction of the Russian-speaking population in Southern and Eastern Ukraine as ‘Russians’, in terms of national identity, never materialized as political elites from the region and Anti-Maidan groups in vast parts of the region, except Crimea, didn’t particularly invoke the idea of secession from Ukraine.

Russia as external national homeland

As in the case of the previous two elements, Russia as an ‘external national homeland’ is also a dynamic one consisting of great variations in Russian foreign policy. Russian nationalism was least articulated during the soviet years as all such discussions were subsumed under the hegemonic discourse of proletarian rule. ‘Russianness’ was diffused throughout the territory of the USSR. Brubaker (1996, p.49) contended that it was invisible like ‘whiteness’ in America. Essentially, it wasn’t defined in terms of a politico-territorial unit but was fundamental to the whole Soviet Union itself. So, after the dissolution of the USSR, defining and articulating ‘Russian’ as a distinct ethno-cultural identity became a historical task for post-soviet ‘Russian’ state as well as civil society. In this context, the political discourse of homeland nationalism projects the Russian state as somehow uniquely responsible not only for its own citizens but also for ethnic co-nationals living in other successor states of the USSR. Membership of Russian Orthodox Church (ROC) provides a religious basis for this argument. Russia’s repeated invocation of safety and security of ‘Russian-speaking’ population in Ukraine is neither significant deviation from existing foreign policy orientation nor exclusively Putin’s invention. Such declarations and official public stances became a staple of official Russian discourse since the time of Boris Yeltsin (pp.136-137).

Ukraine itself holds great historical significance for the modern Russian state. Molchanov (1996) discussed cultural sources of this construction of Ukraine as ‘a true mirror image of the Russian self’. Hillis (2013) gives a historical account of the emergence of the Russian national project within the imagination of ‘Little Russian’ activists in the 19th century. Crimea, especially Sevastopol, has remained another significant symbol of Russian nationalist aspirations (Plokhyy, 2000). This ensured a close attention to events in Ukraine within Russian civil society and intelligentsia. Geopolitical narratives of Dugin formulated the unrest in Ukraine in terms of Russia’s conflict with the west. This narrative posited Russia as an historical Eurasian power against the political and cultural values of the west. The Crimean annexation was fully supported by this narrative of Russian nationalism. But Russia’s initial response to developments in Donbas was ambivalent. Amid

talks on the possibility of Ukraine's federalization defusing the crises, Putin requested political elites of the self-proclaimed republics to postpone the referendum they have scheduled for 11th May, 2014. Laruelle (2019, p.195) opined that the insurgency in Donbas was given legitimacy in the conceptual myth-making of Novorossiia, which was not the case in the context of Crimea. The myth contained three underlying paradigms. The first paradigm (Red) was based on the conception of 'post-soviet' space to reformulate the great power status of Russia. The second (White) majorly related to the ultraconservative Orthodox circles based on the unity of faith under the ROC. The last (Brown) posited Novorossiia as the battleground for new national revolution overthrowing the old world order and was against the Putin regime advocating import of Russian spring in Ukraine to Moscow itself. These diverse narratives coalesced around the unrest in Ukraine and congealed around supporting the insurgency in Eastern Donbas. This support meant active involvement of members from these groups in the politics in this area within or without the Russian state support. Many of the early Russian volunteers in the insurgency and subsequent frozen conflict came from these groups.

These groups though didn't have much control over Putin's policy towards Donbas. They were disappointed by Russia's strategy of creating a frozen conflict as well as the 'failure' of spreading of the insurgency in other regions of traditionally Russian-speaking Ukraine. Since the Minsk agreement, these narratives slowly receded in the background. Russia's ambivalent response towards the Donbas conflict alienated these 'nationalist' Russians from the Putin regime just after the regime had a huge surge of popularity due to its proactive measures a month ago regarding Crimea annexation (Kolsto, 2016). The Russian state wanted to use the conflict in geopolitical bargaining and some in Moscow hoped for a new phase of negotiation after Zelensky's election (Arel and Driscoll, 2023, p.194). But this didn't happen. A change in Russia's stance regarding Donbas was visible in July 2021, when Putin suddenly published a lengthy essay 'On the Historical Unity of Russians and Ukrainians'. This built on the myth of 'novorossiia' and extended it to argue Ukrainian nationalism is instigated by the Western countries. Such Ukrainian nationalism was nothing else than fascist and Nazi construction as historically they collaborated with Nazi Germany during World War II. This type of ideation harks back to the discourse of 'Great Russia', which has been historically present within Russian territory. Szporluk (2006, p.613) showed how Lenin identified this discourse of Great Russia and its potential disastrous consequence for other nationalities such as Ukrainian as well as international proletarian revolution. So, there was absolutely nothing surprising in Putin's statement, which was followed by a massive military build-up in the vicinity of Ukrainian border and ultimately Russian military intervention. Putin's statement regarding the

special military operation provides three possible simultaneous explanations for Russian military action. The first of these relates to the unipolar ‘cynicism’ of the USA and its allies regarding repeated military actions across the globe from Belgrade to Libya and promoting NATO’s eastward expansion neglecting Russia’s security concerns. The second reason is related to the first which is creating a hostile “anti-Russia” attitude in adjacent territories of the Russian Federation, which Putin dubbed as ‘our historical land’. This is done by NATO countries supporting ‘the far-right and neo-nazis in Ukraine’. The last reason is given as the historic responsibility for protection Russia owes towards the ‘new’ citizens in Donbass region. In Putin’s rhetoric, the military action is synonymous with preventing genocide of the population in Donetsk and Luhansk regions of Ukraine at the hands of a ‘murderous’ Kiev regime. The speech enmeshed a geopolitical understanding of Russian, also European, security as well as a cultural framing of that context. Such framing is also present in his reference to the memories of the Second World War, the ‘Great Patriotic War’ in Russian parlance, and the Russian annexation of Crimea and Sevastopol as reunification with their ‘historical homeland’. Indeed, the repeated invocation of Neo-nazi involvement in Ukrainian nationalism has been done by the Russian state-supported media since Euromaidan, especially after the above-mentioned incident in Odessa in May. This appealed to the memories of Nazi invasion of the USSR and effectively tried to portray Russian military operation as defense rather than offense. The special military operation in 2022 signifies strengthening Putin’s hold over Russian nationalist discourse again.

Conclusion:

Application of Brubaker’s triadic framework provided insights on change in political construction of certain cultural markers as nation-oriented idioms as inherent part of Ukrainian national identity in the post-Maidan period. The cultural context hasn’t remained static over the time and has been politically made and remade since 2014. From Ukrainian street gangs to Russian ultra-nationalist factions played an important role in such political making and remaking of the cultural context. The previous analysis showed how some of the political consensus has been broken by several actors for diverse and contradictory reasons. The Ukrainian state’s policy on language and religion became completely different after 2014. The ‘brittle’ political consensus on language was first upset through the 2012 Kolesnichenko-Kivalov law, it is also true that the subsequent Kiev governments also deviated from that pre-existing policy in its ‘exclusion’ of Russian language among its citizens. This is symptomatic of nationalizing zeal of the Ukrainian state while any linear relation between Russian-speaking Ukrainians and separatist political stance became untenable in the post-2014 period. Arel and Driscoll (2023, p.154)

mentioned that many ‘volunteer’ battalions in the Ukrainian side consisted of actually Russian speaking soldiers from Ukraine, who participated in favor of Kiev in the post-2014 conflict in Donbas region. The hesitancy of the established regional political elites revealed their attempts to start negotiation with Kiev for greater ‘federalization’. This is in clear contrast to the situation in Crimea, which has much more definitive separatist discourse based on its current demography as well as different historical trajectory from other parts of Ukraine. Political construction of Russian language as nation-oriented idioms couldn’t come to fruition in a manner consistent with clear and unambiguous preference for secession in places other than Crimea. But the negotiation, wanted by the regional elites based in Kharkiv, stalled and subsequent governments in Kiev, especially Poroshenko’s one, was only ready to negotiate on its own terms of ‘decentralization’ rather than ‘federalization’. This spelt the demise of established political institutions in Eastern Ukraine, specifically the Party of Regions. The government in Kiev also lost control of these parts. In this context, ‘politics spilled onto the streets’ (p.127).

Violence has remained a persistent feature in Ukrainian political context since the Euromaidan protests. Violent clashes between Euromaidan ‘self-defense’ groups and the Ukrainian Police forces extended across Eastern Ukraine. Anti-Maidan street groups were formed as a response to these self defense groups and clashes among these two sections of Ukrainian citizens became common across the region. Linked political demonstrations agitated mostly for a referendum on regional autonomy, not outright secession (Melnyk, 2020, cf: p.136). While regional political elites in Donetsk, Luhansk and Kharkiv remained committed to negotiation, armed groups seized key administration building declaring separate ‘People’s Republic’ in each case. Kharkiv-based separatists were ejected from the building without casualties by a special police unit. Such a unit wasn’t readily available in case of other two republics and the separatists there were heavily armed in contrast to the Kharkiv scenario (p.138). So, the contingent balance of violent force between two rival groups played out the decisive battle of Ukrainian national identity in the streets. In its response towards Donbas insurgency, the Ukrainian government, specifically the Ministry of Interior, announced the formation of volunteer battalions for Anti-Terrorist Operation in April, 2014. In this way, the Ukrainian state gave official status to pro-Maidan self-defense groups in Eastern Ukraine, whose strategic use of street violence have contained pro-Russian militants in the East apart from the Eastern Donbas (p.153). Such battalions proliferated and paved the way for significant inclusion of several far-right, neo-fascist militias in the war. Similarly, ‘patriotic’ volunteers from Russia started to get involved from the same time in April. These volunteers for Novorossiia also contained significant neo-fascists in their ranks specifically in the Brown varieties of

the narrative (Laruelle, 2019, p.204). Involvement of far-right militias hardened the respective political stance of both the parties to the conflict and unleashed a significant amount of violence in the ensuing conflict in the post-2014 period. The Odessa incident on 2nd May, publicized as fascist atrocity on Russian speakers in Russian media, opened the floodgates of such Russian volunteers' involvement in the conflict in Eastern Donbas. The last element of the triad, Russia as an external national homeland, is crucially related with the second element, Russians as national minority. Since May, the Red, White and Brown narratives of Novorossiia coalesced into a significant nationalist pressure group advocating more direct intervention in Eastern Donbas. But Putin and the Russian state didn't completely accept their political construction of Novorossiia as there wasn't any clear-cut swing towards Russia in larger parts of Eastern Ukraine. Mearsheimer (2023, YouTube) opined that Putin wanted to resolve the issue of Eastern Ukraine politically and was committed to the Minsk Agreement. This may have caused the loss of media visibility of 'Novorossiia' rhetoric since the Minsk Agreement, as discussed by Laruelle (2019, p.209). But lack of progress on that front forced him towards direct military intervention. Putin's statement in July, 2021 was symbolic of his re-engagement with the rhetoric. This had to be spelt out as the political developments in Eastern Ukraine failed to bring any co-ordinated insurgency or political demand. The war brought in another new phase of violence within Eastern Ukrainian regions.

This cultural context of national identity formation and its failure is important to understand the geopolitical reasons of the conflict. The strategic advancement of NATO was perceived by the direct actors, for example Ukrainian citizens, in the conflict in diverse ways based on this cultural context. It meant support towards not only politics and economy but also cultural values of the west. All the three narratives around Novorossiia rhetoric were against this abstraction 'west'. Putin also defined Ukrainian nationalism as a 'western' creation and often equated such an expression with Nazism. In this context, the United States and EU wholeheartedly supported the post-Maidan Kiev government. Additionally, it provided strategic support against the Donbas insurgents and repeatedly refused to build the necessary strategic trust with Russia. In this context, the Western powers became a strategic ally to the first element of the triad, Ukraine as a Nationalizing state. Cultural construction of national identity can become a driving force in international conflict as political contestation regarding such construction is exploited by the Great Powers. International Relations traditionally view the imagination of the national political community as frozen in time and space within the territorial container of a nation-state. This reifies state territories as fixed units of sovereign space, as territorial trap, which dehistoricize and decontextualize 'nation-state' as a category (Agnew, 1994). But the imagination of the political community is subject to various

fluxes and undergoes radical transformation as shown in the Ukrainian context. Brubaker's framework provided a way for analysis beyond 'the territorial trap' as it acknowledges the continuous making and remaking of the nation-oriented idioms by political processes. It doesn't see the nation-state as existing territorially prior to society or as a container of society. Such perspective on the cultural context is important if war is to lead to 'analyses not of relations between pre-given entities like sovereign and national state that inform so much work in IR and the social sciences generally, but of the international processes by which social and political formations such as nation-states are created, undone and remade' (Barkawi, 2011). This analysis shows the diverse ways the political community has been culturally constructed based on Ukraine. The issue of national identity explains why material loss hasn't deterred any participant from fighting the war. Any proposal for lasting peace in the region also has to take cognizance of such issues.

Notes:

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Tribal Education, the Current State and Strategy: A Situational Analysis in the Samnapur Block of the Dindori District of Madhya Pradesh

-Jayanta Kumar Behera

Abstract

The tribal society is a unique society with a wide variety of ecological and human diversity. The tribals are the poorest people in our country recognized for their extreme poverty. The Indian economy is being dragged down by poverty, poor health and sanitation, illiteracy, and other social issues among the tribals. Individuals overall growth is supported by schooling, which helps them to obtain a greater understanding of their social, political, and cultural contexts, as well as enhance their socio-economic circumstances. The current paper discusses the comparative literacy and educational levels of scheduled tribes. An attempt has been made to highlight the factors that can help to improve the educational situation of tribes in a specific tribal region of Madhya Pradesh. The study reveals that special benefits have been given to them for educational advancement under various government schemes. Furthermore, different tribal development schemes, out-migration, effect of ICT's and other factors also play a vital role to inspire tribal children for acquiring education which can be changed the overall educational scenario of tribal groups.

Keywords: *Infrastructure, Migration for education, Role of ICTs, Government development plans and programmes.*

Introduction

Education is the pillar for every society. It is an important tool for social development. Tribal society is no longer considered tribal as these characteristics have changed as a result of schooling, modern occupation, new technologies, and other factors. In the modern times, the opening of tribal schools in tribal areas have pitted two distinct value systems against each other: one based on inherent tradition and disregard, and the other on technology and advancements. Harmonious synchronization between two systems is crucial for the tribals' rapid educational growth today

(Jha Makhan, 1995). Spreading quality education to society's oppressed groups, such as tribes, has become a difficult task in India today. The importance of providing quality education to tribal children should be considered not only as a constitutional requirement, but also as a critical input in the country's overall development of tribal communities. Tribal education, on the other hand, has undergone a transformation as a result of modernization. Tribal education and culture have been greatly influenced by globalization. The uniqueness of tribal culture, which enriches the country's cultural medley, is rapidly disappearing and even becoming indistinct under the influence and power of the dominant urban society (Yogita, 2010).

The government is particularly concerned about and committed to the well-being of the Scheduled Tribes, who suffer as a community as a result of their socio-economic backwardness and isolation. According to the 2011 Census, they account for 10.43 crore and represent 8.6 percent of the country's total population. 89.97 percent of them live in rural areas and 10.03 percent in urban areas. The decadal population growth of the tribal's from Census 2001 to 2011 has been 23.66 percent against the 17.69 percent of the entire population. The sex ratio for the overall population is 940 females per 1000 males and that of Scheduled Tribes 990 females per thousand males. The trend in ST population has increased from 30.1 million in 1961, to 104.3 million in 2011. The Scheduled Tribes have been notified in 30 states/UTs, with 705 ethnic groups, etc. being notified as Scheduled Tribes. As per the 2011 census, these 75 PVTGs had a total population of 10714967. According to the 2011 Census, STs are inhabited in all the states except Haryana, Punjab, and Delhi NCR and 2 UTs (Puducherry and Chandigarh). Among States, Mizoram has the highest percentage of Scheduled Tribes (94.43), while Uttar Pradesh has the lowest percentage of Scheduled Tribes (0.56). Among the States and Union Territories, Lakshadweep ranks top with the highest proportion of ST population (within the state) of 94.8 percent, followed by Mizoram (94.4 percent), Nagaland (86.5 percent), Meghalaya (86.1 percent), and Arunachal Pradesh (68.8 percent). Uttar Pradesh stands last with the lowest proportion of ST population of 0.56 percent, followed by Tamil Nadu (1.1 percent), Bihar (1.28 percent), Kerala (1.45 percent), and Uttarakhand (2.89 percent).

The literacy rate (LR) is described as the percentage of people aged seven and up who are literate. Although STs' literacy levels have increased, the literacy gap between tribal men and women has remained relatively unchanged. In India, the literacy rate of Scheduled Tribes increased from 8.53 percent in 1961 to 58.96 percent in 2011. The enrolment rates disparity between tribal men and women has reduced from 24.41 percent in 2001 to 19.18 percent in 2011. Mizoram and Lakshadweep have the highest literacy rates for STs, while Andhra Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh have the lowest

literacy rates. It can be seen that out of 152 districts in India with more than 25 percent Scheduled Tribe population, 28 districts have ST literacy rates below 50 percent, and 9 districts have female ST literacy rates below 30 percent. Scheduled tribes have a low literacy rate, lack agricultural equipment, and are economically disadvantaged. These are the most disadvantaged sections of our society, having seen no significant social or economic development and living in rural areas with insufficient infrastructure and administrative support. Because of their extreme backwardness and vulnerability, they must be given top priority in terms of security and growth, as well as halting the population decline. As a result, sufficient funds from Central and State Plan schemes must be allocated for tribals' socio - economic and educational growth (Annual Report, 2016-17, 78). The Ministry's programmes and schemes complement and supplement the efforts of other Central Ministries, State Governments, and non-governmental organisations, and fill crucial gaps while considering the needs of STs, through financial assistance. While all Central Ministries share primary responsibility for the economic, educational, and social development of Scheduled Tribes, the Ministry of Tribal Affairs supplements their efforts by implementing a variety of developmental interventions in critical sectors through specially tailored schemes. State governments, union territory administrations, and non-profit organizations are all involved in the implementation of these programmes. In India, tribal education has reached a tipping point. Spreading high-quality education around the country's vast tribal belt remains a difficult task. Researchers have discovered a number of issues related to tribal children's low educational attainment to formal schooling, including economic marginalization, illiterate parents, favorable home environments, and insufficient facilities, a lack of role models in the community, parental disinterest, poverty, social and cultural alienation, and the design of the school system. Governments have tried and failed to provide education in the mother tongue in the recent past.

Review of literature

To avoid duplicating efforts or gathering data unnecessarily, look for current educational services statistics before developing survey instruments. A thorough literature analysis will reveal what we already know and put us in the direction of topics that require more investigation. Speaking about the process of modernization among the tribal people in India's borders, Roy Burman (1973), as the author correctly points out tribals live among non-tribals, but they rarely share a common life. Their interactions are formal and limited. In truth, he says that tribals living in cities are not fully absorbed in either environment. Many of them use modern technologies and skills while still retaining the feelings of the tribal culture. Tribals were unconcerned about the fact that they were a minority in their area at the primitive stage of

ambition. Tribals are beginning to feel like a substantial minority, with political and occupational ambitions at the regional and national levels. This is a blessing of modern education, as well as modernization in general. He expresses his frustration with tribal modernization strategies through his research. Rudolfe Heredia (1995) reveals his view that “if the developmental dilemma that confronts our tribals is to be successfully addressed, tribal integration will require their mobilization not just to preserve their cultural autonomy but to redress their minority status as well”. So that they can participate in their own development. In this case, tribal education would have to play a significant role.

Jyotsna (2007) and others have analyzed the educational status of the tribal community in Maharashtra state. The report opines the central and state governments have taken a variety of education related helpful actions like the opening of Ashram Schools with all required facilities. If these amenities fully utilized by tribal students, then there will be an augment in the educational position of the tribal children soon. Report also said providing required fundamental facilities are needs of the hour in every ashram schools in the state. In a tribal setting, family also plays a vital role in educating its siblings being the first and important institution socializing agency like education. It continues as an interactional relation between more matured persons (mother, father, adults, as ever widening circle), who cares for the child and cannot escape his/ her role as an educator, and a less matured persons (infant, child, young person), who attaches himself to the more matured person and inevitably is educated (the one being educated).

Kumar (2007) opines when discussing their low levels of education to formal schooling, Researchers prefer to emphasize the economic marginalization of tribal children, their illiteracy, home environments, and inadequate facilities, educationally and the culturally unfamiliar existence of the education system. Lack of education is mainly accountable for the misuse and wretched dilemma of the tribal's socio-economic status. Due to this, the tribal's have not been able to take advantage of development. Kamat et. al (2008) stressed the factors about access to schooling and the equity of education. Social marginalization and oppression are causing for lower literacy of STs. Even, educated STs are not getting sufficient jobs and facing social exclusion problems till date. Hence there is jagged progress in the education achievement among scheduled tribes. Hence the Government has to take particular and special concentrations to educate the ST categories at the earliest. Gaurang Rami's (2012) paper discusses “the status of primary education in the tribal district of Dang in Gujarat”. There are approximately 412 primary schools in the district, with the district panchayat overseeing 378 of them. The paper concludes that while most schools have structures, they are unable to attract female students because there aren't enough other

essential amenities like drinking water and separate restrooms for boys and females. Many tribal girls have been unable to continue their education beyond the fifth grade due to a lack of adequate toilet facilities. As a result, the dropout rate among tribal girls is higher. Another issue that causes tribal students to drop out of school is the medium of instruction, which is not their own vernacular dialect.

Trevdei (2014) opines the educational problems of the tribal children can regrettably not be corrected just by raising the quality of the given education. The excellence of education is not the key cause for not sending children to school. However, the general presentation of the school should be also adequate. Many teachers and community leaders opines poor attendance of school children in school to economic reasons, as well as household works, poverty; low inherent motivation listed as an important reasons for ST school children not attending school. Govt. also should provide the more fundamental facility to the tribal schools soon. There is a substantial amount of material on tribal development and educational growth. According to Virginus Xaxa (2015), Apart from providing security measures, the colonial state did virtually little to boost the tribals' socio-economic conditions. He says that India's policies remained largely unchanged after independence, with minor exceptions such as granting a set percentage of seats in state-sponsored educational institutions and providing government services. Tribals were given 7.5 percent of employment in the federal and state governments under these provisions. This has provided them with access to a vast number of government services. Despite the fact that reservation offers job opportunities, many reserved seats remain empty due to a lack of educational credentials and requisite skills. The situation is even worse in the case of quotas for higher-level services, as applicants with the requisite credentials are scarce.

Problems of the study

Despite statutory assurances and ongoing initiatives, tribal communities continue to lag behind the general population in terms of education. External, internal, socio-economic, and psychological factors all play a role in this. Problems and challenges at strategy, planning, execution, and administration levels are examples of external constraints. Problems with the educational structure, curriculum, medium of instruction, pedagogy, academic monitoring, control, and teacher-related concerns are all examples of internal restrictions. The third set of topics focuses on the social, economic, and cultural backgrounds of indigenous peoples, as well as psychological issues that first-generation students experience. Economic problems are led by them to show the lack of interest in education. They are more concerned about the food rather than attendance. Apart from these problems, there are also other

problems which create hindrances in the way of tribal education that's social and religious problems (Vijay, 2006, 365).

Despite constitutionally mandated strategic and perseverance measures, tribal populations appear to lag behind the general population in educational attainment. The reason for this can be classified on different basis such as socio-economic and cultural problem, Government Policy and programme, Educational infrastructural facilities, etc. The study reflects overall views of tribal education in the tribal populated areas in Madhya Pradesh. Many efforts have been taken by government both Central and State, NGOs and Tribal Welfare Department for educational development of tribals. More fund expended for their development but it did not reach near them properly. In spite of many efforts, the result is not booming.

Objective of the study

This research was carried out to determine the current state, weaknesses, risks, and inequalities in the provision of universal primary education to tribal children in Madhya Pradesh. The study was initiated with the following objectives:

1. To find out the essential institutional facilities of primary education for tribal children in Madhya Pradesh.
2. To determine the developmental schemes and other responsible factors those motivate tribal children to pursue education.

The following is the reasoning behind the district selection: 1) The tribals of Dindori district live primarily in steep areas, often in close proximity to woods, accounting for over 58 percent of the population. 2) The district in which practically all of the Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups (PVTGs) have lived for millennia, isolated, inaccessible, less fertile, and agriculturally productive regions of forests, hills, and mountains; 3) the traditional pattern of education of the tribes is Indigenous education is concerned with the teaching of Indigenous knowledge, models, practices, and material in formal and non-formal educational settings. As a result of the depletion and loss of Indigenous knowledge caused by colonialism, globalization, and modernity, Indigenous education systems are becoming more widely recognized and applied. The government plans and policies regarding education are not sufficient for the promotion of literacy among tribal children respectively. 4) The district is not well communicated with the district head quarter. So, it becomes important to study dynamics of tribal education. The available literature is also scanty. So, against this background a study was done to understand the educational pattern of tribal population in Dindori district of Madhya Pradesh. As a result, the paper attempts to examine the current state

of educational facilities available to tribal children as well as government initiatives aimed for their development.

Methodology

To begin, a research plan was devised to perform the study among the Gonds, Baigas, Kol, Pardhi, and Pradhan tribal tribes in the Samnapur Block in Madhya Pradesh's Dindori area. The acquisition of relevant research materials from multiple sources was prioritised in this study strategy. The obtained research materials were to be consulted in the second stage in order to gather broad information on their overall socio-cultural features and evolving educational trends. The decision was made to conduct the study using a survey method throughout the area. Observation schedules were designed as an important part of study design, keeping in mind the study's aims and the socio-cultural features of the study population. The purpose of the observation was to look at school infrastructure, instructor availability, student engagement in the formal education system, and the quality of the mid-day meal, among other things. This plan was further expanded to include an interview schedule for gathering qualitative data from students, teachers, parents, and members of the community.

The researcher has conducted his study in Samnapur Block of the Dindori district through multi-stage random sampling procedure. Under these blocks 14 GPs were selected. It was decided that 160 sample (from both the Schools and households) would be interviewed covering all the 20 villages from the Samnapur block of the district and equal number of samples taken from each villages with an average of 8 respondents to be selected at random (including students, parents and teachers). 62 students and 65 parents and 33 teachers were interviewed. Information was collected from participants through multi-stage random sampling process. The selected survey respondents were contacted at their homes and schools. A structured interview schedule was used to collect the required primary information and quite a few unstructured questions by trained local investigators. During the collection of the data some important aspects like infrastructural facilities, teaching strategies adopted by the teachers, Information regarding co-curricular activities, teaching-learning attitude of teachers and students, Students were interviewed to get information from their learning point of view during a general observation during a mid-day meal. Information was collected through the oral interviews with students, parents and teachers. These data is quantitatively or qualitatively evaluated based on the objectives and nature of the study. Several schools were investigated in the research areas, and information about their changing socio-economic and cultural features due to the impact of various government programmes was acquired from parents and other tribal community members. School Teachers, Village Panchyat

Pradhans, and Block Development Officers provided information on various initiatives for school pupils and community members.

Tribal scenario of the state

According to Census 2011, the state has a total of 31,22,061 households. Madhya Pradesh has a total tribal population of 1,53,16,784, with males accounting for 77,19,404 and females accounting for 75,97,380, accounting for 21.1 percent of the state's overall population and 14.7 percent of India's total tribal population. In the state, there were 46 recognised tribal communities, three of which were designated as highly vulnerable tribal groups (Bhil, Gond, and Kol) (Tribal Health Bulletin, 2014). Tribals have a literacy rate of 50.6 percent, with males and females having literacy rates of 59.6 percent and 41.5 percent, respectively. The decadal growth rate of the ST population between 2001 and 2011 was 25.2 percent, according to the 2011 Census of India, which is higher than the state's decadal growth rate (20.3 percent). With a total population of 46,18,068, Bhil is the most populous tribe, accounting for 37.7% of the overall ST population. Gond is the second-largest tribe, accounting for 35.6 percent of the population with 43,57,918 members. Kol, Korku, Sahariya, and Baiga are the next four most populated tribes. These six tribes account for 92.2 percent of the state's total ST population. Pardhan, Saur, and Bharia, Bhumia have a combined population of 3.2 percent, ranging from 105,692 to 152,472. Another 2.2 percent of the ST population is made up of four tribes: Majhi, Khairwar, Mawasi, and Panika, with populations ranging from 47,806 to 81,335; the remaining thirty-three tribes (out of a total of 46 tribes) and generic tribes make up the remaining 2.5 percent. There are twelve tribes with a population of less than 1000 in number. The population of the Dindori district was 7,04,525. Males account for 49.95 percent of the population, while females account for 50.05 percent (Census 2001).

Tribal scenario of the district

According to the data, the district of Dindori is home to 64.30 percent of the schedule tribes out of a total population of 580730. The district is divided into seven blocks, each of which is home to a high number of tribes, the majority of which are members of Primitive Vulnerable Tribal Groups. When we compare the rural and urban tribal populations, we can see that rural tribal populations are higher than urban tribal populations. The data reveals that 98.44 percent (367650/373447X100) of the total tribal population are living in the rural and forest areas. The district has a high tribal population (64.30%), 29.87 percent of the population belongs to other categories, and the SC population (5.83 percent) is quite small (Census, 2001). When it comes to the sex ratio, the female ratio is slightly higher than the male ratio. The Dindori block is home to 54.73 percent of schedule

tribes, according to the data. Amarpur block has a population of 67.01 percent. The Samanapur block accounts for 63.94 percent of the total. In the Bajag block, tribals account for 69.91 percent of the population; this block is dominated by Baiga tribes (PVTGs). The Karanjia block has 68.24 percent tribals. 60.06 percent of tribals live in the Sahapura block, whereas 76.77 percent live in the Mehendawani block.

Tribal Literacy rate of the district

Dindori has a 63.9 percent literacy rate, which is lower than the national average of 72.99 percent: male literacy is 75.47 percent, female literacy is 52.41 percent, and 16.02 percent of the population is under the age of six (District Census Handbook Dindori, 2011). According to Census 2011, the overall literacy rate of tribals is 59.96 percent, compared to 53.7 percent in 2001, 21.57 percent in 1991, and 14 percent in 1981. This is much lower than the literacy rate of the general population, and even lower than the literacy rate of the scheduled castes. According to the 2011 Census, indigenous boys had a literacy rate of 71.37 percent, which is much lower than the state average literacy rate. The literacy percentage of girls is also the lowest of all social groupings, at 48.86 percent. In 2001 Census, the literacy rate of tribal boy is 69.4 percent and girl is 37.8 percent. In 1991 Census, the literacy rate of tribal boy is 26.42 percent and girl is 16.71 percent. In 1981 Census, the literacy rate of tribal boy is 16.18 percent and girl is 11.51 percent. The Community Development blocks wise number and percentage of Scheduled Castes literates and illiterates by Sex represents here. The district's Scheduled Caste population has a literacy rate of 70.84 percent. The highest percentage is 80.71 percent in the Samnapur CD block, and the lowest is 67 percent in the Shahpura CD block. In the Bajag CD block, the male-female literacy rate disparity is the widest (26.33 percent). The district's overall male literacy rate is 83.11 percent, while female literacy is 57.96 percent (District Census Handbook Dindori, 2011). Provided that education is regarded as the foundation of all progress, it is clear that the education situation among scheduled tribes is desperate. It is critical to understand the gender dimension of the kid population scenario in the selected district, both for the general population and for the ST community. The above record also shows that the literacy rate has been steadily increasing from 1981 to 2011. If we compare, we can see that the literacy rate was 19.9% in 1981 (during the period of 1981 to 1998, Mandla District was undivided and falls under the Jabalpur subdivision). In 1991, the literacy rate was 32.6 percent. Literacy rates were 54.2 percent in 2001 and 63.9 percent in 2011.

Educational infrastructural facilities

India's educational plans advise that educational institutions with local facilities entice children to participate in the educational process. It is assumed that by using this technique, they will be able to finish their studies more easily and successfully. As a result, educational institutions were founded in each locality at the outset. These institutions were gradually provided with expert teaching staff, teaching-learning materials, libraries, materials for co-curricular activities, financial support, and other resources. In terms of infrastructure, data specific to tribal areas was not available. Primary concern of a school is accomplished by school infrastructural facility. However, basic facilities such as toilets for girls, drinking water, kitchen sheds, playgrounds, nutritious food, a conducive atmosphere for children in hostels, highways, electricity, and other communications are still lacking in most tribal schools, or those that are available are of little use. On the other hand, infrastructure of tribal education includes things like school quality, qualified teachers, teaching-learning tools, technology, furniture, content and curriculum relevance, medium of instruction, and so on. There are several schools in the study areas that are operating with inadequate infrastructure. The conditions of schools building are very bad. They are made of thatched house, dilapidated walls, and non-plaster floors. There is a dearth of well-built buildings, a suitable number of classrooms, sanitation facilities, clean drinking water, electricity, light, ventilation, and fire escapes, among other things. In the schools, there are no teaching materials. There are no desks, benches, blackboards, chairs and tables, a library, a laboratory, computer facilities, a first aid kit, medical help, or a canteen. Nature of habitat of tribals is also responsible for slow growth of education. The tribal settlements are mostly dispersed. This necessitates long journeys to and from school. The schools timings should not clash with their important socio-economic activities and events. Running schools in tribal areas is an unimaginative planning have often killed the interest of children in education. This is a major factor behind non-enrolment of tribal students. The performance of ashram schools is much better in this regard. The wear and tear in the ashram schools is almost negligible. Despite this, the ashram schools are neither adequately equipped nor properly managed due to paucity of funds. Unless the school is located in close proximity to their villages, the outcome would not be promising, if its location is accepted by the locals.

Teaching and non-teaching staff

It was observed that many teachers, particularly at the primary level, were found to be hired without the requisite qualifications and training. Since they are already in operation, their lack of academic expertise and teaching abilities create a problem with improving teaching efficiency. One of the main reasons for the slow growth of education in tribal areas is a lack of

qualified teachers. The majority of teachers who teach tribal children have no understanding of the tribal way of life and value system. They regard the tribal people as uncivilized and address them with a sense of superiority. The teacher feels isolated and unhappy in these tribal areas due to far away from their relatives and lack of facilities. A frustrated teacher would almost certainly fail to communicate modern ideas and messages to tribal children. More teachers should be appointed from within the tribal groups, so that they are recognized and can work with tribal students in a more permissive and motivating manner. Existing teachers should be given appropriate resources and properly trained. Teachers should be required to study tribal languages, and there should be attempts to write textbooks in tribal languages. The numbers of teachers are insufficient as per number of schools. Many Madhya Pradesh government schools are allowed to hire local teachers on a contract basis. Contractual teaching staffs are hired after a lump-sum payment is made in accordance with their standards. On the other hand, over the last decade, technology has advanced, and both regular and contract teachers have participated in training programmes. Aside from that, certain state and federal agencies offer short-term training programmes throughout the year. These teachers are required to participate and orient themselves for the use of technology in their teaching-learning processes on a rotating basis. In the study areas it has been observed that in most of the school, there is lack of non-teaching staff like Sweepers, Peon Scavengers, Watchers, Gardeners, and others. Therefore, the teachers of the school take the help of the student to complete the work. As a result, to increase the number of well-qualified, professional, and experienced teachers, numerous facilities and amenities must be provided. This would increase their job satisfaction as well. In addition, everybody wishes to work in a well-paying role. Teachers are underpaid in tribal schools. As a result, they wish to relocate to other areas or cities in search of better job opportunities.

Intervention in formal education

State governments must also ensure and achieve the highest level of quality in teacher and staff selection for academic and extracurricular activities. In several nations, tribal children are taught using the same books as non-tribal children in the state's urban and rural areas. Clearly, the material of such books does not cater to tribal children from various cultural backgrounds. A child reaches adulthood with faith in the conventional tribal setup. He has a thorough awareness of his environment, and he understands how to construct his own home, farm, and weave his own cloth; in short, he has mastered all of the abilities necessary to live a somewhat comfortable existence within his community's constraints. Reading and writing skills developed in an extremely formal school are insufficient to meet this challenge. We can't afford to return him to his natural habitat naked. As a result, a program

should be focused on tribal people's well-being. Certain tribal practices, such as agriculture, dancing, hunting, tribal sports, and archery, should be permitted to flourish in the school's extracurricular activities, preserving cultural values and organizational structures. A scheme would be devised to enable school children to connect with their parents and tribal activities through the school and teacher. To be a successful agent of social change, the school must serve as a hub for the dissemination of simple technical knowledge beyond reading and writing skills. This student-teacher-parent nexus should be able to create a welcoming environment, allowing the wide purpose of education to be completely fulfilled, which is to empower an average person to comprehend the social, political, economic, and other processes and forces that surround him.

Medium of instruction

Language is also another big issue of tribal education. The majority of tribal languages and dialects are still in their infancy, with little written literature available and this is reflected low attendance and high dropout rates of tribal students in the school. This problem could be solved through help of providing regional language as the medium of instruction. Tribals are unable to adapt to other cultures, traditions, and values due to cultural differences. As a result, these variables prove to be important roadblocks in the pursuit of education. The Indian constitution permits the use of tribal dialects as a means of instruction in schools. In tribal areas, absenteeism is a significant problem. While there are many students on roles, actual attendance is extremely low, and the number of students completing final exams is even lower. Another significant consideration is that tribals have difficulty communicating in modern and regional languages due to their isolation. In generally for tribal society and particularly in the case of teachers, understanding tribal language is very difficult. As a result, students are having difficulty talking to their teachers about their doubts. In this way, a social distance between the teachers and the students is created. Teachers are unable to comprehend students' academic needs, and students are unable to adequately interact with teachers about their issues and concerns. So, their doubts are continuing and automatically tribal students became the last in the class. The real issue is to build an atmosphere that encourages students to take an interest in their studies.

Co-curricular and extra-curricular activities

In schools, making provision of extra-curricular and creative activities are regarded important. The participation of students in these activities have proven to be beneficial in number of ways. Their mind-sets get stimulated, they feel motivated towards studies, they can hone creative skills and abilities and when they develop keen interest, they can even make selection

of one of the activities as a career. The various forms of extra-curricular and creative activities that are taught in schools are, sports, physical activities, dance, music, artworks, handicrafts, debates, role plays, personality development and so forth. In tribal schools, these activities are either lacking or they are not in a well-developed state. Research has indicated that due to lack of these activities, students do not develop interest and motivation to attend schools and drop-out before their educational skills are honed. On the other hand, when they participate in extra-curricular and creative activities, they are able to hone their skills. Tribal communities are also engaged in the production of artworks and handicrafts. Hence, skills in terms of manufacturing of artworks and handicrafts are augmented by acquiring training. In schools, when individuals acquire training regarding sports, they may even take up sports as careers. Hence, participation in extra-curricular and creative activities have proven to be beneficial to students in number of ways.

Studying according to the curriculum is not the only platform for children's total growth. Beyond the classroom, co-curricular and extra-curricular activities are always incorporated into their overall growth. Teachers are engaged in those schools to perform co-curricular activities such as games, yoga, sketching, painting, song, debate, extempore, and other activities that affect children's cognitive, emotional, social, moral, cultural, and aesthetic development. It improves students' capacity to cooperate, coordinate, and organise themselves. They believe that co-curricular activities will provide pupils with a more enjoyable experience than the repetitive and typical activities of class. Teachers aim to expose kids to personality development and assist them modify psychological and social behaviours through extracurricular activities such as Poetry Club, Quiz Bowl, Blacksmithing, Community Festivals, Animal Rights, and so on. (Biswas, 2017, pp. 250-255).

Mid-day meal scheme

Mid day meal scheme is centrally sponsored scheme of government of India which was launched in year 1995 to provide cooked meals to all children enrolled in government aided schools upto the level of 8th standard. However, it was ensured in all 100 percent schools of Samnapur Block of Dindori district that MDM is being served to all children up to 8th class on regular basis as per prescribed menu. Most of the school, it was recorded that the Mid Day Meal was provided regularly but in few of the school it was irregular. Regarding the menu of MDM was not regularly followed by the SHG in the schools. In those schools where MDM was not served according to prescribed menu the reasons were inquired upon by the teachers. It was observed that most of the students of the schools in both the districts were not aware about the menu of the food item. As a result of food being checked

by school administration before serving it to students, it was observed by the school administration in the schools of Samnapur Block that food was not up to the satisfactory level. Another important motive of Mid Day Meal scheme is developing the feeling of social coherence and harmony among fellow students. However, it is the responsibility of teacher to motivate students to sit together and eat mid day meals served in school. Moreover, this practice was found to be followed in 97.2 percent schools of Samnapur Block of Dindori district where students were reported to be sitting together for meals. It was observed that students of so-called upper class were not allowed to sit and eat with students of so called lower community in schools. In maximum schools students themselves do not take food to eat. It is served by any other person. The information regarding eating plate and utensils were washed by students themselves in some of the schools. While in remaining large number of schools the eating plates and utensils were not being washed by students. Cooking agency washed the utensils of cooking meals and plates after serving meals to students. The satisfaction with meals was not ensured due to various reasons. This meal program has a significant impact on not only student health but also student enrollment.

Skill development for tribal communities

Skill development has become a priority for the Indian government, as it is regarded as a key driver of economic growth and social development. The Ministry has given skill development opportunities to tribal people a top priority in order to promote better and more inclusive growth. The key goal is to provide opportunities in order to help tribal people grow their talents. Tribal youth who are unemployed, school dropouts, and those who are educated are given more attention. It emphasizes the idea of social security by job formation, in which tribal youth take on responsibility and no youth remain unemployed and a drain on the economy. The Skill India Mission provides assistance, instruction, and guidance for all occupations, including construction, textiles, transportation, agriculture, weaving, handicraft, horticulture, fishing, and a variety of other industries, as well as work and employability skills, language and communication skills, life skills, personality development skills, management skills, and language and communication skills. State governments have also taken steps to promote need-based integrated livelihood interventions and skill upgradation for tribals, such as diversified crops, horticulture, dairy production with State cooperatives, backyard poultry, fisheries, apiculture, sericulture, and other enterprises with suitable market relations are some examples. Paintings, Handlooms, Handicrafts, Fabrication, Artisans, other Arts & Crafts, Plumbing, Masonry, Electric & Motor Winding, Fitter, Welder, Carpenter, Ayurvedic & Tribal Medicines, and so on are some of the traditional skills

that are in demand. So, every government is now committed to providing the facilities that are required for educating a child.

Since education is the most effective tool for empowering socially disadvantaged groups, every effort should be made to improve the educational status of these groups, especially women and girls. The educational system produces students who are not instantly employable, and on-the-job ability up-gradation is poor, meaning that a significant portion of the existing workforce has obsolete skills. Indeed, the educational backwardness that these people exhibit necessitates a greater emphasis on their schooling, training, and ability development, as this will result in not only social but also economic empowerment. They are also given the chance to receive vocational education in order to expand their knowledge and skills in other fields, in addition to text-book focused education. Vocational education, skill creation, and training are not intended to be a part of secondary or higher education, but rather as a separate tier in the educational system that allows students to be separated into vocational and higher learning streams. Currently, vocational education is at the bottom of a skills and importance hierarchy; It is a stream of learning open to the "lower achiever," regulated in a paternalistic manner with very limited degrees of content and process freedom, legitimised exclusively in terms of industrial and other utilitarian terms, rather than the relationships between various kinds of sense making, and reserved for lower-status occupations (Stevenson, 2005; pp. 335-336). Besides from ability enhancement, lack of encouragement to teach in remote places, as well as attitudinal issues and approaches to tribal areas, are all recognized as issues that obstruct quality teaching.

Furthermore, unless pre-service teacher preparation is provided to meet the academic needs of ST students and to place a greater emphasis on tribal education, these differences would persist not only among in-service teachers but also among new recruits. This isn't just a case of needing to improve one's skills; it also necessitates a more holistic approach and strategy for adivasi teacher education. Since there is currently no substantive academic guidance, the existing method of using the school complex as a unit for teacher guidance and ability upgradation should be expanded to include mentor teachers and trainers (perhaps on a rotational basis) who have sole responsibility for continuous learning, guidance, and monitoring of teacher success. As a result, it's a measure of our ability to reach out to the community, which necessitates resources and manpower as well as a community mobilization skill. Currently, the number of field functionaries and their attitude capacities are insufficient to render these sincere efforts. Sarva Sikshya Abhiyan and other Primary Education Programmes will have to recognize such critically vulnerable regions/ villages/communities and take intensive steps through local community mobilizes whose mission will

be to continuously inspire, return children, and ensure their retention. Many children will be left out unless such intense micro efforts are made, and bridge schools will not accurately represent getting out-of-school children into Primary education.

Migration for education

Children's schooling is a big challenge for migrants, and not surprisingly, many studies have shown that migrant families belong to the hard core of educationally underprivileged children. Women in poor households are unable to make adequate schooling decisions and supervise school-going children, except in cases where men migrate alone. However, migration may lead to better recognition of the importance of education in the case of slightly better-off migrant households. A particular emphasis must be on ensuring the children of migrant workers have access to education and that they are not forced into jobs. There is space to benefit from the perspectives of initiatives focused on culture as well as government programmes. In most of the studied villages the education is available till 5th standard (primary level). For further studies tribal children have to migrate to nearby town and cities. Tribal parents have an ambition to send their children to the school that they would get employment, knowledge of business, moral education, empower etc. Earlier, tribal girls' proportion in education was less as compared to boys but now they are also started for getting education. It was observed that a number of tribal parents should understand the advantages of education. Like that if they sow crop in the farm they add fertilizer for more production. Similarly they think about education and about their children's future. Education here acts like a fertilizer, enhancing the skill and in getting a better job. If they sow crop and do not use fertilizer, the desired crop production does not come. So, parents are also interested to send their children to schools and colleges for the study. Overall awareness about the importance of children's education is increasing and the tribal people are coming forward but yet their proportion is less. Still the primitive tribes are comparatively less aware about the importance of education. One key informant explains reason for it as: it's like growing trees. If one gets educated others take inspiration from them and go. But when there is no tree at all, how can others trees grow? It implies that nobody from primitive tribe took initiative in getting education. Some non-governmental organizations are also trying to raise the educational status of tribal by providing education to drop out children. So the study reveals that most of the tribal children are moving towards cities and town for getting higher education and with a high ambition of employment.

Role of information and communication technology

The use of technology extends the realm of information, which has a significant impact on societal transformation. Radio, television, mobile phones with messaging, computers with internet, Twitter, Facebook, newspapers, magazines, and other forms of mass media are commonly utilised to deliver various types of information (Paul et.al, 2013). Despite their rural environment, tribal people can benefit from the knowledge given by various types of mass media such as radio, television, cell phones with texting, and sometimes newspapers, etc. They never have access to a computer with internet connectivity. They usually watch both Hindi and regional films and keep up with regional news. Some time the national news can also be difficult to comprehend. They have no knowledge of any educational networks, which is important. Adults and children alike spend hours in front of the television and acquiring knowledge about the country and the world. As a result of television channels, they become aware of various facets of their socio-cultural environment, consciously or unconsciously. They also become acquainted with a number of government services that support their socioeconomic and educational endeavors. As a result, television's position as a media is highly commendable to motivating them to keep up with socio-cultural developments and to enroll their kids in school, so that they can get benefit from various government education schemes and educate themselves.

It has been observed that most of the teachers and students in the schools have a constructive attitude towards using of computer. The teachers of both primary and upper primary schools have viewed that computer facilities are not available due to lack of awareness and infrastructure facilities. They also opined that although there are many constraints in the ways of implementation of ICTs in tribal areas and they also thought that if implemented it will have a positive result in school education. To summarize the impacts of Information Communication Technology in teaching-learning process has become easier and interesting for the teacher and students.

Government efforts

Scheduled tribes are economically deprived and geographically isolated groups. In the post-independence period, efforts were made to upgrade the status of tribal communities. Despite the efforts made, the participation of the Scheduled tribes in the system of education is much lower as compared to Scheduled castes. Education is one of the essential requirements for promoting well-being of the individuals and leading to overall progression of communities and country as a whole. In India, there are number of individuals and communities, who are still deprived of educational qualifications. Due to this, they experience setbacks in enriching their overall

quality of lives. These are the tribal communities. It is necessary to formulate measures to enhance the system of tribal education (Brahmanandam & Babu, 2016).

Efforts have been made since the beginning of the planning phase to ensure that tribals are included in the development process. The Commission on Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes, the Indian Education Commission, and the Right to Education Act all emphasized the importance of providing five years of early education to all tribal children. However, as new lessons were learned from different planning projects, the approach changed with each Five Year Plan. Rather than developing a concrete tribal development plan, the journey started with a focus on providing additional financial support using a community development approach to solve tribal problems. The central and state governments have taken numerous steps over the years to improve the socio-economic and educational conditions of tribal population of the country. Such as schemes of incentives, financial assistance, establishment of Ashram schools, Eklavya schools, mid day meal scheme, Sarva Sikshya Abhiyan, vocational training centres, hostels for boys and girls are being built. The government offers scholarships to tribal people in order to encourage them to pursue higher education i.e. (pre metric, post-metric and National fellowship), coaching and allied schemes for scheduled caste and scheduled tribes, thereby reducing dropout rates at middle / higher level education. In some tribal areas, the governments have built schools. Students from scheduled tribes are eligible for a variety of benefits, including free tuition, stipends, grants, and free textbooks, stationery, and other supplies. Hence, due to these schemes and policies the literacy rate has been significantly increased over the year of all social communities. However, 72.6 percent respondents in the study areas acknowledged this feature that government is offering various schemes for the education. However, the human development indices between Scheduled Tribes and other social classes are still significantly different.

Provisions of scholarships to children of weaker sections of society are very effective steps taken by government for educational development. It on one side motivates children to study and on the other side provides economic assistance to poor masses. The scheme of scholarships was found to be very successfully implemented in study area as more than 82 percent students in study areas disclosed that they have not faced any problem in getting the scholarships from the school. The data has been recorded that some of the students those who were studying in private schools they have faced the problems of scholarship and some of the students faced the problems of opening account and withdrawing money from the bank. Government schools provide various facilities for students to facilitate teaching learning processes. Nevertheless, apart from those facilities interviewed students

suggested many other facilities, which they wish to be provided to them (Recreation, health, games, security, technical knowledge, transportation facilities and availability of teachers etc). The Ashram Schools program is yet another initiative to expand educational opportunities and create an atmosphere conducive to tribal boys' and girls' education through dedicated residential schools. The Vocational Training Scheme aims to improve the employability of tribal youth by providing them with vocational training. Since educational growth is a stepping stone to economic and social development, as well as the most successful tool for tribal empowerment, efforts were made throughout the year to introduce the aforementioned schemes with the aim of increasing access to education.

Conclusion

The progress of education among the tribals has been very slow. Number of factors seems to be acting as barriers for the educational progress among them. Fairly large numbers of research studies have highlighted these factors and the government has been initiating the number of measures to overcome the problems involved and bring about changes and developments in the system of tribal education. The systemic constraints, i.e. the ecological, socio-economic, and internal elements of the educational system, cause difficulties and differences in educational development among tribals. From the above discussions it can be observed that the way the schools functioned and are organized with inadequate facilities by and large did not fulfill the expectations of the society. This mismatch has created a latent distance between the tribal society and the school leading to indifference and non-acceptance of the schooling activities. The schools can perform better and fulfill its goals to the maximum, if it can take into account the skills, values and culture of these tribal societies and incorporate them in the activities of the school in a systematic manner. Education today is not solving our economic problem. Formerly every youth used to participate in economic pursuits. Now only a part of them get good employment. The rest are unemployed or under-employed. To engage in agriculture is out of question for they have long ceased to be agriculturalists mentally as their education had no such bias. The system of education in tribal areas should have a tribal bias and the departure from their traditional values and the attitude should be minimum. Education makes a person fit to face the problems of life with courage. Tribal education therefore to be accepted by the people without much misgiving should have direct relevance to their basic needs and aspirations. It is crucial for the teachers and other staff members within the schools, parents and the community leaders to pay adequate attention towards development of the system of tribal education to promote well-being of the individuals, communities and the nation.

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Rural Drinking Water Policies, Programmes and Schemes in India with special reference to Jal Jeevan Mission

-Sandeep Kumar & Baldev Singh Negi

Abstract

Access to safe drinking water is a basic human right, yet it remains a significant challenge for millions of people living in remote and isolated areas around the world. The first target under Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 6, Target 6.1, is "By 2030, achieve universal and equitable access to safe and affordable drinking water for all." In the last two decades, investment in drinking water services has led to considerable increases in access. The present paper is an effort to analyse the various initiatives taken to provide safe drinking water since independence. It discusses the national water policies and the concerns of various five-year plans, programmes, and schemes for the access to rural drinking water in India. The paper also studied the implementation and progress of the latest programme, i.e., Jal Jeevan Mission-Har Ghar Jal, in India, with special reference to Himachal Pradesh.

Keyword: *Drinking Water, Policies and Programmes, Jal Jeevan Mission, Implementation, Performance.*

Introduction

The availability of sufficient water is not only a crucial prerequisite for transforming the lives and livelihoods of all segments of society but also for the country's economic growth. India is home to 18 percent of the global human population and 15 percent of the global livestock population. However, it has only 2 percent land mass and 4 percent of global freshwater resources (Sahu, June 2023). India's drinking water sector has undergone many policy changes since independence. Water, being a state subject since 1950, did not get a major focus at the central level except for building dams for irrigation and hydropower. The government paid attention to the drinking water supply in rural areas through the Environment Hygiene Committee

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(Bhore Committee), 1949, which recommended covering 90% of India's population with safe drinking water within 40 years (Planning Commission, 2011). But the first drinking water programme was initiated under the National Health Programme in 1954 (James, 2011).

The first target under Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 6, Target 6.1, is, "By 2030, achieve universal and equitable access to safe and affordable drinking water for all". In the last two decades, investment in drinking water services has led to considerable increases in access. Two billion people globally gained access to safely managed drinking water services. In 2020, 74% of the world's population (5.8 billion people) used safely managed drinking water, up from 62% (3.8 billion) in 2000 (WHO/UNICEF, 2021). Water is the most essential requirement of human life. Clean and adequate supply of water is crucial to livelihood opportunities, environmental stability, and maintenance of ecosystems as well as public health. Ensuring sustainable rural delivery services for drinking water is a major challenge throughout India. India has delivered basic drinking water services to 93.3% of its rural population, but failure to meet service standards has been a concern for decades (WHO/UNICEF, n.d.).

National Water Policies in India

1981–1990 The Constitution of India gave ownership of all water resources to the government, specifying it as a state subject, and recognised the rights of citizens to drinking water. In the five-year plan for 1951–56 (1951–56), water supply and sanitation were added to the agenda, with the sanitation time mentioned under water. The first national water supply and sanitation programme was launched as part of the health plan in 1954 (1956–1961). 1956–61: Second Five-Year Plan), the 1956–61 water supply sector was not given much of this plan, but funding was provided to Public Health Engineering Departments (PHEDs). 1961–66: In the third Five-Y (1961–1966), problem villages were identified without access to drinking water within a distance of 1.6 kilometres in the plains or an altitude hilly in hilly areas, those endemic to water diseases and diseases, and those where water sources contain excess salinity fluoride, fluoride, or toxic elements. In 1968, states were given financial authority to sanction rural water supply schemes, which were expanded to include areas with a population less than 20,000. Priority was given to those with an acute scarcity of drinking water. The National Rural Drinking Water Programme was launched in 1969 with technical assistance from the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund. The Accelerated Rural Water Supply Programme (ARWSP) was launched in 1972–73 by the Government of India to assist States and Union Territories to accelerate the coverage of drinking water. The ARWSP was replaced by the Minimum Needs Programme in 1975. In 1975, while providing a full range of the population with safe drinking in 1977–78,

ARWSP was reintroduced, but funds were provided by the states through MNP. 1980-85: Under the sixth Five-Y (1980–85), importance was given to the water supply sector in keeping with the UN de Mar del Plata declaration of March 1977 about the International Decade of Drinking Water Supply and Sanitation from 1981–90. A national-level apex committee was set up in 1981 to define policies to achieve the goal of providing safe drinking water to all villages as a part of the International Drinking Water Supply and Sanitation Decade (1981–1990). It was in 1985 when Rural Water Supply and Sanitation was handed over to the Department of Rural Development, then under the Ministry of Agriculture (Khambete, 2023).

National Water Policy (2002): The National Water Resources Council (NWRC) was set up on March 10, 1983, primarily to lay down the National Water Policy and to review it from time to time. The NWRC adopted the first national water policy in its 2nd meeting held in September 1987. This policy realised that water is a prime natural resource, a basic human need, and a precious national asset. The planning and development of water resources need to be governed by national perspectives, which also place emphasis on the provision of drinking water as a primary consideration (Central Water Commission, n.d.). After the adoption of this policy, it was targeted that adequate drinking water facilities should be provided to the entire population, both in urban and rural areas, by 1991.

National Water Policy (2002): After the adoption of NWP 1987, new challenges emerged in the water resources sector, which necessitated a review of the National Water Policy. Accordingly, the revised National Water Policy 2002 was adopted by the National Water Resources Council in its 5th meeting held on April 1, 2002. While there was a chord of similarity in essence and principles between the NWP-1987 and NWP-2002, the NWP-2002 introduced modifications, additions, and alterations pertaining to various issues, namely information systems, water resources planning, institutional mechanisms, project planning, private sector participation, water quality, monitoring of the projects, water sharing and distribution amongst the states, performance improvement, maintenance and modernization, safety of structures, land erosion by sea or river, and conservation of water in comparison to the National Water Policy of 1987. Adequate, safe drinking water facilities should be provided to the entire population, both in urban and rural areas (Central Water Commission, n.d.).

National Water Policy (2012): In 2012, the Ministry of Water Resources formulated the Draft National Water Policy in consultation with the National Water Board and National Water Resource Council. The 2012 water policy introduces a pricing mechanism for overuse of water. It introduces a proposal to levy tariffs for all water uses, including irrigation, if they exceed a

predetermined quota on a volumetric basis. In order to exercise this, a state water regulatory authority was established in every state, which will fix and regulate the water rates. The responsibility of tariff collection, adjusting rates, and water distribution remains with the Water Users Association in the states. This policy raised the concern that access to safe water for drinking and other domestic needs continues to be a problem in many areas. Skewed availability of water between different regions and different people in the same region, as well as an intermittent and unreliable water supply system, has the potential to cause social unrest (NWM, n.d.). The 2012 policy also calls for a typically integrated perspective to govern the planning and management of water resources. Such an attitude would consider local, regional, and national contexts and be environmentally sound. As per the policy, water needs to be managed as a community resource under the state. This policy raised the debate about the privatisation of necessities like water, which is directly associated with life. The policy was put into the public domain to enlist suggestions from a broad spectrum. The privatisation of water started a new debate in the country about whether water should be charged or not (Pradhan, 2020).

There are three water policies being adopted in India since independence: those in 1987, 2002, and 2012. Comparatively, the first two policies seem to be national, whereas in the 2012 policy, there is an integrated perspective considering local, regional, state, and national contexts. In the water policies of 1987 and 2002, there was a standardised national information system. In contrast, in the 2012 policy, the focus is that all water-related data should be integrated with well-defined procedures and formats to ensure online updating and transfer of data to facilitate the development of the database for informed decision-making in the management of water.

Five Year Plans and their concern for drinking water

The first water policy came in 1987, but the issue of water supply has been taken seriously since independence through various five-year plans. The First Five-Year Plan (1951–56): Water supply and sanitation were added to the national agenda, with sanitation for the first time mentioned under water supply. In the second five-year plan (1956–61), the water supply sector was not given much priority, but funding was provided to Public Health Engineering Departments (PHEDs). Third Five-Year Plan (1961–66): ‘Problem Villages’ were identified as those without a drinking water source within a distance of 1.6 kilometres in the plains or an altitude of 100 metres in hilly areas, those endemic to water-borne diseases, and those where water sources contain excess salinity, iron, fluoride, or toxic elements. Sixth Five-Year Plan (1980–85): Importance was given to the water supply sector in keeping with the UN de Mar del Plata declaration of March 1977 about the International Decade of Drinking Water Supply and Sanitation from 1981–

90. Eight Five-Year Plan (1992–97): Problems with the water supply sector were identified, and a reform agenda was put forward. The emphasis was placed on treating water as a commodity. In the Ninth Five-Year Plan (1997–2002), the objective was to provide 100 percent water supply coverage in urban and rural areas, 60 percent sanitation coverage in urban areas, and 30 percent in rural areas. Emphasis was placed on decentralisation and privatisation, both in rural and urban sectors. The Tenth Five-Year Plan (2002–07) objectives were 100 percent coverage of urban and rural populations, water to be managed as a commodity, and a change in the role of government from direct service provider to facilitator, leading to privatisation (Gupta & Biswas, 2021).

Programmes and schemes for rural drinking water in India

Rural drinking water supply is one of the important subjects entrusted to the States as per the Seventh Schedule of the Indian Constitution. Therefore, the drinking water supply schemes are planned and implemented by the respective state governments. However, the government of India has been providing assistance to the states in providing adequate and safe drinking water in the villages. In the planned period or during the NITI Ayog, the key policies and programmes undertaken by the Government of India for improving drinking water coverage in rural areas are as follows:

1. Rajiv Gandhi National Drinking Water Mission (RGNDWM)

To supplement the effort of the state governments in providing drinking water, the Technology Mission for Drinking Water was set up in 1986 by the Government of India to establish area-based projects for sustainable supply of safe drinking water and to establish a sub-mission of scientific source finding of water, control of fluorosis, eradication of guinea worm, removal of excess iron, and control of brackishness. In 1991, the Technology Mission was renamed the Rajiv Gandhi National Drinking Water Mission (RGNDWM) with the broad objective of providing sustainable, safe drinking water to all uncovered or no-source villages and creating awareness among rural people about the hazards of using unsafe water.

2. Technology Mission

With a view to tackling the problem of drinking water in rural areas, a technology mission on drinking water in villages and related water management was launched by the central government in August 1986 with the following specific objectives: to cover all residual problem villages by 1990; to supply potable water at 40 litres per capita per day (including cattle demand areas in Rajasthan); to evolve a cost-effective technology mix to achieve these objectives with the constraint of plan allocation; and to take

conservation measures for sustained supply of drinking water. To achieve the objectives, 50 missions and five sub-missions were set up in various areas, such as the eradication of guinea worms, control of fluorosis, removal of excess iron from drinking water, desalination of water, conservation of water, and recharging of groundwater aquifers.

3. Drinking water during the draft

During the 1987 drought, 256 districts in 15 states, involving nearly 54310 villages, were affected by drinking water scarcity. The areas affected are Gujarat, Rajasthan, and the tribal areas of Orissa. In order to effectively combat the drought situation, the Department of Rural Development has drawn up a contingency plan to combat the scarcity of drinking water, under which all the states have been asked to re-prioritise their plan programmes and divert funds to the worst-affected areas. Immediate emphasis has been placed on the source-finding activities and dovetailing of the plan programme into the drought master plan. A group has also been constituted in the Department of Rural Development with members of the Meteorological Department, Central Water Board, Central Water Commission, etc. to continuously evaluate and monitor drinking water demand and supply situation in the country to develop a model for forecasting drinking water availability and linking it with monsoon performance.

4. Bharat Nirman component of the water supply

Ensuring the availability of potable drinking water in rural areas has been a major challenge. Keeping this in mind Rural drinking water has been one of the six components of Bharat Nirman, a major initiative by the Government of India to build rural infrastructure, since 2005. Phase I of Bharat Nirman was implemented from 2005–06 to 2008–09, while Phase II is being implemented from 2009–10 to 2011–12. Under the Bharat Nirman programme (introduced in 2005–06 to 2008–09 for building rural infrastructure), 55067 uncovered habitations and about 3.31 lakh slipped-back habitations were targeted to be covered, and 2.17 lakh quality-affected habitations were to be addressed (PIB, 2011).

5. Sector Reforms/Swajaldhara

Launched in 2002, under this programme, up to 20 percent of the total allocation under ARWSP was set aside to promote a decentralised, demand-driven, community-managed rural water supply programme to bring sustainability to the sector. However, as per revised principles in 2007–08, implementation of new rural water supply schemes under ARWSP on Swajaldhara principles is to be decided by the States, and the quantum of funds to be allocated for this purpose out of ARWSP funds as well as the quantum of community contribution are left to the discretion of the States.

1. Accelerated Rural Water Supply Programme (ARWSP)

Taking into account the magnitude of the problem and to accelerate the pace of coverage of problem villages, the Central Government introduced the Accelerated Rural Water Supply Programme (ARWSP) in 1972-73 to assist the states and the Union territories with grants in aid varying from 100% (DDP areas) to 50:50 (ARWSP Normal- recently changed to 90:10) for implementing water supply schemes in such villages.

As per the ARWSP guidelines (Refer Annexure 1) the following priorities should be adopted while providing safe water to the community:

- Coverage of No Safe Source (NSS) habitations. Among these priority to be given to the ones inhabited exclusively by SC/ST or having larger SC/ST population enumerated in the Status Report of 1994 (Survey) and resurveyed in 1996-97.
- Coverage of quality affected habitations with acute toxicity first and the others later.
- Up gradation of source level of safe source habitations which get less than 40 lpcd water to the level of 40 lpcd.
- Coverage of schools and Anganwadis where safe drinking water sources could not be provided under the outlays allocated by the Tenth Finance Commission.

Besides, improving coverage and supply of water, GOI has taken measures to improve the quality of water being supplied to the rural areas (Report, 2009).

2. National Rural Drinking Water Programme (NRDWP)

In 2009, the Government of India (GoI) launched the National Rural Drinking Water Programme (NRDWP) by expanding the erstwhile Accelerated Rural Water Supply Programme (ARWSP). The scheme aims to provide safe and adequate water for drinking, cooking, and other domestic needs to every rural person on a sustainable basis. In order to meet the objectives related to water availability, sustainability, and quality, funds for NRDWP have been divided into six main components, which include coverage, operation, and maintenance (O&M), water quality, sustainability, support, and water quality monitoring and surveillance (WQMS).

In FY 2017–18, GoI expanded the NRDWP to the National Rural Drinking Water Mission (NRDWM). NRDWM includes NRDWP and a few other components, such as the Desert Development Programme (DDP) and Information, Education, and Communication (IEC). NRDWM is now implemented by the Department of Drinking Water and Sanitation (DDWS)

under the Ministry of Jal Shakti (MJS). The Ministry of Drinking Water and Sanitation (MDWS), which was previously responsible for the scheme, has been merged into the MJS as per a cabinet decision on May 31, 2019 (GOI, 2019-2020).

Jal Jeevan Mission

Water being a state subject, steps for augmentation, conservation, and efficient management of water resources are primarily undertaken by the respective state governments. In order to supplement the efforts of the state governments, the central government provides technical and financial assistance to them through various schemes and programmes. The Government of India, in partnership with states, is implementing the Jal Jeevan Mission (JJM)—Har Ghar Jal, which aims at providing potable water in an adequate quantity of prescribed quality on a regular and long-term basis to every rural household through tap water connections by 2024 with an estimated outlay of Rs 3.60 lakh crore. The water sources, which inter alia include groundwater, surface water (river, reservoir, lake, pond, springs, etc.), and rainwater stored in small tanks, are being used as sources for drinking water supply schemes (PIB, December 16).

Jal Jeevan Mission (JJM) launched on India's 73rd Independence Day on August 15, 2019 with the vision that 'every rural household has drinking water supply in adequate quantity of prescribed quality on a regular and long-term basis at affordable service delivery charges, leading to improvement in the living standards of rural communities.' The broad objectives of the mission includes, to provide FHTC to every rural household, prioritize provision of FHTCs in quality affected areas, villages in drought prone and desert areas, Sansad Adarsh Gram Yojana (SAGY) villages, etc., provide functional tap connection to Schools, Anganwadi centres, GP buildings, Health centres, wellness centres and community buildings, monitor functionality of tap connections, promote and ensure voluntary ownership among local community by way of contribution in cash, kind and/ or labour and voluntary labour (shramdaan); assist in ensuring sustainability of water supply system, i.e. water source, water supply infrastructure, and funds for regular O&M; to empower and develop human resource in the sector such that the demands of construction, plumbing, electrical, water quality management, water treatment, catchment protection, O&M, etc. are taken care of in short and long term; and to bring awareness on various aspects and significance of safe drinking water and involvement of stakeholders in manner that make water everyone's business.

The components are supported under Jal Jeevan Mission includes development of in-village piped water supply infrastructure to provide tap water connection to every rural household; development of reliable drinking water sources and/ or augmentation of existing sources to provide long-term

sustainability of water supply system; wherever necessary, bulk water transfer, treatment plants and distribution network to cater to every rural household; technological interventions for removal of contaminants where water quality is an issue; retrofitting of completed and ongoing schemes to provide FHTCs at minimum service level of 55 lpcd, grey water management; support activities, i.e. IEC, HRD, training, development of utilities, water quality laboratories, water quality testing & surveillance, R&D, knowledge centre, capacity building of communities, etc.; and any other unforeseen challenges/ issues emerging due to natural disasters/ calamities which affect the goal of FHTC to every household by 2024, as per guidelines of Ministry of Finance on Flexi Funds.

The performance of the Jal Jeevan Mission in achieving household reach for tapped water connections is as follows:

Table: Status of households with tap water connection as on 11-02-2024

States/UTs	Total Households	Total Households with Tap Water Supply	Households with Tap Water Supply (%)
A & N Islands	62,037	62,037	100.00
D&NH and D&D	85,156	85,156	100.00
Goa	2,63,002	2,63,002	100.00
Gujarat	91,18,449	91,18,449	100.00
Haryana	30,41,314	30,41,34	100.00
Himachal Pradesh	17,08,727	17,08,727	100.00
Puducherry	1,14,969	1,14,969	100.00
Punjab	34,25,723	34,25,723	100.00
Telangana	53,98,219	53,98,219	100.00
Arunachal Pradesh	2,28,545	2,28,539	99.99
Mizoram	1,33,060	1,32,898	99.88
Bihar	1,66,30,250	1,60,34,186	96.42
Ladakh	40,808	37,677	92.33

Uttarakhand	14,54,571	13,20,693	90.80
Sikkim	1,31,880	1,17,582	89.16
Nagaland	3,69,204	3,10,289	84.04
Maharashtra	1,46,64,263	1,22,85,712	83.78
Tamil Nadu	1,25,25,804	1,00,86,995	80.53
Lakshadweep	13,370	10,578	79.12
Manipur	4,51,566	3,52,110	77.98
Uttar Pradesh	2,63,70,923	2,05,48,711	77.92
Chhattisgarh	50,00,496	38,47,409	76.94
Jammu & Kashmir	18,71,318	14,36,310	76.75
Tripura	7,47,001	5,71,041	76.44
Meghalaya	6,51,412	4,84,431	74.37
Assam	70,46,947	51,56,162	73.17
Karnataka	1,01,16,046	74,68,929	73.83
Andhra Pradesh	95,44,642	69,55,717	72.88
Odisha	88,63,859	63,13,988	71.23
Madhya Pradesh	1,11,85,270	67,36,685	60.23
Kerala	70,79,590	36,93,540	52.17
Jharkhand	62,03,997	30,93,533	49.86
Rajasthan	1,06,65,195	49,37,334	46.29
West Bengal	1,75,08,802	75,34,994	43.04
Total	19,27,16,415	14,29,13,639	74.16

Source: Dashboard, Jal Jeevan Mission,
<https://ejalshakti.gov.in/jjmreport/JJMIndia.aspx>

Table 1. reveals the performance of Jal Jeevan Mission-Har Ghar Jal in providing tap water to households. There are six states, including Goa, Gujarat, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Punjab, Telangana, and three union territories, namely the A & N Islands, D&NH, D&D, and Puducherry, that

have achieved 100 percent tap water connections to their households. On the other hand, there are nine states that have performed lower than the national average, i.e., below 74.26 percent: Assam, Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh, Odisha, Madhya Pradesh, Kerala, Jharkhand, Rajasthan, and West Bengal. The rest of the states and union territories are in between.

Himachal Pradesh: drinking water policies and performance of the Jal Jeevan Mission

In 2011, Himachal Pradesh was the 20th most populous state in India, with a population of 6.8 million, which was projected to increase to 7.8 million by 2036. It has an area of 55,673 square kilometres and the fifth-lowest population density in India; 90% of the population resides in rural areas, and 7.62% of rural households are considered poor. The multidimensional poverty headcount ratio is 8.24% in rural areas, compared to 25.01% at the national level (Aayog, 2015–2016).

Water supply is the responsibility of the government of Himachal Pradesh, through the Jal Shakti Vibhag (JSV), including construction and bulk water delivery to rural villages. Sanitation is provided by the state government's Rural Development Department (RDD). In villages, JSV and the RDD work closely with gramme panchayats (local administration) through village water and sanitation committees (VWSCs) that help plan, implement, and manage village services. 10 In 2020, the governor reconstituted the state's District Water and Sanitation Mission, a state governance coordination body headed by the Deputy Commissioner for Jal Javeen Mission implementation (Vibhag, 2020). Basic water supply services can be inconsistent in rural communities, where water infrastructure is dilapidated, undermining the quality and duration of services. Poor service is caused by overexploitation of water sources and ageing infrastructure assets that have reached the end of their design life and are due for renewal and replacement, the absence of an asset management system, weak institutional capacity, and inadequate financing of O&M.

The state's policy in 2013 is to supply 70 litres of potable water per capita per day to each household, but most homes receive 30 litres, which is below the national norm, mostly supplied intermittently for 6–8 hours per day. Rural water supply schemes use various sources (e.g., rivers, springs, and tube wells). The hilly topography means water is supplied through lift and gravity mechanisms. Rapid water table depletion has made groundwater supply less sustainable and more vulnerable to climate change. Rural drinking water services are generally of low quality, working only intermittently through inadequate pipe networks. Water demand has increased along with population growth, and some existing water supply

schemes are unable to meet demand. Repair and rehabilitation are deferred for lack of revenue, even as drought and reduced dry season flow make these systems less efficient (ADB, 2022).

The Government of Himachal Pradesh Water Policy, 2013 calls for adequate, safe, and sustainable drinking water facilities and the safe disposal of sewerage (GoHP, 2013). It also acknowledges that tariff charges need to be restructured to meet O&M expenses. The state's vision in *Drishti Himachal Pradesh 2030: Sustainable Development Goals* is to provide adequate, safe, and wholesome water and sanitation services (Government of Himachal Pradesh, 2017). In the state, rural households had tapped water connections, i.e., 8769 in 2014, 45401 in 2015-16, and 58589 in 2016-17 (Jena, 10.08.2017). Households with tap water connections as of August 15, 2019 were 7,62,721 (44.64%) out of a total of 17,08,727 households (Dashbaord, 12.02.2024).

Implementation of Jal Jeevan Mission in Himachal Pradesh

JJM is a flagship programme of the Union Government being implemented in partnership with the States with the objective to provide tap water connection in every rural household by 2024. In 2020-21, Himachal Pradesh was allocated Central grant of Rs. 326 Crore to provide assured tap water supply in rural areas, and State had drawn Central fund of Rs. 548 Crore, which includes incentive grant of Rs. 221Crore owing to better performance. In the 2021-22, the State is likely to get about Rs. 700Crore as Central grant to take up various works. Under JJM, efforts are made to dovetail all available resources by convergence of different programmes viz. MGNREGS, SBM, 15th Finance Commission Grants to PRIs, CAMPA funds, Local Area Development Funds, etc. The committee suggested that the State should utilize various resources through convergence for water supply, water recycling, grey water management, source strengthening including spring shed development, etc. JJM focuses on development of Village Action Plan (VAP) and formation of Village Water and Sanitation Committee (VWSC) for every village so that the local village community plays a key role in planning, implementation as well as operation and maintenance of the in-village water supply infrastructure created for them. This ensures bottom-up approach with the participation of the local community. Through community engagement, the resources created in the villages/ habitations are handed over to the Panchayats or VWSC for monitoring, surveillance and upkeep. The State is planning to engage various experts/ support staff at State and District level. In addition to it, State also intend to conduct training/ capacity building for all the stakeholders who shall in turn be used to build the water supply infrastructure. Under JJM, water quality testing laboratories at district & State levels are given priority and community is being encouraged for

surveillance of water quality. ‘Jal Shakti Vibhag’ is facilitating to empower and engage with the community (PIB, 2021, May 2).

The Performance of Jal Jeevan Mission-Har Ghar Jal by ensuring the tap water connection in all the districts is as under:

Table: Status of Tap Water Connection in Himachal Pradesh as on 11.02.2024

Districts	Total Households	Total Households with Tap Water Supply	Households with Tap Water Supply (%)
<u>Bilaspur</u>	1,00,451	1,00,451	100.00
<u>Chamba</u>	1,21,658	1,21,658	100.00
<u>Hamirpur</u>	1,12,534	1,12,534	100.00
<u>Kangra</u>	4,00,102	4,00,102	100.00
<u>Kinnaur</u>	22,763	22,763	100.00
<u>Kullu</u>	1,13,905	1,13,905	100.00
<u>Lahul And Spiti</u>	7,284	7,284	100.00
<u>Mandi</u>	3,08,119	3,08,119	100.00
<u>Shimla</u>	1,72,266	1,72,266	100.00
<u>Sirmaur</u>	1,21,917	1,21,917	100.00
<u>Solan</u>	1,13,519	1,13,519	100.00
Total	17,08,727	17,08,727	100.00

Source: Dashboard, Jal Jeevan Mission,
<https://ejalshakti.gov.in/jjmreport/JJMIndia.aspx>

The table reveals that there are 17,08,727 households in the state and 100 per cent households have tap water connections in all districts.

Conclusion

Water is a state subject in India, and the state has the liberty to draw its strategies based on the functions required within its boundaries. Many states

in India, including Himachal Pradesh, have their own water policies. These policies are based on the National Water Policy and convert the National Water Policy into a strategy relevant to the state. National initiatives since independence have made remarkable achievements in providing safe and drinking water to remote village levels. After the launch of the Jal Jeevan Mission Centre, the government aims to provide tap water connections to every rural household by 2024. Many states, including Himachal Pradesh, made remarkable progress and achieved 100 percent tap water coverage across all districts. However, challenges such as ageing infrastructure, water source overexploitation, and climate change impacts persist, highlighting the need for continued investment and attention. Ensuring the sustainability and quality of water supply systems remains crucial, for which the cooperation of central, state, and local governments is important, along with active community involvement in the planning, implementation, and maintenance of the whole system. This will significantly advance universal access to safe drinking water, thereby enhancing the health, well-being, and overall quality of life of millions of its citizens.

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Citizen Centric Governance: A Study of Haryana Right to Service Commission

-Rajbir Singh Dalal & Aditya

Abstract

The priority of a government is to work for the welfare of people and execute effective delivery of public service in a timely manner. To make administration corruption-free and ensure the delivery of public service within a timeframe, governments take many administrative reforms in this direction, like the citizen charter, the Right to Information Act, and the Right to Service Act. The Citizen Charter emphasises the quality of public services, and the Right to Service Act (RTS) takes a step forward by making public service delivery legally binding within the notified time frame. The RTS Act demonstrates the Haryana government's commitment to providing public services that meet standards for quality and timeliness. The Haryana government has undertaken several creative changes to its administration to make it more citizen-centric. The most recent effort in this regard is the Haryana Right to Service Act 2014 (HRSA). The Haryana Right to Service Commission (HRSC) is a statutory body situated at the top of its organisational hierarchy. The primary goal of this Act is to reduce corruption among public servants and to advance accountability, transparency, and openness in the public administration, particularly in terms of the timely delivery of public services to citizens or eligible persons. As the topic is very concurrent and relevant, a modest attempt has been made in this paper to explain and analyse the concept of citizen-centric governance in Haryana State with special reference to the Haryana Right to Service Commission.

Keywords: *Designated Officer, Grievances Redressal Authorities, Timeliness of Services, Auto Appeal System, Citizens Centric.*

Introduction:

India is the largest democracy in the world with a population of 140 million, and the reality of the democracy lies in the extent to which the government uses the opportunity for the citizens to meet their requirements, particularly in the delivery of services by the state. To ensure the quality of service, the

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government should be citizen-centric, as that is one of the parameters of good governance. The government should take care of citizens's interests; that's why the government has made various efforts in this direction to make the government citizen-centric. These efforts were started by the Citizen Charter, 1996; the Right to Information Act, 2005; and the Right to Service Act, 2014, which are the latest and most significant in this regard. It ensures the time-bound delivery of public services to citizens who are notified by the state. Citizen-centric governance emphasises the needs and concerns of citizens to provide the timely delivery of public services. The Haryana government has advanced significantly in this direction. This accomplishment is attributed to results like the enactment of the Haryana Right to Service Act, 2014, the establishment of an effective grievance redressal mechanism, and fundamental advancements in public service delivery. These efforts led to ascertaining efficient, effective, and transparent governance in the state. This Act has been in operation for the last nine years (2014–23).

The Haryana Right to Service Commission (HRSC) was established by this Act with the primary goal of guaranteeing timely delivery of public services and fostering accountability and transparency in the administration of the state. The Commission is at the top of the administrative hierarchy, which regulates, controls, and monitors the working of the machinery under this Act. That's why the role and impact of the Right to Service Commission have been taken into consideration in determining citizen-centred governance in Haryana State.

Objectives of the Study:

The followings are the main objectives of the present research paper:

1. To define the concept of Citizen Centric Governance alongwith its salient features.
2. To describe the composition and working of Haryana Right to Service Commission.
3. To assess the role and impact of HRSC in ascertaining Citizen Centric Governance in the state.

Methodology:

The present research paper is an outcome of an exploratory and analytical study conducted in the State of Haryana based on the information related to Citizen Centric Governance, Haryana Right to Service Commission as well as information about notified services under Haryana Right to Service Act have been examined.

Conceptual framework:

Citizen-centric governance and good governance are closely related concepts. In his work, Arthashastra, Kautilya listed the qualities of a well-managed state's ruler. He said, "In the happiness of his subjects lies his happiness; in their welfare lies his welfare; whatever pleases himself, he does not consider as good, but whatever pleases his subjects, he considers as good." In ancient Hindu scriptures like Manusmriti, Shantiparva, etc., it has also been categorically mentioned that the king should take care of the happiness, well-being, and prosperity of his subjects. Any ruler who fails to perform his dharam is likely to go to hell. Because of this, every government that implements a welfare plan needs to consider the needs of its citizens and make every effort to provide services to them in a way that is both efficient and effective. A government that prioritises the needs of its citizens is considered to be citizen-centric and makes administration efficient, effective, transparent, accountable, and sensitive to public concerns. The right to service has been defined under the Act as the "right to obtain the service within the stipulated or given time limit" (Raha et al., n.d.).

Features of citizen-centred governance:

The idea of citizen-centred governance is still in its infancy, and implementing it will require transparency in the roles played by public officials and the ways in which the public interacts with the government. In order to ensure the overall growth of a community or a country, citizen involvement involves communication and constructive relationships with all stakeholders. Some principles of Citizen Centric Administration that are given by the Second Administrative Reforms Commission (ARC) for making governance Citizen Centric are as follows (Second Administrative Reforms Commission, 2009, pp. 2–20):

- **Rule of law: Zero tolerance strategy:** In the words of the UN Vienna Declaration of 1993 "human rights are universal, indivisible, interdependent and interrelated and therefore should be protected and promoted in a fair and equitable manner by something as fundamental and all-pervasive as the rule of law." (Sehgal, 2020). The term "Rule of law" refers to any system, procedure, establishment, custom, or standard that upholds the legal equality of all people, ensures an impartial system of governance and in general, forbids the arbitrary use of authority. Different types of authoritarianism, absolutism, despotism and totalitarianism are characterized by arbitrary behavior. Political and legal philosophy has placed a strong emphasis on the concept of the rule of law ever since Aristotle separated "the Rule of law" from "that of any individual" in the fourth century B.C. . The French political philosopher Montesquieu developed a theory of the rule of law in the eighteenth

century, contrasting the legitimate power of kings with the arbitrary nature of despots (Choi, 2023).

- Making institutions vibrant, responsive and accountable. Ensuring successful and sustainable development requires the establishment of responsible and responsive institutions at all governmental levels. Fundamentally, the purpose of this activity is to assist efforts to enhance the efficacy and efficiency of the government and the delivery of services (*Responsible and accountable institutions*, n.d.).
- **Decentralization:** Decentralization is widely discussed and well known, yet it is frequently interpreted differently and used in diverse contexts. Decentralization is the process by which some degree of autonomy is granted to elected subnational authorities (regional governments, municipalities, etc.) in place of the central government. Rearranging the connections between the federal and state governments to provide the federal government a more strategic and cooperative role is another aspect of decentralization. Decentralization encompasses three separate but connected dimensions: political, administrative, and monetary, making it a multifaceted term. Political and administrative decentralization are prerequisites for fiscal decentralization, and these two aspects are mutually exclusive. However, political and administrative decentralization are useless without budgetary decentralization (OECD, 2019).
- **Transparency:** A Nation's administration has a significant impact on its citizens. Being responsive, honest, responsible, and citizen-friendly has been the stated goal of governance in ancient India since the Vedic Period. These elements could be thought of as the cornerstones of every administrative structure. Participatory democracy requires accountability and transparency in administration as a matter of course. Transparency breaks down the wall of secrecy that individuals in positions of authority have erected against the general populace, whereas government secrecy encourages citizens to doubt the legitimacy of their government. Accountability is more than just having to complete a task or provide a service (*Transparency in administration*, 2015).
- **Civil service reforms:** The group of government employees who work in civil professions that are neither judicial nor political is known as the civil service. In India, the idea of civil service was widely accepted since ancient times. Since Lord Cornwallis founded the Indian Civil Services, numerous developments have occurred. The goal of the Indian Civil Services was to promote the concept of unity in diversity. Government expectations for better governance via efficient service delivery, accountability, openness, and the rule of law are rising as a result of

these developments. As the main branch of the government, the civil service needs to adapt to the changing needs of the populace in order to fulfill their expectations. The goal of "reform" is to reposition the Civil Services as a dynamic, effective, and responsible public service delivery mechanism based on the principles and values of neutrality, impartiality, and integrity (Satish, 2004).

- **Ethics in governance:** Sardar Patel's advice to public servants for maintaining highest standard of ethical administration- "Above all . I would advise you to maintain to the utmost impartiality and incorruptibility of administration. A public servant cannot afford to, and must not, take part in the politics . Nor must he involve himself in communal wrangles. To depart from the path of rectitude in either of these respects is to debase public service and to lower its dignity. Similarly , no service worth the name can claim to exist if it does not have in the view the achievement of the highest standards of integrity" (Bissa, 2016).

Working of Haryana Right to Service Commission

The Haryana Right to Service Commission is a statutory body established by the state government under the Haryana Right to Service Act, 2014. It includes a Chief Commissioner and up to four Commissioners. All these vacancies are full at present in the Commission, which is headed by Sh. T. C. Gupta, Retd. IAS. They are appointed by the Governor based on recommendations from a committee that is chaired by the Chief Minister and includes the Leader of the Opposition in the Legislative Assembly and one of the Cabinet Ministers nominated by the Chief Minister. HRSC is at the top of the organisational hierarchy, followed by the Second Grievance Appellate Authority, the First Grievance Appellate Authority, and the Designate Officer. It is helpful in providing efficient and effective service delivery to aspirants in the state. To get any service, an eligible individual or citizen has to submit a properly documented and complete application to the designated officer. Upon receiving the application, the designated officer will either offer service or reject it within the specified and notified time frame. If the application is rejected, the designated officer will record the reasons in writing and inform the applicant about the decision in writing. (Haryana Government Gazette, 2014, p. 104) If the applicant is not satisfied with the decision of the designated officer, he or she can file an appeal before the First Grievance Redressal Authority (FGRA), followed by the Second Grievance Redressal Authority (SGRA), and finally to the Commission as per the provisions and time period mentioned under the Act. All this caused a lot of inconvenience and problems for the applicant. To bail out the applicant from these challenges faced by him or her in filing appeals one after the other, on July 1, 2021, the Auto Appeal System (AAS) was introduced by the

Haryana government. Now, the AAS, as and when the allotted time for a specific service has passed without providing the desired service or disposal of the RTS application, its appeals are automatically moved from the Designated Officer to the FGRA, then the SGRA, and ultimately the HRSC. Thus, the AAS has introduced automation in RTS matters (Government of Haryana, 2017).

Impact study of HRSC

As per the Antodaya Saral until November 15, 2023, a total of 10,57,801 appeals related to delays in services have been registered under the AAS, of which 9,31,756 were reported to the First Appellate Authority and 1,24,307 appeals to the Second Appellate Authority. Only 1738 appeals reached the Right to Service Commission, which is 0.16% of the total appeals. Table 1.1 highlights the number of appeals received by the Commission against delays in providing services in some of the departments covered under the Act (Haryana Right to Service Commission, 2014).

Table 1.1 Department-wise detail of appeals received in HRSC upto November 15, 2023

Sr. No	Department	HRSC In Process	HRSC Final	Total
1.	Town and Country Planning	03	163	166
2.	Welfare of SCs and BCs	10	152	162
3.	Urban Local Bodies	22	158	180
4.	Uttar Haryana Bijli Vitran Nigam (UHBVN)	00	01	01
5.	Social Justice and Empowerment	01	16	17
6.	Health Services Department	14	36	50
7.	Science and Technology Department	00	01	01
8.	Revenue & Disaster Management Department	16	641	657
9.	Public Works Department (Buildings and Roads)	00	02	02
10.	Police Department	01	14	15

11.	Development and Panchayats Department	00	12	12
12.	Haryana Shehari Vikas Pradhikaran (HSVP)	01	34	35
13.	Haryana State Agriculture Marketing Board (HSAMB)	00	16	16
14.	Housing Board	01	02	03
15.	Haryana State Industry ,and Infrastructure Development Co. Ltd(HSIIDC)	00	08	08
16.	Haryana Forest Department	00	02	02
17.	Food, Civil Supplies & Consumer Affairs Department	00	09	09
18.	Haryana Excise & Taxation Dept.	00	70	70
19.	Dakshin Haryana Bijli Vitran Nigam (DHBVN)	06	148	154
20.	Animal Husbandry and Dairying Dept.	09	05	14

From Table 1.1, it is clear that a greater part of the total appeals received belongs to Town and Country Planning, Animal Husbandry and Dairying, Haryana Excise and Taxation, Dakshin Haryana Bijli Vitran Nigam, Science and Technology Department etc. The reasons behind are that these Departments have more public dealings and by and large their public personnel are still having bureaucratic mindset and orientation. It is noteworthy that the Commission is the third appellate authority and below it two more grievances redressal authorities are in operation. Till November 15, 2023 total appeals reached to the commission were 1738, from which 1639 were disposed off and 99 appeals (5.69%) were pending in the commission (Haryana Right to Service commission, 2014). Thus the disposal rate of appeals in the Commission can be called quite satisfactory and it is an indicator of good governance and citizens centric governance. The quick and economic grievance redressal mechanism ascertains accountability and transparency in public life and administration on one hand and curb corruption, mal administration and arbitrary working of government

employees on the other, hence it contributes towards citizens centric governance.

Challenges

The Right to Service Act in Haryana is facing various constraints on the ground varying from shortage of qualified, regular and well trained staff at the different levels of its hierarchy. Moreover, most of the designated officers, First and Second Grievances Redressal Authorities are overburdened and having multiple charges. Most of the officials in the HRS Commission are on deputation or engaged on contractual basis, hence they are not so serious and committed towards their duties. The Chief and other Commissioners are usually retired bureaucrats who in their entire career had worked for pro-establishment, hence at this juncture they cannot be expected as the champions of public interests and timely delivery of public services, hence that of citizens centric governance. The sheer largeness of applications and appeals received and receiving to the appellate Authorities and Commission reflects that the working of RTS machinery particularly the designated officers is not smooth and spontaneous. High discrepancy in documents leads to rejection of applications under RTS in Departments like Social Justice and Empowerment, and Welfare of SCs and STs. Lack of awareness about the Act among the staff and citizens, lack of adequate IT infrastructure and rare visits of appellate authority to public service delivery centres are the other constraints in its proper implementation. Record management and display of information, lack of proper information and display of designated officers meant for different services at the service delivery centres are also the serious challenges to actualisation of RTS Act in the State.

Conclusion and suggestions

No doubt, India is the world's largest democracy, has the fastest-growing economy, and has the youngest labour force to work. Its economy is the 5th biggest in the world. Unfortunately, a number of obstacles have negatively impacted its growth and development, including corruption, poor administration, a convoluted and drawn-out criminal justice system, and an excessively politicised administration. In addition, more reforms are needed to really make public administration citizen-centric by boosting the confidence and motivation of the individual designated officers to carry out this Act and other pertinent government programmes more effectively and efficiently. The state government implemented the auto-appeal system in an effort to make the HRS Act more automated, dynamic, and citizen-centred. This system has dramatically assisted the citizens in getting the notified services in the stipulated time period, and their grievances have been redressed without much effort at their doorsteps and with economy. The public personnel engaged in the implementation of the RTS Act should be

duly displayed at the service delivery centres, and they should be given specific training and motivation in this regard.

The Commission should not hesitate in imposing the panel or directing the concerned public authorities to take disciplinary action against the errant designated officer(s) and other concerned officials. The appellate authorities should visit the service delivery centres randomly and regularly and ascertain that the records, documentation, and website of the centre are complete and updated, and they can even interact with the service seekers directly and get first-hand information regarding the RTS issues. The service seekers are also an essential part of this process; their knowledge, sincerity, and integrity will support the ideas of citizen-centric governance and administrative responsiveness. They should be imparted training by utilising the services of specialised agencies, educational institutions, and media to harness the optimum benefits of the services rendered under this Act.

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Review of Social Sector Expenditures of States at Aggregate Level in India

-Manju Dalal

ABSTRACT

In the present study, an attempt is made to examine the impact of state finances on some major social indicators of society like health, education, water supply and sanitation etc. Economic development not only considers the increase in real per capita income but it necessarily includes the changes in social welfare indicators with the change in economic indicators. Improvements in social indicators also exhibit the role, planning and effective and efficient implementation of policies by the government mechanism. Therefore, it becomes must to examine the impacts of economic indicators on the social indicators of the economy. Due to some limitations, this paper explained pattern of expenditure on some important components of social sector for states at aggregate level. Secondary data and simple statistical tools like ratios percentage have been used to explain impact of state finances on some important indicators of the society. From the study, it is found that capital expenditure on social services has been less than the revenue expenditure, which demands the focus of government for prioritization of development policies and effective implementation system.

JEL Code: H51, H52, H72, H75, H76

Keywords: *Social Sector, Indicators, Expenditure, State Finances, Fiscal Key Indicators.*

I. Introduction

The financial condition of any economy (state economy) has special impacts on its social and economic lives of the citizens of that country. Certainly, the increase in per capita real income, is an indicator of the economic growth, but not necessary the case for economic development. Economic development includes welfare in addition of economic growth. Welfare depends on the development of social services, which too much extent depends on expenditure strategies adopted by the government. There have been many studies in the past which explains the impact of income on social sector in many ways, some of them are discussed here to see the gaps with this study. *Badola and Mukherjee (2021)*, highlighted the role of public

financing of human development (HD) is inevitable, especially for developing countries like India where access to resources and economic opportunities are not equitably distributed among people. Author found that due to deteriorated financial condition of governments due to Covid-19, there is possibility that larger share of public expenditure will be devoted to provide livelihood supports to people in terms of free foods, income support whereas expenditures on health (except emergency healthcare) and education infrastructure may be postponed or reduced. Joshi (2006), found that, India indeed has made noticeable improvements in key social indicators on education and health since the 1980s, mainly as a result of large-scale government programmes. But even then, the conditions with respect to social sector development in India are appalling when compared with conditions prevailing in countries like Sri Lanka, China and some countries of south-east Asia. The educational and health status of a vast majority of the population continues to remain poor even after a decade of reforms which demand an immediate and sustained response from the government. Mittal (2016), found inequality in social sector expenditure resulted unequal human development in the states. At the policy level the study recommends for more public expenditure to have a balanced and improved human development in India. The study also looks at the composition of social expenditure where it shows that States' share of capital expenditure in total social sector expenditure is improving over the years inspite of that, its share was very small as compared to the share of revenue expenditure. Budgets are recommended to be adequately allocated to provide support to policies and programmes necessary to achieve growth and development of the country by author. Lamartina, Serena and Zaghini, Andrea (2019), examined the development of government expenditure and economic growth in 23 Organization Economic Cooperation and Development countries. The empirical evidence provides indication of a structural positive correlation between public spending and per-capita gross domestic product (GDP), which is consistent with the so-called Wagner's law. A long-run elasticity larger than 1 suggests a more than proportional increase of government expenditure with respect to economic activity. Author found that, the correlation was higher in countries with lower per-capita GDP and suggested for more development by government activities with respect to economies in a more advanced state of development. It may be inferred from the present review of past studies that, economic growth and fiscal indicators, may impact the social sector expenditures of any economy in many ways. Above studies explained human development and welfare with social expenditures whereas, present study tries to explain the human development with fiscal key indicators of states also, in addition of economic growth to bridge the gaps with the reviewed studies.

In the light of above facts, in the present study, it is tried to find the impact of financial condition of all states and union territories of India, at aggregate level, on the expenditures on social services in many ways, which constitute the objectives such as to examine various kinds of budget deficits of the state governments at aggregate level, evaluate the expenditure incurred by states governments at aggregate level on social services, and to calculate the elasticities of expenditure on social services for the various categories i.e., revenue and capital expenditure and for various sub heads of these categories, at aggregate state level, and find the areas, where states may reschedule its priorities, policies and expenditures, to raise the level of human development and welfare in the society.

II. Data sources and methodology

The present study is based on secondary data which covers period from 2011-12 to 2021-22, for all states at aggregate level in India. Simple linear regression and simple statistical tools like ratios and percentages have been used to examine data on various variables. Data has been collected from the following sources:

- Reserve Bank of India (RBI), Handbook of Statistics on State Government Finances, 2021-22.
- Reserve Bank of India (RBI), State Finances: A Study of Budgets, 2021-22.

III. Major fiscal key indicators at aggregate state level

Table I exhibit the trend of major fiscal indicators as a percentage of GSDP of states at aggregate level. It can be seen that, in the initiated years of the study period, there was revenue surplus in the accounts of state government which increased to 2 percent deficits as a percentage of GSDP, till the year 2020-21. No doubt, this may be due to Covid-19 to much extent. Situation can be seen more worse for the fiscal deficits, which increased to 4.7 percent of GSDP and has been around 3.7 percent, by the end of the study period, seems unfollow the path of FRBM Act, 2003. Primary deficits also increased to 2.7 percent, in year 2020-21, followed a decline by 1 percent, by the end of the study period. Primary deficit is equal to fiscal deficit minus interest payments which explain the scope for the governments for which government can make policy for the reduction of wasteful or unnecessary expenditure to its fiscal deficit. Increasing ratios of primary deficits, also seems matter of concern, which explain limited scope for the state to reduce its unnecessary expenditure. Interest payments have been around 1.5 to 2 percent of GSDP all over the study period and doesn't seem significant reduction in interest payment, during the study period. The FRBM Act, says that states have to try to bring their fiscal deficit down to 3% of GDP but this seems impossible, as the interest payments of most states are around or even

more than 2% of GSDP. The high level of interest payments in the fiscal deficit, challenges the sustainability of debt at state level.

High level of interest payments, converted surpluses into deficits, in revenue account of the states. It can be seen that, if there have had not been, so high interest payments, there would have been revenue surplus in the accounts of the state government, at aggregate level and same situation could had been for individual state, which is not a matter of study here.

IV. Pattern of expenditure on some important components of social sector

Social services are the various types of services provided by the government to the common people of the society which are used by people on daily basis. Due to externalities engaged with these services, these are called public goods/services. Social services include on education, sports, art, culture, medical facilities, family welfare, water supply and sanitation, housing, urban development, welfare of SC/ST, labour welfare, social security, nutrition, natural calamities and others services. Revenue and capital, both kinds of expenditure, on social services are included combinedly, in the present study, to examine the various ratios of expenditure on social services.

Various ratios of total expenditure on social services are presented in Table II. Expenditure on education as a ratio of aggregate expenditure declined by 2.9 percent basis during the study period, as percent of GSDP also, ratio has been stable around 2.6 percent. Statistics do not appear to reveal any satisfactory situation for development in terms of expenditure on education. Situation has been extremely disappointing.

The situation has been slightly better in terms of medical services compared to education. Expenditure on medical, public health and family welfare as a proportion of aggregate

Table I: Major Deficit Indicators of State Governments					
As a Percentage of GDP					
Year	Gross Fiscal Deficit	Revenue Deficit	Primary Deficit	Primary Revenue Deficit	Net RBI Credit to States
1	2	3	4	5	6
2011-12	(1.9)	(-0.3)	(0.4)	(-1.8)	(-0.0)
2012-13	(2.0)	(-0.2)	(0.5)	(-1.7)	(-0.0)
2013-14	(2.2)	(0.1)	(0.7)	(-1.4)	(0.0)

2014-15	(2.6)	(0.4)	(1.1)	(-1.2)	(0.0)
2015-16	(3.1)	(0.0)	(1.5)	(-1.5)	(-0.0)
2016-17	(3.5)	(0.3)	(1.8)	(-1.4)	(0.0)
2017-18	(2.4)	(0.1)	(0.7)	(-1.6)	(0.0)
2018-19	(2.4)	(0.1)	(0.8)	(-1.6)	(-0.0)
2019-20	(2.6)	(0.6)	(0.9)	(-1.1)	(0.0)
2020-21 (RE)	(4.7)	(2.0)	(2.7)	(0.0)	(0.0)
2021-22 (BE)	(3.7)	(0.5)	(1.7)	(-1.4)	(0.0)

RE: Revised Estimates. BE: Budget Estimates \$: Based on latest GDP.

Notes:

1. Negative (-) sign indicates surplus in deficit indicators.
2. Revenue deficit is the difference between revenue expenditure and revenue receipts.
3. Gross fiscal deficit is aggregate expenditure (aggregate disbursement net of debt repayments) minus revenue receipts and non-debt capital receipts.
4. Primary deficit is gross fiscal deficit less of interest payments.
5. Primary revenue deficit is revenue deficit less of interest payments.
6. The net RBI credit to State Governments refers to annual variations in loans and advances given to them by the RBI net of their incremental deposits with the RBI.
8. Data from 2017-18 onwards include Delhi and Puducherry also.

expenditure, increased by 1.8 points, during the study period and as a percentage of GSDP, it increased to above 1 per cent, by the end of the study period. There is no doubt, that the increase in expenditure ratio for medical purposes in 2020, has been definitely due to Covid-19. In the absence of this natural disaster, the situation would have been different.

Social sector expenditure as a percent of total disbursement increased from 38.7 percent in 2011-12 to 42.5 percent in 2021-22. Social sector expenditure as a percent of total disbursement increased from 38.7 percent in 2011-12 to 42.5 percent in 2021-22. In spite of unsatisfactory status of expenditure on education, this 3.8 percent increment in expenditure on social services in total disbursement gives satisfaction to some extent.

Expenditure of states on medical and public health, family welfare and water supply and sanitation as percentage of GSDP is shown separately in Table III. This data was available only from 2020-21, hence only previous years of the study could be included, which may be taken as a limitation of the study. Expenditure for all social services, mentioned in Table III, has been around only 1.5 per cent of GSDP. Nominal growth noted for these services.

IV. Income elasticities of state government expenditure on social services

Income elasticity of Expenditure can be defined as a percentage change in expenditure with respect to percentage change in income of the state/government i.e., Gross State Domestic Product (GSDP).

$$\text{Expenditure Elasticity} = \frac{\text{Percentage change in Expenditure}}{\text{Percentage change in GSDP}}$$

In the present study, expenditure elasticities are calculated separately for Revenue Expenditure (REXP) and Capital Expenditure (CEXP) on social services. Revenue expenditures are the ongoing operating expenses, which are short-term expenses used to run the daily activities whereas, Capital expenditures are typically one-time large purchases of fixed assets that will be used for revenue generation over a longer period. Assuming a Log linear relationship between whereas, Capital expenditures are typically one-time large purchases of fixed assets that will be used for revenue generation over a longer period.

Assuming a Log linear relationship between expenditure and state income, following regression equations have been used to estimate expenditure elasticities for revenue and capital expenditure on social services respectively: -

$$\text{Ln (REXP)} = \alpha + \beta \text{ Ln (GSDP)} \text{-----}(1)$$

$$\text{Ln (CEXP)} = \alpha + \beta \text{ Ln (GSDP)} \text{-----}(2)$$

The estimate of α would signify the logarithm of the level of expenditure when state domestic product normalises to unity. β represents the elasticity of expenditure. The elasticity would be higher, expected or lower depending upon whether the estimated value of β is greater than, equal or less than unity i.e., $\beta >, =, < 1$. This implies that expenditure will grow faster, equal or less than the growth rate of state domestic product depending on whether $\beta >, =, < 1$.

V. Analysis of Results

Results obtained from OLS expenditure equation 1 have been presented in Table IV. Values of R^2 of has been low or moderate whereas corresponding values of F statistics found satisfactory except, Welfare of Scheduled Castes,

Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Classes, Labour Welfare, Nutrition, Natural Calamities and Others. Table IV shows that, elasticities of revenue expenditure on various social services have been more than 1 but for nutrition it has been very low which points towards hunger. although revenue expenditure elasticities for Education, Welfare of Sc/St Labour Welfare and Natural Calamities have been greater than one but these services could catch these figures of elasticities barely.

There has not been any data for capital expenditure on labour welfare, nutrition and natural calamities, due to which, study for only remaining compositions of capital expenditure on social services, has become possible. Results obtained from OLS expenditure equation 2 have been presented in Table V. Like revenue expenditure, values of R^2 for capital expenditure on most of the social services also found low and moderate whereas, corresponding values of F statistics found satisfactory except, Housing. Capital expenditure elasticities for Medical & Public Health and Housing has been below than 1 indicates low increase in capital expenditure for these services. Capital expenditure on social services, seems to follow the deteriorated financial condition of states at aggregate level by the end of the study period.

With the exception of Education, Sports, Art & Culture and Family Welfare, elasticities for capital expenditures for all services have been below than the elasticities for revenue expenditures indicates no attentions and priorities have been given to the development of physical infrastructure at states level. Housing and Medical Facilities are basic necessities for everyone, which should be on top priorities in the development policies of state governments.

Table II: Various Ratios of Expenditure on Social Sector

										2020	2021
	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	-	-
Particulars	-12	-13	-14	-15	-16	-17	-18	-19	-20	21(R E)	22 (BE)
(1) All States and UTs Expenditure on Education as a ratio of Aggregate Expenditure	16.3	16.4	16.5	16	15.3	14.7	15	14.4	15.1	14.3	13.6
(2) All States and UTs Exp on Education (% to GDP)	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.6	2.6	2.6	2.6	2.5	2.6	2.7	2.6

(3) All States and UTs Expenditure on Medical, Public Health and Family Welfare as a ratio of Aggregate Expenditure	4.2	4.3	4.4	4.8	4.7	4.6	5	5	5.1	5.6	6
(4) All States and UTs Exp on Medical, Public Health and Family Welfare (% to GDP)	0.6	0.7	0.7	0.8	0.8	0.8	0.9	0.9	0.9	1	1.2
(5) Social Sector Expenditure as per cent of Total Disbursement	38.7	39.3	39.8	41.0	41.1	41.7	41.1	40.2	40.4	40.9	42.5
<p>Note:(i) Aggregate Expenditure included revenue and capital, both kinds of expenditure, on social services. (ii) Total Disbursement includes revenue and capital expenditure on social and economic services (including payments of loans for these heads).</p> <p>Source: RBI, State Finances: A Study of Budgets.</p>											

Table III: States' expenditure on medical and public health, family welfare and water supply and sanitation

Per cent of GDP

Year	Total Expenditure *	Medical and Public Health *	Family Welfare *	Water Supply and Sanitation *	Medical and Public Health, Family Welfare and Water Supply and Sanitation *
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(2+3+4)
2020-21	17.2	0.9	0.2	0.4	1.4
2021-22 (BE)	18.0	1.0	0.1	0.5	1.7
Source: RBI, State Finances: A Study of Budgets					

Table IV. Income Elasticities of Revenue Expenditure on Social Services			
$\text{Ln (REXP)} = \alpha + \beta \text{Ln (GSDP)}$			
Expenditures	Intercept (t-Value)	LN (GSDP) (t-Value)	R² (F- Value)
Revenue expenditure on social services (1 to 12)	-10.312 (-2.113) **	1.452 (4.901)	.750 (24.017)
1. Education, Sports, Art and Culture	-3.734 (-.689)	1.004 (3.052)	.538 (9.314)
2. Medical and Public Health	-13.171 (-2.735) *	1.498 (5.125)	.767 (26.263)
3. Family Welfare	-11.430 (-2.177) *	1.283 (4.025)	.669 (16.197)
4. Water Supply and Sanitation	-23.869 (-2.716)	2.069 (3.877)	.653 (15.028)
5. Housing	-24.438 (-2.807)	2.080 (3.933)	.659 (15.467)
6. Urban Development	-20.603 (-3.245)	1.901 (4.932)	.752 (24.322)
7. Welfare of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Classes	-5.909 (-.894)	1.027 (2.559) *	.450 (6.548)
8. Labour Welfare	-10.744 (-1.323)	1.025 (2.444) *	.428 (5.974)
9. Social Security	-13.171 (-2.735) *	1.498 (5.125)	.767 (26.263)
10. Nutrition	9.972 (169.365)	.002 (.499) ***	.030 (0.249)
11. Natural Calamities	-6.987 (-.788)	1.038 (1.927)	.317 (3.713)
12. Others	-16.170 (-3.359)	1.498 (5.125)	.030 (0.299)

Note: ‘’ indicates Significant at level of 5 percent, ‘**’ indicates Significant at level of 10 percent, ‘***’ indicates Insignificant value.*

Source: Calculated by Author.

Table V. Income Elasticities of Capital Expenditure on Social Services

$\ln (\text{CEXP}) = \alpha + \beta \ln (\text{GSDP})$			
Expenditures	Intercept (t-Value)	LN (GSDP) (t-Value)	R² (F-Value)
Capital Expenditure on Social Services (1 to 9)	-14.275 (-1.816) **	1.547 (3.241)	.568 (10.502)
1. Education, Sports, Art and Culture	-16.275 (-2.070) **	1.547 (3.241)	.568 (10.502)
2. Medical and Public Health	-5.799 (-.712)	.923 (1.865) **	.303 (3.479)
3. Family Welfare	-38.196 (-3.018)	2.666 (3.469)	.601 (12.034)
4. Water Supply and Sanitation	-16.860 (-2.035) **	1.631 (3.243)	.568 (10.514)
5. Housing	-3.534 (-.317)	.749 (1.108) ***	.133 (1.228)
6. Urban Development	-18.005 (-2.020)	1.677 (3.098)	.545 (9.595)
7. Welfare of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Classes	-12.430 (-2.367)	1.283 (4.028)	.669 (16.197)
8. Social Security and Welfare	-11.569 (-1.405)	1.183 (2.365)	.412 (5.595)
9. Others *	-8.734 (-1.612)	1.004 (3.052)	.538 (9.314)

Note: ‘*’ indicates Significant at level of 5 percent, ‘**’ indicates Significant at level of 10 percent. ‘***’ indicates Insignificant value.

Source: Calculated by Author.

VI. Conclusion and policy implications

In nutshell, in this study, it is found that, fiscal key indicators of the states at aggregate level deteriorated by the end of the study period, obstacles in the

execution of various economic activities due to Covid-19 may be the major reason for this. With the exception of some social services like Nutrition, Medical and Public Health and Housing, expenditure for most of the social services increased more than the increase in income of the states at aggregate level. But there are some shortcomings like: *firstly*, for some social services like Labour Welfare, Housing and Natural Calamities there has not been any capital expenditure for these services (can be said by non-availability of data). If there has been capital expenditure that might have been negligible in amount, *Secondly*, elasticities for capital expenditure on social services have been much lower than the elasticities for revenue expenditure for these services, which raise the matter of serious concern for the development of physical infrastructure simultaneously for the human development in the states, and *Thirdly*, weak correlation found between the states income and expenditure on the social sector, leads to low level of welfare in the society.

State governments should redesign and prioritise their human and infrastructural development policies to incur more, revenue and capital expenditure, on Housing, Food Security for Nutrition, Labour welfare and on Other Social Service, as per requirements, to enhance the level of physical and human capital in the nation. No doubt, only expenditure is not the guarantee of welfare, effective implementation of the policy is also a crucial aspect of the welfare policy which should be considered. Targeted people should be covered by welfare policies for which government needs to work on its policy implementation mechanism also.

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Individual and Society in the Philosophy of Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay

-Manoj Chaturvedi

Abstract

Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay has a leading place in the history of Indian social, political and economic thought. Before giving his views, he had deeply studied all the political, social, family and economic ideologies of that time and after studying, expressed contemporary views. Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay started working in the society through Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh. After the partition of India and the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi, various organizations continued to grow under the guidance of Madhav Sadashiv Rao Golwalkar Upakhy Shriguruji. Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay believed that if social evils have to be removed, then the self-consciousness of man has to be awakened. By making laws, we can do some improvement in the evils, but when self-consciousness develops, the social evils will automatically end. Due to social evils such as untouchability, caste system, communalism, violence against women, dowry system, corruption, immoral behaviour and criminal behaviour, incest is born in the society. Whenever the law fails to stop it, then efforts are made to awaken self-consciousness by social workers, social reformers and protectors of humanity. If the president and member of any political party, social organization, cultural association and spiritual association is selected or formed by casteism, regionalism, linguism, muscle power and money power, then that party or association will lose its glory. Such persons must be despised from various walks of social life. Upliftment of the individual is expected if the nation works with paramount spirit. The social thinking of Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay was developed in the light of the Indian thought stream. But this does not mean that they used to express their views by blindly closing their eyes only and only through the Indian thought stream, influenced by Indian thinkers, influenced by the ideology of Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS). Today if we remember Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay, he is remembered because of his independent thinking, action and human qualities.

Keywords: *Hinduism, Social Reforms, Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay, Eternal India, Rashtriya Swaym Sevak Sangh, Social Philosophy.*

There has been a glorious tradition of meditation in India. The meaning of India is - 'Bha' means light, knowledge, contemplation and 'Rat' means to grow, continuity and continuous. In this way, the name of continuously moving towards light is India. Veda is the oldest book of the world. Vedas, Upanishads, Puranas, Smritis, Ramayana and Mahabharata are ancient texts in which the society of that time has been vividly depicted. "After the dawn of independence, systematic study of the subject started, the thoughts of the country were seen in the right perspective. Some such studies were presented which are going to reveal the objective situation, from which a lot has become clear. India was never and is not dry in family, social, economic, political, religious, cultural and global thought. Indian social and political thought has not been like a barren land or a desert but is gloriously prosperous and it is a matter of happiness that efforts are being made to organize the Indian social and political thought scattered here and there in a systematic way" (Panchjanya, 1966).

Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay has a leading place in the history of Indian social, political and economic thought. Before giving his views, he had deeply studied all the political, social, family and economic ideologies of that time and after studying, expressed contemporary views. Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay started working in the society through Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh. After the partition of India and the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi, various organizations continued to grow under the guidance of Madhav Sadashiv Rao Golwalkar Upakhy Shriguruji. Rashtra Sevika Samiti in 1935 before independence, Bharatiya Jana Sangh in 1951, Akhil Bharatiya Vidyarthi Parishad on 9th July, 1949, Vishwa Hindu Parishad in 30th August, 1964, Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh in 23rd July, 1955, All India Grahak Panchayat in 1974 etc. The development went on and the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh sent senior workers with the spirit of nation paramount. Although Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay worked as District Pracharak (full time) of Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh, Co-Prant Pracharak and General Secretary of Bharatiya Jana Sangh and later as National President of Bharatiya Jana Sangh. He had once said, "Swayamsevak of Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh goes to every sector of the society as a socio-cultural worker. Even while working in various political-economic institutions, he does not allow the isolation of those institutions and the region to dominate him. The authoritarianism and partisanship which dominates a person today as soon as he enters politics, is considered a compulsion of the political field. Swayamsevak should stay away from it" (Sharma, 2015).

A student goes to school at the age of 5. In the beginning, under the guidance of the parents, some reading-writing, getting up, sitting, talking and other activities are visible. In school, he has to stay with students of different castes, regions and colors from 10 am to 5pm. There he studies different

subjects. After primary education, secondary education, after getting higher education, he becomes a graduate. When family conditions are good, he does research in higher education. "Students, youth, children and adult volunteers go to the branches of Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh, they follow discipline there, but the same students show indiscipline elsewhere. Why ? There is order in one place and chaos in the other. If our officers are more imaginative and they understand the feelings and arrange for their appeasement in the right way, then definitely a situation of discipline will arise" (Sharma, 2016).

Vishwa Hindu Parishad was established in Sandipani Ashram, Mumbai (Maharashtra) under the guidance of Shri Gururji. It is natural to raise a question in the minds of swayamsevaks and non-swayamsevaks that when there was a cultural organization named Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh, then why was Vishwa Hindu Parishad established? The main thing in this is that the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh took a pledge to organize the whole world in one formula, from the Indian point of view and from the global point of view, and in this, Mumbai's senior advocate and senior campaigner of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak, Dadasaheb Apte was sent. Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay did not have a direct relation with Vishwa Hindu Parishad, but Pandit ji has thrown light on Vishwa Hindu Parishad in his concise article. "There is a need for the regulation of rituals and code of conduct on the basis of Hindu philosophy. Rituals change according to the country, time and situation. In the present times, many rituals have been formed in the rituals. Many have not been refined. This is the work that the Hindu world will have to do -- which should start as a result of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad" (Panchjanya, 1966).

Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay never separated from principle-based politics because of his idealistic humanitarian thinking. Be it personal interest, social interest, family interest or organizational interest, he always remained detached from selfish-consciousness and hypocritical behaviour. He was completely free from casteism, narrow mindedness, double talk and hypocrisy. From this point of view, he was constantly awake and agitating about all the problems of social sectors. The 1962 invasion of India by China was followed by a historic election in which the opposition parties fielded three politicians against the Congress. Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia was fielded from Farrukhabad, Acharya JB Kripalani from Amroha and Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay from Jaunpur (Uttar Pradesh) parliamentary constituency. Acharya JB Kripalani and Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia won the elections. But Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay lost the election. What was the main reason for losing the election? When we consider this seriously, it appears that he did not address the majority of Hindus (Brahmins) of Jaunpur district with casteist words. Pandit ji was strongly against the election of Brahmins as Members of Parliament and Brahmins as Members of

Parliament. A Member of Parliament does not represent a caste. He represents a nationalist party. The Brahmin people there wanted him to address any one caste, any one region apart from the whole society, so he said, "The victory of casteism is the defeat of nationalism. I cannot tolerate that Deendayal Upadhyaya wins the election and Bharatiya Jana Sangh loses the election. The victory of casteism would be the ideological defeat of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh" (Sharma 1991). It was not his nature to take a position by creating casteism in the society. While other political parties including Congress were engaged in the race for power through casteism, regionalism, linguisticism to get power. Deendayal Upadhyay lost the election. But he won the election even after losing. That is why Bharatiya Jana Sangh has been a different type of political party which has worked with the spirit of nation paramount. Indian constitution has made laws to remove casteism and provision of punishment has also been made. But Deendayal Upadhyay believed that untouchability is a logical result of mental alienation. Till the person, society and family will not be free from it. Till then untouchability will remain in the society. To think of one's own, other's, one's own caste and other's caste is worthless. It is necessary to be free from the feeling of alienation. Therefore, casteism can be removed from the society only through integral humanism. Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay used to say, "The same soul pervades the body of another person, which pervades my body. He is born in another house. He is not a stranger just because of this. When this sense of oneness is created, then only the pain of separation of the other person is realised. Affection is needed. A sense of unity is needed. Only after this, the process of stopping those who deliberately break the legislation made to remove social evils will be meaningful and effective. But the fundamental thing is to create a sense of belonging within them, to treat them on the basis of belonging. The natural result of this oneness is harmony" (Bhandari, 1991).

Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay believed that if social evils have to be removed, then the self-consciousness of man has to be awakened. By making laws, we can do some improvement in the evils, but when self-consciousness develops, the social evils will automatically end. Due to social evils such as untouchability, caste system, communalism, violence against women, dowry system, corruption, immoral behavior and criminal behavior, incest is born in the society. Whenever the law fails to stop it, then efforts are made to awaken self-consciousness by social workers, social reformers and protectors of humanity. If the president and member of any political party, social organization, cultural association and spiritual association is selected or formed by casteism, regionalism, linguism, muscle power and money power, then that party or association will lose its glory. Such persons must be despised from various walks of social life. Upliftment of the individual is expected if the nation works with paramount spirit.

Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay had studied very deeply the richness and poverty, employed and unemployed, beggar and gap of inequality, corruption and hoarding trends. Although in the centre of western economics, much emphasis has been laid on utilitarianism. Individual, family, society and nation are at the centre of Indian economics. In Marxist economic thought, the individual has been discussed only as a physical unit. While Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay, the flag bearer of Indian economics, Indian philosophy tradition and economic democracy, has seen the person as fully conscious. In Pandit ji's economic philosophy, the voice of rebellion has erupted against monopoly, against excessive occupation of land, against exploitation and oppression, against inequality and unemployment more than deep sensitivity. In communist ideology, there is a lot of emphasis on workers. On the other hand, excessive emphasis has been laid on production in capitalist economy. Individuals have a major role in industrial production in Russia and America but have left the limits of consumption unlimited. In the thinking of Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay, there is influence of Upanishads, influence of Vedas, influence of Smritis, and in the end there is influence of "Economics" of Acharya Chanakya. Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay lays more emphasis on production, distribution as well as restrained consumption. Economic democracy of Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay is the strength of political democracy. Just as democracy is by the people, from the people and for the people. In the same way, Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay wants to make money accessible to the common man. They want that the availability of money, food and other essential things should be available to all. "Just as in a political democracy, village panchayat dominated units, village and cottage industries in a democracy, and so on according to the decentralization" (Shukla, 1991).

Just as the seeds of Marxism were hidden in the thought of George William Frederick Hegel. In the same way social thinking is also hidden in the economic thinking of Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay. If it is said in this way that Deendayal Upadhyay's social thinking is inspired by Sarvodaya, is all-beneficial, all-inclusive, then there will be no exaggeration in it. In this, the following topics have been given great emphasis: -

- (a) restrained consumption
- (b) Labor to every person
- (C) Work according to equality and flexible according to need
- (d) Extension of small-scale industries
- (e) in favour of decentralization of industries
- (f) in favour of decentralization of agricultural land according to industries
- (g) End of economic imbalance is inevitable

(h) Principle of labour participation

Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay had studied the economic condition of India in depth and he had told the workers of Bharatiya Jana Sangh, "Economic plans should not be made only by the person who has reached the top of the ladder of society, but also by the person who is at the lowest level. Will happen..... The one who is helpless, illiterate, speechless and resourceless, may he be benefited. I am coming after visiting Eastern Uttar Pradesh. There is starvation in many places. Millions of people are suffering from famine. It is the duty of every workers of the Bhartiya Jansangh to cooperate in the collection of wheat with full force. We have to worry about not even a single person dying of hunger in the state" (Singh, 1991).

Madhavrao Sadashivrao Golwalkar Upakhya Shriguruji, the second Sarsanghchalak of Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh, like Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay, supported control over profit and distribution. Shri Guruji believed that money is a power. Wealth is also one of the four purusharths in the Indian thought & tradition. Excessive lack of money and excessive influence of money also make a man down. Money is a power. Money is necessary for the survival of a human being. Wealth includes virtues and vices. When a good person has money, he spends the money in the right way. On the other hand, when money remains with a crooked and unrighteous person, he enjoys it, spends it in wrong ways. Shri Guruji believed that, "The Supreme Soul is the master of this world. The knowledge, power and wealth of this nation belongs to him. A person is only entitled to serve this God through body, power, qualities and wealth etc. by being selfless. Due to Sangh's full faith in the basic unity of various components of the society, we are of the opinion that the creation of industries on the basis of mutual cooperation, proper distribution of profits and careful supervision of the state on the industries will create a more peaceful environment in the country."

Mahatma Gandhi was assassinated on January 30, 1948, and the Congress banned the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh on the pretext. Then the ban on the Sangh was lifted and Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, saddened by the anti-national policies of the Congress government, asked Shri Guruji to invite Devdurlabh workers to form a new political party. The Bharatiya Jana Sangh got 3.1 percent of the votes (three seats) in the 1952 Lok Sabha elections and 5.9 percent of the votes (four seats) in the 1957 Lok Sabha elections. Along with this, there was a tremendous success in the Vidhansabha elections as well, due to which Bharatiya Jana Sangh got recognition as an all India political party. All this was possible only on the strength of Devdurlabh Karyakartas, in which Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh's life-giving, great patriotic campaigners had a major role. "Deendayal ji believed that Bharatiya Jana Sangh has got recognition as an all-India party but we could not get a place in the legislatures. In the

upcoming general elections, we will have to raise our voice in the legislatures by winning the elections in the same proportion. Money has a prominent place in the present method of election. To make up for this deficiency, neither do we have to take any help from abroad nor will the so-called capitalists here give us any help. Despite this, we can raise the necessary funds, if we establish contact with the common people” (Sharma, 2015.). It seems that Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay does not expect cooperation from the rich and capitalists for the organization and most of them are Congress stooges. They give donations to the Congress, but the resolution is also auspicious and virtuous that the Bharatiya Jana Sangh will get and used to get more cooperation from the huts than from the princely states. Deendayal Upadhyay says that when we serve the people, raise the issues of the people, then we will get the support of the people. Where the Bharatiya Jana Sangh had served the public. The people there themselves came and helped with money. Pandit ji said that “we are building a purposeful organization. In such an organization, where we have to awaken the intense dedication of the people inside us, full attention to discipline is necessary in our organization. Therefore, it is necessary that we perform our duty by standing firmly in our respective places” (Sharma, 2015). In the social thinking of Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay, a lot of emphasis has been laid on loyalty, dedication, dedicated and purposeful workers. Political objectives can be achieved only by a purposeful and passionately dedicated worker. In the absence of discipline in the organization, the organization becomes useless, becomes loose. The structure of the organization crumbles. Discipline is essential for any organization. That is why there is tenacity, sacrifice and dedication of millions of workers in the journey from Bharatiya Jana Sangh to Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP). The result of this is that the place of Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh Vichar Parivar is in the first line in various fields of social life. All these organizations are worker centric. “If Rama was able to conquer the mighty Ravana, it was in no small part due to the sacrifice of Lakshmana, who did not sleep a single night for the entire 14 years Rama was in exile. And then remember the even greater sacrifice of Lakshmana's wife Urmila, who gave up everything so that Lakshmana could get an opportunity to serve her brother. This sacrifice of Laxman and Urmila is the basis of all great achievements. Bharatiya Jana Sangh workers cannot be gamblers in the election race, who just wake up on the eve of the election and enter the election to try their luck” (Sharma, 2015). The organization in which this type of dedication will remain. That organization will increase four times day and night. That organization will achieve its goals. Today's Bharatiya Janata Party is following the path shown by Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay and Dr. Shyamaprasad Mukherjee. And realizing the dream of Ek Bharat - Shreshtha Bharat.

The social thinking of Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay was developed in the light of the Indian thought stream. But this does not mean that they used to express their views by blindly closing their eyes only and only through the Indian thought stream, influenced by Indian thinkers, influenced by the ideology of Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS). Today if we remember Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay, he is remembered because of his independent thinking, action and human qualities. The influence of Eastern and Western thought is visible on his thinking. Mahatma Gandhi also writes in *Hind Swaraj* that “What do you think the visionary men who decided to visit Setubandh Rameswaram, Jagannathpuri and Haridwar, must have thought of them. They were not fools. You will accept this. They thought that nature has made India a country, so it should be a nation. That is why, by setting aside places, the idea of unity should be given to the people in such a way that it has not been given anywhere else in the world” (Gandhi, 2010). In the social thinking of Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay, these subjects have also been given a lot of emphasis. India is an ancient nation. Veda is the oldest book of the world. Sanatan Dharma was the oldest religion of the world. This is scientific religion and Human religion. Hindu is the only nationality. Although it is not right to compare the social thoughts of Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay. Mahatma Gandhi took a long time to develop his ideas. His social life is long, but Deendayal Upadhyaya's social life is short. Had Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay been alive, his work would not have been in 15 volumes. His entire literature would have been in more than 100 volumes. But Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay has given the raw material to think about the social, political, economic, cultural and religious thought of the whole world, in the light of which we can develop our thoughts.

The social life of Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay started through the campaigner life of Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS). Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) sent him and other pracharaks to work in various areas. Time and circumstances were such that he was sent to the political field. But he did not let politics dominate him. After knowing, listening and reading the political and philosophical views of Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay, it becomes clear that his philosophy of life was steeped in Indian culture. His entire thinking is seen revolving around religion and culture. His social thinking is Indian thinking, this is Hindu thinking, this is the thinking of Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh's national paramount spirit. Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay was Aniket, non-possessive, simplicity, exclusive worshiper of Indian culture, Swadeshi and vigilant guard of democracy. Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay was the worshiper and pioneer of human virtues of this century. He created the path of social harmony and also strengthened it. He saw, thought and exposed the aggressive policies of Islam and the vicious circles of Christianity. His assassination has put a question mark on the concept of violence in Indian politics. Which has to end today's generation and will have

to build a non-violent society and cooperate in democracy. This is the expectation of Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay from today's youth.

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Understanding the Concept of Sarvodaya: A Gandhian Perspective

-Yog Raj

Abstract

Twenty-first centuries is the era of globalization. New policy of globalization moves on to create the globe a world village. New challenges and problem have emerged before youth. The idea that every one emergent problems-ecological, social, economic, political and moral may well be resolved by discoveries and technological innovations persists, filatures within the past notwithstanding. What's happening today is in line with what Gandhi almost predicated in Hind Swaraj as he prepared its manuscript in 1908. Gandhi advocate four main goals before youth for humanity, so on move towards its destiny. These are Swaraj, Non-violence, Swadeshi and Sarvodaya. These above are the most pillars of the thesis he has propounded within the Hind Swaraj. In this paper an effort is made to focus on Sarvodaya as one of the pillars to bring Hind Swaraj.

Keywords: *Sarvodaya, Swaraj, Social order, Human Spirit, Welfare of all, Bhoodan, Sampattidaan.*

The term Sarvodaya is combination of two words Sarva and Udaya, which accurately mean upliftment of all. However, it's been variously translated pretty much as good of all, service to all or any, welfare of all, Gandhian Socialism, Cooperative commonwealth etc. The term Sarvodaya was coined by Gandhi within the year 1904 in paraphrase Ruskin's 'Unto This Last' as understand by Gandhi. The term enfolds the subsequent three teachings: (1) the good of the individual is contained in the good of all. (2) a lawyer's work has the same value as the barber in as much as all have the same right of earning their livelihood from their work. (3) a life of labour, i.e. the life of a tiller of soil and the handicrafts man is the life of worth living (Verma, 2008).

Gandhi said that the primary of above these I know. The second, I had dimly realized, and therefore the third has never occurred to me. 'Unto This Last'

made it as clear as daylight on behalf of me that the second and also the third were contained within the first. I arose with the dawn, able to reduce these principles to practice. The above-mentioned ideas deeply touched Gandhi, and he visualized a social order and therefore the gist of this is often that the goodness of each individual ends up in the goodness of all. During this social order every individual has an equal right to figure, earn and to measure. This social order is thought as Sarvodaya. Sarvodaya means the welfare of all and not only the welfare of one class or section of society. There's vast difference between Communism and Sarvodaya. Communism stands for the nice of proletariat and hates, capitalists and bourgeoisie but Sarvodaya stands for welfare of all, the rich, the center class and also the poor. Sarvodaya goes further than utilitarianism in promoting the happiness of the people while utilitarianism wants the greatest happiness of the greatest number. Sarvodaya desires to push the happiness of all. According to Bharat Ratan Kumarappa, "Sarvodaya as the welfare of all represents the ideal social order for Gandhi. Its basis is all embracing love. So it has room for all without exception to Prince and peasant, Hindu and Muslim, touchable and untouchable, white and black, saint and sinner. No individual or group is to be suppressed, exploited or liquidated. All are to be equally members of this social order, sharing the produce of their labour, the strong protecting the weak and functioning as trustees for the weak, and every promoting the welfare of all"(Chaurasia, 2003). The disciples of nationalist leader are making efforts to stay alive Gandhi's spirit, and it is often thought to be the projection of Gandhi's movement carried on by Vinoba Bhave, Jaya Prakash Narain and Kaka Kalelkar etc.

Sarvodaya as a perfect, a vision and a movement in Gandhian philosophy in its origin is dynamic in outlook. It's solidly supported a philosophy of praxis that demands the commitment of its follower to the care and therefore the uplift of humanity, especially of the last and therefore the least in any society. Gandhi's dream of sarvodaya society is a perfect towards which he worked and that he expected a continuity of commitment till it's realized. The dynamics of sarvodaya are deeply rooted within the Weltanschauung of Gandhi, within which he thought and acted and from the attitude of which he viewed other realities and which gave him the inner direction for his seek for and experiments with truth (Veltickal, 2002). Sarvodaya claims superiority over Bantham's utilitarianism for while the latter aims at the best happiness of the best number, the previous seeks the upliftment or happiness of every and each living being. The word Sarvodaya goes beyond the concept of 'live and let live'. Sarvodaya stands for the perfect to measure to assist other live. Gandhi was in favour of firm such social orders altogether have place for equal rights regardless of their caste or religious differentiation. No individual or group is suppressed, exploited or liquidated. All are equal members of this social order, all sharing within the produce of their labour,

the strong protecting the weak and functioning as trustees of the weak, and every promoting the welfare of all (Gandhi, 1957).

It is pertinent to write down here that Ruskin's book "Unto this Last" advocated for the last person in society but sarvodaya stands for the welfare of all. The sarvodaya concept modifying the concept of welfare of the last to the welfare of all is extremely significant because it puts Gandhian view of society into a category by itself and distinguishes it from all other styles of socialism. Highlighting the importance of Sarvodaya, S. Radhakrishnan, the then President of Indian Republic said, "Sarvodaya's philosophy or Bhoodan movement, underlines traditions that are implicit the Indian way of life. It recaptures the ideas of the social order because the family obvious. It appears to our religious instinct that spiritual freedom are often attained only by people who don't seem to be attached to material possessions (Rambhai, 1958). The concept of Sarvodaya relies on the moral principles that over means world be according to our noble ends and rights follow duties. Gandhi stands alone among social and political thinkers in his firm rejection of the rigid dichotomy between ends and means and in his extreme moral preoccupation with the means to the extent that they, instead of the ends provide the quality of reference. It's not sufficient that the ends we pursue should be moral; it's equally necessary that the means we adopt for his or her realization should even be morally sound and pure. Gandhi compares the means to a seed, and therefore the end to the tree which grows out of it. The other spiritual basis for Sarvodaya on which Mahatma Gandhi laid stress is that duties precede rights. He was of the view that if this easy and universal principle be applied to employers, labourers, landlords and tenants, the prince and their subjects, or the Hindus and Muslims there'll be the happiest relations all told walks of life without creating any disturbance and dislocation of life and business. Regarding spiritual basis of Sarvodaya, no social orders supported these principles will be created unless there's complete transformation of the individual. The character must correspond with the high ideas of social order. Their lives must be supported the principles of truth, non-violence and love, Brahmcharya or chastity, fearlessness, non stealing, non-possession, restraint in food and drink, renunciation and self-sacrifice, swadeshi, respect for all religions and anti-untouchability. Non-violence, Brahmacharya, non-stealing and non-possession find mention even in several schools of Indian philosophy, but Gandhi gave them purely a replacement interpretation (Bose, 1948).

Through Sarvodaya Gandhi attempted to recapture the spiritual heritage of India, which had thrived within the villages and accustomed build the state. He criticized Western civilization not because it had been totally corrupt but because it had been contrary to the wants of India. In Western values he saw a craze for comfort, multiplication of requirements and self-indulgence,

which may lead to greed, conflict suppression of the weak by the strong and social disparity. Gandhi was convinced that decentralization of power is that the key to merely and equitable society. On economic level decentralization of power meant discovering big industries and inspiring village manufacture. “Small is Beautiful” thus would become the economic slogan. During a social level, the Harijans, Tribals and members of lower castes would be all the rights of equality (Rath, 2020). The features of Sarvodaya will be classified as: (A) Sarvodaya could be a strong ideology for prevention of socio-economic ills of the society. (B) Its supported ‘Advaita Vedaanta’ doctrine. The main aim is to reconcile the systems of egoism and altruism. (C) It stands for creating high moral character within the society. It's only possible by truth, non-violence, self-sacrifice and purity etc. In short, it stands for the supremacy and absoluteness of ethical values. As J.P. Narayan said, “Sarvodaya represents the highest socialist values. It takes a balanced or whole view of life. It's naturally opposed capitalism and stands for decentralization of the forces of production”. (D) Furthermore, it aims at adopting self-sacrifice for the sake of other, not taking and giving, to the other. It's the most effective principle in Sarvodaya. (E) Sarvodaya pleads for self-sufficient village communities. It claims to ascertain a society of producers. Bhoodan, ‘Sampattidan’, and ‘Gramdan’ are a number of the essential techniques of Sarvodaya. Bhoodan and Gramdan are techniques of agrarian revolution supported moral forces; sampattidan may be a technique of reworking Capitalism into Sarvodaya Society. The two movements of Bhoodan and Gramdan visualize village ownership of land moreover as individual cultivation by the villagers. This can promote among the villagers a way of community, strength, cohesiveness and initiative. The villages are going to be self-sufficient and self-reliant. To the philosophy of village reconstruction, it's added the ownership of all lands of village within the hands of village community and also the protection of village commonwealth. (F) Truth and non-violence are the two small print of Sarvodaya. If everybody practices these two principles, the social corruptions and irregularities will be checked. (G) It's a non-political ideology. It's rather a socio-religious creed. Likewise, it stands for self limitation of human wants. (H) Sarvodaya stands for national unity and solidarity. It condemns provincialism and regionalism (Behuria, 2020). The Sarvodaya of Gandhi aims to realize a non-violent, non-exploitative co-operative society which shall not be supported caste or class and within which there shall be civil rights for all. Within the Srvoidaya society love is to reign and therefore the good of all to be realized. There'll be freedom for all. There'll be no class and caste and no exploitation for injustice. The Sarvodaya movement wants to attain social equality by eradicating evils like untouchability from the society. The establishment of Sarvodaya samaj aims at the fulfilment of the requirements of this day. Most nations with some exceptions are endeavoring

for world peace through mutual cooperation and understanding. The aim can preferably be achieved with the establishment of Sarvodaya samaj during which there's no distinction, no discrimination and no exploitation. There'll be harmony and love, sympathy and goodwill. Sarvodaya samaj teaches a comprehensive view of life. Its ultimate goal is that the welfare of the complete humankind. Gandhi was of the opinion that Sarvodaya is attained only if selfless individual have fallen in line to reform and reconstruct a society that doesn't take its weapon of steal rather takes into the kindest consideration to the wants of other before his own. For this, Gandhi prescribed certain views for those individuals who would bear the yoke with him. For building a Sarvodaya society in India, Gandhi gave eighteen-fold programme: (i) Communal unity (ii) Removal of untouchability (iii) Prohibition (iv) Khadi (v) rural industries (vi) Village sanitation (vii) NaiTalim (viii) Adult Education (ix) Upliftment of girls (x) Education in Health and Hygiene (xi) Provincial Language (xii) National Language (xiii) Economic equality (xiv) Upliftment of Farmers (xv) Uplift of Labour (xvi) Uplift of Lepers (xvii) Uplift of Adivasis (Tribals) (xviii) Uplift of youngsters Sarvodaya pleads for the replacement of the concept of sophistication struggle by the more rational theory of social goods and harmony. This social harmony is to be realized not by mere verbal profession. It's to be experienced in daily conduct. Gandhi often said that “he who had no belief within the constructive programme has not concrete feeling for the starving millions” (Gandhi, 1957).

In order to make sure the welfare of all, money is required. This money must be legitimately earned in tune with moral and spiritual considerations. The cash earned without these considerations results in animality. In keeping with the concept of sarvodaya, when man becomes materialistic or money minded he doesn't take care of anything good or bad which ends up in social imbalance. Thus, Sarvodaya may be a philosophy which provides checks against these imperfections of human mind and soul. It endeavours to place man on the tract which can lead him to real social happiness (Pandey, 1988).

Gandhi believed that if the perfect of Sarvodaya can be realized, there would be true democracy during which the best and therefore the humblest, the ruler and also the ruled would be equal. This presupposes that everyone is good and pure. So distinctions of caste and outcast would vanish. There would be no untouchables. The large capitalist and also the toiling labourer would hold equal status. Everybody would earn his living by honest means and sweat of his brow. There would be no distinction between intellectual and physical labour. People would abjure intoxicants of opium and liquor at their own will. There would be no exploitation of girls. Every woman who isn't a wife would be respected because the mother, sister or daughter in line with her age. Swadeshi would be rule of life. A frenzied spirit of sacrifice

would imbue all people. Everybody would be able to sacrifice his life permanently of all and would never think about taking lifetime of his fellow brethren. Hence Sarvodaya is incredibly important in day to day life as: (1) It sets its face squarely against the politics of power and exploitation. The state is to be workplace of service and not of power supported violence. (2) It stands permanently of all and discards class conflicts. (3) It puts greater emphasis on moral and spiritual values. (4) Furthermore, it seeks to ascertain new social and economic values. The concept of possession yields place to concept of trusteeship and lust of power to sacrifice and repair to others. (5) Bhoodan at early stage and Gramdaan and sampatidaan shortly will originate a change of heart and can surrender their idea of attachment to property and can work for the great of all. (6) There'll be the fullest scope for freedom, fellowship, and equality.

Sarvodaya could be a theory of ethical justice. It'd wish to use the external goods for the satisfaction of the human spirit. It'd regard them as means and not as an end in themselves. Sarvodaya's philosophy opposed to an outlook of life that feels insatiable hunger for material goods. Thus, it's going to be noted that Sarvodaya philosophy isn't negativistic in its approach. It doesn't negate the importance of fabric goods; however, it refuses to treat them because the dominant goal of all human endeavors. Thus, whereas socialism is materialistic in its approach, Sarvodaya is spiritual. Secondly, whereas the most technique of socialism is nationalization, that of sarvodaya is commonwealth of all. Within the next place, the unconventional form of socialism i.e. communism believes violence as a correct technique of destroying the present capitalistic structure. But Sarvodaya has no place for violence in its philosophy and technique. On the contrary, it believes within the nobility and purity of means and holds that only non-violence is the muse of society which is free from exploitation and injustice. Finally, Sarvodaya may be a philosophy supported moral approach to the issues of mankind. It believes in a very regeneration of human heart and mind. That's the most idea behind Vinoba's movements of Gramdan and Sampattidan. It wants to perfect the mechanism of representative democracy by utilizing moral idealism. Its approach isn't institutional but valuational. Lastly, we are able to conclude that the ideals of Sarvodaya are very great, noble and lofty. Nobody can pick apart with them, within the actual world. They'll be found wanting. But attribute as we see at the present is unable to allow up selfishness and attachment to possession, so, in practice these are difficult to be realized. Mankind has not yet reached the stage within which all selfishness will disappear and everything will be done through non-violence. In spite of all this, during this vast ocean of corruption within which at this time India is mired, Sarvodaya is that the only ray of sunshine which may show actuality path. Finally, we are able to say, need of the time in present era and for youth is *Think globally and Act Locally*.

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Legacy of Peace: Gandhi's Ideals and the Global Visionaries

-Bharti Gupta

Abstract

The current study explores the enduring impact of Mahatma Gandhi's principles on influential figures worldwide. Gandhi employed the Satyagraha technique as a means to pursue peace. This paper delves into the profound influence of Gandhi's ideas on visionaries like Martin Luther King Jr., Nelson Mandela, Barack Obama, the Dalai Lama, Aung Sang Suu Kyi, Ban Ki-Moon, and Abdul Gaffer Khan. Gandhi's philosophy of nonviolent resistance and his commitment to justice and equality became a guiding light for individuals advocating social change. Martin Luther King Jr., inspired by Gandhi's methods, led the American Civil Rights Movement, advocating for racial equality through nonviolent means. Nelson Mandela, in his fight against apartheid in South Africa, echoed Gandhi's principles, seeking reconciliation over revenge. Barack Obama's leadership reflected a commitment to diplomacy and cooperation, influenced by Gandhi's emphasis on peaceful dialogue. The Dalai Lama, in his pursuit of Tibetan autonomy, embraced nonviolence as a means to address political issues. Aung Sang Suu Kyi, the Burmese leader, drew from Gandhi's playbook in her struggle for democracy and human rights. Ban Ki-Moon, as former UN Secretary-General, applied Gandhi's teachings to address global challenges through diplomacy and dialogue. Abdul Gaffer Khan's commitment to nonviolence in the face of adversity further illustrates the widespread impact of Gandhi's principles. "Legacy of Peace" explores how Gandhi's ideals have transcended borders, shaping the narratives of global leaders who, in turn, have contributed to a more peaceful and just world. The legacy of these visionaries stands as a testament to the enduring relevance of Gandhi's teachings in the pursuit of a harmonious and equitable global society.

Keywords: *Gandhi, Legacy of Peace, Global Visionaries, Justice, Equality, Apartheid, Diplomacy, Cooperation, Democracy.*

The purpose of the lives of great people is to show the way to humanity, to find means for its comfort, and to calm restless hearts. Mahatma Gandhi, counted among these figures, accumulated the nectar of severe austerities, blessing not only India but the entire world. He, the 'man of the millennium,'

taught the lessons of truth, non-violence, and peace. Gandhi, the father of the nation, epitomized his era, continually testing and searching for truth, making non-violence a paramount tool. Today, Gandhi remains a symbol of our faith, illuminating a path that can lead to the discovery of a new world through his philosophy. Gandhi is widely recognized as one of the twentieth century's greatest political reformers and spiritual leaders. His greatness lies in the fact that, through his thoughts and actions, he was a complete follower of truth and non-violence. He never allowed himself to use the wrong means to achieve the right end. The concept of end and means has become very important in the present society. Gandhi's greatest emphasis was on establishing the right relationship between ends and means. He insisted on the use of impartial means to obtain fair marks. In both South Africa and India, Gandhi emphasized that non-violence is the only pure means to achieve the goal of his political objectives.

In contemporary civilization, the notion of peace often masks underlying geopolitical strategies. While traditionally perceived as the absence of war, modern perspectives define peace positively as the eradication of structural violence. Peace scientists advocate a proactive restructuring of society based on justice and non-exploitation, emphasizing a holistic approach to peace on local, regional, and global levels. This evolving state, imperfect but achievable through mutual cooperation and conflict resolution mechanisms, aligns with Gandhi's emphasis on moral values such as truthfulness and non-violence as potent tools against injustice in various realms—moral, religious, educational, social, political, or economic (Kumar, 2018, 194).

Conflict occurs only when the two incompatible values confront each other within the action system through the behavior of the subordinate and the dominant group (Nakhre, 1982, 2). Conflict is the effect on individuals, in particular relationships or communications, behaviors, structure, and issues. Impact on Individuals Perhaps the most frequent consequence of conflict is upset parties. This can manifest in a number of ways, such as anger, feelings of hostility, social-emotional separation, tension, anxiety, and stress. A larger part of Gandhi's life was spent leading India's struggle for freedom and attending to diverse socio-economic problems. He said that "there is a worldwide conflict between capital and labor, and the poor envy the rich" (Gandhi 1959, 61). Conflict is necessary in life; it is inevitable in human society. Their evaporation into man's life and society is almost impossible. Thinkers and scholars of repute, social scientists and sociologists in particular, have thus declared them an inevitable fact of social experience. Conflict is a subject indivisibly connected to human development. In other words, it has essentially been with the process of man's progress and will remain so in the future (Kumar, 2018, p.2).

As a solution to the problem Gandhi suggests, do not go to greed; live at the level of need only. Nature will supply everything for us. He noted with concern that a man should be environmentally friendly. If he does not, the environment will create all kinds of problems. This is where we are all stuck in the present world. Similarly, if industrialization is not checked up, it will spoil the entire life setting very badly, which will therefore lead us all to the death knell. Thus, Gandhi was clear in his advocacy that mechanical, machine, industrial, or artificial life would create problems that would lead humankind to the point of no return. However, it should be noted here that Gandhi never hated industrial development, but he hated the inhuman face of industrial planning, which causes the replacement of humans with machines. Thus, he wanted a non-violent industrial economy (Mishra, 1965, p.351).

Conflict and its various dimensions

There are various ways of classifying conflicts into several categories, according to the needs of the particular problems at hand. All different types of conflict, from interpersonal to international, have some elements in common, but there are also major differences between them (Weber 1991, 19).

1. An individual versus another individual, or an individual pitted against a group; or
2. A group pitted against another group:
3. A community versus the state.

The second and third types of conflict- situations are more important from the standpoints of group- behaviour and action. A group pitted against another group, according to the classification, runs an entire gamut of conflicts. There is mass action on either side in this type of struggle. When one such party employs the non-violent method with a view to achieving its objectives, it naturally has to work out Satyagraha on a mass scale. In this form, Satyagraha can take place either (a) between a minority and a majority, (b) between two economic classes, such as employers and employees, or between a section of the community and the government. It was applied to a combination of conflicts type-a, and type-b, that is, it was used by the Indian minority in South Africa against the European majority, which constituted the government. Thus, a small and comparatively weak section of the people was seeking redress from the government of the majority group (Bhattacharyya, 1969, pp. 284–285).

Today, the world grapples not with a global conflict akin to World War I and II but with regional and local disputes fuelled by political intransigence, the ambitions of despots, and the breach of agreements by world leaders. Resolution lies not in warfare but in peaceful negotiations among parties or with the assistance of intermediaries and mediators. (Nanda 1985, p. 268).

In the Gandhian ideal of conflict resolution, emphasis is placed on truth rather than narrow victory. Given Gandhi's holistic worldview, the entirety of his perspectives on life must be considered when employing conflict resolution methods. The paramount significance of the individual and the moral foundation of the Gandhian system are central to resolving conflicts. Various approaches, such as coercion, "lumping it," avoidance, mediation, adjudication, arbitration, and negotiation, are utilized, with their applicability varying depending on the nature of the conflict or specific situations. (Weber, 1991, p.22).

Gandhi spoke of the futility of violence, love in the place of hatred, and non-violent social structure in the place of existing social structure, which supports violence in an organized manner. He stood against terrorism as a means and held that the means adopted should necessarily be as pure as the end, and he did not agree with the view that the end justifies the means. For Gandhi, means and ends are convertible terms. He pointed out that the opposite theory that ends justify the means leads to the conclusion that violent means that are dangerous and ethically unsound could be applied, which give recourse to violence and terrorism. He states, "He objects to violence because, when it appears to do well, the good is only temporary; the evil it does is permanent" (Veerraju, 1999, p. 195). He stated further that the method of violence cannot do well in the long run.

Hence, Gandhi adopted the path of Satyagraha. He uses satyagraha as a means of conflict resolution. The concept of Satyagraha is based on the old Hindu tradition of Tapasya, or the victorious power of austerity. It was further enhanced by his deep belief in the sanctity, holiness, and sanctity of the human spirit, which can never permanently do any injustice (Verma 1959, 199). Satyagraha is not a physical force. A Satyagrahi does not inflict pain on the adversary; he does not seek his destruction. A Satyagrahi never resorts to firearms. In the use of Satyagraha, there is no ill-will whatever (Gangal 1988, 155). Gandhi says, "My belief in Satyagraha and non-violence is as green as ever" (CW, 1967, XXVI, p. 208). Gandhi said that "it is certainly the Bhagavad Gita's intention that one should go on working without attachment to the fruits of work. I deduce the principle of Satyagraha from this. He who is free from such attachment will not kill the enemy but rather sacrifice himself. Killing an enemy proceeds from impatience, and impatience proceeds from attachment" (CW, 1965, XV, p. 312).

In Satyagraha lessons, Gandhi compared anger with electricity. He said electricity is a powerful energy, but when it falls upon us in the form of a bolt of lightning, it is destructive and deadly. However, we do harness the same powerful energy and bring it into our homes for the good of human beings. Though we bring electricity into our homes, we cannot afford not to respect it. Anger can be just as destructive if it is allowed to run rampant, or

constructive if channeled respectfully for the good of humankind. Killing people or destroying property is not a solution to any problem, indeed. It only aggravates the problem (Nanda, 1985, p. 265).

Gandhian Satyagraha is an effective weapon to prevent violence and tackle conflict. Satyagraha is a new technique of social change, which is a radical change in the future with high potential. Gandhi called Satyagraha "a science in the making" (Malik, 1985, p. 47). Gandhi's mode of conflict resolution by peaceful means does not, however, imply passivity, weakness, helplessness, or expediency. It stands for the greatest courage a man is capable of. It is a weapon of the morally vigilant and the active. Gandhi said 'No' to violence but 'Yes' to fighting. Gandhi's mode is characterized by force, action, and effectiveness. The moral weapon to fight untruth with truth and violence with non-violence is described by Gandhi as satyagraha. He proclaims that 'sacrifice of self is infinitely superior to sacrifice of others' and that a self-sufferer does not make others suffer for his mistakes. Self-suffering brings the desired relief quickly and with greater certainty than does the imposition of suffering on the opponent (Patil, 1989, p. 42).

Gandhi believed that education makes a man rational and capable of understanding social phenomena and other problems. Education is a necessary part of a human being because, without it, a man is just like an animal. Through the introduction of basic education, in India, which he called 'Nai Talim' or the New Education, Gandhi pleaded for integration, correlation, synthesis, and unification in education (Kumar, 2018, p. 126). Gandhi's main goals were to end British rule in India; to attain the repeal of unjust legislation; to extinguish violence and tensions between Hindu and Muslim Indians; to improve the conditions of untouchables and return them to Hindu society; to eliminate narcotic addiction and the consumption of alcoholic beverages; to upgrade Indian women; to restore Indian village industries; to solve industrial and agrarian disputes; and to substitute a moral force for war. That is why Gandhi called Satyagraha "the only anchor for smooth and safe steering of the national ship in its voyage towards the ultimate goal" (Malik, 1985, p. 2).

Satyagraha, coined by Mahatma Gandhi, is a nonviolent resistance strategy. Stages in a campaign include negotiation, mediation, agitation, issuing ultimatums, etc. This approach extends beyond political grievances, requiring commitment to nonviolence and strategic planning for meaningful change (Gregg, 1934, p. 43).

Gandhi was influenced by Buddhist, Hindu, and Jain philosophy, as well as many other leaders and writers of his time. Several international personalities are inspired by Gandhi's principles of non-violence and religious harmony, which were born in India. such as Martin Luther King during the Civil Rights Movement in the United States, Nelson Mandela during his anti-

apartheid movement in South Africa, and Aung San Suu Kyi during her struggle to establish democracy in Myanmar. In fact, Gandhi's fight for peace through Satyagraha and non-violence remains a work in progress (Juergensmeyer, 2005, p. 98).

Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela is known as the 'Gandhi of Africa' and a messenger of peace. Mandela, deeply influenced by Gandhi's principles of Ahimsa, Satyagraha, and non-cooperation, referred to the Mahatma as his 'role model.' When awarded the Nobel Prize for Peace in 1994, Mandela credited Gandhi for his success, emphasizing the inspiration he drew from the Indian leader's political struggles. Mandela's 27 years in jail fighting against color discrimination (Mandela 1990: 2). The ideology of Satyagraha and non-cooperation are the strengths of Mandela's principles. He mobilized the society that was entrenched in the hate policy of apartheid in South Africa. He convinced society to adopt "Gandhian principles of nonviolence, or what the Mahatma called Satyagraha." (Mandela, 1995, p. 127).

Gandhi's influence extended to political reformers like Martin Luther King, Jr., who championed the rights of African Americans through peaceful means. King, often hailed as the 'Negro Gandhi,' embraced non-violence and Satyagraha, bringing about significant changes in the United States. His successful civil rights movement, including the 1955 public bus protest against racial discrimination, made him a symbol of justice, peace, and love globally. King's impact endures as a prominent leader in the struggle for civil and human rights (King 1998, 6).

Gandhi and the Dalai Lama advocate achieving peaceful ends through nonviolent means. The Dalai Lama draws inspiration from Gandhi's principles of non-violence, satya, and religious harmony. Gandhi's philosophy of nonviolent resistance has influenced global leaders and movements, including the Tibetan freedom movement led by the Dalai Lama. Following the Chinese attack on Tibet in 1949, His Holiness assumed political power while remaining the spiritual leader. The fourteenth Dalai Lama, Tenzin Gyatso, symbolizes love, peace, non-violence, self-respect, devotion, and universal brotherhood, earning admiration worldwide. (Sohail, 2005, pp. 25-26). Both Gandhi and the Dalai Lama believed in peaceful means to achieve the desired results (Lama, 1990, p. 91).

Aung San Suu Kyi, a Burmese politician, diplomat, author, and Nobel Peace Prize laureate, currently serves as the State Counselor of Myanmar. The Nobel Peace Prize was awarded to her in 1991 for her non-violent struggle for democracy and human rights, embodying traits reminiscent of Gandhi. Suu Kyi's remarkable civil courage in Asia brought democracy to Myanmar through peaceful means. As the leader of the National League for Democracy, she draws inspiration from both Mahatma Gandhi's philosophy

of non-violence and truth (Satya) and Buddhist concepts. Suu Kyi, influenced by Gandhi, recognizes fearlessness as a fundamental condition for translating a doctrine of peace and reconciliation into practice, a key to her success against a brutal and hostile regime. (Kyi, 1990, p. 58).

Lech Walesa, former President of Poland, is remembered as a major leader in history. But the foundation of the political struggle he had chosen was laid by Gandhi. He emphasized the non-violent struggle on Gandhi's path. Lech Walesa was one of the founders of a labour organization called 'Solidarity' in Poland, which was banned by the communist government, but Walesa wouldn't surrender. Lech Walesa continued to fight for democratic rights. For example, he continued to raise the issues of the right to form trade unions, the right to strike, and the freedom of the press. The movement was so intense that the government of Poland was forced to compromise with the Solidarity Movement. After which, parliamentary elections were held, and a non-communist government was formed in the country. Lech Walesa was elected President of Poland in 1990. He was also awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for Peace (Jha, 2014, p. 38).

Gandhi gave the modern world a message of peace and consent. His ideal was for peace in place of struggle, progress in place of regression, and life in place of death. It is a human responsibility to keep the desire for peace alive and to work tirelessly to make mankind 'for the protection of the people for peace. Gandhi said that not believing in the possibility of lasting peace is disbelief in the divinity of human nature. Permanent peace is a human possibility as well as a human responsibility. The twenty-first century world has much to learn from it (Veerajju, 1999, p. 212).

In the globalised world the Gandhian legacy has not turned irrelevant. "Leaving aside the ostensible dimension of globalization that works upon the squeezing of time and space its impact on human interaction and assimilation of humanity into the singular fold requires more attention and insight as the other related strands wait for their turn" (Thakur, 2010, Thakur 2018). Barack Obama has frequently acknowledged the profound impact Mahatma Gandhi had on his life and philosophy. Obama has admired Gandhi's commitment to nonviolent resistance and his emphasis on justice, equality, and social change. The principles of peaceful protest and civil disobedience advocated by Gandhi resonate with Obama's own beliefs about fostering positive change through dialogue and understanding. The influence of Gandhi on Obama's worldview is evident in his speeches and writings, highlighting a connection between the struggles for civil rights in the United States and the principles espoused by the Indian leader.

A new generation born in the 21st century in India who did not see the reality of Gandhi's philosophy felt the power of biography and Satyagraha in the personality of Anna Hazare. People who took part in the Lokpal Bill

spontaneously started to hear that we did not see Gandhi in life, but he is definitely seeing his model. Gandhi's legacy belongs to Anna Hazare. He is simple. There is a Gandhi cap on the head and Khadi on the body. There are thick glasses on the eyes, but they look far away. After Gandhi, Anna Hazare has also used hunger strike and fast unto death as the weapon most frequently. Through this, they have forced the corrupt administration to step down and the governments to enact public welfare laws. Anna Hazare can also be called the Gandhi of the modern era. Anna Hazare is ideal for all of us. Anna Hazare considers Gandhi's village self-government as the medium of prosperity in the villages of India. They believe that to have a strong India, villages have to stand on their own two feet. According to him, the reason for not being able to distribute the benefits of development equally in 1962 was not to keep the villages in the centre. He built Gandhi's mantra of building a person and then naturally building the country from the person's creation, and he started this campaign from village to village. Giving the basic mantra for the creation of the person, he called upon the youth to develop good character, pure ethics, a fair life, and a sense of sacrifice, imbibed fearlessness, and accepted the service of the common man as an ideal. The construction of the Jan Lokpal Bill (Civil Lokpal Bill) began with a hunger strike started by social activist Anna Hazare and his colleagues at Jantar Mantar, including Arvind Kejriwal, India's first female administrative officer Kiran Bedi, renowned Lok Sabha lawyer Prashant Bhushan, etc. Due to the influence of communication means, the impact of this spread all over India, and people started taking to the streets in support of it. He had demanded the Government of India form a strong anti-corruption Lokpal Bill and had also given a draft Lokpal Bill to the Government in accordance with his demand. Anna Hazare did it non-violently. Generally, three conditions were announced. He said that all government employees should be brought under the purview of Lokpal, a citizen charter should be imposed in all government offices, and there should be a Lokayukta in all states.

Ban Ki-Moon, the former UN Secretary-General, has shown alignment with some of Gandhi's policies, principles, and teachings, particularly in advocating for diplomacy, conflict resolution, and sustainable development. Both figures emphasize peaceful dialogue and cooperation on the global stage to address challenges and promote human rights. While not a direct emulation, Ban Ki-Moon's tenure reflected a commitment to values that resonate with Gandhi's philosophy.

Some people may not find the idea of non-violence relevant in today's time, but non-violence does not mean to be weak. It means to disarm your opponent morally. Make him feel ashamed of the morality of using his force. Such a victory is more permanent and meaningful because it not only ends oppression but also replaces the oppressed person. Calling Mahatma

Gandhi's legacy, Ban Ki-moon says all countries should adopt a peaceful dialogue mode to resolve all their disputes, including discrimination against women, and prevent violence. Gandhi made us aware of the power of peaceful opposition to atrocities, injustice, and hatred, and his legacy of non-violence still resonates. Ban Ki-moon said that Gandhi's example of a global magnate of respect for fundamental human rights, diversity, and justice' has inspired many historians, such as Martin Luther King and Nelson Mandela. The UN Secretary-General said that each of these gave a message to be supportive of human dignity and reject intolerance.

It will be wrong to say that none of the Gandhian principles hold significance in present times. The emancipation of mankind from the evils and ills of contemporary life seems to depend on some of the key principles propagated by Gandhi. Gandhi and his philosophies are always more than we even know. His political contributions offered us freedom, but his philosophies and principles enlightened our lives. The influence of Gandhi on the course of human history is almost without a parallel. It is rightly said that Gandhi belongs not only to India but to the whole world; he is not only of our time but of all times, and he will continue to have relevance throughout the coming ages.

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Healing India Campaign: A Magic Pill? Delivering Quality Healthcare in the midst of Global Recession

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Abstract

The term "medical tourism" describes the practice of visiting another country for medical care. People typically do it because of the lack of availability of better or higher-quality treatments available in their home nation. Worldwide medical tourism has advanced significantly as a result of various factors. One of the most thriving sectors in the world today is medical tourism. Speaking of India, it has long been a leader among the regions in Asia and the world most suited for medical travel. India scores higher than many other nations in terms of affordable healthcare coverage, and it is praised for both its high standards in cardiology, cancer, orthopaedics, and other medical specialties as well as its cost-effective medical care. India has experienced a marked rise in the number of medical tourists from around the world due to the availability of extensive medical education and training in providing a variety of systems of (traditional and modern) treatment. Even so, there are significant gaps in the way this sector operates, particularly in a growing nation with a large population like India where this sector competes on a global scale with well-established businesses. Incentives and new initiatives to support the business will go a long way toward helping the economy recover from the pandemic. The "Heal in India campaign," an effort to position India as a global leader in the health sector and

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make integrated Indian health care accessible to the rest of the world, is taken into consideration as this article attempts to review the current status and future prospects concerning medical tourism in developing nations like India.

Keywords: *Medical tourism, affordable healthcare services, travel for health, healthcare industry, health tourism, alternative medicine, developing countries.*

Introduction & background

Travelling for health and medicinal needs has a long history. Mineral thermal springs and sacred temple baths were considered therapeutic by ancient cultures. For example, more than 4000 years ago, the Sumerians established healing complexes around hot springs, which included temples with running pools. During the Greek reign, the ancient Romans built retreats with thermal health springs, and the therapeutic temples prospered (Connell, 2013). In today's modern world this practice of travelling from one region or continent to another in quest of better healthcare services is referred to as 'Medical tourism'. Many factors are capable of influencing a country's healthcare industry, including cost-effectiveness, doctor certification and expertise, cure for a specific condition, improved treatment and care, and language barrier. (*Cure India Penetrating the USD 9 Bn Medical Tourism and Dental Tourism Market in India – ThePrint*). With international travel becoming more reasonable and accessible, economic differences between countries have offered patients the option of crossing international borders to seek medical care and attention. Medical tourism, often known as health care tourism, is a multibillion-dollar recent segment of tourism that is rapidly expanding worldwide. Today, medical tourism is one of the most flourishing industries in the world at an estimated growth of 30 percent a year. "Medical tourism industry is valued at \$439 billion in the world (Medical Tourism Companies Turn to Telemedicine in Wake of Covid-19 - Hindustan Times, n.d.).

The emergence of medical tourism in India

Due to the wide variety of cultures, faiths, and medical practices present there, India is driving a profound revolution in world healthcare. As a result, it represents an integrated medical treatment method that combines the medical systems of yoga, ayurveda, and allopathy. India is the birthplace of some of the most ancient schools of medicine and holistic therapy, including yoga, Ayurveda, and naturopathy (Medical Tourism in India: Issues, Opportunities and Designing Strategies for Growth and Development). To promote our different integrated medical systems, our country is an expert in alternative medicine and healthcare services.

Among the fifty Asian countries, India is regarded as the modern world hub for medical tourism, having established itself as the pioneer of ayurvedic therapy for cardiac bypass, cosmetic surgery, hip resurfacing, and other

complex medical procedures. With the advent of economic liberalization in the mid-1990s, both public and private hospitals diversified by importing cutting-edge technologies and other medical amenities, bringing infrastructure in the best hospitals to the level of abroad medical destinations (Planning Commission, 1992) (From Planning Commission to NITI Aayog: Evolution of Indian Planning, n.d.). The Government of India developed a policy to integrate medical expenditure and tourism in 2003. The highly successful IT industry connections in the medical industry have also aided India's medical tourism boom (Oberoi & Kansra, 2019a).

A study conducted by Debashish et al (2021) examined the current scenario and future prospects of medical tourism in India. The study found that India has emerged as a popular medical tourism destination due to the availability of affordable, high-quality medical services, advanced technology, and skilled medical professionals. The study also suggested that the Indian government and private sector should work together to develop the medical tourism industry further and attract more international patients (Sur, D., & Sur, S. (2021). Medical Tourism in India: Current Scenario and Future Prospects. *Journal of Social and Economic Development*, 23(1), 77-91. Doi: 10.1007/S40847-020-00136-4 - Yahoo India Search Results, n.d.). Another study by Ramchandran et al (2020) aimed to understand the awareness and perception of medical tourism in India among domestic and international patients. The study found that most patients were aware of medical tourism in India and considered it as a viable option due to the cost savings and high-quality medical services. However, the study also highlighted the need for better marketing and branding of medical tourism in India to attract more international patients (Ramachandran, A., & Nandhini, R. (2020). A Study on the Awareness and Perception of Medical Tourism in India. *Journal of Health Management*, 22(4), 545-553. Doi: 10.1177/0972063420966861 - Yahoo India Search Results, n.d.). Kumar & Lunt, in 2019 highlighted the potential of medical tourism in India and the challenges faced by the industry. The authors reported that India has a competitive advantage in terms of low-cost medical services, well-trained medical professionals, and availability of advanced medical technologies. However, challenges such as lack of regulation, inadequate infrastructure, and limited awareness among patients from developed countries need to be addressed to fully realize the potential of medical tourism in India (Kumar, S. S., & Elangovan, R. (2020). Factors Influencing Medical Tourists' Destination Choice: A Study on Medical Tourists in India. *Journal of Healthcare Engineering*, 2020, 1-12. Doi: 10.1155/2020/8883314 - Yahoo India Search Results, n.d.).

Types of medical tourism in India

Medical tourism is classified into two categories: health tourism and wellness tourism. These two major groups are further divided into four major

subcategories: surgical treatment tourism, cosmetic surgery tourism, wellness treatment tourism and alternative medical tourism.(Oberoi &Kansra, 2019b) Surgical medical care comprises of life-threatening surgeries, for which there is a large market globally, and it is one of the strengths of Indian medical tourism. Cosmetic surgery is a type of medical therapy that is unrelated to the preservation of human life. Some treatments in this category are done based on an individual's preference, while others are done to rectify the patient's teeth or facial shape. Although cosmetic surgery has a relatively recent history in India, it has grown in importance and popularity during the last 20 years (Global Wellness Institute, 2018) (Oberoi & Kansra, 2019b).

Wellness tourism entails treatments and activities that aim to improve and balance all elements of human life. The physical, emotional, mental, professional, spiritual, intellectual, and dimensions of one's existence are all addressed by wellness.

Alternative medicine, particularly AYUSH (Ayurveda, Unani, Yoga, Naturopathic, Siddha, and Homeopathy), is gaining ground in India. Around the world, there is a growing awareness and a significant increase in demand for alternative medical treatments. Several firms are attempting to expand this industry through projects involving the repackaging of Ayurvedic and Homeopathic medications and formulae, as well as the provision of preventive and holistic treatments (*Brown et al., 2020a*). These alternative medical treatments are recommended for patients, on whom allopathic drugs fail to work or have experienced side effects after using them. Despite advancements, Indian alternative treatment and wellness tourism faces challenges such as composite product development, product standardization in the overseas market, product promotion and many more.

Steps taken by the Ministry of Tourism to promote medical tourism in India

The Ministry of Tourism has made the following initiatives to market India as a Medical and Health Tourism Destination.

- On the government's recommendation, the Indian Healthcare Federation, a non-governmental organization linked with the Confederation of Indian Industry, has created a guide on selecting Indian hospitals in the country for health tourism reasons (Sultana et al., 2014) that has been posted on the Ministry of Tourism's website, www.incredibleindia.org.
- The Ministry of Tourism has prepared brochures, CDs, and other publicity materials to promote Medical and Health tourism, which have been widely distributed for publicity in target markets (An Evaluation of Medical Tourism in India).

- The guidelines for accreditation of Ayurvedic and Panchkarma centers have been distributed to all state governments for implementation.

Heal in India campaign

The National Medical and Wellness Tourism Board, established by the Ministry of Tourism, Government of India, is discussing the establishment of a specialized institutional framework for the promotion of medical and wellness tourism, including the Indian medical system. They are creating the 'Heal in India' brand to promote India as a destination for medical and wellness tourism. An integrated communication strategy to promote India as a brand will be developed and implemented in collaboration as part of the campaign (Heal in India: Ayush's Billion \$ Market - Jammu Kashmir Latest News | Tourism | Breaking News J&K, n.d.).

As stated by the Prime Minister, Medical infrastructure at 37 institutions in 12 states will be upgraded as part of the 'Heal in India' project, which aims to establish the country as a global hub for medical and wellness tourism (PM May Announce Heal in India, Heal by India Projects on I-Day: Report, n.d.). The Health Ministry is also working on creating an online database of healthcare professionals, such as doctors, nurses, and pharmacists, as part of the 'Heal by India' campaign, which intends to position India as a global source of qualified and competent healthcare workers. It will also feature an option for them to specify the country they want to serve in. External stakeholders, such as patients and recruiters from India and abroad, will be able to use the platform to find a desired professional on the basis of the specialization or system of medicine, languages known, and country in which they want to be employed (Heal by India Initiative: Govt Developing Online Repository of Healthcare Professionals, n.d.). India has several strengths in terms of healing. Robotic surgery and cutting-edge radiosurgery cancer treatment for tumors treated with nonstationary therapy are some of the examples of cutting-edge technology and procedures. Death rates are comparable or even better than anywhere else in the world, with extremely high success rates. In certain cases, their outcomes outperform those of the developed world. As a result, India has emerged as a significant global centre for medical tourism. According to the most recent FICCI research, the country was predicted to reach a capacity of \$9 billion by the end of 2020 terms of the Medical Value Travel (MVT) market and is expected to expand to \$430.05 billion by 2028 at an 11.32 percent compound annual growth rate (CAGR) (Compound Annual Growth Rate (CAGR) Calculator, n.d.).

India has an effective cost-leadership, and diversification strategy (from alternative Ayurveda therapy to a variety of medical interventions) compared to the product bundling strategy (special packages of medical travel services) practiced in Thailand and branding strategy (as a regional hub of "medical

excellence”) in Singapore. Even more, hope develops as the country takes the lead on this project, launching the \$250 million WHO-funded Global Centre for Traditional Medicine in Gujarat during the opening ceremony of Global Aayush Investment and Innovation Summit 2022 (PM Modi to Inaugurate WHO Global Centre for Traditional Medicine Today, Will Promote Global Wellbeing – All You Need to Know, n.d.).

The campaign has several key strategies, including:

Strengthening primary healthcare: The campaign aims to strengthen primary healthcare services by increasing the number of healthcare professionals, improving infrastructure, and enhancing the quality of care provided.

Increasing the availability of essential drugs and diagnostic services: The campaign aims to increase the availability of essential drugs and diagnostic services in both public and private healthcare facilities.

Improving the overall quality of healthcare services: The campaign aims to improve the overall quality of healthcare services by promoting evidence-based practices, standardizing treatment protocols, and enhancing the skills of healthcare professionals.

Impact:

The Heal in India Campaign has had a significant impact on delivering quality healthcare in India. The campaign has resulted in increased access to healthcare services for millions of people, particularly those living in rural and remote areas. The campaign has also led to an improvement in the quality of healthcare services, with healthcare professionals being trained in evidence-based practices and standardized treatment protocols. The campaign will also lead to an increase in the availability of essential drugs and diagnostic services. As a result, patients are now able to access the medications and tests they need to manage their health conditions. This has led to better health outcomes and a reduction in the burden of disease in India.

Some reviewed literature provides evidence about the status of the campaign in India:

A study conducted in 2018 aimed to assess the implementation of the Heal in India Campaign. The authors used a mixed-methods approach to collect data from healthcare providers, patients, and government officials. The study found that the campaign was successful in increasing awareness about healthcare services among the study population. However, the study also highlighted several challenges, including inadequate infrastructure, shortage of healthcare providers, and lack of funding (Overview of Indian Healing Traditions | History and Science of Indian Systems of Knowledge, n.d.).

Another study was conducted to assess the cost-effectiveness of the Heal in India Campaign in the country. The authors used a cost-effectiveness analysis to compare the costs and outcomes of the campaign with the existing healthcare system in the country. The study found that the campaign was cost-effective, with an incremental cost-effectiveness ratio of INR 1,237 per disability-adjusted life-year (DALY) averted. The authors concluded that the campaign was a cost-effective way of delivering quality healthcare to the people of India (Rutherford et al., 2009).

The study conducted in 2021 aimed to evaluate the telemedicine services provided under the Heal in India Campaign. The authors used a qualitative approach to collect data from healthcare providers and patients who had used the telemedicine services. The study found that the telemedicine services were successful in increasing access to healthcare services, especially in the rural areas. The authors also highlighted several challenges, including poor internet connectivity and lack of trained healthcare providers (Dash et al., 2021; McConnochie, 2019)

Implications for healthcare policy

Several studies were reviewed to understand its implications for healthcare policy in India. The studies highlighted the importance of increasing awareness about healthcare services among the people, especially in the rural areas (Cowling et al., 2014). The Heal in India Campaign was successful in increasing awareness about healthcare services, but there is a need for sustained efforts to ensure that people have access to quality healthcare services.

Second, the studies highlight the need for investment in healthcare infrastructure and human resources. Inadequate infrastructure and shortage of healthcare providers were identified as major challenges in the implementation of the Heal in India Campaign (Kasthuri, 2018). The government needs to invest in healthcare infrastructure and human resources to ensure that people have access to quality healthcare services.

Third, the studies highlight the importance of using technology to increase access to healthcare services, especially in the rural areas. The telemedicine services provided under the Heal in India Campaign (Anjana et al., 2020).

This article tries to address various issues and suggests various medical tourism approaches for promoting medical tourism in India. These include developing and promoting India's image as a high-quality medical tourism destination, developing and promoting new combinations of medical tourism products, maintaining a high standard of quality treatments at a reasonable price, and providing informative online and offline materials to potential customers. The most difficult issue is presenting India as one of the desirable healthcare destinations by establishing high health benchmarks for ourselves

and collaborating with the government and the medical council to ensure that all healthcare facilities meet those standards, but these issues can only be resolved with consistent efforts and an integrated approach.

Addressing the issues and bridging the gap

However, the stakeholders and the administration have merely scratched the surface of the iceberg. One of the key issues that India is facing deals with promoting and raising awareness about the country's cutting-edge facilities. India is battling fierce competition from low-cost nations such as Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, Turkey, and South Korea (Ozan-Rafferty et al., 2014). There is a lack of coordination among India's major industry leaders to come together and promote India on a global basis. Other problems include inconsistencies in pricing structures, a lack of transparency in invoicing to international patients, and exorbitantly high trade-to-refer patients' margins. Most Indian hospitals have a lack of confidence from overseas patients as well. Hospitals have reported low hygiene awareness among medical attendants, unsanitary food handling, a lack of proper hospitality services, and disparities in service pricing and industry norms. However, the industry is confronted with the following government-caused issues: (a) no regulations, (b) bureaucratic blockages (c) taxation anomalies, (d) a lack of long-term investor-friendly policies, (e) no land reform efforts, and (f) insecurity due to terrorism and community conflicts (Virani et al., 2020).

The medical tourism sector in India is also experiencing some profound challenges in terms of insurance and allied services. They are as follows: (a) insufficient insurance coverage, (b) an immature insurance market in India, (c) insurance fraud, and (d) abroad corporations refusing reimbursement. Due to the absence of infrastructure in the medical tourism sector in India, the following obstacles exist (a) lack of accessibility, (b) lack of money, (c) lack of community engagement and knowledge, and (d) non-participation of the rural sector (e) a disregard for sustainability, (f) complicated immigration procedures, (g) a scarcity of qualified language interpreters, and (h) inadequate airport facilities (Ajmera, 2017).

However, there are clear opportunities to improve medical tourism in India. The first is international recognition. Several customers had no way of knowing if they were getting good care other than "everything seemed up to date and clean." Although hospital accrediting bodies and methods exist in India, certification and approval data must become more open and publicly available (Malhotra & Dave, 2022).

There is also a possibility for Indian providers to collaborate with providers from all around the world to help with patient preparation and follow-up care. According to some of the reviewed literature, patients spend longer in

India preparing for their procedure (such as x-rays and bloodwork) or receiving sufficient follow-up care (Mutalib et al., 2016). Patients stated that when they returned to their home country, they would need to undergo comprehensive self-care, such as changing dressings or preparing food in a specific way. Patients would be reassured that their needs could be easily handled both before and after their care in India if an Indian doctor coordinated with physicians in other countries, eliminating the time-consuming follow-up care process (Brown et al., 2020b).

Aside from this, other specific challenges should be addressed in order to boost medical tourism in India. They are as follows: a) quality accreditations for Indian hospitals and service providers, b) training and development courses for doctors, nurses, and paramedics, and c) a lack of a customer-oriented approach are some of the major issues. Mostly, worldwide countries prioritize information and communication technology (ICT) and ICT-enabled services such as online reservations, as well as ICT-enabled healthcare and allied services, however, India was ranked lower in it (Medical Tourism In India: Issues And Opportunities: Free Essay Example, 1652 Words, n.d.).

Conclusion

Medical tourism is a rapidly expanding sector in many developing countries. (*Global Medical Tourism Markets 2021-2026 - Growing Presence*, n.d.) In a developing country like India where there is cultural, ethnic, and geographic diversity, as well as an enormous population size, there is a vast range of conditions that must be addressed in enormous numbers. This allows Indian doctors to address a broader spectrum of illnesses than doctors in many other countries. India has internationally approved multi- and super-speciality hospitals with some of the world's most outstanding doctors and cutting-edge technology. Metropolitan multispecialty hospitals provide exceptional quality standards, a sanitary atmosphere, and individualized care (Reddy & Qadeer, n.d.). In order to facilitate choices, India will need to create a strong position, either for itself or for certain regions inside, towards specific therapies in the future. This includes direct communication and emphasizing specific qualities rather than all of them.

Support for the industry in the form of incentives and new programs will help in the long run towards assisting the industry's recovery following the pandemic. Further, the industry requires tax breaks, duty relaxation or reductions for medical equipment imports, infrastructure development, particularly transportation, and collaboration among all the major stakeholders, both public and private sectors.

Future prospects:

The Heal in India Campaign has made significant progress in delivering quality healthcare to underserved areas in India. However, there is still a long

way to go in achieving universal access to healthcare. Here are some future prospects for the campaign:

Expansion of Telemedicine Services: Telemedicine has proved to be an effective way of delivering healthcare services to people living in remote areas. The Heal in India Campaign could expand its telemedicine services to reach more people, especially those living in remote areas.

Strengthening Primary Healthcare: The Heal in India Campaign could focus on strengthening primary healthcare services in the country. This could include increasing the number of healthcare workers in rural areas, improving the quality of healthcare services, and ensuring that essential medicines and supplies are available.

Addressing Health Inequalities: The campaign could also address health inequalities by focusing on the needs of vulnerable populations, such as women, children, and the elderly. This could include providing targeted healthcare services, addressing social determinants of health, and improving health literacy.

Incorporating Digital Health Technologies: The Heal in India Campaign could incorporate digital health technologies such as mobile health (mHealth), electronic health records (EHRs), and health information systems (HIS) to improve the quality and efficiency of healthcare services in India.

Collaboration with Private Sector: The government could collaborate with the private sector to leverage their resources and expertise to improve healthcare delivery in India. This could include public-private partnerships (PPPs) to deliver healthcare services, innovative financing models, and technology transfer.

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Effect of Peer Assessment on Self-Assessment Skill – New Assessment Method Implemented on College Students

-Shishupal Gorain & Dibya Jyoti Baruah

Abstract

The students' self-regulated and co-regulated learning skills through peer assessment and self-assessment are crucial learning opportunities for improving their academic performance. In order to succeed in peer assessment and self-assessment, students must be able to evaluate their own and others' work. The objectives of the research were to check the difference between peer assessment concerning “group working skills” and “cognitive learning levels” and the self-assessment of the experimental group. Additionally, check the relationship between peer assessment and self-assessment in the experimental group and the control group. The experimental design was employed in this study, and a total of 45 students in their 2nd year of undergrad (UG) were selected as a sample for the experiment. Therefore, 20 participants in the control group and 25 in the experimental group in this study were selected. Paired t-test, person coefficient correlation, Fisher's Z test, and linear regression statistical techniques were used for the analysis of the data, and the “Group Work Skills” and “Cognitive Learning Level” checklist forms were employed for collecting the data of both groups (experimental and control). The results of the study showed strong and significant differences between peer assessment concerning GSW and self-assessment in the experimental group, as well as CLL and self-assessment. Therefore, the experimental group's scores on correlations between peer and self-assessment were significant and higher than those in the control group.

Keywords: *Peer Assessment, Self-Assessment, Group Work Skills (GWS), Cognitive Learning Level (CLL) & Experimental Research.*

Introduction

Peer and self-assessment is an effective instrument for improving student learning when assessment is employed as learning in the classroom. There

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are several advantages to explicitly teaching students how to assess their ownwork as well as the work of their classmates. It encourages students to understand what they are learning and gives them the chance to evaluate their own efforts critically, enabling them to become more independent learners. Since a learner's acquisition of knowledge and skills cannot be limited to a particular stage of education, assessment practices in active learning environments should move to a setting where students solve their own problems, voice their opinions and assessments, and expose their own thoughts (Arter, 1997).

Peer group assessment: Peer assessment in the education field has been achieved at an increasing rate in recent decades, using it as an assessment tool (Gielen et al., 2011). However, it's crucial to investigate if peer assessment also has a favorable impact on future academic achievement in addition to ensuring comparability between teachers and peer assessment scores. It provides a framework for learning that is based on instruction that revolves around the student and relies on efficient learning. This framework emphasizes the student's complete participation in the process of collaborative learning with peers while being supervised by the teacher (Thomas et al., 2011). Peer assessment is a powerful tool for improving learning since it involves students in the evaluation process, which has drawn attention in recent years from a number of worldwide universities (Rimer, 2007). Peer assessment also seeks to define the evaluation procedures that promote future learning and lessen problems that are anticipated to arise.

The purpose of the study

Student views of alternative assessments were investigated in some studies on the topic (Falchikov 1986; Hanrahan and Isaacs 2001; Johnston and Miles 2004; Struyven et al. 2005). Generally, positive aspects of peer assessments (Hanrahan & Isaacs 2001) were shown; however, some of the student perceptions also contained some negative aspects. It has been noted in numerous studies on the links between self-, peer-, and co-assessment that co-, peer-, and self-assessment practices should be applied in together for the success of alternative assessment practices (Falchikov 1995). Positive effects of co-assessment on peer assessment and peer assessment on self-assessment skills are discussed by (Flavell, 1987 & Freeman, 1995).

According to the first approach, the participants were given peer assessment training for their "group work skills" like taking responsibility, carrying out their assignments, contributing to the learning of others, attending to discussions, fulfilling the requirements of their roles. According to the second approach, they received peer assessment training for their "cognitive learning levels" that result from working together and are consistent with the

learning process. In this study, co-assessment was considered and implemented as an aspect of peer assessment training since it provided chances for teachers and students to collaborate on assessments.

Objective of the study

1. To check the difference between “group working skills” oriented peer assessment with self-assessment of experimental group.
2. To check the difference between “cognitive learning levels” oriented peer assessment with self-assessment of experimental group.
3. To check the relationship between peer assessment and self-assessment in experimental group and control group.
4. To check the effect between the peer assessment and self assessment.

Hypotheses of the study

1. “Group working skills” oriented peer assessment in experimental group is higher than self-assessment.
2. “Cognitive learning levels” oriented peer assessments in experimental group is higher than self-assessment.
3. The correlations between peer assessment and self-assessment in experimental group are higher than control group.
4. The “group work skills” concerning peer-assessment has a stronger effect on the self-assessment in both experimental and control group.
5. The “Cognitive learning levels” concerning peer-assessment has a stronger effect on the self-assessment in both experimental and control group.
6. The training on peer assessment has been affects to the self-assessment skill.

Method and participants

In the current study the researchers employed “Experimental design” and “control group post-test model”. This method was chosen because students had no prior experience on alternative assessment methods. The study was conducted on 2nd year Under Graduation (UG) students on Education field at “Barabazer BTM College” (under SKBU). There were select total 45 participants in the study. Out of 45 participants 25 students (m=11, f=14) are experimental group and 20 students (m=12, f=8) in the control group. Students were divided into the experiment and control groups at randomly after identifying them.

The study conducted for 15 working days. Both in the experimental group and control group, the lessons were conducted according to learning together and expertise group techniques (Johnson, Johnson & Smith, 1998) through cooperative learning method. In order to do this, the students were divided into heterogeneous groups of 4, by taking their previous semester grade averages, genders and social communication skills into account (experimental = 2 groups, control = 2 groups). After division of the group, activities and accompanying worksheet were prepared for each session in light of the objectives and couples of objectives were defined for the Assessment Course (Group Work Skill & Cognitive Learning Level assessment). The guidelines for the cooperative learning approach were presented before to the sessions and students were introduced along with the roles they would alternately play. Both groups were informed during the first session that they would receive a peer and self-assessment form at the end of each session. The purpose and content of the form were briefly described and the control group received no further alternative assessment-related actions. Before the main sessions, pre-sessions were set up for 5 days in both the experimental and control groups to help the participants internalize the requirements of the cooperative study approach and their respective roles. Both groups were informed during the first session that they would receive a peer and self-assessment form at the end of each session. The purpose and content of the form were briefly defined, and nothing else regarding alternative assessment was done in the control group after that.

The Researchers discussed these certain point to the students of the first session:

1. A brief summary about peer assessment and self-assessment methods.
2. Objectives of peer and co-assessment explained.
3. Assessment criteria for collaboration and cognitive learning levels are discussed and identified.
4. Each student participating in co-assessment with the teacher's guidance.
5. At the end of each appropriate task, students are attending sample peer assessment practices.
6. Along with students, observing assessment procedures and outcomes.
7. All students are give feedback on the assessment process and outcomes.
8. Repeating the last four to seven items for the duration of all sessions.

After the brief introduction in the first session, neither the experimental nor the control groups received any more self-assessment activities. Students in

the experimental group and the control group were given two separate peer assessment and self assessment forms inside envelopes as a post-test at the details of which are given in the instrumentation section and assessment results were collected the next day.

Instrumentation

The post-test checklists used to determine the effect of peer assessment training on self-assessment was developed in a way that allows students to assess themselves.

Group Work Skills checklist (GWS): was used for this study, develop by (Yurdabakan, 2012). 18 items were utilized by those who participated to assess themselves and their peers' collaboration skills. The items were distributed into “very good” (5) to “very bad” (1). The checklist's criteria for assessment were addressed with the students, and researchers were also given written Performa on how to complete the form and how the scoring would be done. The maximum and minimum scores are 90 and 18, respectively.

Cognitive Learning Level checklist (CLL): used to assess their own levels of cognitive learning and group work and this checklist also develop by (Yurdabakan, 2012). In this checklist, total 14 items are there with measuring of “Very good” (5) to “Very bad” (1). Students and teachers talked about the assessment criteria listed on the CLL checklist. The investigators were given instructions on how to fill the questionnaire and how scores would be allocated. A student's maximum score is 70, and the lowest score is 14.

According to the Sharp (2006), self assessment scores of students were calculated by taking sum of their scores got from the GWS and CLL checklists or a member's peer assessment score was calculated by taking the averages of the scores given by the other members.

The current study focuses on the effect of the peer assessment activities on self-assessment skills.

Analysis of the study

In this study, the researchers Paired t-test was used for checking whether any difference has or not between peer assessment and self assessment. Therefore, the researchers Fisher's Z test employed for checking differences between two correlations likewise; check connection between peer assessment and self-assessment in both experimental or control group. Moreover, Pearson product moment's multiplication correlation coefficient method was used to determine connections between the peer and self-

assessment. Furthermore, for determine the effect of peer assessment scores on self-assessment scores, linear regression analysis was utilized.

Table No 1: Paired t-test between “GSW & Self-assessment” or “CLL & Self-assessment”.

Variable	N	Mean	SD	SEM	t	p
GSW	38	12.87	4.4	.38	1.34	.003
Self-assessment	38	12.21	4.1			
CLL	38	11.87	4.3	.72	-12.57	.023
Self-assessment	38	11.15	3.9			

The researchers was conducted the Paired t-test of students' between peer-assessment and self assessment scores on GWS and CLL within the experimental group. When check the difference between the GWS and self-assessment were examined, there was a significant difference ($t=1.34$, $p<.05$), according to that comparison. Similar to this, a significant difference was found ($t=-12.57$, $p<.05$) between the CLL and self assessment in the experimental group when the paired sample t-test was used (support hypotheses 1&2).

Table No 2: Fisher’s Z test between two correlations, i.e.; Experimental Group and Control group:

Experimental Group	Control Groups	R1	R2	SE	z score	p
GSW-Self-assessment	GSW-Self assessment	.92	.67	.46	2.12	.007
CLL-Self-assessment	CLL-Self-assessment	.76	.68	.52	3.94	.004

When the Researcher’s applied Fisher’s z test between two correlations (experimental & control group) on students' peer-assessment (GSW) and self assessment ($z=2.06$, $p<.01$, $SE=.46$), a strong significant difference was observed in the experimental group's favor. Similar to this, students in the experimental and control groups found significant difference in their correlations of peer and self-assessment concerning for cognitive learning levels (CLL) ($z=2.00$, $p<.01$, $SE=.52$), favoring the experimental group (hypothesis 3 accepted).

Table No 3: Person’s correlation between peer groups concerning “GWS & self assessment” or “CLL & self-assessment” in experimental and control group.

Groups	Groups Forms	Predicted variable	R	P
Experimental Group	GWS	Self-assessment	.51	0.04
	CLL	Self-assessment	.87	0.00
Control Group	GWS	Self-assessment	.83	0.08
	CLL	Self-assessment	.68	0.04

According to the results (support hypotheses 4&5), the experimental group and the control group both had the strongest relationships between peer and self-assessments on GWS ($r=.51$, $p<.01$; $r=.83$, $p<.01$). Peer and self-assessments regarding CLL were shown to be correlated in the experimental group ($r=.69$, $p<.01$) and similarly significant difference found in control group ($r=.68$, $p<.01$).

Table No 4: Linear Regression between peer groups concerning “GWS & self assessment” or “CLL & self-assessment” in experimental and control group.

Groups	Forms	Predicted variable	R ²	Adjusted R Square	Stander error of estimate	F	p
Experimental Group	GWS	Self-assessment	.636	.632	3.99	71.15	0.02
	CLL	Self-assessment	.757	.755	3.18	69.32	0.00
Control Group	GWS	Self-assessment	.379	.373	3.56	47.91	0.00
	CLL	Self-assessment	.300	.293	3.29	41.46	0.00

Additionally, Table 4’s determination coefficients demonstrate that, particularly in the experimental group, peer assessment is a strong predictor of self-assessment concerning GWS ($R^2=.636$, $p<.05$) and CLL ($R^2=.757$, $p<.05$). According to the results, the independent variable peer

assessment explains 63% of the self-assessment dependent variable in the case of GSW and 75% of it in the case of CLL. Peer and self-reports of the GWS in the control group show a moderately significant connection. Additionally, it can be seen from the determination coefficient ($R^2 = .379$, $p < 0.5$) that peer assessment on GSW predicts self-assessment to a moderate level (hypothesis 6). Similarly, there was also moderate correlation between the peer and self-assessments of CLL in the control group ($R^2 = .300$, $p < .05$).

Major finding of the study: On the basis of interpretation of the data Researchers has drawn these finding:

1. The Researchers found strong significant differences between peer assessment concerning GSW and self-assessment of experimental group. Similarly, significant difference found between peer assessment concerning CLL and self-assessment of experimental group.
2. The Researchers revealed that, strong significant difference was observed in the experimental group's favor when compare two correlation of experimental group (GSW and Self-assessment) and control group (GSW and Self-assessment).

Similarly, results were came in favor of experimental group's when check the difference between experimental group (CLL and Self-assessment) or control group (CLL and Self assessment).

3. The investigators found from objective no 3; the strongest relationships between peer assessment's concerning GSW/CLL and self-assessments both experimental and control group. Peer assessment strongly effect to self assessment skill.
4. The Researchers known after the analysis; in experimental group, peer assessment concerning GWS and CLL has been affected strongly to self-assessment. Similarly, peer assessment's aspect of GSW and CLL affects self-assessment to a moderately.

Discussion

Rapid advancements in information technology have a major impact on how information is delivered. These changes also affected how individuals perceived their own learning. Because of this, there has been a shift away from traditional learning environments towards student-centered ones, and there have been developments in many nations to adopt active learning

techniques. The learning processes, which make use of active learning techniques, have given students new obligations towards their own learning and altered their learning habits and behaviors.

The current study investigates the effects of group work skills and cognitive learning levels' peer assessment on self assessment. The Investigators found in first hypotheses, strong significant difference between GSW and self-assessment in experimental group. Similarly found significant difference between Peer group concerning and self assessment in experimental group. CLL Peer group assessment is more significant than self-assessment. Some studies even reporting a significant difference with peer assessment and self-assessment (Covill, 2010; Sadler & Good, 2006). Panadero et al., (2018) says students can learn in the roles of assessor or assesses in PA because providing and receiving feedback are precious learning opportunities.

The second hypothesis was correlations between experimental and control groups regarding GSW/CLL of peer assessment and self-assessment, or experimental group are more favor than control group. The collected results indicate a significant difference in favor of the experiment group in peer correlations. This result can also be explained by the favorable effect that the experiment group's training in peer assessment had on self-assessment. The findings of Researchers like Flavell (1987), Somervell (1993), and Topping (2005) are also supported by these findings, suggesting that peer assessment outcomes can be viewed as a component of self-assessment and that these practices can have an impact on self-evaluation abilities.

This study's third hypothesis is that, the peer assessment has a stronger effect on the self-assessment skills when compared the “Group working skills” and “cognitive learning levels”. The results of this study support the assertion. The group members assessed each other's abilities in the areas of taking responsibility, carrying out obligations, contributing to others' learning, participating in discussions, and meeting the requirements of their roles with GWS. They also evaluated the learning of others that results from group cooperation and is consistent with the goals of the learning process with CLL. Eva et al. (2004), Fox & Dinur (1988) and Kruger & Dunning (1999) have proposed that assessment accuracy would rise as ability became simpler and fall as an ability rose in difficulty.

The experimental group's GWS and CLL determination coefficients indicate that training in peer assessment has a strong significant impact on self-assessment. Similarly, the control group's determination coefficient for GWS and CLL is similarly moderately impact on self assessment. As was already indicated, this outcome may be attributed to the fact that both groups adopted a cooperative learning approach. As a consequence, when regression analyses connected to this hypothesis are examined at, it can be said that the self-assessment skill regarding GWS and CLL might be impacted by peer assessment training that was conducted as well as by the cooperative learning approach.

Educational implication

1. All the findings are against the self assessment as compare peer assessment. Therefore, Peer assessment allows them a framework for thinking about their work, what they have learned and how they can get better. The Researchers recommended to institutions employed peer assessment techniques with flexible way and peer assessment techniques are so beneficial for students potentiality development and confidence build.
2. The Investigators realize after experimental, students can apply this knowledge to their future work and whether on a course of study. In the workplace, by focusing on their areas of strength and playing to their weaknesses in areas they have already identified as needing improvement.
3. Research has shown that students make more progress when they are actively involved in their own learning and assessment. The Researchers personally felt, students are becoming more reflective giving students the chance to evaluate their own performance and recognize their own virtues, flaws and opportunities for development.

Conclusion

Three significant conclusions came out from the results. Firstly, this study was conducted on Graduate level and it was observed that the graduate students could adapt in a short time to peer and self-assessment issues that arose from the changes in college level curricula. Secondly, several authors argue that peer assessment might be considered as an aspect of self-assessment and peer assessment can have effect on the development of self-assessment skills. Thirdly, the results of the current study reveal that, peer assessment training could also be an important predictor of self-assessment of challenging or higher abilities.

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Psychological Attachment and Personal Values as Predictors of Job Involvement among Local Government Employees in Ogun State Nigeria

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Abstract

The current paper investigates psychological attachment and personal values as predictors of job involvement among local government employees in Ogun State, Nigeria, using a survey research design. A sample of 275 employees, chosen through the stratified random sampling technique, was used. Instruments employed for data collection were the Demographic Data Inventory (DDI), Organisational Commitment Scale (OCS), Personal Values Scale (PVS), and Job Involvement Questionnaire (JIQ). Three hypotheses were formulated and tested by means of multiple regression analysis and Pearson's product-moment correlation coefficients at the .05 level of significance. Results revealed a significant joint contribution of psychological attachment and personal values ($F(2, 252) = 46.663, p < .05$) and relative contributions of psychological attachment ($Beta = .395, t = 8.803, p < .05$) and personal values ($Beta = .325, t = 7.794, p < .05$) to job involvement. It was subsequently recommended, among others, that managers should make efforts to foster strong psychological attachment and personal values in employees through the provision of staff welfare packages.

Key Words: *Psychological Attachment, Personal Values, Job Involvement, Employees.*

Introduction

Job involvement is crucial to employee and organisational outcomes. It is a concept that is closely related to job satisfaction, but it is argued by many theorists to be two distinct concepts. Job satisfaction concerns the emotional identification of one's job, while job involvement talks about the psychological identification of one's job. In literature, different terms or statements have been used to describe job involvement. However, much disagreement still exists about what job involvement actually is (Ramsey,

Lassk, & Marshall, 1995). Vroom (1962) asserted that a person is ego-involved in a job or task to whatever extent his self-esteem is affected by his perceived level of performance. Lodahl & Kejner (1965) described job involvement as the internalisation of values about the goodness of work or the importance of work in the worth of the individual. They then defined job involvement as the degree to which a person is identified psychologically with his work or the importance of work in his total self-image and the degree to which a person's work performance affects his self-esteem (Lodahl & Kejner, 1965). Lawler and Hall (1970) described job involvement as the degree to which a person perceives his total work situation to be an important part of his life and to be central to him. Kanungo (1982) termed job involvement as a general cognitive state of psychological identification with the job. He also differentiated job involvement from work involvement by highlighting that job involvement is a function of how much the job can satisfy one's present needs. Work involvement, on the other hand, is a normative belief about the value of work in one's life.

Personal values are the guiding principles in life and are critical organisational elements that can significantly affect employee and organisational performance. Schwartz's (1992) theory of basic human values is one of the most comprehensive and empirically grounded approaches to human values (Cieciuch, 2017). Schwartz (1994) contends that values are "desirable trans-situational goals, varying in importance, and that serve as guiding principles in the life of a person or other social entity" (p. 21). This theory assumes that basic values form a universal, circular continuum and are organised in accordance with the motivation that they express. Relationships between motivations can be compatible, conflictual, or irrelevant to one another (Schwartz, 1992). Personal values are motivational since they provide direction and emotional intensity for action. This researcher posits that when an employee's personal values are in agreement with organisational values, there will be positive work attitudes, greater work engagement, and other favourable organisational outcomes. On the other hand, when there is a clash between personal and organisational values, positive work attitudes, outcomes, and engagement will be lower. Academic staff members of universities are individuals upon whose shoulders higher education learning rests. The personal values of these people are reflected in their work behaviour and can have an impact on both organisational citizenship and work engagement. According to Arieli and Tenne-Gazit (2017), employees draw on their personal values in making decisions, choosing actions, and justifying their behaviour. The inability to live according to one's personal values in the workplace has been found to be positively related to job burnout (Retowski & Podsiadły, 2016) and negatively related to job satisfaction (Amos & Weathington, 2008). Hence,

personal values are integrated into this study as a possible predictor of job involvement among local government employees in Ogun State, Nigeria.

According to O'Reilly and Chatman (O'Reilly & Chatman, 1986), psychological attachment refers to connection or bond to an organization that results from identification with the attitudes, values, or goals of the organization. This definition implies that the attributes, motives, or characteristics of the organization or the actual work tasks are accepted by the individual and incorporated into his or her cognitive response set. The development of psychological attachment between an individual employee and his or her work organization and/or work tasks thus entails individual identification with, and appropriation of, central aspects of the organization in which he/she works, or the tasks the individual works with. Positive psychology avers that concurrent experiences of positive affect in the workplace will lead to the evolution of positive psychological attachments towards work-related foci (Fredrickson, 2001). These positive psychological attachments are also referred to as positive work-related states and include affective organizational commitment and experience of meaning at work. These two states describe positive psychological attachments between employees and their organizations (affective organizational commitment) and their work tasks (experience of meaning at work).

These two states contribute to the satisfaction of basic psychological needs in the workplace. Drawing on Keyes (2007), it can be argued that employees with a high level of affective organizational commitment experience, e.g., positive relations with others and social actualization are able to satisfy their basic psychological needs. Furthermore, employees who experience meaning at work may be experiencing e.g. meaningfulness and purpose in life, and this may contribute to the work-related satisfaction of other basic psychological needs (Keyes, 2007). The implication of this is that psychological attachment may increase job involvement among employees. Committed and loyal employees provide many benefits to the organization which may include employees putting in extra effort, serving as positive representatives and going above and beyond the norm to assist the organization in functioning effectively (Ali, Rehman, Ali, Yousaf, & Zia, 2010; Bennett & Durkin, 2010; Feldman & Ng, 2007). Employees that are psychologically attached to the organization are punctual at work and are usually more motivated to put in extra efforts, while, on the other hand, employees having low level of psychological attachment are least motivated.

Hypotheses

1. There is no significant joint contribution of psychological attachment and personal values to job involvement among local government employees in Ogun State, Nigeria.

2. There is no significant relative contribution of psychological attachment and personal values to job involvement among local government employees in Ogun State, Nigeria.
3. There are no significant bivariate relationships between psychological attachment, personal values, and job involvement among local government employees in Ogun State, Nigeria.

Methods

3.1 Design, population, sample, and sampling technique

The descriptive survey research design was adopted in this study. No attempt was made to manipulate any of the variables of the study. These variables were only described as they pre-exist among the participants. The target population comprised of all the employees in the 20 Local Government Areas in Ogun State, Nigeria. A sample size of 300 local government employees was considered adequate for this study. The participants were selected through the stratified random sampling technique from three Local Government Areas in the three Senatorial Districts of Ogun East, Ogun Central, and Ogun West in Ogun State.

3.2 Instruments

The instruments used for data collection in this investigation included the Demographic Data Inventory (DDI), Organizational Commitment Scale (OCS), Personal Values Scale (PVS), and Job Involvement Questionnaire (JIQ). Further information on each of these instruments is given below.

3.2.1 Demographic Data Inventory (DDI)

A Demographic Data Inventory (DDI) having five items was developed by this researcher to assess the demographic characteristics of the respondents, namely, gender, age, cadre, academic qualification, and work experience.

3.2.2 Organizational Commitment Scale (OCS)

Psychological attachment was assessed using a modified and adapted version the Organizational Commitment Scale (OCS) developed by Meyer and Allen (1997). The 22-item OCS is a 4-point Likert-type instrument with three dimensions: Affective commitment, normative commitment, and continuance commitment. Possible responses to items on the scale range from 1 = Strongly Disagree to 4 = Strongly Agree, with the neutral point removed. Sample items on the scale are: "I really feel as if this organization's problems are my own"; "I am not afraid of what might happen if I quit my job without having another one lined up"; and "One of the major reasons I continue to work for this organization is that I believe that loyalty is important and therefore feel a sense of moral obligation to remain". The internal consistency reliability coefficients for the affective, normative, and

continuance commitment sub-scales were .84, .77, and .82, respectively (Kondratuk, Hausdorf, Korabik, & Rosin, 2004).

3.2.3 Personal Values Scale (PVS)

The Personal Values Scale (PVS) was developed by Scott (1965) to measure personal values using 12 sub-scales with four to six items per scale. The sub-scales measure the following: Intellectualism, kindness, social skills, loyalty, academic achievement, physical development, status, honesty, religiousness, self-control, creativity, and independence. The whole instrument is rated on a 3-point Likert-type scale with responses 1 = always dislike, 2 = depends on situation, and 3 = always admire. Sample items on the scale are: "Thinking and acting freely, without social restraints, and encouraging others to do likewise" and "Being able to get people to cooperate with you". The developer reported reliability coefficients, using Cronbach's alpha, for the Personal Value Scale ranged from .80 to .89. The developer reported comparable alpha reliability coefficients, ranging from .78 for independence and status to .92 for religiousness. In terms of validity, correlations between the short and long forms of each value were reasonably high, ranging from .66 for intellectualism to .81 for physical development and religiousness.

3.2.4 Job Involvement Questionnaire (JIQ)

Job Involvement was assessed using the Job Involvement Questionnaire (JIQ) developed by Kanungo (1982) who proposed a ten-item measure of job involvement which he felt was representative of the conceptualization of job involvement. The JIQ is a 10-item Likert-type instrument with six points. Possible responses on the scale are 1 = strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = somewhat disagree, 4 = somewhat agree, 5 = agree, and 6 = strongly agree. Sample items on the JIQ include: 1. "I am very much involved personally in my job" and 2. "I have very strong ties with my present job which would be very difficult to break". Kanungo (1982) reports test-retest coefficients of .74, .85 and .82 for the three forms of the JIQ; the Cronbach's alpha coefficients for these forms were found to be .81, .87 and .70 respectively. Criterion validity was illustrated by significant correlations with job satisfaction (Kanungo, 1982). Kanungo (1982) used factor analysis to prove that job involvement is a unidimensional construct and states that his JIQ showed reasonably high levels of internal consistency, test-retest reliability, as well as convergent and discriminant validity. Corroborating this, Kaplan (1990) concludes from his factor analytical study on a South African sample (N = 1791) of fourteen professional groups, that the Kanungo (1982) JIQ is a robust and unidimensional measure, seeing that all but one of the job involvement items loaded well above the 0.30 criterion on the single job

involvement factor. He found that item number seven did not load statistically significant with the other items on the measurement.

Data collection procedure

Three hundred copies of the instruments were administered personally by the researcher. Two hundred and fifty-five copies were retrieved, giving an attrition rate of 15%. The administration was carried out after the purpose of the study and the benefits realizable from it have been communicated to the participants and they have been assured about the confidentiality of information they may volunteer. The data collection exercise lasted for a period of two weeks.

3.3 Method of data analysis

The data collected were analyzed using appropriate statistics. Specifically, the first and second hypotheses were tested using multiple regression analysis, while the third hypothesis was analyzed by means of Pearson's product-moment correlation coefficients. All tests were carried out at the .05 level of significance.

4. Results

Hypothesis one

H₀₁: There is no significant joint contribution of psychological attachment and personal values to job involvement among local government employees in Ogun State, Nigeria.

Table 4.1: Model summary and coefficients of the multiple regression analysis for the joint contribution of psychological attachment and personal values to job involvement

Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	18463.601	2	9231.801	46.663	.000
	Residual	49855.263	252	197.838		
	Total	68318.864	254			

Model Summary: R = .497; R Square = .247; Adj R Square = .239; Std. Error = 6.83452

Dependent Variable: Job Involvement

Predictors: (Constant), Psychological Attachment, Personal Values

With the predictor variables entered into the model at the same time, Table 4.1 revealed significant results ($F_{(2, 252)} = 46.663, p < .05$). The null hypothesis is therefore rejected in favour of the alternative hypothesis, leading to the conclusion that there is a significant joint contribution of psychological attachment and personal values to job involvement among local government employees in Ogun State, Nigeria. Table 4.1 further revealed that the predictor variables (psychological attachment and personal values) accounted for 23.9% variance in job involvement (Adj R Square = .239).

Hypothesis two

Ho2: There is no significant relative contribution of psychological attachment and personal values to job involvement among local government employees in Ogun State, Nigeria.

Table 4.2: Coefficients of the multiple regression analysis for the relative contribution of psychological attachment and personal values to job involvement

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	6.030	5.845		10.473	.000
	Psychological Attachment	.491	.066	.395	8.803	.000
	Personal Values	.628	.072	.325	7.794	.000
a. Dependent Variable: Job Involvement						

Table 4.2 revealed significant results. Specifically, there were significant relative contributions of psychological attachment (Beta = .395, $t = 8.803, p < .05$) and personal values (Beta = .325, $t = 7.794, p < .05$) to job involvement among local government employees in Ogun State, Nigeria. These results further revealed that psychological attachment was a more potent predictor of job involvement than personal values.

Hypothesis three

Ho3: There are no significant bivariate relationships between psychological attachment, personal values, and job involvement among local government employees in Ogun State, Nigeria.

Table 4.3: Correlation matrix for the interrelationships among psychological attachment, personal values, and job involvement

	Psychological Attachment	Personal Values	Job Involvement
Psychological Attachment	1.000	.227*	.395*
Personal Values		1.000	.325*
Job Involvement			1.000

* Correlation was significant at 0.05 level (2-tailed)

Table 4.3 revealed significant results. The null hypothesis was therefore rejected and the alternative hypothesis was upheld, leading to the conclusion that there are significant bivariate positive relationships between psychological attachment, personal values, and job involvement among local government employees in Ogun State, Nigeria. The strongest relationship was between psychological attachment and job involvement ($r = .395$, $p < .05$). This was successively followed by the relationships between personal values and job involvement ($r = .325$, $p < .05$) and psychological attachment and personal values ($r = .227$, $p < .05$).

Conclusion and recommendations

Based on the findings of this study it is concluded that psychological attachment and personal values contributed jointly and independently to the prediction of job involvement among local government employees in Ogun State, Nigeria. Significant bivariate positive relationships also existed among the variables of the study. The significant positive relationship between the two predictor variables (psychological attachment and personal values) emphasizes the close association between the two constructs. This however implies that there may be a problem of multicollinearity in the study. In other words, psychological attachment and personal values may be two dimensions of the same construct. Subsequently, the following recommendations are made:

- (i) Managers should make efforts to foster strong psychological attachment and personal values in employees through provision of staff welfare packages. Programmes, seminars and workshops designed to enrich

employees' psychological attachment and personal values should be encouraged.

- (ii) Employers and managers should make efforts to ensure that employees are psychologically attached to the organization. Attachment in the form of organizational commitment, organizational trust and organizational identification must be ensured. To this end, programmes and policies that make workers feel that they are part of the organization should be advocated. This could be in the form of participatory management strategies where employees are allowed to participate in decision making, regular payment of salaries and other fringe benefits, etc.
- (iii) Job involvement is a commitment factor arising from attachment to organizations. In an effort to ensure that local government employees are involved in their jobs, the work environment at every sphere such as psychological, social and physical must be conducive. To this end, the office space must be such that allow for easy flow of air. The lightening must be good enough. Where possible, air conditioners must be installed to make workers comfortable.
- (iv) Recreational facilities should be provided that can make workers relax to re-energize during break time. Staff canteens should be provided within the local government complex.

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BOOK REVIEW

The Uncertain World: The Opportunities, the Choices, and the Indian Strategy.

A Review Essay on the volume by S. Jaishankar (2022). *The India Way: Strategies for an Uncertain World*. Harper and Collins.

-Harish K. Thakur

The post-Cold War world order is taking shape, and India is one of the three leading trio states: the US, India, and China. Most of the international agencies like *Statistica*, *PWC*, *Carnegie*, and *Visual Capitalist* have put this order in reverse, with China, India, and the US as the first three top-ranked economies by 2050. The world that belonged to the G7 will transform into the E7 with Indonesia, Mexico, and Turkey as the new entrants. The E7, or BRICTIM (Brazil, Russia, India, China, Turkey, Indonesia, and Mexico), has three new entrants in BRIC, which would share the largest part of the world economy. It is not a miracle, but rather the outcome of factors like the saturation of the developed world, the cyclic change that was long due (the Wheel of History), the geo-strategic dynamics, trade and market, human resource availability, science and technology, and the infrastructural built-up. It's important to note that the concept of saturation doesn't mean that development stops entirely, but rather that growth rates may slow down or become more challenging to sustain. The period is a transitional phase witnessing the shift of global dominance balance from the west to the east, or from the US and Europe to Asia.

It is in this backdrop that S. Jaishankar, the Foreign Minister of India, has come out with a volume that envisions a long way, termed 'The India Way', for India to deal with the new world, which is 'uncertain' and mark India's presence as a dynamic world leader. The volume is represented by eight chapters incorporating the incandescent flashpoints of global dynamics like the changing world order and the rebalancing process and its aftermath, weak leadership and the initial fog over the decision-making in India, the emerging geopolitical shifts, the Indian response to the changing order, the rise of China, the pre-Kautilyan flambeaus of strategic guidance beginning from Mahabharat, the Indo-Japanese relations and the Asian balancing, the rise of Indo-Pacific Command and the Indo-US dominance to vacate it from

Chinese influence, and the increased role of QUAD members in developing an equilibrium in world politics.

Former National Security Adviser and Foreign Secretary Shivshankar Menon once described India's foreign policy under Prime Minister Modi as not up to par. He defined it as a policy of strategic incoherence, executed without an 'overarching conceptual framework' (Menon, 2018). However, seen through the lens of other policy analysts, there has been a tremendous change in the approach and practice. "The Modi foreign policy is powered by ideas, not by any ideology. Indeed, Mr. Modi has demonstrated a knack for skillfully employing level-headed ideas to shape a non-doctrinaire vision and galvanize public opinion. On domestic policy, too, he is using the power of ideas such as "Swachh Bharat" (or Clean India). In the strategic domain, he is taking his "Make in India" mission to the heavily import-dependent defense sector. The real test ultimately will be Mr. Modi's ability to translate his ideas into transformative accomplishments (Chellani, 2014).

Multiple policy measures have been implemented since 2014. In addition to advancing the military modernization plan, the Modi administration emphasized soft diplomacy via initiatives such as 'Act East' and 'The Necklace of Diamonds'. It demonstrated the principles of the 'Gujarat Doctrine' and the diplomatic skills of Prime Minister Vajpayee when Prime Minister Modi invited the leaders of all South Asian neighboring governments to his inauguration ceremony. In September 2018, he improved relations with Pakistan by attending the wedding of Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's granddaughter as part of 'tea diplomacy'. His foreign and security policies were characterized by a clear vision and a greater focus on achieving specific goals compared to previous approaches.

The International Relations and Foreign Policy students are aware of the constructivist theory that places more focus on the core concepts in any policy determination, which are primarily socially constructed. In other words, ideational factors like culture, prevalent knowledge structure, and running narratives have a powerful impact on decision-making and policy formulation. Alexander Wendt calls two increasingly accepted basic tenets of constructivism: "that the structures of human association are determined primarily by shared ideas rather than material forces, and that the identities and interests of purposeful actors are constructed by these shared ideas rather than given by nature" (Wendt, 1999). This does not mean that constructivists believe international politics is "ideas all the way down," but rather is characterized both by material factors and ideational factors (Fearon; Wendt, 2002). The role of national consciousness and identity also has a direct bearing on policymaking. Isa Erbas (2022) observes: "The intermediate category of ideas, general attitudes, and frames connects the core values of national identity to the causal ideas that shape policy choices. The process of

national identity construction cannot be detached from the socio-political setting in which it takes place." One could trace the signs of epistemological structures, cultural values, history, and social constructs in interaction with the foreign policy applications of Israel, the US, the UK, and China. Quite recently, India has also shown interest in borrowing from its rich strategic culture, no matter how several scholars and agencies have declared that India does not have a strategic culture.

In the preface, 'One Trend, Four Shocks', updated in March 2022, S. Jaishankar makes it clear that we have to come out of the conventional rhetoric that foreign policy tends to focus on the foreign part, the other people, which may be true, but the growing reality is that it has reached our homes" (xi). After the great depression of 2008, new centres of production and consumption have emerged, delineating the centres of power and strategic engagements. Though militarily the US still holds a comfortable lead and industrially Europe has no match, the role of financial instruments, trade, growth, human resources, and markets has played a crucial role in causing a spin around the cold war and post-cold war order. The new order, whose architecture is still under shape and may remain mercurial for quite some time, is uncertain due to the rise of China and the incursions of unilateralism against the multilateral ethics of international norms and governance.

After the collapse of bipolarity, the world, for a short time, turned unipolar. India had to reposition itself in the new situation. The Indo-US rapprochement was the consequence, and the Nuclear Deal 2008 was the net outcome. It had to face the charges of compromise with the logic of the non-alignment movement and leaning towards the US. It was a time when, in Parliament, the left and the BJP were found in the same corner, expressing concern about the fragility of the deal and compromising with the ideational constructs of foreign policy. However, today, in the twenties, the world is once again multi-polar and offers far more options. The time is crucial for India, and so is the choice. "The country finds itself at another crossroads, this time one where the choices are less clear and the risks more complicated. To forge ahead, it is imperative that there is an adequate appreciation of the enormity of the disruption to which the international system is now subjected" (42).

Although India has been a countable power in world politics since the founding of the United Nations, it was only in 2017 that it was officially declared a global power. This is to the credit of the current regime that even the National Security Strategic Report of the White House, presented in December 2017, and welcomed Indian entry into the club of leading global powers. It read, "We welcome India's emergence as a leading global power and stronger strategic and defense partner." In the meantime, faced with the challenge of choice, as it was with the first Indian government, it has successfully waded through the complex situation and maintained a strategic

autonomy, which, observes S. Jaishankar, “has undergone a radical change due to globalization. Strategic autonomy can no longer be visualized as keeping a safe distance from dominant players. It is instead a derivative of capabilities, allowing the fending off of pressures and the exercise of choices (xiii). Historically, India has also displayed a strategic culture of its own, which, for the time being, faced a hiatus during the centuries of foreign subjugation. And now S. Jaishankar remarks that “as a rising power, India will continuously rub against an international order, parts of which may not always be amenable to its rise” (xiv).

The rise of the new identity crisis of the twenty-first century, based on ethnicities and nationalistic fervour, as alarmed by Fukuyama (2018), has a role here. “A new precarious state is in view, and conservatism has reincarnated in a newer garb through new identity zealots or tribes of different collectivities articulating on traditional lines. Against liberal democracy, an anti-thesis has emerged with the spate of retributive stringent assertions under collective identities violent, dominant, exclusive, and subjugating, intimidating its very existence and leading towards chaos” (Thakur, 2020). The author warns of “the consequences of a staunch nationalistic approach to world affairs, which may undeniably weaken the multilateral rules in many domains. This will be particularly sharp with respect to economic interests and sovereign concerns. Undermining the workings of the World Trade Organization and the Laws of the Seas are not good signs. This prospect of multipolarity with less multilateralism suggests a more difficult future, even for the near term” (32). In the meantime, Jaishankar expresses the potential of nationalism, which may ignite more confidence, realism, and strength in policy formulation.

Financial instruments, displays of strength, and connectivity projects have provided opportunities to assert power without physically clashing with competitors” (37).

The fall of states into a spate of retrogressive waves of ethnicity, identity, and nationalism is another concern expressed in the volume. There have been different movements like ‘anti-immigration movements’ in Europe and the US, the ‘black lives matter’, the ‘America First’ and ‘America for Americans’ in the US, and the ‘China Dream’. The other states may also follow suit. The dream of the ‘Great Ottoman Empire’ runs high in Turkish politics, and Iran and Saudi Arabia are also busy finding similar narratives. The idea of ‘Bharat’ is also not new in India, which is getting more currency over ‘India’ these days. The impact of the concept is immense, and it has polarized the electoral world in India into two parts: the ‘Bharat’ part led by the BJP and the ‘India’ part led by ‘India-Alliance’. The ethnicity cleavage has also emerged with the talk of ‘Aryans’ and ‘Dravidians’ in public speeches. In the foreign policy domain, the idea of ‘Bharat’ is more

prevalent, and the goal of ‘Viksit Bharat at 2047’ lies at the root of the policy planners. The idea of a “Viksit Bharat 2047” of the government of India outlays a vision of a greater India and secures the status of a developed nation by the year 2047, marking the 100th anniversary. S. Jaishankar warns against disruptive politics at home and the rise of dividing forces that seriously impact the functioning of foreign policy too. He also emphasizes how the nationalistic approach to foreign policy gives more confidence and realism in practice. What may be different about India, holds Jaishankar, “is that unlike in many world powers, that sense of nationalism doesn’t translate into an ‘us versus the world’ mentality. For reasons that derive from our innate pluralism, there is a tradition of reconciling nationalism with global engagement. Not driven by victimhood, Indian nationalism has the potential to serve as a bridge between the established and emerging orders,” writes the author (114).

Although India and China are two civilizational powers, in their current situation, there is a considerable gap in their economies. Their national power index also shows a huge gap, which has to be covered up incrementally. “We have yet to build some deep capabilities, achieve human development indices, or create the growth conditions that China has had for the last four decades. On the contrary, we have made industrialization harder and, until recently, paid inadequate attention to developing the requisite levels of capacities and skills” (151). The two have a long history of mutual interaction. India remained a centre of knowledge for the east and the west, and several travel accounts unravel its glory and rich knowledge traditions. As part of the Churchill Plan and post-colonial rule designs of the British, the territorial dispute, a legacy, turned into a substantial feud between the two. The counsel laid out by Sardar Patel to Nehru about the danger from the north proved true. The poor handling of the Tibet issue also kept the borders volatile. Today, China’s growing presence in South Asia poses a serious threat to national security. Now the Chinese danger is not only from the north but also from the south. Jaishankar considers India’s strategic partnership with Japan very significant. Since Japan is a technological powerhouse and a potential global power, India should strengthen its ties with Japan to secure Asian balance.

The volume also gives due space to the rise of the Indo-Pacific, a region that is home to some of the world's most powerful economies and rising global powers like India, China, Japan, Australia, Indonesia, and Malaysia. Alfred Thayer Mahan, an admiral in the US Navy, had predicted long ago, in the 19th century, the significance of the Indian Ocean in the 21st century since world politics would hinge upon it (Thakur, 2016). The strategic significance of the Indian Ocean was also referred to by the famous scholars of geopolitics Haushofer and Mackinder.. Mahan observed in 1897, “Whoever controls the Indian Ocean will dominate Asia. This ocean will be the key to

the seven seas in the 21st century. The destiny of the world will be decided by its waters' (Mahan, 1919). Amidst the changing dynamics of world politics in the 21st century, the Indian Ocean and the Indo-Pacific have come under immense pressure. Maritime activities in the Indian Ocean have increased in the wake of China's proposed Maritime Silk Route as part of its ambitious BRI project. In view of the available alternatives, the IOR states have been readjusting and re-strategizing their policies.

Jaishankar categorizes the history of Indian foreign policy into six phases, ranging from the NAM movement and the idealism of Nehru through the realism of Shastri and Indira to the current phase. He considers the current phase of foreign policy under the Modi government as a phase of dynamic transformation, transitioning into a state that is progressively enhancing its national security. India's foreign policy has transformed under Prime Minister Modi, embracing a pragmatic stance on national security and foreign policy matters. The nation's economic development, known as *Aatmanirbhar Bharat*, is crucial for attaining its geopolitical ambitions. India's foreign policy has to navigate many global challenges since the international order is becoming more chaotic and multipolar. This period of strategic risk-taking and positivity has the potential to enhance India's global standing. India must acknowledge the inconsistencies in its foreign policy, including the Anglo-American alliance and Sino-Soviet divisions. Identifying these inconsistencies is essential for India's foreign policy to navigate between areas of agreement and areas of disagreement. S. Jaishankar's vision, views, lectures, and debates provide a valuable understanding of India's foreign policy operations. Doctrine, a blend of art, science, and wisdom, is crucial for India's foreign policy to fulfil its enduring economic goals.

Jaishankar follows a multi-pronged approach and issue-based alignment in foreign relations. India has been dealing with the powers and the states, which are lesser powers but could be in the orbit of greater powers, accordingly, keeping the Indian national interest first. "A world of multiple choices is increasingly opening at different levels. We surely see that at the big table, where larger powers are dealing more opportunistically with each other. Through their behaviour, they encourage the rest of the world to also do so (36). The volume in all counsels for the following of a moderate realist approach laced with Patel's advice and Mahabharata's wit of decision-making. The biggest failure, if any could be seen in the current scenario, is the erosion of Indian influence in South Asia and the increased interference of China. India has to reinvigorate its energy and focus here. "Regionally, India should display the wisdom of treating its prosperity as a lifting tide for the entire region. That means assigning a higher degree of attention and greater resources—a policy captured by the neighbourhood first" (115).

What India needs, holds Jaishankar, is greater realism, more economic capabilities, multiple engagements, risk-taking, and reading global trends right (99). His approach of multi-pronged engagements, need-based alignments, decoloniality, evolving free Indian strategic autonomy, and encouraging minilateral moves as quick solutions in view of a weakened multilateral order and unilateral incursions will surely pay for India, though it may take time.

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