DIRECTORATE OF DISTANCE EDUCATION

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH BENGAL

MASTER OF ARTS-POLITICAL SCIENCE

SEMESTER -I

MAJOR ISSUES IN INDIAN POLITICS

SOFT CORE-103

BLOCK-1

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH BENGAL

FOREWORD

The Self Learning Material (SLM) is written with the aim of providing simple and organized study content to all the learners. The SLMs are prepared on the framework of being mutually cohesive, internally consistent and structured as per the university's syllabi. It is a humble attempt to give glimpses of the various approaches and dimensions to the topic of study and to kindle the learner's interest to the subject

We have tried to put together information from various sources into this book that has been written in an engaging style with interesting and relevant examples. It introduces you to the insights of subject concepts and theories and presents them in a way that is easy to understand and comprehend.

We always believe in continuous improvement and would periodically update the content in the very interest of the learners. It may be added that despite enormous efforts and coordination, there is every possibility for some omission or inadequacy in few areas or topics, which would definitely be rectified in future.

We hope you enjoy learning from this book and the experience truly enrich your learning and help you to advance in your career and future endeavors.

MAJOR ISSUES IN INDIAN POLITICS

BLOCK -1

BLOCK -2

BLOCK–1   MAJOR ISSUES IN INDIAN POLITICS

Introduction to the Block

In this block we will go through nature in Indian state, religion in Indian politics, regionalism in India, migration in India

Unit 1 focuses on Indian state

Unit 2 focuses on globalization

Unit 3 focuses on caste and politics

Unit 4 focuses on religion

Unit 5 focuses on regionalism

Unit 6 deals with development in Indian politics

Unit 7 deals with migration in India

UNIT- 1 NATURE OF INDIAN STATE

STRUCTURE

1.0 OBJECTIVES

After studying this unit, you should be able to:

- Able to understand the nature of the State in India
- Know the major approaches of the State
- Examine the historical evidences as well.

1.1 INTRODUCTION

According to Philip Abrams (Abrams 1988) as studying the state, suggests that states can be studied by logical reasoning by separating them into the state-system and the state-idea. The former understood to a 'palpable nexus of practice and institutional structure centred in government' and the latter elucidate the design about the state, planned, provided and variously understood in different societies and different time'(Abrams 1988:82). The latter state-idea can be refers as the ideological grounding of the state providing legality to the exercise of state power (state-system). The necessity to study the state is as follows:

A perceptive of the nature of the state on the part of the students studying state enables them to observe on the vision of the state, its organizations and procedures, as reproduced in the laws, programmes and policies and other activities taken by the executive. Most significantly, it permits them to recognize how they are formed and precious by the present socio-economic and political formations.

1.2 THE NATURE OF INDIAN STATE

Comparatively the steady growth of democracy in India and slow but stable economic growth during the last seventy years of independence emerge outstanding to several observers. The survival and endurance of the democratic state of India and its ability to manage sensibly constant economic expansion can be elucidates partially in provisos of "the legacies of statelessness and state formation that distinguish India from most Third World countries".

It is regarded always nature of controversy about the nature of the Indian State everytime. With the new organisational structure on one side and launches a democratic state as constitution of India declares it. Whereas the opponents consider the Indian state is of federal in nature, considered as entrepreneurial in background and bureaucratic in form. Similarly, the Communist Party of India observed it as middle class or bourgeoisies in agreement with the huge business and maintained by finances from

foreign. The CPI party also agrees this vision of the Indian state and it would not agree the thesis of association.

The chief features of the Indian states will have the following characters:

1.2.1. Centralized State:

The significance of the decentralization of the state was stated by Mahatma Gandhi in the Indian back ground however the centralized state has been appeared in the procedure of growth. Every authority of growth of economy and social adjusts are conferred in the state and it has offered enormous authorities in the areas of industrial growth and agriculture, and in India the state runs public sectors, offers the security of its citizens in order to impose law and order effectively. State also starts and run the institutions such as education, hospitals and co-operative societies. Similarly, it takes care of commerce, trade and industry as well. State can also begin courts, for justice also accountable for encouraging entertainment and sports and are centralized with the state and hence India is heading in the direction of "Statism". As Rajni Kothari stated that, "the ideology of a stronger and centralized state and the cult of personality have brought close to ruin. If is an illusion to think that it is any longer a democracy".

1.2.2. Liberal Democratic State:

A political method of democracy or the rule of the people in fact indicates the model of a liberal state and it makes the regime a legal one in the correct means. The government machinery is actually governing by the elected representatives of the people and is responsible for their policies and actions. Discussion and expression of thoughts, freedom of speech, universal adult franchise and importantly, free and fair elections timely so on, all involve constant test of legality of the government. It is true that the democratic state with liberalism is grounded on suppositions of the government is not conclusion in itself however, means for the understanding utmost betterment of the maximum number; and the power of the government is not total whereas restricted by the laws; the accomplishment of the authority is unwrap and is not secret; there are more than one political party also; timely elections depended on the open

franchise; and most significantly the mass media not dominated by the government.

The above stated points fetch that India is one and it rises for the protection of the total belongings of a democratic liberal state. Delegated and accountable government, sovereign official, adult franchise, rule of law, timely elections and division of authorities. The Indian model state consists of restricted government and party systems with competition are the fundamental characters. As stated by Rajanai Kothari, "while economic and social change is in important and respects planned and directed from above, it is nonetheless carried on within the framework of an open and undirected polity".

1.2.3. Bureaucratic State:

Nevertheless, the nature of Indian state is bureaucratic and it is very important tool of current state.It is verysignificant to consider that the growth procedure of India began within the structure of ably advanced administrative framework; the essential programmes such as community development, education, local self-government, industrialization, agriculture have been advanced in the structure that is importantly administrative and bureaucratic in nature. The composition of administration is more significant outcome of capacity are the lower runs of the bureaucracy; excessive adherence has served to suffocatebureaucratic inventiveness and thoughts. A process contains as Appleby stated, called "the hierarchical movement of paper"; Disinclined to admit accountability even for small verdicts, trivial bureaucratic transfer the files, carefully tied in red tape, but we have perfected it". In this accountability is weakened in postponed in reality. As mentioned by Kothari, "Red tape becomes a technique of self-preservation".

1.2.4. Bourgeois State:

It is mentioned and guaranteed by the constitution about the rights of property obtained vital character of the constitution of the bourgeois state. The state is growing in harmony with the fundamental rule of the constitution reasonably and became the state of bourgeois. A. R. Desai mentioned that, a state which will not assure the right to work loses it

does assert to be named a representative property less class. By this it can be assumed the representative of the property classes, in India usually called as the capitalist class.

1.2.5. Welfare State:

The idea of welfare state is symbolizing a complete mixing of two verities of states like liberal democracy and authoritarian communist as well. It make use of the aspect of liberty from a tolerant democratic state and blends it with the stress on welfare of the public of an authoritarian state and it makes the replica of a fresh state, it also represent the replica of a totally new state that holds the righteous features of democracy and the socialism as well.

The makers of the constitution of India integrated several provisos planned to make India as a welfare state. The main goal of the welfare state is obviously predicted in constitution's preamble and nearly all part IV of the Indian constitution. It also contains the Directive principle of the state plan. According to the Article 36 of Indian constitution "the state shall strive to promote the welfare of the people by securing and protecting as effectively as may be a social order in which justice social, economic and political shall inform all the institutions of national life".

1.2.6. Secular State:

In the preamble of the Indian constitution, the government have addeda word 'Secular' to the description as a 'Sovereign Democratic Republic'. This actually shows the pledge to the aim of the secularism and it has been spelled in the real terms. It is obvious that any secular state would have both negative and positive features. It can be considered as antithesis of communal or theocratic state negatively and can be represented specifically with a religion. For example, Pakistan announced as Islamic state. In secular state there is no official religion. The positive feature of a secular state is that it treats all its citizens equal and provided similar opportunities to all. According to Alexandrowicz, "India as secular state guarantees, constitutionally, freedom of religion to all persons, and does not assign a special position to any particular religion" moreover India has no official religion. It is also stated in

secular country that, no bias can be made on the grounds of religion, caste, creed, colour, faith and sex. Every person is equal in front of law, it also assures to rights to preserve own language andcan start educational institutions by the religious minorities of India. A significant espousal of the proviso that elections can be held timely and elimination of communal electorates and elections held on the grounds of universal franchise and joint electorates.

1.2.7. Interventionist State:

It is considered that the state of India is interventionist whether it supports it or condemns, it is very vital institutional aspect in the modern India and is not expected to alter soon. This kind of state would contain of low-level growth in economy which is the aspect that shares with several third world nations.This kind of state is merely mediator of political order in India; it is also accountable for encouraging socio-economic progress. Those double accountabilities have led to a vastly internationalist Indian state.

After the independence, among the political leaders and the economists there was extensive agreement that the state must be the chief tool for the altering the present structure of the economy and to lead towards the development. In the last 20 years a legal and reasonably steady state which is certain of capability to put the programme for socio-economic alteration what has developed into a reactive state. This kind of state is universal, whereas feeble and is centralized and interventionist and appears incapable.

1.2.8. Elitist State:

It was observed in the starting of the national battle one can observe a hollowness. The individuals at different state of society obtained role in the national struggle. However, by and large the leadership came from those who are educated, economically and socially well off. The poor was unable reach such leadership position any more.

It can be observed that elitist people who are rich or people with good education with foreign background from Oxford or Cambridge or Barristers were seen in the first parliament. They led the life style like

western. During the post-independence growth of the economy also progressed additionally and was it was able for the middle classes to get chances in the areas of education or in the universities out of their area. This particular sect becomes the counter for the elite group and slowly more and more individuals elected into the parliament. The number of the individuals of earlier slowly started disappearing from the positions and the second group in fact took over and they actually became the elite group now.

1.2.9. Federal State With Unitary Bias:

In fact, it is possibly the most outstanding accomplishment of the Indian constitution is to grant upon a federal system the vigour of a unitary government is federal; the constitution permits the federation to transform into a unitary state. The constitution of India created a federal polity has been shaped by separating the nation into position and allotting them task as particular in the constitution. Resembling all other federations Indians also drafted constitution which is correct to a great level. It has double polity, separation of authority between the centre and states and it is guarded by our constitution and it will decide all arguments which may develop between the centre and the states.

These features of the federal position unable to survive; the constitution of India is regarded as unitary bias. For example, after allocation of the legislative power in their lists remaining subjects are left with the union. Even in subjects in the concurrent lists, the central government has the authority. Not like other federations, the Indian parliament has a right to modify the borders of the states. The governors are the heads of the state, are appointed by the president and these governors considered as his mediators in the state. At any moment the centre can announce emergency in the state and by that the centre can take over the administration of the state by itself.

1.2.10. A State Going In The Direction Of Socialism:

The Indian National Congress has envisaged and shaped policies in the Indian economy ever since its birth in 1885, as a national movement and

later as a main Indian political party in the government. The policies of the national congress party were socialistic in nature. In the year 1955 January, the Avadi session of the congress approved a remarkable declaration declares the idea of the congress is to be "the establishment of a socialistic pattern of society". Beneath which the major means of making would be brought under social ownership or organize production would be gradually hasted up and there would be fair distribution of wealth.

Congress government at the centre after passing of the Avadi resolution it took two major steps in the direction of making a socialistic organization. The imperial Bank of India was transformed into a public owned bank as State Bank of India and similarly insurance was nationalized.

The recently stated objective of attaining a socialistic model of society was unavoidably led to superior state intervention in the areas of commerce and industry. On 30th April, 1956 the resolution on industrial policy was declared and this resolution sited larger pressure on the increase of the public sector.

In January 1964, during the Bhubaneswar session of the congress results one more milestone in the growth of its ideology towards socialism. In that session the national congress accepted a decision which was the largely complete description of the congress ideology in the Nehruvian era. The resolution states, "The congress ideology may thus be summed up as democratic socialism based on democracy, dignity of individual and social justice". That resolution, made it apparent that although 'Socialism' is the goal of the congress party, democracy is the process and its ideology therefore it can be expressed as 'democratic socialism'.The recently stated objective of attaining a socialistic model of society was unavoidably led to superior state intervention in the areas of commerce and industry. On 30th April, 1956 the resolution on industrial policy was declared and this resolution sited larger pressure on the increase of the public sector.

1.2.11. Repressive State:

The Indian state is regarded as the capitalistic state and shape is definitely democratic in nature and it do not stop it from restraining liberty, limiting rights, arresting of innocent people and assassination of the opponents in undemocratic manner.

Repressive State: The Indian state is a capitalist state. Its form is certainly democratic but that does not prevent it from curbin freedom, curtailing rights, are arresting without trials the innocent citizens and killing the opponents in a most undemocratic way. The propagation of the oppressive machinery in the Indian state system is not a misfortune. India is considered as the poor nation and has the largest police force in the world. The trust in the growth of the police force on the fraction of the ruling class undoubtedly specifies that it believes oppression as the appropriate means of managing socio-economic and political problems of the community. The police are consistently deployed to deal with agitations by the students, labour unrest, peasants fight or infra methodical disagreement. It is observed that in India the victims of police violence are the poor or the individuals of the lower castes and minorities. At Bhagalpur the under trials who were blinded included "the poor three Muslims, one Sikh, the rest Hindu mostly from the lower castes".

Check your progress-1

1. Discuss the nature of Indian state.

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2. Discuss the centralized state.

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3. Discuss the liberal democratic state.

1.3 THE STRUCTURAL AND FUNCTIONAL EVOLUTION

The structural-functional pattern of administration that India inherited was based on colonial ideas and philosophy. Indian State was constrained to establish new administrative structures and functions in the immediate post-independence phase. Thus, it adapted to an administrative system that was actually suited to British requirement rather than ours. The basic structure of civil and criminal law as well as of its administration was inherited from the colonial period besides, of course, the creation of a Supreme Court and its position in the new Constitutional scheme. Similarly, the British model of a professional army strictly under the control of the political leadership was successfully maintained in post-independence India. The bureaucracy in India is neither monolithic nor homogenous (Vithal, 1997). The heterogeneity of the bureaucracy usually reflects the social and class composition of society at large and of the ruling class in particular, but in the case of India, it was consciously planned by the British in view of the peculiar circumstances of their rule. It consisted of three distinct echelons of administration, namely the covenanted services, the gazetted services and nongazetted services. Each of the three echelons has evolved in its own way since 5 independence. Interestingly, the higher civil service is not the only site occupied by the 'political elites' a significant faction of it has, over the years, become involved in intra-coalition conflicts at the state level. The postindependence political process has given rise to changes in the class composition of the political executive that was more rapid and far-reaching than those in the social composition of the civil services. It has resulted in disparity and conflicts at times and horizontal links between the two. Sometimes, one comes across a great deal of skepticism about the integrity of superior officers as well as political bosses and corresponding readiness to believe allegations of misappropriation as well as misbehaviour. The role of the

State is determined largely by its structural and functional evolution. The same is true of the Indian State. As a conceptual entity, the Indian State is based on universally accepted moral principles, humanism and democratic ideals. Its structure is elaborately laid down in the Constitution in its various parts, chapters and articles. It has evolved over the years, as guided by usually a core charismatic leadership, epitomised for a long initial phase of one party dominance. Gradually, one party dominance has paved way for polarised pluralism and more and more elements have entered the State system through free and fair elections. In spite of the turmoil of partition and consequent political chaos caused by ethnic riots, India has sought to emerge as a 'Union of State'. Power has been vested in the people of India who are regarded as the makers of 'Sovereign Democratic Republic'. Thus, the Indian Constitution has constituted the principal site for the elaboration of the political discourse of the Indian State and also become central to an analysis of the changing role of political and bureaucratic structures. Over the years, political contestation has increased in India. For instance, in the first general elections, held in 1952, on an average 4 candidates per parliamentary seat were in fray, the number rose to 16 in the 10th general elections in 1991. Interestingly, while the national parties have more or less held their own, independents have lost out to regional parties, which have grown incredibly in number as well as in significance. The rise of regional parties and increased contestation have also meant that the chances of any one party winning a majority of parliamentary seats have declined. Coalition government at the Centre has tended to become inescapable. This has led to the concept of governance on the basis of a Common Minimum Programme accepted by all the constituents of the coalition government. And, since even the coalition governments may need outside support to survive, consultation and consensus politics have tended to become the norm and may well give rise to a 'Consociational State' (Lijphart, 1989), which could make it possible to have a reasonably stable democratic polity despite a deeply divided or segmented society. With increased social mobilisation and political contestation, the Indian State has been facing what is usually termed as the crisis of governability (Kohli, op.cit.). Personal rule has replaced

party rule at all levels and below the rulers, the entrenched civil and police services have been increasingly politicised. Various social groups have pressed new and ever more diverse political demands in demonstrations that often have led to violence. The omnipresent, highly interventionist but feeble State, in turn, vacillates; its responses are varied in form of indifference, sporadic concessions, and repression. Such response and 6 vacillation fuels further opposition. The growing political and communal violence tends to periodically bring the armed forces into India's political arena. All this puts into question the capacity of the Indian State to govern which, in turn, concerns primarily the State's capacity simultaneously to accommodate disparate interests and promote development in view of the persistent feeling that over the last few decades, India's institutional capacity to deal with conflict and initiate solutions has declined (ibid). However, if one focuses exclusively on the formal aspects of the Indian Constitution, one could miss fundamental changes in Constitutional ideas and practices that distinguished the Indian State of the 1990s from that of the 1950s. Neither the party system nor the Planning Commission are mentioned in the formal Constitution, though both have played a central role in creating the Constitutional order. Attention to the conventional Constitution directs us to analyse changes in the party and federal systems, as well as the changing balance of power between branches and units of government. It also highlights the erosion of the centralised Nehruvian State and economy that prevailed for four decades after independence in 1947. The analysis reveals that in the 1990s, a multiparty system, including strong regional parties, displaced a dominant party system; market ideas and practices displaced Central planning and controlled economy; and the federal system took on a new lease of life with the regional units gaining ground at the expense of the Centre. With the launching of economic reforms in 1991, a centralised, interventionist State was challenged and ultimately displaced by an increasingly decentralised regulatory State (Rudolph and Rudolph, op.cit.). The Indian Constitution has withstood the test of time (Austin, 1999). At the same time, it has been an evocative document with 98 Amendments made to it between 1950 to 2004. Many of these

Amendments have tended to bolster the arbitrary powers of the State. Some of the Amendments, on the other hand have moved the nation forward in terms of greater enfranchisement and empowered local self-government. Several court decisions have sought to restrict the ability of the parliament to tamper with the basic character and essential features of the Constitution. Public Interest Litigation permitted by the Supreme Court since 1985 has tended to restrain arbitrary behaviour of the State. Thus, over the years, the balance of power between Central institutions that was provided by the formal Constitution has been reshaped by the practice of actors responding to historical challenges. The balance has shifted in favour of the Supreme Court, the Election Commission, and the President at the expense of the Parliament, the Prime Minister, and the Cabinet. Not long ago, the Central government decided to appoint a National Commission to comprehensively review the Constitution of India.The Commission has come up with several recommendations to reform the legislature, executive and judiciary. We will discuss these in Unit 18 of this Course. Let us now examine some of the issues before the Indian state.

1.4 LIBERAL VIEW ON THE NATURE OF THE INDIAN STATE

The liberal theorists mention, the state is an organization and it is beyond the society. In fact state focuses on the running of political organization and democratic procedures. Whereas, the pluralists'panellists state that, state is depended andappears of the persons that create the society and it is containauthority. The state exercises the authority for the manner of universalassociations. In the background of politics, the formation of state and society is unlike. The state comprised with the society;authority is an essentialfor man of society. The liberal thinkers of India highlighted on the chief and autonomy of political basis, they declared the independence of the state. They observe state from two dissimilarviewpoints. These are political institutional and political economy.

1.4.1 Political Institutional Perspective:

An Indian scholar Yogendra Yadav, suggests from political institutional perspective, the centralsulk of both the recentlysovereign state and modern political theory. Indian politics is some degreeimproved by western form of politics.

In fact, it is developed from the theory of liberal modernization, early explanation of the state concerted on the performance of political organization and democratic procedure. The institution of a steady democracy meant against conformist laws of political history that were doubtful about the potential of the victory of the democratic trial in India. Rajni Kothari credited its victory to the survival of pluralist patience and a culture of agreement. The dispute presented an option stand for democratic superstructures and for India form of democracy. The blend of democratic ideology, economic growth and distributive justice offered an exclusive chance of converting a customarily apolitical society in which the state became the central device, and politics the major mediator of alteration.

The change in society resulted modify in the conception of the state. The liberal institutional approach, with its hub on the official and practical features in the study of the state, and it was incapable to ibe the major modifications in India hoarder in the late 1960s. Two viewpoints are society centric and state centric and they appeared in political science to clarify these modifications. The manage aspect of the society centric approach was spotlighted on social change, therefore, it painted the diversity and series of mechanisms of social change Zamindar abolition, Garibi Hatao, Mandalization, statement of minor orders encouraging or obstructing the performance of the state. There was substantial discontent with society by centred approaches. In the 1980s this gave rise to a novel state-oriented literature which forefront stuck the self-sufficiency of the state disagreeing that society centred theories, whether of the modernization or dependency diversity, were merely lacking since they abridged politics to societal variables. According to Atul Kohli, "the understanding of how and why the state intervenes is adequate as long as it remains tied primarily to the conditions of the society and economy".

1.4.2. Political Economy Perspective:

The Liberalists approved that political system works inside ecosystem of human interface - social, economic and religions. The region of politics should not simply lemmatise within the study of constitution and political organization. Study of these two things will be insufficient. The major analysis of the Indian state has come from neo-classical economists- who are worried with the position of the state in economic development. As stated by J. Bhagwati and T. N. Srinivasan, as to how the approach of joining planning and import replacement resulted in a high cost economy burdened with corruption, incompetence and misrepresentations. The sense of scheduling, local diversification and controls on industrial capability generating a sequence of reins that bureaucratic and political performer could exploit to their benefit. The Political scientists are not greatly worried with economic development, but with the nature of the political system and democracy.

In India, to conquer this disapproval, the political economy materialized as growth conversation. State is the arbitrator between plans and policies as mentioned by political economy. State is regarded as controlling power and interferes in the procedure of the growth. Frankel says that the public power of India as, "Paradox of accommodative politics and radical social change". The centrist politics of India preserve equilibrium between the different pulls of the politics and economy. The Indian economy also influenced by the agriculture. Gunnar Myrdal portray it as a 'soft state', Rajni Kothari accredited that India looks to be a soft state further since. Ashish Nandy discloses that now a days India becomes an influential state. Indian states are now commanding in the sense that having a superior coercive potential.

1.5 MARXIST VIEW ON THE NATURE OF THE INDIAN STATE

The state is a tool in the hands of the ruling class, state control the economic influential class as per the Marxists and the ruling class possess and organize the revenue of production. Left parties such as CPI and CPM in sharing the beliefs of Marxism and communism. Communist

parties originally thought that the nature of Indian state was grounded on its perceptive of transfer of power. Indian communist party prior to 1950, considered the Indian states as a semi-feudal and semi-colonial state. During 1956, CPI over again branded the Indian state as "landlord bourgeois state" where bourgeois was the chief power.

CPI (M), stated about "the organ of Indian state", as "the organ of class role of the bourgeois who are increasingly collaborating with the foreign finance capital in pursuit of capitalist path development". The views of the left parties about the nature of Indian state are as such. Nevertheless, the academicians from Marxists community had different view. Amongst them, Randhir Singh, C. P. Bhambri and A. R. Desai, and so on ha dissimilar view. According to Randhir Singh, "if India's national economy has been anti-poor over these forty years, so has been India's democratic state. It has been continued to be a class state". As C. P. Bhambri stated, "property owners, both the rural and urban sectors have forged an alliance to govern the country and make use of the political system for protection of their interests".

As far as Marxists are concerned, the difficulty of class arrangement, organization of class and actions of the class are innermost aspects for accepting of the restrictions on the state and conversion capitalism. Although, insight of these differs, the quality of belongings and its relationship to imperialism engage middle phase in this discussion. Examination of the state is unspoken both in terms of the long-term structural impulses of the economy in the international capitalist system and its separation of labour and as well the coalition understanding and the shifting equilibrium in the class coalitions governs the state, two points are worth noting. One supremacy bourgeoisie class of the state is not reflected in bourgeoisie – dominance of society.

Secondly, the management of capitalism is exercised during a class alliance; certainly, a policy of coalition is the situation of dominance. In class conditions, the ruling alliance restricted three factors such as, monopoly bourgeoisie, possession of land by elite and bureaucratic managerial elite. In the year 1975 emergency was forced and this emergency in 1975 shaped a new disagreement on the state, this occasion

on the role of the oppressive authority, in nourishing the state. Following the emergency period, the debate changed to the relative sovereignty of the state, chiefly the incapability of the bourgeoisie class organizing its hegemony or domination over civil society.

1.6 GANDHIAN VIEW ON THE NATURE OF THE INDIAN STATE

The campaigner of non-violence or ahimsa was Mahatma Gandhi, which denounces all kinds of compulsion. Gandhi, thought that state is a materialization of authority and law which is grounded on coercion. The state is leaning to enforce its hold will on human beings with the assistance of a highly structured machinery of police force, law-courts, prisons and military power. States represses an individualism of a person as it manages to direct all persons into a homogeneous pattern. State also demolishes individual's intellect of self-reliance and it limits or stunts personality of an individual. States dispossesses him of his independence and hinder the development of human society.

As Mahatma Gandhi also pragmatic that contemporary state was further authoritative than primordial and medieval state as it was more controlled and more federal in the hands of the only some who did not hesitate to exploit it. In the opinion of Gandhi, a person is gifted with soul, whereas state is soulless piece of equipment. The actions of the states are devoid of human compassion and state go away by rules and regulations. Individuals who implement these rules do not sense any moral accountability. Certainly, Gandhi predestined the political supremacy on moral ground, and not on historical or economic growth. Gandhi was influenced that it was only non-violence or ahimsa could be approved as a widespread standard of human behaviour, political power as well as state would become superfluous.

The perception of Gandhi about the state was grounded on the Indian convention of morality and ethical source of state. He laid emphasis on the devolution of supremacy and it would get in the way of the liberty of an individual. The actual basic units of the democracy are villages hence, the decentralized method of governance start off from the village

level. Gandhi always supported a self-regulated system of government with co-operation as the main source of community activities. Gandhi was not in advocacy of state coercion.

According to Gandhi state is malevolence but an indispensable organization and the purpose of the state should be restricted. The state gets in the way of the matters of the individuals whereas they execute it. According to him state only should perform the coordinate purpose. He also stated that a government is the best which administrates the least, and similarly he stated that the state must defend the life and independence of the people. Subsequently to independence the makers of the constitution of India approved some type of characteristics of Gandhian state. They are untouchability, pressure on egalitarian Society, Special importance has been given to improve the agriculture, special care towards the weaker sections of society such as ST, SC. The enactment of Panchayat Raj System all over the India, decentralization of power successfully worked. The upliftment of women is another characteristic included in the constitution of India.

Check your progress-2

4. Discuss the Liberal view of approach

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5. Discuss the Marxist view of approach

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6. Discuss the Gandhian view of approach

1.7 LET US SUM UP

Different approaches have been discussed to the study of India politics. They are categorized into two types traditional and modern. The former is with romanticism and the latter with empiricism to understand and explain the political reality of Indian political system. It is likely to take the aid of both tradition and modern. Both approacheshave the relevance much or les as per the time frame. The most striking change has taken place in the sphere of economic policy, as India moved from state-led capitalism to a Market driven one. The state's relationship to the economy was decisively reshaped from the early 1990 by the neo-liberal agenda adopted in response to a combination of internal and external pressures.

1.8 KEYWORDS

- **Liberal democratic state:**A political method of democracy
- **Bureaucratic state:** state activities and administration run by bureaucrats.
- **Welfare State:**The idea of welfare state is symbolizing a complete mixing of two verities of states like liberal democracy and authoritarian communist
- **Secular state:** no official religion for the state and all religions are equal.

1.9 QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

1. Discuss the nature of Indian state.
2. Discuss the centralized state.
3. Discuss the liberal democratic state.
4. Discuss the Liberal view of approach
5. Discuss the Marxist view of approach
6. Discuss the Gandhian view of approach

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1.11 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Comparatively the steady growth of democracy in India and slow but stable economic growth during the last seventy years of independence emerge outstanding to several observers. The survival and endurance of the democratic state of India and its ability to manage sensibly constant economic expansion can be elucidates partially in provisos of "the legacies of statelessness and state formation that distinguish India from most Third World countries".

It is regarded always nature of controversy about the nature of the Indian State everytime. With the new organisational structure on one side and launches a democratic state as constitution of India declares it. Whereas the opponents consider the Indian state is of federal in nature, considered as entrepreneurial in background and bureaucratic in form.

2. The significance of the decentralization of the state was stated by Mahatma Gandhi in the Indian back ground however the centralized state has been appeared in the procedure of growth. Every authority of growth of economy and social adjusts are conferred in the state and it has offered enormous authorities in the areas of industrial growth and agriculture, and in India the state runs public sectors, offers the security of its citizens in order to impose law and order effectively. State also starts and run the institutions such as education, hospitals and co-operative societies. Similarly, it takes care of commerce, trade and industry as well. State can

also begin courts, for justice also accountable for encouraging entertainment and sports and are centralized with the state and hence India is heading in the direction of "Statism". As Rajni Kothari stated that, "the ideology of a stronger and centralized state and the cult of personality have brought close to ruin. If is an illusion to think that it is any longer a democracy".

3. A political method of democracy or the rule of the people in fact indicates the model of a liberal state and it makes the regime a legal one in the correct means. The government machinery is actually governing by the elected representatives of the people and is responsible for their policies and actions. Discussion and expression of thoughts, freedom of speech, universal adult franchise and importantly, free and fair elections timely so on, all involve constant test of legality of the government. It is true that the democratic state with liberalism is grounded on suppositions of the government is not conclusion in itself however, means for the understanding utmost betterment of the maximum number; and the power of the government is not total whereas restricted by the laws; the accomplishment of the authority is unwrap and is not secret; there are more than one political party also; timely elections depended on the open franchise; and most significantly the mass media not dominated by the government.

4. The liberal theorists mention, the state is an organization and it is beyond the society. In fact state focuses on the running of political organization and democratic procedures. Whereas, the pluralists'panellists state that, state is depended andappears of the persons that create the society and it is containauthority. The state exercises the authority for the manner of universalassociations. In the background of politics, the formation of state and society is unlike. The state comprised with the society;authority is an essentialfor man of society. The liberal thinkers of India highlighted on the chief and autonomy of political basis, they declared the independence of the state. They observe state from two dissimilarviewpoints. These are political institutional and political economy.

5. The state is a tool in the hands of the ruling class, state control the economic influential class as per the Marxists and the ruling class possess and organize the revenue of production. Left parties such as CPI and CPM in sharing the beliefs of Marxism and communism. Communist parties originally thought that the nature of Indian state was grounded on its perceptive of transfer of power. Indian communist party prior to 1950, considered the Indian states as a semi-feudal and semi-colonial state. During 1956, CPI over again branded the Indian state as "landlord bourgeois state" where bourgeois was the chief power.

CPI (M), stated about "the organ of Indian state", as "the organ of class role of the bourgeois who are increasingly collaborating with the foreign finance capital in pursuit of capitalist path development". The views of the left parties about the nature of Indian state are as such. Nevertheless, the academicians from Marxists community had different view. Amongst them, Randhir Singh, C. P. Bhambri and A. R. Desai, and so on ha dissimilar view. According to Randhir Singh, "if India's national economy has been anti-poor over these forty years, so has been India's democratic state. It has been continued to be a class state". As C. P. Bhambri stated, "property owners, both the rural and urban sectors have forged an alliance to govern the country and make use of the political system for protection of their interests".

As far as Marxists are concerned, the difficulty of class arrangement, organization of class and actions of the class are innermost aspects for accepting of the restrictions on the state and conversion capitalism. Although, insight of these differs, the quality of belongings and its relationship to imperialism engage middle phase in this discussion. Examination of the state is unspoken both in terms of the long-term structural impulses of the economy in the international capitalist system and its separation of labour and as well the coalition understanding and the shifting equilibrium in the class coalitions governs the state, two points are worth noting. One supremacy bourgeoisie class of the state is not reflected in bourgeoisie – dominance of society.

6. The campaigner of non-violence or ahimsa was Mahatma Gandhi, which denounces all kinds of compulsion. Gandhi, thought that state is a

materialization of authority and law which is grounded on coercion. The state is leaning to enforce its hold will on human beings with the assistance of a highly structured machinery of police force, law-courts, prisons and military power. States represses an individualism of a person as it manages to direct all persons into a homogeneous pattern. State also demolishes individual's intellect of self-reliance and it limits or stunts personality of an individual. States dispossesses him of his independence and hinder the development of human society. The perception of Gandhi about the state was grounded on the Indian convention of morality and ethical source of state. He laid emphasis on the devolution of supremacy and it would get in the way of the liberty of an individual. The actual basic units of the democracy are villages hence, the decentralized method of governance start off from the village level. Gandhi always supported a self-regulated system of government with co-operation as the main source of community activities. Gandhi was not in advocacy of state coercion.

UNIT- 2 GLOBALIZATION AND THE INDIAN STATE

STRUCTURE

2.0 OBJECTIVES

After studying this unit, you should be able to:

• Understand globalization and reasons

• Know about the globalization and Indian state

• Examine the effects of globalization in India.

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Globalization is a kind of procedure that encompasses the reasons,route, and consequences of transnational and trans-cultural amalgamation of human and non-human activities. India had the peculiarity of being the largest economy of the world in the commencement of the Christian period, and India accounted for 17% of the world population and about 32.9% share of world GDP. The goods created in India had long been exported to far off places across the world; the notion of globalisation is barely new to India. In the 1990s the stir of globalization was first felt in India when the then finance minister, Dr Manmohan Singh under the Prime Minister ship of P.V Narasimha Rao kicked off the economic liberalization plan. Since then, India has steadily become one of the economic giants in the world.

2.2 DEFINITION OF GLOBALIZATION

The word globalization means International amalgamation, it can be stated as opportunity of world trade, expansion of superior means of communication, mounting importance of MNC's, internationalization of financial markets, migration of population and more usually enlarged mobility of persons, goods, capital, data and ideas. It is a process through which the diverse world is unified into a single society.

2.3 ECONOMIC IMPACT OF GLOBALIZATION

The impact will be multiparty accords in the area of trade, captivating on such fresh programmes as environmental and social situations. It would develop multilateral agreements for services, Intellectual properties,

communications, and more obligatory on national governments than any earlier agreements. Economic policies of market extend around the globe, with superior privatization and liberalization than in previous decades.

The term globalization involves economic mixing in the course of cross-country flow of information, ideas, technologies, goods and services. Its influential characteristics are: 1. Removal of trade barriers to facilitate free flow of goods all over world 2. Generating environment conduces to the free gush of capital among nation-states. 3. Make possible the free flow of technology, and 4. Offer prospects for the free and unfettered movement of labour among different countries.

To summarise, globalization leads the expansion of economy and absorption of trade in goods and services, progress of capital, and pour of finance in the course of movement of people. However, in realism globalization can be observed as multi-layered phenomenon. Across borders, accordsteered under the influence of globalizationwith many dimensions like, cultural, social, political and economic. Therefore, some economists phrased it as a procedure of making of economy globally, while others uttered this as political and social globalization, it is also observed that ideas of a globalization led to technological changes as well.Largely interrupting it can be recommended that "Though the world globalization (as a synonym for privatization and liberalization) is more often used in its economic sense of removing trade barriers and state controls on economic activities of people, it implies widely the unification of peoples, cultures, nations and continents through interaction in various fields".

The speed and rhythm of globalization is consequently meaningful that it has altered politics of the globe, with this states are no longer stopped and dense political units that could manage their economies separately. They are really predisposed by international financial and trade organizations, and strategies. Global culture has become widespread and worldwide phenomenon and under the impact of it, largely urban centers of different countries have grown a close similarity with one another. With globalization "The world is becoming more homogeneous.

Disparities between people are waning. Time and space appear to be failing. Our geographical old ideas of space and chronicle time are destabilized by the pace of current communication and media. Global polity has developed, with intermediary social and political actions and the start of a shift of loyalty from the state to sub state, midway and international bodies. A cosmopolitan culture is developing".

2.4 CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES OF GLOBALIZATION:

The more scrupulous economic integration is globalization ;it providesboth opportunities and costs,superior openness in economy, foreign direct investment, and transfer of technologies present potential chances for economic growth. Free trade permits specialism between diverse areas, permitting them to make according to their individual relative rewards; it also increases the use options of citizens by giving bigger opportunities to procure goods and services from other nations. In this esteem, awfully vital to keep in mind that international trade is not a total zero, where a few nations are winners and some are losers. On the differing, all nations have trade advantages because it increases the options for the consumer and the quality of products. It is competitive, has lesser prices and increase wages. It is also valuable to emphasize that different to what is usually thought, nations are not in any amount in economic competition with each other', or 'any of their main difficulties of economy can be credited to collapse to fight on world markets'.In fact, firms compete; countries do not. 'If the economy of Europe goes well, it need not be at the cost of the United States; really, if something a victorious economy of Europe is apt to aid the U.S. economy by offering it with big markets and selling it goods of higher quality at lower prices'. Furthermore, the proof is awfully burly that real growth of GDP is linked mostly to domestic productivity growth, not to poise of trade or to productivity relative to competitors.

Globalization of economy has in fact offered chances for developing nations in that, it enlarges the mass of their markets for export and draws

foreign capital, and helps ingrowth. Foreign investment is beneficial to transmit of technologies and knowhow, in turn raises productivity. The other optimistic effects of globalization develop superior competition among firms, benefits consumers to have entrée to products at lower prices. The one who grow most from free trade in both developed and developing countries are very frequently the poorest as they can buy goods at more reasonable prices, thus have a superior standard of living, in this logic, free trade can be observed as a tortuous way to decrease poverty.

2.5 GROWING GLOBAL MARKETS IN SERVICES

By the globalization people can now implement trade services worldwide from medical advice to software writing to data dealing out, that could never really be traded earlier.

2.5.1 History Of Globalization:

In fact, globalization can be stated mainly a socio-economic expression which is currently identical with the economic growth of a nation. In nutshell, globalization is a constant procedure by which diverse societies, economies, traditions and culture incorporate with one other on a worldwide level through the way of communication and exchange of ideas. Possessing an idea of the history of globalization, individual will be capable to understand properly, the causes which led to such social and economic modification.

2.5.2 Globalization In Modern Era

In the current sagacity of the expression, globalization came into survivalonly after the World War II. The preparation by the global leaders to crack down the borders for promoting trade associations between nations was the central idea and they started in that direction for effective results. The most important nations such as India, Sri Lanka, Indonesia and some countries in South America gained independence during that epoch. As a consequence, these nations also began to possess

their economic methods and prepared to develop trade relations with the rest of the globe. It can be regarded that the establishment of the United Nations Organization (UNO) was also a most important stride in this regard.

The situations of economy, increasingly, of the globe reinforce and it led to improved trade associations and communication. Some other aspects have also place a positive impression on globalization are as follows:

- Encouragement of free commerce and trade
- Elimination of a range of double taxes, tariffs, and capital controls
- Decrease of transport cost and expansion of infrastructure
- Formation of global business
- Intermingle of customs and tradition across the nations

In the history of globalization,the landmark development is the formation of the World Trade Organization which led to the expansion of a uniform platform to resolve trade and commercial arguments. Economic surveys stated the world exports enhanced considerably from 8.5% to around 16.2% due to globalization.

Check your progress-1

1. Definition of globalization

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2. Write about the Economic impact of globalization

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3. Discuss the Challenges and opportunities of globalization

2.6 GLOBALIZATION IN INDIA

In this little time period yet, the system of economy has faced two major alterations. Firstly, in March 1950, institution of the Planning Commission in India started an exclusive trial in state led 'growth with social justice' in the constitutional framework of parliamentary democracy. But this strategymilieu came under considerable pressure in the 1980s, concluding in the unique balance of payments disaster in 1990–91. The government of India reacted to this emergency with an evenly direct policy rule based in a reform trinity commonly referred to as 'Liberalisation, Privatisation, and Globalisation' (LPG). These three economic thoughts have required a chain of policy reforms by the Union and State governments.

Whenever talked concerning globalization and the economy of India, one name strikes mind, that is, Dr. Manmohan Singh. He was the finance minister in the cabinet of P.V. Narasimha Rao during 1990s while globalization was completely executed and experienced in India. He was the front man who structured the economic liberalization suggestion. Ever since then, the nation has steadily moved ahead to become one of the supreme economic leaders in the world.

2.6.1 Globalisation In India: Basic Premises And Parameters:

Outlines of experiences of India with globalisation by the following points:

1. Cautious and alternating plans apart, India began liberalising only after 1990–91.
2. Transition of India to globalisation is from an economic system of state-led growth.
3. It had a strong pledge to a growth strategy of 'self-reliance' and import-substitution industrialisation grounded on huge public investments in long-term capital-intensive projects.

4. Planning policy of India was further accrual of industrial capital in the public sector, also geared towards ideals of distributive justice, balanced regional growth and positive discrimination in favour of weaker sections of society.

5. Implicitly since 1947, and explicitly since 1970–71, 'direct attack' on poverty has been a priority on India's development agenda.

6. As a constitutionally mandated 'Union of States', virtually all major economic policies in India are cast in a 'federal' mould, with states and Union territories important stakeholders in economic reforms.

Since India has guided its economic policies to boost involvement in the economy of the world, a variety of political, ideological and economic parameters have been adapted, whereas others are expected to be more radically amended in the future. Though, because basic commitment of India is to its Constitution stays supreme and the process of globalisation will continue to the democratic procedure.

The procedure of liberalisation was started subsequent a balance of payments disaster in 1990-91. Economic reform program of India has stressed gradualism and evolutionary changeover instead of fast reform or jolt therapy. It has been the inevitable in Indian approach as democratic and highly pluralistic polity; reforms can only be executed if they are hold by a popular consensus. The vital reform measures undertaken so far are:

(i) Dismantling of the industrial licensing rule.

(ii) Hurling open industries of public sector to private sharing.

(iii) Closure of the Monopolies and Restrictive Trade Policies (MRTP) Act, which required prior sanction for capacity growth or diversification by big industrial houses.

(iv) Switch from a fixed exchange rate rule operating in an environment of restricted trade policy to a market determined exchange rate working in an environment of liberalised trade.

(v) Removal of quantitative limits on imports.

(vi) Drop in the peak customs tariff from over 300% earlier to reforms, to the 30% rate that applies now.

(vii) Permitting Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) across a wide range of industries and encouraging non-debt flows.

(viii) Careful and steady reformation of the capital account.

(ix) Stern limits on short-term debt and permitting external commercial borrowings based on external debt sustainability.

(x) Wide-ranging financial sector reforms in the banking, capital markets, and insurance sectors, including the deregulation of interest rates, sturdy rule and supervisory systems, and the opening of foreign/private sector competition.

These economic reforms have given the following major payback:

1. Gross domestic product (GDP) growth accelerated from 5.2 per cent between 1982/83 and 1991/92, to 6 per cent in the post-reform era (1992/93 to 2001/02).
2. Foreign capital inflows increased from around US$100 million in 1990/91 to US$5 billion in 2000/01. FDI soared from less than US$100 million in 1990/91 to US$2.3 billion in 2000/01.

As of 2015, 2.7% of world trade India accounts for, up from 1.2% in 2006 stated by to the World Trade Organization. Liberalisation of India in 1991 was chiefly and knowingly secluded from the world markets, is to protect chicken economy and to achieve liberty. Foreign trade was matter to import tariffs, export taxes and quantitative limits, while foreign direct investment was managed by ceiling equity sharing, limit on technology transfer, export coercion and government sanctions; these permits were essential for nearly 60% of new FDI in the industrial sector. The limits assured that FDI averaged annually only around $200M between 1985 and 1991; a large percentage of the capital flows included of foreign aid, commercial borrowing and deposits of non-resident Indians.

Exports of India for the first 15 years after independence were inert, due to the dominance of tea, jute and cotton manufactures, order for which

was usually inelastic. Imports in the same period were consisted mainly of machinery, equipment and raw materials, due to budding industrialisation. Since liberalisation, the value of India's international trade has become more broad-based and has climbed toRs.63,0801 billion in 2003–04 from Rs.12.50 billion in 1950–51. Indian trading partners are China, the US, the UAE, the UK, Japan and the EU. The exports during April 2007 were $12.31 billion up by 16% and import were $17.68 billion with raise of 18.06% over the previous year.

Since 1947, India is a founding-member of General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and its descendant, the World Trade Organization. Though involving keenly in general council meetings, has been vital in expressing the distress of the developing world. For example, India has sustained its opposition to the addition of such matters as labour and environment issues and other non-tariff barriers into the WTO policies.

In 2000s, in spite off alling import limits sometimes, India was assessed by the World Trade Organization, in 2008 as more uncertain than dissimilar developing economies like Brazil, China, and Russia. The WTO also recognized electricity scarcity and poor transportation infrastructure as major limits on trade. These limits have been cited as an issue which cut off it from the global financial crisis of 2008-2009 more than other nations, even though it observed reduced ongoing economic growth.

2.7 INDIAN ECONOMY REACTS TO GLOBALIZATION

Some of the fast reactions which were experienced after the introduction of globalization and are mentioned as follows:

- Subsequent to 1991, increase in GDP that dropped to 13% in 1991-92 extended impetus in the following years (1992-2001). Moreover, the annual average rate of growth in GDP was recorded to be 6.1%.

- Additionally, export growth skyrocketed to 20% in 1993-94, in 1994-95; the figures were recorded to be 18.4%. Export growth statistics in recent years have been extremely inspiring.

2.8 BENEFITS OF GLOBALIZATION IMPACTING INDIA

2.8.1 Rise In Employment

With the opening of Special Economic Zones(SEZ) the accessibility of new jobs has been fairly successful. In addition, Export Processing Zones (EPZs) are also recognized employing number of persons. The other factor is cheap labour are available in India. This in fact it has motivated big companies in the west to outsource work to companies there in this area. All these factors are reasons for more employment.

2.8.2 Surge In Compensation

Since the eruption of globalization, the reward levels have dwelled high. These figures are inspiring in contrast to what local companies might have presented. The point of knowledge and skill carried by foreign companies is clearly superior and has eventually resulted in alteration of the management structure.

2.8.3 Better Living Standards And Better Purchasing Power:

Truly it bettered living standards and better Purchasing Power, wealth generation across cities and towns of India has improved since globalization. One can observe an enhancement in the purchasing power for people, particularly working in foreign organizations. Further, local institutions are stimulated to current superior plunder to their employees. Thus, a number of cities and towns are experiencing better standards of living together with business growth.

Check your progress-2

4. History of globalization

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5. Globalization in modern era

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6. Globalization in India

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7. Benefits of globalization impacting India

2.9 IMPACT OF GLOBALIZATION ON AGRICULTURAL SECTOR

It is the agricultural Sector the basis of the rural economy of India about which socio-economic benefits and scar cities rotate and any alter in structure is possible to contain an equivalent impression on the present pattern of Social equity. With a stern economic crisis, India advanced towards the IMF for a loan, and the IMF approved and called a 'structural adjustment' loan, a loan with firm setting attached which narrate to a structural adjust in the economy. Basically, the reforms sought to steadily stage out government control of the market (liberalization), privatize public sector organizations (privatization), and decrease export subsidies and import blockades to allow free trade (globalization).

The impact of globalization on agriculture in India as follows:

•   Agriculture acquired 17% of India's GDP in 2008.

- 60% of population still depends on agriculture for their livelihood.
- Occupied 43% of India's geographical areas.
- Agriculture Scientists are applying new technologies and instruments in growing crops.
- Different state governments of India are taking initiative to literate the farmers.

The following benefits have happened due to globalization and it has helped in:

1. Increase in the living standards,
2. Ease out poverty
3. Guarantees food security,
4. Make optimistic market for growth of industry and services, and
5. Making extensive involvement to the national economic growth.

2.10 IMPACT OF GLOBALIZATION ON INDUSTRIAL SECTOR

In the early 1990, while the nation opened market of the nation to foreign investment since then effects of Globalization on Indian Industry began. Globalization of the Indian Industry took place in its different sectors like steel, pharmaceutical, petroleum, chemical, textile, cement, retail, and BPO.

In fact, globalization is a kind of take apart of trade barricades between nations and the mixing of the economies of nations by financial flow, particularly trade in goods and services, and corporate investments between nations. In present years globalization has increased across the world because of the fast growth that has been made in the area of technology particularly in communications and transport. Indian government brought alters its economic policy in 1991 and it permitted direct foreign investments in the nation. The profits of the effects of globalization in the Indian Industry are that several foreign firms, industries in India, particularly in the pharmaceutical, BPO, petroleum,

manufacturing, and chemical sectors and it helped to offer employment to several individuals in the nation. It aided lessen the intensity of unemployment and poverty in the country. The other benefit of the effects of globalization in Indian Industry are that the foreign firms carried in vastly advanced technology with them and this aided to make the Indian Industry more technologically superior.

The negative Effects of globalization on Indian Industry are that with the new technology coming in number of labour necessary reduced and this resulted in several people being lost their jobs. It occurred largely in the manufacturing, chemical, pharmaceutical, and cements industries.

2.11 IMPACT OF GLOBALIZATION ON EXPORT AND IMPORT

In the year 2001 and 2002 export and import of India was to the amount of 32,572 and 38,362 million correspondingly. Several firms of India have started becoming respectable players in the International arena. Agriculture exports account for about 13% to 18% of total annual export of the country. In the year 2000-01 India exported agricultural products valued at more than $ 6million were exported from, 23% of which was supplied the marine products only. In the present years marine products have appeared as the single major provider of whole agricultural export from the nation accounting for over one fifth of the total agricultural exports. Oil seeds, cereals, mostly basmati rice and non-basmati rice, tea and coffee are the other important products all of which accounts for almost 5 to 10% of the nation's total agricultural exports.

2.12 DISADVANTAGES OF GLOBALIZATION IN INDIA

The disadvantages of globalization and the Indian economy, then conversation about the negative effects is also significant. The informal sector is deliberately not listed in the labour legislation. For instance, informal workers aren't the subject considering the Factories Act 1948.

This scheme wrap essential features like universal working conditions, safety, and health, the ban on child labour, working hours etc. Due to globalization poor health conditions has caused, outrageous working conditions, as well as bondage, happening in various parts of the country.

The disadvantage that happened due to globalization in India as follows:

1. Some section of people in India, basically poor and very poor, tribal groups, they did not feel the heat of globalization at all. They remain poor and poorest as they were.
2. Increased gap between rich and poor fuels potential terrorist reaction.
3. Ethical responsibility of business has been diminished.
4. Youth group of India leaving their studies very early and joining Call centres to earn easy money thereby losing their social life after getting habituated with monotonous work.
5. High growth but problem of unemployment.
6. Multi-party rule, hence political ideology interfere globalization like reservation, labour law reforms.
7. Price hike of every daily usable commodity.

2.13 MAJOR APPROACHES IN THE STUDY OF INDIAN POLITICS

It can state that the Politics is an inescapable widespread movement. It is the commotion during which the individuals make protect and make changes in the general rules under which they exist. Politics is an incessant, eternal, ever-changing and widespread movement containing its chief appearance in the decision making to countenance and resolve a 'Predicament'. Aristotle in his book, 'Politics' affirmed that, 'man is by nature a political animal', by that statement he meant that it is only inside a political society that human beings can exist'the good life'. Harold Lasswell and Robert Dahl portrays politics as 'a special case in the exercise of power'; As David Easton thinks politics as a feat for the 'authoritative allocation of values'; and Jean Blondel rests importance on the point of 'decision taking'.

The study examination of Indian politics is a vital and multifaceted one, although India is a secular state. It is crucial in the sagacity that Indian politics come forward from different social heterogeneity. Indian politics fashioned by the cultural diversity, ethnic, religious pluralism, caste, social, community and institution of the national movement, different type of party leadership and conflicting ideological perception.

2.13.1 Approach, Method And Theory:

It is obvious that an approach can be defined as a method of gazing at and subsequently elucidating specific phenomena. In fact, approach chooses predicaments or questions and data for investigation.

Similarly, method is an instrument or modus operandi; it assembles and read between the lines data. While an attempt is offered in an outline the identical is treated as approach, later guides to the consumption of a specific method. As Van Dyke stated that, "In belief, approaches consist of criteria for selecting problems and relevant data, whereas methods are procedures for getting and utilizing data".

The word approach can be identical with method and technique however it is definitely noticeable from a 'theory'. The theory is the source of a notion which analyzes, describes, simplifies and provides tangible but fundamental and general background on a matter. It assists to recognize the current actuality and provides ideas, notion and modus operand are for the reason of analysis, explanation, clarification and criticism. In short, theory is a methodical understanding of political phenomena.

Check your progress-3

8. Write about impact of globalization on agricultural sector in India

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9. Write about impact of globalization on industrial sector in India

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10. Write about disadvantages of globalization in India

2.14 LET US SUM UP

Globalisation is a multifaceted procedure and has an enormous impression on standards of living both of the developed and developing world. In common, the stability of facts advises that globalisation is aiding to lessen poverty and raise living standards. There is also, though, proof that globalisation has damaging consequences as well. For instance, Inter-regional disparities emerge to have widened during the globalisation epoch in India. The challenge before India is in many ways exceptional. India is a nation rich in knowledge and the production of technology. Historically, it has not, though, seen this information as a product. In current decades this has altered rather, and India has quickly improved its incorporation with the global economy. Certainly, the World Bank recently judged India to be one of the world's 'fast globalisers'. in spite of the big steps taken by India freshly, the rest of the world must know the democratic custom of India, and its history of varied visions, mean that the reforms will persist to be executed unfairly, and gradually. India will, but, get there in the end.

2.15 KEY WORDS

- **Globalization:** International amalgamation
- **GATT:** General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs
- **WTO:** World Trade Organization
- **UNO:** United Nations Organization
- **LPG:** Liberalisation, Privatisation, and Globalisation
- **FDI:** Foreign Direct Investment
- **GDP:** Gross domestic product
- **BPO:** Business Process Outsourcing

2.16 QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

1. Definition of globalization
2. Write about the Economic impact of globalization
3. Discuss the Challenges and opportunities of globalization
4. Discuss the History of globalization
5. Discuss the Globalization in modern era
6. Discuss the Globalization in India
7. Discuss the Benefits of globalization impacting India
8. Write about impact of globalization on agricultural sector in India
9. Write about impact of globalization on industrial sector in India
10. Write about disadvantages of globalization

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2.18 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. The word globalization means International amalgamation, it can be stated as opportunity of world trade, expansion of superior means of communication, mounting importance of MNC's, internationalization of financial markets, migration of population and more usually enlarged mobility of persons, goods, capital, data and ideas. It is a process through which the diverse world is unified into a single society.

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To summarise, globalization leads the expansion of economy and absorption of trade in goods and services, progress of capital, and pour of finance in the course of movement of people. However, in realism globalization can be observed as multi-layered phenomenon. Across borders, accord steered under the influence of globalization with many dimensions like, cultural, social, political and economic.

3. The more scrupulous economic integration is globalization ;it providesboth opportunities and costs,superior openness in economy, foreign direct investment, and transfer of technologies present potential chances for economic growth. Free trade permits specialism between diverse areas, permitting them to

make according to their individual relative rewards; it also increases the use options of citizens by giving bigger opportunities to procure goods and services from other nations. In this esteem, awfully vital to keep in mind that international trade is not a total zero, where a few nations are winners and some are losers. On the differing, all nations have trade advantages because it increases the options for the consumer and the quality of products. It is competitive, has lesser prices and increase wages. It is also valuable to emphasize that different to what is usually thought, nations are not in any amount in economic competition with each other', or 'any of their main difficulties of economy can be credited to collapse to fight on world markets'.In fact, firms compete; countries do not. 'If the economy of Europe goes well, it need not be at the cost of the United States; really, if something a victorious economy of Europe is apt to aid the U.S. economy by offering it with big markets and selling it goods of higher quality at lower prices'. Furthermore, the proof is awfully burly that real growth of GDP is linked mostly to domestic productivity growth, not to poise of trade or to productivity relative to competitors.

4. In fact, globalization can be stated mainly a socio-economic expression which is currently identical with the economic growth of a nation. In nutshell, globalization is a constant procedure by which diverse societies, economies, traditions and culture incorporate with one other on a world wide level through the way of communication and exchange of ideas. Possessing an idea of the history of globalization, individual will be capable to understand properly, the causes which led to such social and economic modification.

5. In the current sagacity of the expression, globalization came into survival only after the World War II. The preparation by the global leaders to crack down the borders for promoting trade associations between nations was the central idea and they started in that direction for effective results. The most important nations such as India, Sri Lanka, Indonesia and some countries in South America gained independence during that epoch. As a consequence, these nations also began to possess

their economic methods and prepared to develop trade relations with the rest of the globe. It can be regarded that the establishment of the United Nations Organization (UNO) was also a most important stride in this regard.

The situations of economy, increasingly, of the globe reinforce and it led to improved trade associations and communication. Some other aspects have also place a positive impression on globalization are as follows:

4. Encouragement of free commerce and trade
5. Elimination of a range of double taxes, tariffs, and capital controls
6. Decrease of transport cost and expansion of infrastructure
7. Formation of global business
8. Intermingle of customs and tradition across the nations

6. In this little time period yet, the system of economy has faced two major alterations. Firstly, in March 1950, institution of the Planning Commission in India started an exclusive trial in state led 'growth with social justice' in the constitutional framework of parliamentary democracy. But this strategymilieu came under considerable pressure in the 1980s, concluding in the unique balance of payments disaster in 1990–91. The government of India reacted to this emergency with an evenly direct policy rule based in a reform trinity commonly referred to as 'Liberalisation, Privatisation, and Globalisation' (LPG). These three economic thoughts have required a chain of policy reforms by the Union and State governments.

Whenever talked concerning globalization and the economy of India, one name strikes mind, that is, Dr. Manmohan Singh. He was the finance minister in the cabinet of P.V. Narasimha Rao during 1990s while globalization was completely executed and experienced in India. He was the front man who structured the economic liberalization suggestion. Ever since then, the nation has steadily moved ahead to become one of the supreme economic leaders in the world.

7. **RISE IN EMPLOYMENT**

With the opening of Special Economic Zones(SEZ) the accessibility of new jobs has been fairly successful. In addition, Export Processing Zones (EPZs) are also recognized employing number of persons. The other factor is cheap labour are available in India. This in fact it has motivated big companies in the west to outsource work to companies there in this area. All these factors are reasons for more employment.

SURGE IN COMPENSATION

Since the eruption of globalization, the reward levels have dwelled high. These figures are inspiring in contrast to what local companies might have presented. The point of knowledge and skill carried by foreign companies is clearly superior and has eventually resulted in alteration of the management structure.

BETTER LIVING STANDARDS AND BETTER PURCHASING POWER:

Truly it bettered living standards and better Purchasing Power, wealth generation across cities and towns of India has improved since globalization. One can observe an enhancement in the purchasing power for people, particularly working in foreign organizations. Further, local institutions are stimulated to current superior plunder to their employees. Thus, a number of cities and towns are experiencing better standards of living together with business growth.

8. It is the agricultural Sector the basis of the rural economy of India about which socio-economic benefits and scar cities rotate and any alter in structure is possible to contain an equivalent impression on the present pattern of Social equity. With a stern economic crisis, India advanced towards the IMF for a loan, and the IMF approved and called a 'structural adjustment' loan, a loan with firm setting attached which narrate to a structural adjust in the economy. Basically, the reforms sought to steadily stage out government control of the market (liberalization), privatize public sector organizations (privatization), and decrease export subsidies and import blockades to allow free trade (globalization).

The impact of globalization on agriculture in India as follows:

- Agriculture acquired 17% of India's GDP in 2008.
- 60% of population still depends on agriculture for their livelihood.
- Occupied 43% of India's geographical areas.
- Agriculture Scientists are applying new technologies and instruments in growing crops.
- Different state governments of India are taking initiative to literate the farmers.

The following benefits have happened due to globalization and it has helped in:

6. Increase in the living standards,
7. Ease out poverty
8. Guarantees food security,
9. Make optimistic market for growth of industry and services, and
10. Making extensive involvement to the national economic growth.

9.In the early 1990, while the nation opened market of the nation to foreign investment since then effects of Globalization on Indian Industry began. Globalization of the Indian Industry took place in its different sectors like steel, pharmaceutical, petroleum, chemical, textile, cement, retail, and BPO.

In fact, globalization is a kind of take apart of trade barricades between nations and the mixing of the economies of nations by financial flow, particularly trade in goods and services, and corporate investments between nations. In present years globalization has increased across the world because of the fast growth that has been made in the area of technology particularly in communications and transport. Indian government brought alters its economic policy in 1991 and it permitted direct foreign investments in the nation. The profits of the effects of globalization in the Indian Industry are that several foreign firms, industries in India, particularly in the pharmaceutical, BPO, petroleum, manufacturing, and chemical sectors and it helped to offer employment to several individuals in the nation. It aided lessen the intensity of unemployment and poverty in the country. The other benefit of the

effects of globalization in Indian Industry are that the foreign firms carried in vastly advanced technology with them and this aided to make the Indian Industry more technologically superior.

The negative Effects of globalization on Indian Industry are that with the new technology coming in number of labour necessary reduced and this resulted in several people being lost their jobs. It occurred largely in the manufacturing, chemical, pharmaceutical, and cements industries.

10. The disadvantages of globalization and the Indian economy, then conversation about the negative effects is also significant. The informal sector is deliberately not listed in the labour legislation. For instance, informal workers aren't the subject considering the Factories Act 1948. This scheme wrap essential features like universal working conditions, safety, and health, the ban on child labour, working hours etc. Due to globalization poor health conditions has caused, outrageous working conditions, as well as bondage, happening in various parts of the country.

The disadvantage that happened due to globalization in India as follows:

1. Some section of people in India, basically poor and very poor, tribal groups, they did not feel the heat of globalization at all. They remain poor and poorest as they were.
2. Increased gap between rich and poor fuels potential terrorist reaction.
3. Ethical responsibility of business has been diminished.
4. Youth group of India leaving their studies very early and joining Call centres to earn easy money thereby losing their social life after getting habituated with monotonous work.
5. High growth but problem of unemployment.
6. Multi-party rule, hence political ideology interfere globalization like reservation, labour law reforms.

UNIT- 3 CAST AND POLITICS IN INDIA

STRUCTURE

3.0 Objectives

3.1 Introduction

3.2 Meaning and definition of caste

3.3 Caste structure and characteristics

3.4 Caste system in India

3.5 Origin and development of caste system in India

3.6 Perspectives of caste

3.7 Jati and caste

3.8 Caste system in medieval period

3.9 Societal democracy and system of caste

3.10 Caste system and communal violence

3.11 Caste and politics in India

3.12 Caste factor in political socialization and leadership recruitment

3.13 Caste and party politics

3.14 Caste and elections

3.15 Caste as divisive and cohesive force in Indian politics

3.16 Caste and organization of government

3.17 Caste factor and Panchayati raj

3.18 Caste and Indian constitution

3.19 Political democracy and caste system

3.20 Role of caste in Indian politics

3.21 Negative role of caste in Indian politics

3.22 Let us sum up

3.23 Key words

3.24 Questions for review

3.25 Suggested readings and references

3.26 Answers To Check Your Progress

3.0 OBJECTIVES

After studying this unit, you should be able to:

• Understand meaning and definition of caste in Indian context

• Know about the different caste systems in India, their role in politics

• Examine the caste politics in India

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The caste structure developed and is widespread from the times of ancient era in India. The caste structure derivation may possibly be the useful groupings known as Varnas, it has their genesis in the Aryan culture. As per the hymn from Rig Veda, the diverse classes bounced from the four limbs of the Creator.

It is true that politics is an inescapable covering everything movement and protect and adjust the common rules beneath which they exist. Democracy of India is the finest on the globe and endured from the main confronts caused by aspects like poverty, communalism, illiteracy, poverty and secessionism by a number of struggles which destroyed the emerging organisations of democracy of post-colonial culture and society of India being greatly divided along the religion, caste and class so on, it in fact stops the proper functioning of democracy of Parliament and sets a evident aspect of Indian politics and is mainly formed by the cultural variety, social, racial, caste, society and religious pluralism.

Politics can be spirited activity; the idea is to acquire authority for the grasp of positive objectives and course is one of recognizing and influencing present and budding loyalty so as to activate and strengthen status. Power can be applied by expression of hold in the organisations in which the crowd are established. The structure of caste offers one of the principal organisational clusters.

3.2 MEANING AND DEFINITION OF CASTE

Historians have various views and scholars in relation to the beginning of caste system, though it is acknowledged that it was a very old institution. Referring to social system, the phrase 'caste' related to classification along lines of ancestry. In Indian society aperson is born into a particular social group and permanently staysthere for life. Term 'caste' actually imitated from the Portuguese word 'casta', meansfamily, race, lineage or bread. The method of castesurvived from the society was calm of social status hierarchically disciplined and culturally separate groups.

As stated by Dr B.R.Ambedkar, "Caste system is not merely division of labour. It is also a division of labourers".

M.N. Srinivas described caste as heredity generally local group, containg a customary union with an occupation and particular place in the local hierarchy of castes. Associations between castes are oversees other things by notions of smog or clarity, and usually mostharmony happens with the caste.

Ketkar said, "A Caste is a social group having two characteristics: (i) membership is confined to those who are born of members and includes all persons so born; (ii) the members are forbidden by an inexorable social law to marry outsides the group".

As per Prof. Rapson, caste is, "the origin of the caste system was due to the distinction between the whites and the dark complexion of the Aryans and Non- Aryans".

As V.A.Smith disagrees that a caste systemperhaps defined as "a group of families internally united by peculiar rule for the observance of ceremonial purity, especially in the matter of diet and marriage".

According to G.S.Ghurye, "this racial origin of the principal feature of the caste system is further supported by the early term 'varna' meaning colour used to specify the orders in society. Later on, the word 'jati' is specialized to denote caste.

3.3 CASTE STRUCTURE AND CHARACTERISTICS

The definition of word 'caste' is denser than belief. As defined by Risleyas "a collection of families or groups of families bearing a common name; claiming a common descent from a mythical ancestor, human or divine; professing to follow the same hereditary calling; and regarded by those who are competent to give an opinion as forming a single homogeneous community". It also may be defined as an ethnic and hereditary section of aracial unit live in a status of higher or lower grade of social regard in contrast with other such sections. The name of caste is usually linked with a particular profession and as state dearlier, is a closed arrangement, which makes it endogamous. The caste system of India is a categorization of individuals into four hierarchically graded castes known varnas, and categorized based on occupation and decide access to wealth, power, and privilege. Status of leadership in society is dominated by some dominant castes. The two upper castes conventionally regarded as higher to the lower castes. Brahmans, habitually priests and scholars, are at top. According to Brian K. Smith, the author of Classifying the Universe describes definition of the Brahman caste:

The Brahminical class is basically defined by its believed precedence, as the class created first by the creator god, with Veda knowledge, and by the control this class grasps on the operation of sacrifice. These characters validate the social status of the class in relation to others: they are chief because they are earlier, and they assert to stand outside of the authority associations that rule social life for others since their superior understanding and sole control of the final "weapons," sacrificial techniques.

3.4 CASTE SYSTEM IN INDIA

As a major facet of our society system of caste persists to endure over the centuries. In Indian politics, it stages essential role as the political behaviour of the crowd is frequently inclined by caste deliberation. As stated by Andre Beteille, "Caste enters much more directly in to the

composition of political elites at the state level". Mainly in the states of Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Haryana, Karnataka, Kerala, Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu and Uttar Pradesh caste has been a main and leading issue in politics.

Understanding and partaking of backward communities in politics, identities have facade as a tough power in current Indian Politics. The position stresses for rectify the disparities and mistreatment created by ancient system. Yet, analtered position has inspired new opinion in scholastic sphere on the query of spirit and dynamics of caste.

3.5 ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF CASTE SYSTEM IN INDIA

In India, derivation of caste system cannot be determined. Narratives of Indo-Aryan accessible from Vedas and Upanishads hurlglow on the caste system. The Rig-Veda hymn of Purushasookta encloses the initial reference to chatur-varna. The system of caste in India is usually linked to the occupational outline of diverse groups. The commontype of social organisation in India is caste and it varies from the social groups. According to G.S. Ghuryenoted Sociologist views: 'Caste in India is a Brahman child of the Indo-Aryan culture cradled in the land of the Ganga and Yamuna and hence transferred to other parts of the country'. adopt

The mouth of Creator became the Brahman priests, his two arms shaped the RajanyaSkhatriyas, the kings and fighters, his two thighs produced the Vaishya, landowners and merchants, and from his feet Shudras were born as artisans and servants. Next, it is supposed that the caste system had been approved by the Brahmins to state their dominance. While the Aryans came into India, they sought to uphold the dominance and so they preserve the caste systems. Slowly caste systemsolemn into four major clusters, each with its own policy and system and code of manner.It providescelestialexplanation for their useful division. Lord Krishna said in Gita, the fourfold command was formed by him on thegrounds of excellence and action. Therefore, the Dharma Shastras

take caste for fixed. All Puranas suppose the survival of caste and if an individual does evil act he would be born in a low caste or as an animal.

These systems of caste become set and heritable with the appearance of Hinduism and its philosophy of pollution and rebirth. The Laws of Manu Manusmitri, mention to the dirt and servility of the outcastes, asasserting the supremacy and entire impunity of upper castes. The lowest castes are informed that their status is due to their past life in the caste hierarchy. For the Indians caste matters much to Indians even in the present world, while one should indicate that dissimilar groups of persons have altered causes for upholding the structure of caste. Every time upper castes want to maintain caste active to dominate the lower castes thus maintains their control. It is extremely motivating to note that set from lower caste, believed to disgust the structure of caste, also desire to utilize their caste identity to get payback in the passage of authority and politics, similarly, they wish to place an end to the caste tyranny forced upon them by the upper castes. In modern India it is mocking and appealing condition of the Indian society.

3.6 PERSPECTIVES OF CASTE

It is observed that there are two perspectives at least for the beginning of the caste structure in ancient and medieval India, which centre on either ideological aspects or on socio-economic features.

The first school spotlights on the ideological issues and are maintained to compel the caste structure and grasps that caste is fixed in the four varnas. Dumont, expressed this viewpoint and iswidespread among scholars of the British colonial periodand done that the system is ideologically perfect thousand years ago and has stayed the chief social actuality since then. This school validates its theory chiefly by quoting the ancient book of Manusmriti and ignoreshistorical, economic, or political evidence.

The thought of second school highlights on socio-economic aspects and asserts that these aspects make the caste structure. It thinks caste to be fixed in the political, economic, and material history of India. This type school, is universalamid scholars of the post-colonial period

like,Marriott, Berreman, and Dirks.They explains the structure of caste as an still developing social realism that can be suitably understood by the historical evidence of realway and the test of confirmablesituations in the economic, political and material history of India. This school in factdetermined on the historical proof from ancient and medieval culture in India, in the Muslim rule between the 12th and 18th centuries, and of colonial British rule policies from 18th century to the mid-20th century.

The first school actually spotlighted on religious anthropology and ignored other historical facts as secondary to or copy of this custom. The second school has decided on sociological proof and wanted to know the historical circumstances. The latter has criticised the former for its caste derivation theory, asserting that it has de-historicised and de-contextualised Indian society.

It is believed historically that, the caste structurestarted with the onset of the Aryans around 1500 BC (Daniel) in India. Of the severaltraditions that thrived in India, the Indo-Aryan culture literary proofs are not the first. They however, include the first cite and a constant history of the aspects that made the caste system as per Ghurye. From southern Europe and northern Asia actually, Aryans came with fair skin that distinguished with the native natives in India. As they came, they mainly contacted with the Dravidians. The only other civilization whose evidences are reliable about the genesis of the caste system the Dravidians, but while thatmanuscriptsof civilization were put forwards, it had previously been largelyimpacted by the Indo-Aryan custom. Regrettably, the Aryans entirelyoverlooked their local traditions and startedwinningareas all over north India. Similarly, the nativepersons were pushed south near jungles of mountains in north India.

About the 6[th]century, several persons of the lower castes fed up of suppression embraced Buddhism. It in fact started as a response to the violence of Hindu society, with the crueltyof the caste system. Buddhism focuses not on the culture, but on the person, sorting out religion from the comfort of the verdict and supremacy. As per Buddhism, no one is born into a situation because of past prejudice. Though, Buddhism does observe life as ache and anguish and rebirth as a restoration of suffering.

In fact, Buddha, was born into the warrior caste, and a strictenemy of the caste system. Any system of caste was truly discarded by Buddhism, and it reallyattained high levels of advocated during the rule of Ashoka. He approved the thought Buddhism of ahimsa, or non-violence, and its affinity toward superiorfairness. He mocked the priests who asserted to be greater, condemned the theological root of the structure, and welcomed people of all castes, including outcasts into his community. His most importantproverb on the subject was, "Birth does not make one a priest or an outcaste. Behavior makes one either a priest or an outcaste". In India, during the time,while Buddhism was crumbling in India another sect of Buddhism practiced after the 7^t century had acceptedseveral features of Hinduism, it sustained to welcome all castes.

The Indo-Aryans to preserve their discretereality they used for certain sects and instruct persons the desiredphrase 'Varna" and 'Colour'. The associationexistsbetween four groups like, Brahmin, Kshatriya, Visya andSudra, Brahmin is certainlybelieved to be higher to Kshatriya. Infact, the total social organization of Hinduism is grounded on two basic opinions, one concerning the usualdonation of man and other concerning his character and background. They are called Varna Ashram Vyavastha, the institutefooted on dissimilarity in caste and disparity in phases of life. As per Ashrama Dharma, any person has to go through four phases of life.

1. The Brahmacharya, student phage while he obtainsinformation and prepares himself of upcoming duties.

2. Grihastha Ashram, householder phagewhen person marries and fetches his family and acquires an occupation so as to accomplish his economic compulsions to his family and to society.

3. Vanprastha Ashrama, while he get rid of house-hold tasks and occupation and leave into a forest hermitage to dedicate time for the growth of his personality; and finally

4. Sanyasa Ashrama, in which he abandons the world and dedicates himself completely for the attainment of last aim of his survival, Moksha or liberation.

Another feature of Hindu social society contains of the idea of natural endowment that mends the place of man in society, of natural the Varna-

dharma. As per this, there are some persons who dedicate themselves to the act of sacrificial rites, learning and teaching, they are Brahmins who comprises the intellectual leaders. Second one is Kshatriyas their duty is to guard the people. They are the rulers and warriors of the ancient days and statesman and hold themselves to trade, commerce, banking so on. The third group comprise agriculturists to the industrialists and bankers all the persons and are occupied in the job of making and allocation of wealth the Vaishya. Lastly, all the left members of the society are workers form the Sudra sect. First three groups are the influential groups the intellectual, the political and productions factions and the fourth clusterholds the working class. Likewise,the basis of caste system can be established in the nature and class of social work executed by the differentsets of people. The professions which are considered as superior and decent made the individuals superior and to those were occupied in dirty Professions.

As per the Evolutionary theory, the caste system did not come into survival all of anunexpected or at particular time. In reality,the consequence of anextendedcourse of social growth, anamount of issuesengaged in their part in the growth of the present caste system. Some of the vital aspects are as under:

- Inherited occupations
- Wish of the Brahmin to remain themselves pure.
- Lack of inflexible unitary control of the state.
- Indisposed of rulers to impose a consistent standard of law and traditions and their eagerness to know the changing customs of diverse groups as valid.
- Idea of re-incarnation and the doctrine of Karma.
- Conflict of races, colour injustice and invasion.
- Purposeful economic and administrative strategiespursued by the different conquerors mainly by the British.
- Geographical separation of Indian peninsula.
- Stationary nature of Hindu society.
- Foreign incursions.
- Rural social organization.

The above mentioned, reasonsplanned to support the creationof small setsfooted on trivialdifferences from point to point which endorsed the character of unity and feeling of neighbourhood in every set. Structureof caste is not a domination of India; it is present and still subsists inseveral areas in the world. The medieval Europe's feudal structure was a class of caste system,certain ethnic set Negroes are still treated as castes in numerous civilized countries including the U.S.A. It is exclusive in structure of Hindu Caste is that it only categorised some groups as untouchables and unapproachable.

Check your progress-1

1. Meaning and definition of caste

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2. Caste structure and characteristics

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3. Caste system in India

3.7 JATI AND CASTE

The English known Indians refer to their caste as their community generally. The term Jati is most frequently used, as the Hindu term for caste has numerous meanings. The Standard Hindu-English Dictionary of Bhargava, interprets Jati as 'Birth, Life, Race, Sex, Lineage, Parentage, State, Tribe, Caste, Sect, Genes, Species, Nature, Family, Sort, Kind, Name, Order, Nation, Section, Peoples, Clan, Community, and Breed'. The term in anthropology also recommends that it is a set

into which an individual is born in which individualhave parents as well as linear relations. The Jati word comprises all the three alterations like a tribe, caste and community. Andre Beteille, stated the term Jati perhapsis used to consign to regional, linguistic and religious classes of people, whilst the word Jati is used in a caste backgroundthen Andre Beteille mentions that it may possiblyconsign to a caste union. Therefore, the word jati in Hinducontext is used expressing with the word of anthropology sub-caste to indicate an endogamous bigsizeoppose group. The phrase caste is usually used to consign to a group of Jatis, contributing the identical name, occupation and ethnic history.

Even though, in India wide caste sections are established all over, hitherto, there are a fewvitallocaldisparities in castes, for example, Brahmins are customarily household and temple priests, some of them educated in Sanskrit and religious works and are seen in India although they do not figure a single Jati,yetinside the same area, there could be a number of diverse Brahmin Jatis.

In other words, caste associations are pleasured as just one job of Indian living, the other deliberatefeatures being family life, religion, relationship, economy and politics with a social organization observedinsidevicinity. Thetrait worries with the test of social associations between caste and within local caste sections. The limits of a caste system arecoinciding with the borders of a village. From such study, a completepicture of the Indian caste system might be abridged as below:

1. Only within a limited locality a caste system functions, a single village or afew link villages

2. A local population or village is poised of a sequence of jointly exhaustivecastes

3. A leading caste or a central family or group of families have a preponderant economic and political control over others in the area. The supremacy is fixed in monopolistic system over able land and in physical forces

4. Every caste has a professionalfield and gives it to other castes in swap of food products or services. This trade of food, goods and services, the exchangestructure, is a customarystructureabout purity and pollution and also an economic system commonlybranded as the Jajmani system. It tasks so that the chief caste stays pure as the least caste take up pollution from them.

5. Insidecaste a local caste system inclined to be jointlygraded according totheir individualamount of pollution in this ritual system.

6. Attempts to progress caste position in this local, caste hierarchy are made by middle and lower caste, particularly by way of neglecting the polluting habits and by following the traditions of higher castes.

7. The political control is monopolized by the leading caste family or families whereas the non-dominant castes inclined to bear their patrons within thedominant section.

8.Disagreements are generally settled either by councillorsinside a caste segment or by one or more seniors of the main caste or family.

9. The caste section itself is an endogamous plungecluster it is largely known both as matrilineal as well as matrilineal.

10.Every caste section inclines to live in its own quarter, inversely; untouchableslive in separation from those of purer castes either in a separate hamlet or onthe outskirts of the village.

India exhibits anexclusivedisplay of harmony and diversity, these caste sets are positioned on a hierarchical plane. Ancient Indian custom in terms of Chaturvarna falling into four groups viz., Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vysya and Sudra on serviceablesource.

3.8 CASTE SYSTEM IN MEDIEVAL PERIOD

Varna system in the middle periods was under gone into castesystem, is a classic hierarchical system that endorsedseparation of labour which led to separation of labourers, and this course is exclusive to caste system. The servicessudra caste were additionallyseparated into

touchable and untouchables grounded on incorrecttheory of purity and impurity. Joti Rao Phule differently this separation of Bahujans in two groups of producerssudras and ati-sudras (Dalits). In the following stages in the form of Bhakti actionsseveral social rebellionsrise for the cause of Sudras and Ati-sudras.

In the currenttime, a few of the agricultural castes of the sudrasacceptedsure process of social alter like sanskritization and westernization. So as to raise their social rank in the social hierarchy, the main castes attempted to copy the upper castes and lead similar life style. As a consequence, they were known as leading, if not forward castes. These Sudra- main castes in turn led to some influential anti- Brahmin actionsin some parts of India. In 1930s, the term 'dalit' came to beam in the though it is not recognized who preciselyused the phrase and when this phrase was appeared in "Dalit Bandu" a Marathi daily, which was established and the phrase was also used by Dr.B.R.Ambedkar during the similar period in his Marathi writings and speeches.

The 'untouchables' who were driven away from caste system are currentlymoving quickly themselves as Dalits to guard their comforts and brawl for acceptable rights in all paces of life. In the meantime, the individuals who are out of caste system, society and social life are called as Aboriginal or Adivasis. Currently these social groups are also articulating their identity as Schedule Tribes and fighting along with Dalits, and also Scheduled Castes (SCs), for self-esteem and social justice in India. In addition, the Backward Classes (BCs) are also on the contest with the marginalized communities on the one side and with the upper castes on the other side, so as tosafe their rights and chances in the society.

3.9 SOCIETAL DEMOCRACY AND SYSTEM OF CASTE

It is true that form of government is not the pedigree of democracy, either Parliamentary or otherwise. Any democracy is more than a type of government it is mainly a style of connected living. The ancestry of democracy is to be exploring in the social association, in the conditions

of linked life between people who form a society, as stated by Dr. Ambedkar.

The most perplexedloop of all social problems is caste and the society ofIndia isbased on cast. In fact, religion is merely a faith and it can modify anytime in the life, whereas, caste is a stableissue which don't alter even when religion changes. Castewill not transform when occupation changes or social position alters and it remains stable. It is like an omega ratepurely a mere stablenotmodify in any circumstances.

Structures of caste do not permit for upward mobilization insociety. In case a family of an individual is from the lowereconomic layer, where a society fixed on a caste system, thatindividual would requireremaining within that controlledstage.The system of caste influences the society by creating the persons moreuncovered to prejudice, stereotyping and other things.

Behind women slavery only reason is caste system; it supports child marriage and resists remarriage.They are pleasured only as sex apparatus. In several cases,women are not approved to study, work outside or speak. It is due to caste system the lower rank of women in some of the communities. Every caste in India does not admire women rights and their opinion. Any Indian unable eat or marry with a fellow Indian just because he or she does not belong to same caste. An Indian cannot touch simply another Indian because they does not belong to same caste.

3.10 CASTE SYSTEM AND COMMUNAL VIOLENCE

Violence is prevailing in India since ages because of caste system, it is very frequentlydiscovering in politics. The dissimilarities of customs between higher and lower castes have obtained a new energy and have curved into anaggressive and violent battle for supremacy in society. The risingbullying of the lower castes by the higher or even intermediary castes has been fetching on par of rural political actuality. In states such as Maharashtra, Bihar, Gujarat and U.P caste violence has increased and its head even in some urban regions. Yet, till today largely caste-based violence carry onportraying rural politics.

Forerunner of communal violence is system of caste and by endlesslycontaining a section of people; it makespeople from lower caste to take weapons in their hand, Naxal and Maoist actions are just an anger of lower caste people on economic disparity. A caste maypursue more than one customary occupation but members would however be forced to restrictions on dietary and social relations that define what could consume what can accept from whom.

3.11 CASTE AND POLITICS IN INDIA

After independence it was thought that caste would slowlyend to use its power. However, it seems that things have notmade up tooutlooks and the still caste continuously influencing politics.

Prof. M.N. Srinivas, stated that, "The elections of 1957 may be said to have awakened the Indian intelligentsia as to the actual considerations which influenced voting. It also led to the widespread condemnation of exploitation of caste links for election purposes…. Elections to Panchayats and Municipalities held in subsequent years have shown conclusively that caste considerations are potent."

There would be several examples to establish that during some last elections at locally and nationally, caste has impacted the route of elections and also in the selection of candidates.

According to Ghurye, "On the village level, in Panchayat Raj elections, the toughest struggle was alleged in Jodhpur Division where one of the two parties was for opposing the alleged Jat oppression".

In case of Kerala Nayar and Izhavas impact political life and have their well preparedrelations and institutions. Likewise, in Orissa Bhumihars, Kayastha and Rajputsdrag in diverseguidelines at the time of elections and desire to see the candidates belonging to their castes in office.

In the northern parts of India caste is not controlling politics alone but has impression, relatively more vigorously and successfullythan in the south. In 1957, the nastiest instance of caste-politics inter-relationship was socio-economic disputes between the Maravan and Shanar which took a political turn in 1957.

In Bihar too caste politics also plays its role, there are four dominant castes, like, Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Rajputs, and the Adivasis. In Andhra

Pradesh also caste has played a greaterpart than in several other states. In the state there are two major castes loike,Reddys, and Kammas; whereas the former with the Congress party now with YSRC Party, later typically side with the communists are now with Telugu Desam Party.

Caste has moved a long way in politics in Maharashtra. Significantcastes are the Brahmins, Marathas, and Mahars. Even though the Brahmins are not in predominance, still they control the politics. But Mahars are inpredominant and no political party can anticipatesetting upit'sseizeexcept and until it can win the co-operation of this caste.

3.12 CASTE FACTOR IN POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION AND LEADERSHIP RECRUITMENT

Diverse caste groups their loyalties behind a political party and their ideology. Indian people from the birth inherit a caste and nurture as a member of that caste set. He may belong to one of the high castes or to lower castes. In the course of alternatives of his political direction, outlook and viewpoint, he obviously comes under the power of caste cluster and casteism. Worth of caste and caste comfort, impact his socialization and therefore his political thoughts, consciousness and contribution. He invests upon caste unity for engage and performing a leadership enrolmentfunction. This is mainlyfactual of caste aware personsof States,Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Haryana, and Bihar.

3.13 CASTE AND PARTY POLITICS

In Indian party system, caste is element; few of the political parties have straight caste foundationwhereas others obliquelyinvest upon exact caste sets. Specifically, regional political parties, riselargely impacted by the caste feature. Ain Tamil Nadu, DMK and AIADMK are non-Brahmin rather anti-Brahmin political parties, in PunjabAkali Dal has a community identity. It is inclined by the matter of Jats Vs. non-Jats. In India, every political party use caste as way for obtaining votes in

elections. BJP relays upon its recognition among caste Hindu and the trading community whereas BSP relays upon the support of Scheduled Castes.

3.14 CASTE AND ELECTIONS

In India, caste is a significant feature of electoral politics, every political party give preference to the caste aspect in choosing candidates, allocating constituencies to candidates and in canvassing their candidates in the elections. In dominant Muslim constituencies, Muslim candidates are chosen and they chose in areas dominated by Jats. Secularist parties such as Congress, CPM, CPI, RJD and Janata Dal take caste fact in selecting their candidates. Votes are asked during the election campaigns in the names of caste. Caste sets are plugged for dedicated support,it has rightly seen by N. D. Palmer that "Caste considerations given great weight in the selection of candidates and in the appeals to voters during election campaigns". In elections, castes are the most vitalfor political party.

3.15 CASTE AS DIVISIVE AND COHESIVE FORCE IN INDIAN POLITICS

In India, caste acts both as disruptive and interconnected force; it offers a root for the appearance of numerousinterests sets in the Indian political system all of them struggle with each other group in the battle for authority. Sometimes it guides to harmful battle for command and performs as a disruptive force though; it is a foundation of harmony among the members of sets and performs as a bonding force. In rural area, where the social space of the rural control is restricted to an area of 20 to 25 km, caste acts as a combining force. They understand only social group,conversely, the reality of two or three big caste groups also leads to factionalism. Therefore, caste is a factor in Indian politics and it acts as cohesive as well as divisive factor.

3.16 CASTE AND ORGANIZATION OF GOVERNMENT

As the caste is a mainfacet of Indian society and performs as significant feature in diverse methods of politics, it also acts aessential role in the decision making procedure,yet the matter of re-organization of state was levered with an eye upon the avoidance of excessiveprevalence of a caste group in a territory. Policies and decision making are impacted by caste factor of the State Governments. The ruling party attempts to use its decision-makingcontrol to win the errand of main caste sets. It has tried by Congress to nurture people belonging to Scheduled Castes as its vote banks. Regional political control for extra interests of the caste sets which advocate or can support their regimes. Enrolment to political offices is chiefly done with due deliberations for the caste persons.

The Indian constitution offers a single united electorate and supports the spirit of caste free politics and administration. Though, the caste aspectconstantly performs as a determinant voting behaviour of people, their political involvement, and party structure and even of the governmental decision-making.

3.17 CASTE FACTOR AND PANCHAYATI RAJ

The known truth about the role of caste in performance of Panchayati Raj and other organisations of local self-government can be observed. In rural areas caste rooted factionalism has been the maindiscouraging aspect in the organization and efficientoperation of Panchayati Raj.

3.18 CASTE AND INDIAN CONSTITUTION

Even though the essence of factionalism represents obviously confirmed in the constitution, however the constitution in a restricted and circuitous manner identifies the caste system in the type of offering for the reservation of seats for Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castein parliament and the legislative Assemblies. It also offers the

commissioner of Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes with the accountability to examine subject pertaining to the different protects offered by the constitution to these castes.

3.19 POLITICAL DEMOCRACY AND CASTE SYSTEM

Democracy is cursed by the caste systems; castes are not identical in their position they stand one over another and are envious of one another. It is amounting amount of hate and sliding amount of dislike. Basically, democracy is a union construction exercise rooted on beliefs but in India coalitionstructure was a criminal coalitionof one specific community with other one, might be both stronger ones and numerically powerful one,ensuing in themarginalization of the other communities. The government, which is formed for the people, has gone into the hands of the superiors and their employers, the special interests. An invisible empire has been set up above the forms of democracy as mentioned by Woodrow Wilson.

The most vital aspect in politics is became caste it is due to politics is extremelyspirited. Thereason is to obtainauthority for certain conclusions. Hence, it uses all types of faithfulness in the society to obtain and mergepositive political spots; institution and expression of hold are vital in the above procedure of politics in India. It is true that caste is one that kind of institution by which the individuals are connected. The relationamong politics and caste is thereforesignificantand, in the procedure,as togetherrelate so directly that they are altered. Programmes of the party too cut across castes allegiance and components of one caste might be separated on the grounds of ideological associations. There is no rejectingof the fact that the caste's politicisation has advantaged the lower castes and other backwardsets, particularly in the south India region. They in fact, mobilisethe lower and backward caste groups and they have developed into anothertype of privileged ones bymaintaining most of the persons out of the purviewof growth and fairness. It is also significant tostateat this point that such inclinationhastroubled the Indiansociety due to the leaders have rewardedinsincerity to theperfect the social democracy. The sets of

upper-caste have notofferedadequatefreedom for the lower and backward castesets, and are still attempting to uphold their philosophy ofan uneven society, grounded on either religion or religion.Responsibility of caste in elections has two aspects, one is about the candidates and parties and the second one is about the voters.The former appears to hold the voters protrudingthemselves as winners of specific social and economicconcerns, the latter whereasapplying their vote in support ofone party or candidate depending on caste. In reality individuals vote on thegrounds of caste and religion and do not consider the merits of thecandidate.

3.20 ROLE OF CASTE IN INDIAN POLITICS

In India, before the introduction of the universal adult franchise, it was chiefly the persons from the superior caste who were vigorous in politics. Though, in India, the franchise system has brought in the meaning of numbers in India.

The lower ladder people of social hierarchy acquireda chance to stateabout themselves by using their numberpower. Invarious areas of country, caste links have developed with the aspiration of following not only social position and also concern of economy but political power as well. As a consequence of this, many of the political parties have had to offer the welfare and growth of lower castes.

The Indian politics matter has beenmainlyreplicated by its social, economic, religious and geographical situations and theseparticularsituationshave further offered a preciseform Indian politics that is predominantlydistinct by the caste politics. Different scholar's sight that politics in India is chiefly castebased and politics as caste is elongated in the fang and is a prominentbase of social formation of stratain India and fascinatingly we observefew of the detailed castes to be knownhigherposition withsocial and economic entitlements that were deprived to the lower caste of individuals. During the times of Vedas, the method of Varna turns out to be the basis of social stratification and as per this method there were four Varnas such as Brahmin, Kshatrya, Vaishya and Sudra and everyone wasallotted with exactfunction. In

India, the dynamics of politics fromevery stage and hence given a famouscharacter to the Indian politics. Presently, all political parties are seen to offer an attentive and powerfuloutlook tocaste thought selections of candidate and selection of ministers in thegovernance. Though, not only these but also impact has powerfully affected thebureaucracy too.Inside this milieu, the most current reservation strategy has specified a newdrive to the function of caste in Indian politics and the job of caste in the dissimilarfeatures of politics can be observed by the given directsince it is observed to power the complete policy creation of the government; instance is brilliant like reservation policy in errand of certain castes.

1. Caste stages a famousposition in the elections and voting behaviour anywhere as a generaltruth of the political parties chooses their candidates on caste lines.

2. Aspectof caste obviously becomes middlethought in all the programmes, policies and manifestoes of the political parties and even dissimilarplacein political parties is observed to obtaindispersed in terms of diverse caste arrangements.

3. Consequenceof caste feature also impacts in the origin of council of ministers and creationselection to different political positions in the government.

4. Caste also performs like pressure group in politics anywheremainly political dealing is made on these caste lines.

5. Bureaucracy like administration also obtainsprejudiced by the caste thought as mostly, the postings, transfers and selections of public officials get prejudiced by the caste deliberation and even more significantly, the behaviour of the public officials in delivering out the administrative duties finally gets influenced by caste thoughts.

6. Political leadership in several political parties as a subject of matter appears and maintains in politics on the foundation of support of certain caste groups.

Though, considering all these into reflections the risingposition of caste in politics sinceseveral political specialistssight it as aninclination that

appear to extend a negative role for the generalmethod which is not at all obliging for the growth of democracy.

3.21 NEGATIVE ROLE OF CASTE IN INDIAN POLITICS

It is obvious that similar to religion several politicians utilize the subject of caste to split voters. Numerous political parties getbenefit of the caste emotions and break the society in such a way that they expand from such separations. Caste leaders'plea to the emotionsof the voters and their individual caste sets and attempt to activate votes on that ground so as to capture and maintain political authority. Not merely this, politicians have also managed to redirect the concentration of its voters from problemsrelating to growthand so on by appealing them in caste linked matters. It is so, obvious that the link between caste and politics has both positive and negative faces; yet, over theperiod the negative role of caste has createdimportance in Indian politics and measured one of the hazardousharmfuldriftto our democracy more significantly on general development.

Check your progress-2

4. Caste system in medieval period

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5. Caste factor in political socialization

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6. Caste and Indian constitution

3.22 LET US SUM UP

The changeof India's democracy is yet in procedure and marginalized societies are its majorbenefit. The method of democratization force brings new leaders from the marginalized societies. Personsdesiregrowth, individualswish for their voices to be heard and they are not prepared that somebody in the name of their identity, snatchauthority,organization and apply it for his/her personal achievements which was extensively perceived. The leaders of political parties will have to democratize themselves and speak to the essential matters of the common people.

It is significant that the people of India mustthink the caste system as a midwaypointand not as a lasting social actuality which cannot be removed. The call for the momentis that as Indians, in spite ofof caste, ethnic religious and regional identities mustplan at making ademocratic society for the prospect of India and increase some commonprinciples upon which the structure of the design of India can rise with pride and glory.

The four-foldseparation of castes speaks the creator in the Bhagavad Gita, was produced by me according to the distribution of qualities and duties.Not birth, not reparation, not learning, makes one divija (second birth), but virtuousbehaviouronly reasons it.The essence of democracy is not anautomaticobsession to be familiar by elimination of forms it needs modification of heart.

Civil society has anenormous, energetic and positivetask must be performeddown with eachsegment of the society since this duty is the jointaccountability of every citizen, politician, Teacher, educationist, students, intellectuals, businessmen and also trade union leaders and not of one segment of the society. Even though, the Indian government is dedicated to safeguard the harmony and truthfulness of the nation by subsequent the principles and objectives of the constitution thus far the detrimentalexercises of democracy and the above mentionedtroublesget up on the means to national incorporation and harmony.

3.23 KEY WORDS

Caste: Referring to social system in India and related to classification along lines of ancestry

Jati: Jati as 'Birth, Life, Race, Sex, Lineage, Parentage, State, Tribe, Caste, Sect, Genes, Species, Nature, Family, Sort, Kind, Name, Order, Nation, Section, Peoples, Clan, Community, and Breed'.

3.24 QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

1. Meaning and definition of caste
2. Caste structure and characteristics
3. Caste system in India
4. Caste system in medieval period
5. Caste factor in political socialization
6. Caste and Indian constitution

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3.26 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Historians have various views and scholars in relation to the beginning of caste system, though it is acknowledged that it was a very old

institution. Referring to social system, the phrase 'caste' related to classification along lines of ancestry. In Indian society aperson is born into a particular social group and permanently staysthere for life. Term 'caste' actually imitated from the Portuguese word 'casta', meansfamily, race, lineage or bread. The method of castesurvived from the society was calm of social status hierarchically disciplined and culturally separate groups.

As stated by Dr B.R.Ambedkar, "Caste system is not merely division of labour. It is also a division of labourers".

M.N. Srinivas described caste as heredity generally local group, containg a customary union with an occupation and particular place in the local hierarchy of castes. Associations between castes are oversees other things by notions of smog or clarity, and usually mostharmony happens with the caste.

Ketkar said, "A Caste is a social group having two characteristics: (i) membership is confined to those who are born of members and includes all persons so born; (ii) the members are forbidden by an inexorable social law to marry outsides the group".

2. The definition of word 'caste' is denser than belief. As defined by Risleyas "a collection of families or groups of families bearing a common name; claiming a common descent from a mythical ancestor, human or divine; professing to follow the same hereditary calling; and regarded by those who are competent to give an opinion as forming a single homogeneous community". It also may be defined as an ethnic and hereditary section of aracial unit live in a status of higher or lower grade of social regard in contrast with other such sections. The name of caste is usually linked with a particular profession and as state dearlier, is a closed arrangement, which makes it endogamous. The caste system of India is a categorization of individuals into four hierarchically graded castes known varnas, and categorized based on occupation and decide access to wealth, power, and privilege. Status of leadership in society is dominated by some dominant castes.

3. As a major facet of our society system of caste persists to endure over the centuries. In Indian politics, it stages essential role as the political behaviour of the crowd is frequently inclined by caste deliberation. As stated by Andre Beteille, "Caste enters much more directly in to the composition of political elites at the state level". Mainly in the states of Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Haryana, Karnataka, Kerala, Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu and Uttar Pradesh caste has been a main and leading issue in politics.

4. Varna system in the middle periods was under gone into castesystem, is a classic hierarchical system that endorsedseparation of labour which led to separation of labourers, and this course is exclusive to caste system. The servicessudra caste were additionallyseparated into

touchable and untouchables grounded on incorrecttheory of purity and impurity. Joti Rao Phule differently this separation of Bahujans in two groups of producerssudras and ati-sudras (Dalits). In the following stages in the form of Bhakti actionsseveral social rebellionsrise for the cause of Sudras and Ati-sudras.

5. Diverse caste groups their loyalties behind a political party and their ideology. Indian people from the birth inherit a caste and nurture as a member of that caste set. He may belong to one of the high castes or to lower castes. In the course of alternatives of his political direction, outlook and viewpoint, he obviously comes under the power of caste cluster and casteism. Worth of caste and caste comfort, impact his socialization and therefore his political thoughts, consciousness and contribution. He invests upon caste unity for engage and performing a leadership enrolmentfunction. This is mainlyfactual of caste aware personsof States,Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Haryana, and Bihar.

6. Even though the essence of factionalism represents obviously confirmed in the constitution, however the constitution in a restricted and circuitous manner identifies the caste system in the type of offering for the reservation of seats for Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castein parliament and the legislative Assemblies. It also offers the commissioner of Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes with the accountability to examine subject pertaining to the different protects offered by the constitution to these castes.

UNIT- 4 RELIGION IN INDIAN POLITICS: MINORITIES AND RAISE OF HINDUTVA ON SECULARISM

STRUCTURE:

4.0 Objectives

4.1 Introduction

4.2 Religions in India

4.3 Definition of religion

      4.3.1 Meaning of religion

      4.3.2 Purpose of religion

      4.3.3 Types of religions

4.4 Boundary between religion and politics

4.5 History of religions in India

4.6 Religions present in present India

4.7 Role of religion in India

4.8 Role of minorities in India

      4.8.1 The beginning of muslim politics

      4.8.2 Political participation of minorities

      4.8.3 Condition of muslims

4.9 Raise of hindutva in India

4.10 Ideology of hindu nationalism

4.11 Political riots

4.12 History of secularism

4.13 Present status of secularism

4.14 Secularism in India

4.0 OBJECTIVES

After studying this unit, you should be able to:

• Understand meaning and definition of religion in Indian context

• Know about the different religions in India, their role in politics

• Examine the Hindutva and Secularism in India

4.1 INTRODUCTION

India was ultimatelyunchained from its prolonged period under British colonial rule in 1947, though as anindependent member of the British Commonwealth. Independence was obtained byachingseparation into two individual states in its borders, the authority of India and the authority of Pakistan. That division became the basis of vastdisorder to chase in Indian history.

Independence itself did not occupy bloody struggles with the Great Britain, but chains of ugly carnage happen between Hindus and Muslims,under British rule, lived together as fellow citizens. Partition of two independent states led to large scale grouprelocation of religious sets in the Indian subcontinent. The rigidity that brought about such clash and argumentsamid religious sets has been called 'communalism' or confrontations.

4.2 RELIGIONS IN INDIA

Only some nationscanstate to have as affluent a religious variety like India. To an overpoweringquantity, Hindus, Muslims, Christians,

Buddhists, and Sikhs existquietlyand all have a general history of being at the crisis of invasion, trade, and the cross fertilization of society and religions. Northern India is, in particular, a community religionof the world since Buddhism that was born there, Hinduism and Sikhism from the Indian subcontinent, and Islam and Christianity from the west. The northeastern region only includes the majorfocusof tribal peoples in the nation. To protect harmony amid the religious mixture, the India has accepted a secular constitution and declares to safeguard equal rights.

4.3 DEFINITION OF RELIGION

A set of beliefs regarding the reason, nature, and idea of the universe, particularly when measured as the creation of a superhuman agency or agencies, generallyconnecting devotional and ritual observances, and frequentlyincluding a moral code administering the conduct of human affairs.

4.3.1 Meaning Of Religion:

Worship and belief of God or Gods or a system of religious beliefs and practices.

4.3.2 Purpose Of Religion:

The reasons and the practice of a religion are to attain the objectives of salvation for oneself and others, and if there is a God to make due adoration and compliance to God. Dissimilar religions have different understandings of salvation and God.

4.3.3 Types Of Religions:

Religious Classification	What/Who Is Divine	Example
Polytheism	Multiple gods	Belief systems of the ancient Greeks and Romans
Monotheism	Single god	Judaism, Islam

Atheism	No deities	Atheism
Animism	Nonhuman beings (animals, plants, natural world)	Indigenous nature worship (Shinto)

Religion is importantsinceexercise of religion is excellent for persons, families, nation, and states. It develops health, learning, economic comfortdisciplineself-respect and compassion.

The maincause of motivation is religion, meaning, and argument in human society, notifying history, politics, economics, art, and literature. ... In fact, a religious study isanexpanded and complicatedauthorityspotlighting on the study of particularcustoms and commoncharacter of religion as a human occurrence.

4.4 BOUNDARY BETWEEN RELIGION AND POLITICS

Amongst human being's religion becomes obscurity, if there weren't religions, it would beessential for individual to discover and found. As the ancientperiod, individualactions and outlooks have been trained by severalvalues in spiritual or supernatural influence and were notreaching away from imaginative notions or strangethoughts, eventually from some sort of religions which have been the very quality of human being.

Gandhiji, in 1942 wrote that "Religion is a personal matter which should have no place in politics". He even went advanced and informed a missionary: "If I were a dictator, religion and state would be separate, I swear by my religion I will die for it. But it is my personal affair. The state has nothing to do with it".

As stated by B.R. Ambedkar, "to ignore religion is to ignore a live wire. Religion is an institution or an influence and like all social influences and institutions, it may help or it may harm a society which is in its grip. Religion is a belief or a faith in something that is purely theoretical

(ideal) partly practical and that something gives satisfaction, utility or a benefit to the believer".

Eachindividual has right to consider such religious faith and background as might be accepted by ethics but also displays conviction and ideas by such clearproceeds which are endorsed by religion. At present the situationexisting are such that persons are moving into the crowdbloodshed in the name of religion, for instance, the Godhra incident Gujarat riots of 2002. The achingmemoirs of religious unrest after the destruction of Babri Masjid still remainin the minds of people. Faith has become sucha significantmatter that other subjects such as illiteracy, population explosion, poverty, unemployment, corruption and environmental pollution have gone astray.

4.5 HISTORY OF RELIGIONS IN INDI

The kind of history India has a delicate intercommunity association. Political forces have secular and communal component have constantly been in fight for control against each other for several centuries. Politics based on religion ideology and mass enlistment have constantlytested secular forces in Indian society. The Indian constitution acknowledges it as a secular nation and hasofferedseveralbasic rights for the cultural growth of dissimilarreligions and minority communities. The Indian constitution does not discriminateamongst its people on the basis of their religious faith the nationwidenscompletesafety against bias to all religious group.

If we observe historical backdrop of the difficultysubsequently, we discover that there was a close dealing between religion and politics starting Indus valley civilization to the arrival of Islam, from the advent of Islam to the Indian Mutiny of 1857, from 1857 to Independence of India in 1947 and from 1947 forwards. Whatsoevertests came to Hinduism akin to the branching off of Buddhism and Jainism came from within. Nonetheless, dealing among religion and politics was very close. The authority was usually in the hands of Kshatriya.

As Islam arrive India,it contained of manymighty and small Hindu kingdoms, their opposition and irregular encounters were observedsimply as fightsamid the two political identities, lacking any religious implications in them. Muslim kings utilized their religious entity to muster the support the Muslim rulers used their religious identity to gather support in order to preserve their political power from the start of the 11th century till the end of 14th century.

At the advent of British the Muslim rulers lost their power. The British had occupied in various fights against the Muslim and Hindu kings so as to set up its footing and theBritish became the masters of the whole India by 1856 A.D. They depressed the Indians of their political, economic, social and religious rights, at this period the Hindus and Muslims unified in theattempt to clash against the British rule. Thus,the Britishquicklydeveloped a plan to utilize the religious entities of the Indians to protect its political control.

Christian missionaries during their rule approvedhumiliatingmeansto extend Christianity in India. They actually attacked Hinduism and Islam brutally. They started to attackreligious faiths of Hindu and Muslim, practices and customs and destined Hindu Gods and Muslim prophet. They started to change the people to Christianity by givingrewards, jobs, and promotions etc. The actions of missionaries worried the persons.The British government taxed lands of temples and mosques or charitable organisations, it harms the religious feeling of the persons. Lord Dalhousie in 1850 passed a law, which facilitate a convert to Christianity to take over his ancestral property.

As the British rulers were attempting to utilise the division of religion of the Indians for strengthen their political control in India, national movement leaders such as Tilak and later Gandhi also establish it more suitable to activate mass support beside the British rule by religion, and they used religious catchphraseand signs. By the help of the British government cultural organisations of Muslims also amplified their religious actions. The outcome of these British plans was that afactor of Hindu- Muslim differenceslowlyenclosed the national movement. The British government tried to field the Muslim League against the

Congress for all useful reasonsamounted to fielding the Muslim community against the Hindus. The victory of this plan by British was to employ the religious entities of Indians to smear thedrive of the Liberation Movement andaccomplished withbigpact when there bust out grave riots amid the Hindus and Muslims mainly in Bengal and Punjab. In the complete British rule religion and politics sustained to be closelyrelated. The relationship of religion and politics was qualitatively dissimilar from the period of Muslim rule in India or during the previous period of Hindu rule.

4.6 RELIGIONS PRESENT IN PRESENT INDIA

In fact Hinduism is a prehistoric religion, even though it is varied, with monotheism, henotheism, polytheism, pantheism, pantheism, monism, atheism, agnosticism, and Gnosticism being symbolized, and is also the chief religious group in India; The word Hindu, initially a geographical explanation, originated from the Sanskrit, Sindh, the historical term for Indus river, and linked to a individual from the land of the river Sindhu.

It is true Buddhism is an Indian religion and beliefs. Buddhism is practised mostly in the Himalaya foothills and in Sikkim, Arunachal Pradesh, in Jammu and Kashmir's Ladakh district, Darjeeling in West Bengal and the Lahaul and Spiti districts of Himachal Pradesh animportant religion, also, a major number of Buddhists live in Maharashtra.

They truly are the Neo-Buddhists or Navayana Buddhists who, by the impact of B. R. Ambedkar embraced Buddhism to get away the casteism practices in Hinduism. Ambedkar is a central figure, alongside with Sri Lanka's Anagarika Dharmapala and Kripasaran Mahasthavira of Chittagong after the recovery of Buddhism in India in 19th and 20[th]centuries. 14th Dalai Lama's flee 1959 escape of Tenzing Gyatso to India Chinese occupation of Tibet and also speeded the rebirthof Buddhism in India. Aflourishing religion in Sikkim joined the Indian Union in 1975 making it India's 22nd state stays Vajrayana Buddhism, and Padmasambhava or Guru Ugyen is a sacredexistence there.Non-

theistic Indian religion is Jainism and philosophical methodderiving in Iron Age India, and intense in the states of Gujarat, Karnataka, Maharashtra, and Rajasthan.

In 14th century in Northern India Sikhism started with the teachings of Guru Nanak and nine succeeding gurus. Punjab is the holyabode of Sikhs, and is the only state where Sikhs are a mainstream. The majorSikh populations in neighbouring Chandigarh, Delhi and Haryana are seen, which were historically part of Punjab.

Islam is monotheistic religion middle on the faith in one God and following the example of Prophet Muhammad; in India it is the largest minority religion, it makes India the country with the largest Muslim population outside Muslim-majority countries. There has been no particular census conducted in India with regards to factions but sourcespropose the major number is Sunni Islam with a substantial minority of Shiite Muslims and Ahmadi Muslims.

In Tamil Nadu the Basilica of Our Lady of Good Health of Velankanni Church, is anextremelydedicated Catholic Marian shrine.Christianity is also monotheistic religion middle onJesus life and teachings as existing in the New Testament. It is the third largest religion of India; St. Thomas is accredited with introducing Christianity in India. In 52 A.D, he arrived on the Malabar Coast Christians contain a mainstream in, Mizoram, Meghalaya and Nagaland also have considerable populations in Kerala and Goa.

As, Parsis followers of Zoroastrianism in Indiasignify approximately 0.006% of the total population of India, with comparatively high attentions in and around the city of Mumbai. Santhal is also one of the several tribal religions pursued by the Santhal people. In India less people follow the Bahá'ís Faith, thus forming the largest community of Bahá'ís in the world. The Baha'i Faith acknowledges the Krishna and Buddha as signs of the God Almighty.

In India Judaism is also present, a monotheistic religion from the Levant. Presently there is a very small community of Indian Jews. There were more Jews in India historically, including the Cochin Jews of Kerala, the

Bene Israel of Maharashtra, and the Baghdadi Jews near Mumbai. Additionally, since independence two mainly proselyte Indian Jewish communities in India.

4.7 ROLE OF RELIGION IN INDIA

In a secular country generally, religion should not play role in politics because secularism as athought itself means division of religion from strategysubstances. In Indian situation though, religion engages in a central role in election campaigning, voting behaviour, policy making so on.

Religion has a mainly strong grip over people' psyche in India. Religious reflections control their daily life political leaders have capitalized on this. Although Section 123(3) of RPA evidentlybarring any position to candidate's or voter's religion, such positions are often used. Some political parties supply only precise religious groups presently. Extensivedisparity in socio-economic situations which matched with religious entities has also been subjugated.Because of low voter literacy, voting behaviour is conquered by sentiments rather than unity. It being a toughemotionalissue plays a vital role in influencing behaviour of voter.

Various social problems are related with religionlike polygamy, triple talaq etc. Article 25 of Constitution permitscountry to improve religion of its evils. Also, reforms observed like Hindu women being given remarriage rights, entry of women to in temples, declaring triple talaq illegal etc.

Sentiment of dislike and uncertaintyamongst certain Sikh minorities has led to nationalist groups such as Khalistan movement andrevoltof minorities in Jammu and Kashmir so on. Now state polity has to take actparticular to religion like modernization of Madrasas.

Religion has dominatingseveralfeatures of State polity in anintensely religious and traditional society, and it is expected. However, the mandate of constitution of a righteouscoldness and non-bias on source of religion shall be upheld at all cost. Appointmentby religion shall be a

gauge of last option and must be ended in the finestwelfare of society and nation.

Associationamid religion and politics departsextreme back into the history of mankind. Religious signs, information and organizations have been worn by the ruling masses so as to continue their rule over political arrangement. The subordinate classes on their fraction have been stimulated by teachings of religion and communicate to rebel against prejudice and domination. Therefore, the linkamong religion and politics runs profound.

The timepreviousto formation of Pakistan observedseveral most ghastly and brutalriots of Hindu-Muslim and accelerated the partition of India. The Muslim League leaders and most of the affluent and powerful Muslims departed to Pakistan, those stayed were either loyal to Indian nationalism and secularism and were accordinglyequipped to bend to the alteredsituation or were too poor and feeble to be involved in any type of politics at all. Following partition, the Congress under Jawaharlal Nehru reserved itself from Hindu associations and the new constitution offered for the liberty of religion and safeguard of all minorities.

Observing in vision, the significance of religion, and the makers of the constitution of India had chosen India to be a Secular and Democratic constitution. In this regard Jawaharlal Nehru had pointedpowerfully any pains to continue 'a complete structure of society by giving it religious sanction and authority'.Similarly, he sought that constitution of India must 'protect all religions, but does not favour one at the expense of others and does not itself adopt any religion as the state religion'. He thought that 'religion is all right when applied to ethics and morals but it is not good if mixed up with politics'.

Particularly religious politicsarticulated by the Hindutva movement, in the last quarter of the 20th century it has powerfullyprejudicedby Indian politics. Most of the factorsessential for casteism of India and communalism created during the rule of the British, chiefly after the late 19th century; the system and others frequently politicised religion.

Because of the high amount of dominationcountered by the lower castes, the Indian Constitution incorporatednecessities for assentingfeat for certain segment of Indian society. Several states ruled by the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) initiated laws that made conversion harder; they declare that such conversions are frequentlyunnatural or allured. National political party BJP, also achievedextensiveattention of media once its leaders linked themselves with the Ram Janmabhoomi movement and other major religious matters.

Aneminentcharge that Indian political parties build their opponents that they occupy in vote bank politics, meaning provide political hold to matters for the onlyreason of achieving the votes of a scrupulous community. Both the Congress Party and the BJP have been blame of utilizing the people by pamper in vote bank politics. A divorce lawsuit, the Shah Bano case, generated much debate when the Congress blamed of comforting the Muslim orthodoxy by making a parliamentary amendment to reverse the decision of Supreme Court. In 2002 following Gujarat violence, there were accusations of political parties indulging and consolidating Hindu vote bank politics.

4.8 HISTORY OF MUSLIM POLITICS IN INDIA: PRE AND POST INDEPENDENT PERIOD

The result of rebel movement of 1957 and the formation of Indian National Congress in 1885, as a strong nationalist movement British has reversed their choices from superior class of Muslims to educated Hindus. Therefore, they have begun to achievekeep count of payback in several features of life. Accepting such failingsituations of Muslims in common, English educated Islamic reformer like Syed Ahmad Khan pressed the Muslim community to acquire education and be faithful to the British as he thought that the Muslim Community will be safer under the British emperors. He was opined that Muslim leaders mustspend their force to strengthen their own community rather ruining their time in political involvement which was conquered by Hindus. In India, so as to strengthen their menacinghold over India, the British

attemptedalllikelyendeavours to stimulate communalism amid Hindus and Muslims. One of the try was in 1905 partition of Bengal. In 1906 hostilityamongst Hindus and Muslims was on its top, while a political association called Muslim League incepted. In 1909, separate electorates organised Hindu-Muslim disparity in politics, separating a chase of acrimony. For Muslim League, though, divide electorates merelydocumented the disparity that previouslypresent and were ananswer to genuine Muslim concerns about attaining electorally drown in a majoritarian Hindu population.

The main objects of such actwere to weaken Muslim dominated region of East Bengal from the Hindu conquered West Bengal on the other hand, they maintain to encourage Muslim league, which was founded in 1906. Therefore, the risingoppositionamid the two chief communities and religion political manoeuvring by the British had begun making mainabrasionamong two communities and worried association was further cynical by the Morley Minto reforms of 1909, which authorized separate electorate for Muslims. In 1916 the Hindu Maha Sabha was founded by Hindu extremists, underway to raise matters of Hindu unity and Hindutva.

Politics by Muslims was on its top when they attained what they have fought for, a new nation for Muslims. Prominentamid Muslim Politics were several, however Mohammad Ali Jinnah got the centrepoint. India was partitioned and political resentmentamid the two communities since then never come down. Conversely, after the making of Pakistan, Muslim political leadership in India got destabilized and Muslims since then have underway to gaze for secular parties founded by Hindus. The Samajwadi Party started by Mulayam Singh in the stir of Babri Masjid destruction and firing upon Karsevaks by his instruct, the Rashtriya Janata Dal by Lalu Prasad Yadav, The Bahujan Samaj Party, started by Kanshi Ram and afterwardsraised and increased under the leadership of Mayawati, The Trinamool Congress of Mamata Banerjee and others have obtainedbulkof Muslim votes.The Jan Sangh led by Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, now which became the Bharatiya Janata Party has began to elevate the matter of Hindutva. During BJP rule communal riots and lynching of minorities and Dalits now became daily news ever since it

came to power and India became asovereign nation on world map. Strong Muslim leadership was totallymissing though some parties have raised some Muslim faces in their party, however, they were not successful enough to putforth their difficulties of community before the partyand they were representation.

Check your progress-1

1. Discuss the Religions in India

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2. Discuss the Definition of religion

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3. Discuss the History of religions in India

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4. Discuss the Role of religion in India

4.9 ROLE OF MINORITIES IN INDIA

4.9.1 The Beginning Of Muslim Politics:

Muslims in India are in quandary since independence, the Muslim community has forever been used as a vote bank by different political parties and once the election was over, no one thought for them and problems. They left with the onlychoice of voting out a party in self-protection, Muslim Politics does not shiftpast the game of continued existencewhere they vote a party to defend their very individuality only.

In the current political situation, Islam and Muslims are being observed as anapparentdanger to the individuality and faith of many others. This type of condition is reproducingdispleasure and annoyance among themselves. Muslims are being alleged as disparate citizens and facing dual standards from the national government in severalportions of the globe. Duringsearchingnotions of identities and their associations to the political area, one can ultimatelygrow a perception into integration, which can be entered through political involvement. Consequently, political involvements happened reallymomentous for religious minority sets hence they can insist their rights which is offered by the lawful structures of that specificcountry. If not, adverseacts will be passed and they mightdisobey on the correct to practise to choose one's religion or traditions. The political rendezvous is important for minority people, because it aids the expression of requirementsamong the group and political organisations, and organises for the softoperation of the country for its citizens. Provisodefinite sets of citizens reject to join in the democratic method, lastingreliability and belief in the democratic method could be at risk.

In 2005, the National Commission of Minorities in India was established and has recognized six religious sets as minorities namely Muslims, Christians, Sikhs, Buddhists, Zoroastrians and Jains. All amongst them, Muslims area majority minority setcompriseabout 14% of the total Indian population and therefore, makes largest minority group. Consequently, their appointment in political actionshas becometremendouslyimportant. The concept of 'Muslim politics' is being arguedoften in every nook and corner, mainly in India and the world politics in common.

Though, the word "Muslim Politics" is frequently come under examination because the word contains of matters such assafeguard of Urdu language and Muslim Personal Law, activities of Muslim institutions/pressure groups, announcements of powerful Muslim celebrities and the votingoutline of Muslims in elections. These features in current times are regularly taken into consideration of "Muslim politics". However, the considering of this 'word' is still insufficient. It is supposed that "Muslim politics" as a sign of "minority communalism"

either be evaluated with "secular politics" or totally ignored as a kind of reaction to firm Hindutva. This type of statement is frequentlyestablished uncritically. As a consequence, the insidecomplexity of Muslim politics and the means in which Muslim political actors become less vital and intellectual energies are dedicated to replicate the active intellectual and political separation among secularism and communalism.

These are certainly annoying for the Muslim community and in India Muslims aresufferers of the nastiestsort of communal violence however they are too at the lowest step of the growth in the country. The literacy rate among Muslims is abysmal and job representation in both public and private sector is appallingly low. Even the representatives in legislative bodies as welldecline. In the current scenario they do notwant to vote simply for their security but desireexpansion and progress as well.

The Muslim generation after partition is eager to match up with others in terms of growth and has involved not less than any other community or caste for the growth of national index in every walk of life. However, they suffer from all modes of troublearraying from security to unemployment thepresent generation of Muslims desires empowerment and is rightly dissatisfied with every political party.

4.9.2 Political Participation Of Minorities:

From the starting of 20th century the history of Muslims political consciousness and their political participation can be seen, Muslims formed Muslim League with the support of the British government until the non-cooperationmovement both the Congress and Muslim League were very closely linked. Afterwards the Muslim League turn out to be a mass association and more anti Congress and communal in approach. Muslim League in 1940 askedfor an individualsovereign nation for Muslims and as a consequence Pakistan was formed. However, Muslims in India due to lack of dynamic leadership became the most backward in all walks of life. Their problem is that they are not politically combined while few pains were made however they were all fruitless.

Afterwards the ideas of secular nationalism floatedto the religious nationalism. Religious nationalism has mainly taken two kindsHindu and

Muslim Nationalism.In the currenttime of caste and of communal parties,shifts by Muslims to have Muslim Party seem to be interesting and logical. The AIMIM party has in the recent times emerged and behind the Muslim cause.

Following more than seventy years to the independence of India, no single political party has yetconcerned for the socio-political and economic upliftment of Muslims, insteadthey are measured as a community accountable for the separation of India and formation of Pakistan really, Muslims live in India had nothing to do with Pakistan. They played main role in the independence struggle with British no role during partition nor do they have any enduringcompassion for Pakistan. There is the reason and insight that the Indian Muslims become the enemies of Hindus and are functioning to shape out another Pakistan. That is the reasons Sangh Pariwar has been thriving on this Hindu mind and this siege of mentality has directed to make a Hindu vote bank and has also marginalize Indian Muslim from Indian Politics. Muslim Personal Law Board and the Babri Masjid Action Committee both apparentlylaboured to protect the Muslim reason but in real terms they only coddled in the politics of disharmonyby high decibel Muslim rhetoric. This delighted the Hindu brains of blockade and it was the BJP that quickly became the champion Hindus. Consequently, in the currentperiod the individualsmuststay aside the query of militant ideology of Hinduism or Islam and only advancement and peace must be the slogan.

4.9.3 Condition Of Muslims:

It has been seen that the bigger the bulk of minority populations, the superior the socio-economic disparityamong majority and minority sets. In the Indian background, it was seen that there iscontraryconnectionamong the relative size of Muslim and Scheduled Caste individuals and the allotment of public goods and services in rural regions.Thus, in India, in order to understand the intensity of deprivations and marginalization of Muslims, in 2006 the then Prime Minister started a High-Level Committee, under the chairpersonship of Justice Rajendar Sachar, and it is commonlyidentifiedas the Sachar

Committee Report aimed at socio-economic and educational position of the Muslim Community of India. Yet, for this strideseveralasserted to be as a 'political note'. The Committee noted that districts with a comparativelyhuge minority population Muslims were clear by lower point of social growth compared to ones having a lower amount of Muslims.

4.10 RAISE OF HINDUTVA IN INDIA

A Hindu fundamentalist V.D. Savarkar had worked with the purpose to unite and strengthen the Hindu community and to createHindu Rashtra in India. He had appealed for a strong Hindu countryfounded on the philosophy of Hindutva and a state grounded on the code of one person, one vote. Those were clearlyplanned further for the reason of a Hindu nation in India. The stress on the Hindu militarization movement wasdepended on the words of hatred and violence focussed against an imagined Muslim theocratic community. The slogan of Savarkar is 'Hinduize all politics and militarize Hindudom'uncovered the saga of Hindu non-tolerance of other religious communities. In truth the history of Hindu communal enlistmentmight be traced back to the pre-independence days. In 1925 the Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh (RSS), the leading Hindu organization founded, was apparently a cultural unitoccupied in circulating the Hindu traditions. But its notion of Hindu nationhood displayed an open anti-Muslim pitch. It also labelled for the concern of a Hindu nation as well as the militarization of the Hindus to attain goal. Likewise, the Hindu Maha Sabha symbolizes the services of Hindu revivalism in the political area.

4.11 IDEOLOGY OF HINDU NATIONALISM

In 1920s the ideology of Hindu nationalism was codified, by the most potent consolidation obtained by the institution of the Rashtriya

Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS). Beside the stereotype of communal worrieswas so deposit that RSS cansimplyescape with the change. The RSS has been the mainlysuccessful organiser and bearer of the Hindu right. From the launch, it performedas an anti-Muslim propaganda,afterwards, in 1936 Rashtra Sevika Samiti, women wing was established. Beside this, the qualitative jump to Hindu nationalism was given by Savarkar, the former head of a terrorist group and the future President of the Hindu Mahasabha. The instrument of Hindu nationalist individuality building was by the action processand use ofidea of the intimidating others. Asper Savarkar, Hindutva depends on three pillars like geographical unity, racial traits and common traditions. He reduces the function of the religious measure; it can also be observed as an effort to deal with the severeisolation within Hinduism. According to Jaffrelot the three characteristicsspecified by Savarkar stem from the mythical reform of the Vedic golden age. The notion of Savarkar about Hindutva relays on cultural principlesomewhat than on racial theory, which writes to the Brahminical standpoint. Still we discover some weight of Western theory. Though, as disputed by Sarkar, if the intimidating other was anessentialfantasy, the endangered womenmight be organized as a strongmissile for violent mobilization. Savarkar hadredrafted the Indian history in which, as emphasized by Agarwal, the history was not seemed at to knowthe present; as a substitute the past was worn to originate a validation for political position of Savarkar, particularly in the situation of women. Savarkar created the pictureof the Muslim man as a rapist and Hindus as tolerant, using the type of a story or aSavarkar postulated the idea of Hindutva as somewhatseparate from Hinduism. Hindutva provided as a earnings for accomplish the dominance of the Hindu race, rather than its religion. As stated by Savarkar, 'Hindus are not merely the citizens of the Indian state because, they are united not only by the bonds of love they bear to a common motherland but also by the bonds of a common blood ... All Hindus claims (sic] to have in their veins the blood of the mighty race incorporated with and descended from the Vedic fathers'. This definition connects Hindu with race. Savarkar, though, did not bind this idea of a general fatherland and a common racial bond. He axiom a Hindu as oneinnate Indian civilization 'as represented in a

common history, common heroes, a common literature, a common art, a common law and a common jurisprudence, common fairs and festivals, rites and rituals, ceremonies and sacraments'. He therefore defined Hindus in terms of their general cultural legacy.

Additionally,Savarkar sighted a Hindu as one who pursues the religion of the individualsunusual and native to this land (i.e., Hinduism). In his vision, a fatherland (pitrubhumi) and holyland (punyabhumi) were one and the same. This union of fatherland and holyland approved Savarkar to build the political class of Hindu in resistance to non-Hindus (Muslims and Christians). Regardless of the truth that Muslims and Christians 'have inherited along with Hindus a common Fatherland and [a] greater part of the wealth of common culture-language, law, custom, folklore and history-they are not and cannot be recognized as Hindus .... Their Holyland is far off in Arabia or Palestine'. The building of a Hindu race was thereforeattained by endlessly positing a clashamong the Hindu and others, most particularly, the Muslim and Christian invaders.

While Savarkar distinguished Hindutva from Hinduism, he also documented that Hinduism was asignificantelement of being Hindu. He successfullyaltered the function of religion in comprising the groupof Hindu. 'In religious discourse the community is defined in terms of a shared creed or dogma. In the political discourse of communalism, the community is defined primarily as a race. Religion, instead of being a defining criterion, is transformed into a fetish owned by an already defined community'. For Savarkar, Hindus composed a race that chased a specific religion in resistance to Muslims and Christians, whose awfullysurvivaloffered a risk of betrayal. Though Muslims and Christians were comprised in racial conditions, they created a risk because their Holyland rest out of India. Regardless of the stress on racial dissimilarities it was the disparities of religion that stayed as a comprising moment of the oppositional entities.

Golwalkar additionallyexpressed definitions of Hindu and Hindutva in his writings. The vision of Golwalkar of a Hindu nation contained five factors like,

The notion enclosed in the term Nation is a mix of fiveseparate featuresmerged into one permanentfamousfive unities like Geographical (nation), Racial (race), Religious(Religion), Cultural (customs) and Linguistic (Language).

4.12 POLITICAL RIOTS

The politics in India, has observedextraordinarypoint of religious polarization, and all this occurred in the name of Lord Ram. Such proceeds were done mainly by the Hindu communal forces, including political party like BJP, through its following institutions, like Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP), and its militant youth wing, the Bajrang Dal, which occupied a key role in the destruction of the Babri Masjid. The face of the Jan Sangh, which presentlypersonalized as the BJP in 1980 was about to go altered.

4.13 HISTORY OF SECULARISM

It is true that Indian religions are co-existed and developedjointly for several centuries before the advent of Islam, followed by Mughal and colonial period. To know, it is essential to have a perception into how the idea of secularism developed in India. The religion, practices and values of the Indus Valley civilization gotsubstantialnotice from the sight of recognizes the forerunner of later Indian traditional religions. There occurredadoration of one body of the half male and half female (Shiv-Shakti); praise and worship of animals and plants; and the worship of severalfigurativedepictions of the world around. Subsequently, religion was very accommodative and devoid of a stiffconstitution; it was polytheistic as well as agnostic, atheistic, henotheistic as well as panentheistic similarly. This acceptance towards and approval of other religious faithscontinued in the dharmic religions that followed. Therefore, the dharmic religions lack a proselytism custom. There is no faith in the dominance of their god. Conversely, there are examples in religious texts like the Ramayana and the Mahabharatha, where even the opponent on the side of adharma are exposed to have a commendable trait, as Gods on the side of dharma are shown as having myth. This

encouraged a exclusiveview of questioning, open mindness and approval in Dharmic religions.

In Maharashtra Ellora Caves are present, a world heritage site, the 35 caves were carved into the upright face of the Charanandri hills between the 5th and 10th centuries. The 12 Buddhist caves, 17 Hindu caves and 5 Jain caves, built in closeness, propose religious co-existence and secular emotions for varietywidespread during pre-Islamictime of Indian history.

About 2200 years ago Ashoka ruled and Harsha about 1400 years ago accepted and patronised various religions. In prehistoric India individuals had liberty of religion, and the nationarranged citizenship to everypersondespite of whether their religion either Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism or any other. Ellora cave temples constructedsubsequently to each other amid 5th and 10th centuries, for instance it displays a coexistence of religions and strength of approval of diverse beliefs.

This method of interfaith associations altered with the onset of Islam and institution of Delhi Sultanate in Northern India in 12th century, subsequently by Deccan Sultanate in Central India. The political principle of Islam, and its religious thought was at strange with principles of Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism and other Indian religions. New shrinesand monasteries were not permitted. Sinceby Levant, Southeast Europe and Spain, Islamic rulers in India treated Hindus as dhimmis non-Muslims, in a Shariabased state jurisprudence. During Mughal period, Sharia was obligatory with constantpassion, by Akbar the Mughal Emperor, as the first majorexemption. In reality Akbar wanted to combine thoughts, supposedparity amid Islam and other religionsin India, forced conversions to Islam were stopped;eradicated religion basebiased jizya taxes, and greeted construction of Hindu temples.Though, the ancestors of Akbar, mainly Aurangzeb, reverted to treating Islam as the primary state religion.

4.14 PRESENT STATUS OF SECULARISM

The Indian Constitution of 7th schedule seats religious institutions, charities and trusts into concurrent list, which means that both the central

government and different state governments in India can craft their own rules about religious institutions, charities and trusts. In case any disagreement about central government passed law and state government law, subsequently the central government law succeed. This rule of overlie, slightly than parting of religion and state in India was moreacknowledged in a sequence of constitutional amendments beginning with Article 290 in 1956, to the adding of phrase 'secular' to the Preamble of Indian Constitution in 1975.

The overlap of religion and state, during concurrent list construction, it has provideddifferent religions in India, state in fact maintain religious schools and personal laws. Involvement of state asbooming with the utter of every religion, are uneven and contradictory. For instance, a 1951 Indian law of Religious and Charitable Endowment permits state governments to powerfully take over, own and run Hindu temples, and gather revenue from offerings and restructure that revenue to any non-temple concerns as well asupholding of religious organisations; Indian law also permits Islamic religious schools to get limitedfinancial aid from state and central government of India, to provide religious set of beliefs, if the school concurs that the student has an choice to select from religious indoctrination if he or she so poses, and that the school will not differentiate any student footed on religion, race or other backgrounds. Educational organisations entirelypossessed and run by government might not instruct religious indoctrination, but religious groups and endowments might open their own school, teach religious indoctrination and have a right to limited state financial aid.

In subject of personal law, likesatisfactory age of marriage for girls, female circumcision, polygamy, divorce and inheritance, Law of India allowsevery religious set to apply their religious law if the religion so orders, or else the state laws affect. In conditions of religions of India with important populaces, simply Islam has religious laws in type of Sharia and India permits as Muslim Personal Law.

In India Secularism, therefore, does not signifydivision of religion from state. As a substitute, secularism in India denotes a nation that is impartial to every religious set. Religious laws in personal sphere, mainly

for Muslims, supplant parliamentary laws in India; and presently, in variouscircumstances like religious indoctrination schools the state limitedly finances some religious schools. These disparities have led various scholars to assert that India is not a secular nation, the term secularism is broadlyunspoken in the West and elsewhere; reasonably it is a scheme for political aims of nation with a multifaceted history, and one that attains the opposite of its knownpurposes.

The Nation's secular character is under danger from the practitioners of religion dependent politics. It is true that bulk of Indians are believes in religion and in a diverse country the supporter of one religion pursue the lane of distance from the supporters of other religions. One morefeature of Indian truthismirrored by enmity of religion and conflict against the supporters of one or the other religion. Therefore,communalism and secularism are the truths of India and these two means of life are concerned in conflict with each other. The rudest surprisearrives from the way in which the government and the nation are permitting themselves to be pressed off the rim of secularism into the gulf of communal response, declining back to the scary atavism of sluggish, dark and medieval culture of the Hindi speaking areas.

4.15 SECULARISM IN INDIA

There was initially no definitecondition in the constitution which would assert India as a secular state. In 1976 by the 42nd amendment Act, had added in the preamble the term 'Secular' and from then it is read: "We the people of India, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a Sovereign, Socialist, Secular, Democratic Republic and to secure to all its citizens: Justice, social, economic and political; liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship, Equality of status and opportunity; and to promote among them all. Fraternity, assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity and integrity of the Nation".

Check your progress-2

5. Explain about Role of minorities in India

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6. Write about Secularism in India

4.16 LET S SUM UP

Till the 1990s, the central government has basically been a game of swapamong the two major national parties like, the Congress and the Bharatiya Janata Party with their individual partners.Different actions happened because of which Muslim voting pattern in common forever got affected. In the dearth of any feasible choices, it is the Congress, who obtained popular Muslim votes and the same played vote bank politics for long. This disagreement can be substantiated by the reality that the party has by no means exposed any concern in protecting the rights of Muslims in general.

Empowerment of linguistic and ethnic minorities is asign of the victory of a democracy. The minorities are those sets whose statisticalpower is lesser than other, the majorities. The root of identification of a linguistic minority is language, whereas that of the ethnic minority is manifold. The latter mostly consists of caste, language, region, customs, tradition, economy, etc. Frequently the borders of the linguistic and ethnic minorities overlap. Usually the Indian scholars distinguishamong the identity created on the single variable linguistic, communal (religion) or caste, and the multi variable ethnic identity.

4.17 KEY WORDS

- **Religion:** Worship and belief of God or Gods or a system of religious beliefs and practices.
- **Polytheism:** Multiple gods
- **Monotheism:** Single god

- **Atheism:** No deities

- **Animism:** animals, plants, natural world

- **INC:** Indian National Congress

- **Hindutva:** unite and strengthen the Hindu community and to create Hindu Rashtra in India

- **RSS:** Rashtriya Swayam sevak Sangh

4.18 QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

1. Discuss the Religions in India

2. Discuss the Definition of religion

3. Discuss the History of religions in India

4. Discuss the Role of religion in India

5. Explain about Role of minorities in India

6. Write about Secularism in India

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4.20 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Only some nationscanstate to have as affluent a religious variety like India. To an overpoweringquantity, Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Buddhists, and Sikhs existquietlyand all have a general history of being at the crisis of invasion, trade, and the cross fertilization of society and religions. Northern India is, in particular, a community religionof the world since Buddhism that was born there, Hinduism and Sikhism from the Indian subcontinent, and Islam and Christianity from the west. The northeastern region only includes the majorfocusof tribal peoples in the nation. To protect harmony amid the religious mixture, the India has accepted a secular constitution and declares to safeguard equal rights.

2. A set of beliefs regarding the reason, nature, and idea of the universe, particularly when measured as the creation of a superhuman agency or agencies, generallyconnecting devotional and ritual observances, and frequentlyincluding a moral code administering the conduct of human affairs.

3. The kind of history India has a delicate intercommunity association. Political forces have secular and communal component have constantly been in fight for control against each other for several centuries. Politics based on religion ideology and mass enlistment have constantlytested secular forces in Indian society. The Indian constitution acknowledges it as a secular nation and hasofferedseveralbasic rights for the cultural growth of dissimilarreligions and minority communities. The Indian constitution does not discriminateamongst its people on the basis of their religious faith the nationwidenscompletesafety against bias to all religious group.

4. In a secular country generally, religion should not play role in politics because secularism as athought itself means division of religion from strategysubstances. In Indian situation though, religion engages in a central role in election campaigning, voting behaviour, policy making so on.

Religion has a mainly strong grip over people' psyche in India. Religious reflections control their daily life political leaders have capitalized on this.

5.In the current political situation, Islam and Muslims are being observed as anapparentdanger to the individuality and faith of many others. This type of condition is reproducingdispleasure and annoyance among themselves. Muslims are being alleged as disparate citizens and facing dual standards from the national government in severalportions of the globe.

6. There was initially no definitecondition in the constitution which would assert India as a secular state. In 1976 by the 42nd amendment Act, had added in the preamble the term 'Secular' and from then it is read: "We the people of India, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a Sovereign, Socialist, Secular, Democratic Republic and to secure to all its citizens: Justice, social, economic and political; liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship, Equality of status and opportunity; and to promote among them all.

UNIT- 5 REGIONALISM IN INDIA

STRUCTURE:

5.0 Objectives

5.1 Introduction

5.2 Definition

5.3 Meaning

5.4 Concept of regionalism

5.5 Characteristics of regionalism

5.6 Background of regionalism in India

       5.7.1 Regionalism in pre-independent India

       5.7.2 Categorical division of post independent India

5.7 Regionalism in India

5.8 Reasons for the development of regionalism

       5.8.1 Geographical factor

       5.8.2 Historical and cultural factors

       5.8.3 Caste and religion

       5.8.4 Economic factors

       5.8.5 Politico-administrative factors

5.9 Types of regionalism in India

       5.9.1 Regionalism, appropriately so named

       5.9.2 Parochialism

       5.9.3 Secessionism from the Indian union

       5.9.4 Inter-state disputes

5.0 OBJECTIVES

After studying this unit, you should be able to:

• Understand meaning and definition characteristics of regionalism in Indian context

• Know about the causes, types of regionalism, conceptand movements in India

• Examine the suggestion to stop regionalism in India

5.1 INTRODUCTION

A nationwide factis regionalism and it received shape of well envisaged andwell-prepared protest and movement. It has been the most powerfulstrength in Indian politics from Indian independence. It has lingered the foundation of regional parties, is animportantsort of sub-territorial devotion. Fascinatinglysufficient, in India regionalism, has grown in close recognition with the regions.

During post-independence, it has frequently been differing like collaborating power, mostly relaying on the way of adjustment. In India

it is extremelyentrenched inits variousmultiplicities of languages, religions, tribes, cultures, communities so on. It develops from the emotion of regional attention, which is regularlyincreased by anintellect of regional scarcity. A nationwith 1.3 billion from diverse castes, creeds, traditions and ethnicity,regions of India are different from each other. In case, southern India, the domicile of Dravidian traditions, itself aarea of several regions and very dissimilar from the north.

5.2 DEFINITION

1. According to Marshall E. Dimcockregionalism is a bunch of social, environmental, economic, and governmental aspects to such alevel that a differentperception of separate entity within the total, a requirement for independentpreparation, anappearance of cultural oddness andwish for administrative liberty are acknowledged and truly put into effect.

2. As per W. P. Scott, "regionalism is an approach to the study of behaviour that emphasizes the geographical region as the unit of analysis, stressing the relationship between human beings and their immediate physical environment. Economic, social, cultural and political organizations are analysed in terms of their relationships and functions within the geographic region".

5.3 MEANING

Care for of aspecific region or state in fondness to the country as a total is regionalism. This sentimentcouldstart either owed to the constantignore of a specificregion or area by governing authorities, or it canjump as aoutcome of rising political consciousness of the hereafterbackward persons that they have been differentiated against.

The common meaning of regionalism is the affection to a specific region. The sentiments of regionalism make more loyalty and worship for their own region as contrast to nation.

As D.C. GUPTA, stated "Regionalism means love of a particular region in preference to the country."

5.4 CONCEPT OF REGIONALISM

The very onset of any conceptual thought of anoccurrence is necessary;due to this observethe concept of development of regionalism in India. In India the concept of regionalism is not novel though it has obtaineddistinction in the currentperiod, not as type of economic, political and social occurrence, and also as an area of study. Truly concept of regionalism has concernedvastinterest by Scholars. Indian polity regionalism since a historical issue has been pact in diverse means by various Scholars and in changed social situations. In political scenario of India regionalism became obligatory and anobviousfacet of the Indian political party system.

Newly, India has been observing the start of the democratic procedures that have affected in the rearranging its politics and economics. Amongst these methods, most vital has been the declaration of identity politics. There have been battles about the violence and contradictoryalleges of the identity groups and of battles between them, habitually fought on the line of region, religion, language even dialect, caste, and community. These fights have createdterms in the alteredform of electoral representation that carried the local/regional into spotlight with the hitherto inactive political groups and regions ruling voices.Furtherauthentically representative democracy has guide to the sharpening the contour of dissimilarityamong or between the identity groups and regions.

Regionalism can be seen as an ideology and political progress that get to precede the reasons of regions. However, it is essential, at the very onset, to differentiate two fairlydiverse meanings of the word regionalism. At the international level, regionalism refers to transnational collaboration to attain a generalaim or determine a mutualtrouble or it demotes to a group of nations, likeWestern Balkans, Western Europe, or Southeast Asia, that are related by history, geography, or economic aspects. Used in this sense, regionalisms demote to effort to strengthen the connectionsamong these nations. Nowadays, the leadinginstance of such atry is the European Union (EU).

Forvarious scholars' regionalism in Indian politics usually has been observed as somewhat anti federal, anti-system, and besidecentralattention of a well included polity. It has repeatedlyuttered itself in hostile terms to the country, increases as it is by the logic of progressingdenial due to long term ignore in growthand source share. It has frequentlyspoken itself in provisos, which are opposite to national harmony and honesty, and demanding to the legality of the nation. The literature on regionalism, its meaning, figures, reasons and consequence in India is so wide and huge that there is little range or possibly not much to insert to clarify the meaning of regionalism in India, or its shapes and substance.

5.5 CHARACTERISTICS OF REGIONALISM

1. Regionalism is accustomed by economic, social, political and cultural inequalities.
2. Regionalism sometimes is anintuitiveoccurrence.
3. It is makingroughly asphrase of group identity also loyalty to the region.
4. Regionalism assumes the concept of growth of own region without taking into deliberation the interest of other regions.
5. Regionalisms exclude people from other regions to be promoted by a specific region.

5.6 BACKGROUND OF REGIONALISM IN INDIA

In the Indian political methodregionalism as an occurrence is not novel. Since 1947, regionalism has lingeredmaybe the strongestpower in Indian politics, if not facingregionalism is entrenched in various diversity of cultures, tribes, languages, communities, religions etc, and optimistic by the regional attention of those identity indicators and increase by a logic of regional denial. India remained for several centuries, the land of severalcultures, lands, regions, and customs. The necessaryaim that

emphasizes in this esteem is that domesticautonomy of community, whether regional, linguistic, tribal, religious, ormixture, has stayed the maintype in which regionalism has wanted to articulateitself, historically and contemporaneously. In the pre independence time it was functional by the British imperialist deliberately encouraged the persons of different regions to reflect in provisos of their area instead the country intotal, by aspire to uphold their clutch over India during the national movement.

5.6.1 Regionalism In Pre-Independent India:

The British Empireedifice started around the threeplaces Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. The attainedregions of east, west and south India were slowlysupplemented to the presidencies of Bengal, Bombay and Madras. This made into the creation of 3 original British Indian provinces. In the initial stage British created bigger states of the empire building. In second stage they made the British Indian provinces, werecommenced by the bifurcation of greater states into smaller ones, Assam was the first state of its kind. The onlyreason of the Britishers in the provincial reorganization and the creation of new states was the progress of the majesticconcern and forcapable administration. The agenda was not growth and welfare of the British State. Theyconstantlyagreed to the continuance of the policy 'divide and rule'. In India they had three types of provinces, like provinces of Governor, the Lt. Governor's provinces and the province of Chief Commissioner. India in the times of British was not evenly governed and different regions might be considered as given below:

1. Regions under successful British administration,

2. Partlymanaged regions,

3. Un-administered regions and

4. The regions ruled by the native princes.

B.B. Kumar in his book "The Trend of British Annexation of North-East India" stated regarding the rulers of North-East India similarlyrelated to the huge number of cases: "the British were not aware of the strengths and weaknesses of the rulers of this region and were very cautious in

their dealings with them. Their cautious approach gradually gave way to unusual firmness. The Kings and chiefs who were initially treated on equal footings, were gradually reduced to the status of Sanad and Kabuliat holders. British paramount gradually eclipsed the sovereignty of the Kings. This gradually happened as British established their stronghold on other parts of the country and could know the inner weakness of the society, the ruling elite and the polity of the region".

5.6.2 Categorical Division Of Post Independent India:

On 26th January 1950 India was proclaimed to be a Sovereign Democratic Republic and a Union of States. The joining of Princely states was roughly complete by that period. The nation had subsequentgroups of State at that period:**Group A:** Assam, Bihar, Bombay, Madhya Pradesh (Central Provinces and Berar), Madras, Orissa, Punjab (East Punjab), the United Provinces (U.P.) and the West Bengal. These States constantly headed by the Governors as was the case during the British days. They were authorized to have the selected Legislative Assemblies and the Councils of the Ministers.

Group B: The previous Princely States/State Unions incorporated, in this group were Hyderabad, Mysore, J&K, Madhya Bharat, PEPSU (Patiala and East Punjab States Union), Vindhya Pradesh Rajasthan, Saurashtra, Travancore-and Cochin. The King of the State acts as the Raj Pramukh of the State. In J&K, it was termed Sadar-e-Riyasat. One of the Maharajas acted as the Raj Pramukh in the case of the State Union.

Group C: They include the Chief Commissioner's provinces of Ajmer, Bhopal, Bilaspur, Coorg, Delhi, Himachal Pradesh, Kutch, Manipur, Tripura and Cooch Behar. This integrated three previous Chief Commissioner's Provinces, likeAjmer-Merwara, Delhi, Coorg.

Group D: The Andaman and Nicobar islands.

5.7 REGIONALISM IN INDIA

To know regionalism, oneneeds to recognizedifferentscopes of the area. Region as a geographical part, is bordered form each one. Region as a social structure, replicatesthe linkamongdiverse human beings and categories. Regions are a plannedcollaboration in economic, cultural, political or military arenas. It performs as anissue with separate identity, culture, language, and custom.

In fact, regionalism is an ideology and political group that look for progressof the reasons of regions. As a procedure it cooperatestaskinside the country and outside the nation at international stage. Both kinds of regionalism have diversesense and have optimisticas well as negative impression on society, polity, diplomacy, economy, security, culture, growth, negotiations, etc.

It is the initial and mainlylegalsort of regionalism which is frequently in the shape of the order of a divide space or separate state, for the idea of resting stronglyin the Union of India. It was led by the Teluguspeaking people of the former Madras Presidency. The types of objection it occupied were assaults on state property, and the hunger- strike, and fast on to death, mainlydecisively in the case of Potti Sriramulu, who died in 1952 on fast on to death for 52 days, his death important, in the petite term and as aeffect of this, the formation of the state of Andhra and afterwards redrawing of the map of India on lines of language took place. With the similar sort, some of dissents for the formation of a different state and gave origin to principal regional parties like the DravidaMunnetraKazhagam in Madras, which was later imitated by the Akali Dal in Punjab, the Telugu Desam Party, YSR Congress Party and Janasena in Andhra Pradesh, and the AssomGana Parishad in Assam. All these parties except Janasena in Andhra Pradesh won state elections by fruitfullyasserting that they stood for the rights and concerns of their regions. These parties declared themselves as regional by their incredible names. This class also comprises sub-regionalism, which relates to the classes, are in minority in the states footed on language,andengage a specific territory inside these states, and by asset of language or ethnicity, they have sufficient to fetch them jointly and to connect them against the mainstream community in that state. Famousinstances like, the Nepalese in West Bengal and the Bodo people in Assam, both of

thempreparedactions for divide states of their own. The victoriousdissentscomprise those which were elevated by the hill people of Uttar Pradesh; itgave them a new state called Uttaranchal, now Uttarakhand, and the tribal and other people of the Chhotanagpur Plateau, whose claim from a unwilling Bihar was the state of Jharkhand for which they had been fighting from well before Independence. Newly the formation of Telangana state carving from the Andhra Pradesh in 2014.

5.8 REASONS FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF REGIONALISM

Anumber of elements in India have galvanized the actions of regionalism:

5.8.1 Geographical Factor:

The territory orientstand on geographical borders links to the people of a specific region which are figurative, in the Indian background. This is so as of the linguistic allocation along geographical borders. The topographic and climatic disparities along with dissimilarity in the conclusionoutlineencourage people the concept of regionalism.

5.8.2 Historical And Cultural Factors:

In the Indian situation, the historical and cultural issuespresumebettermeaning. The historical and cultural mechanismread regionalism by means of traditional heritage, custom, myths, symbolism and historical habits. Persons of a specific cultural set also obtainmotivations from the graciousactions and magnificentaccomplishments of the local heroes. Nonetheless, there are abrupt political and economic truths which can be enclosed under the scope of historical and cultural features.

5.8.3 Caste And Religion:

While caste is united with language disagreements or holy fundamentalism, it converts regional emotion. It leads to rigidity, obscurantism, and accepted belief.

5.8.4 Economic Factors:

If irregularprogresshappens in various parts of the nationmay possibly be interpreted as the maincause of regionalism and separatism. In reality some areas in the nationfast agricultural growth has been made possible, industries and factories have been intense, educational and health services are sufficientlyoffered, communication network has been developed. Whereas in certain areas where the value of independence is so far to be understood in provisos of socioeconomic expansion. Certainly, the British administration can be saidaccountable for making such broad regional disparity due to their aptness for the point of administration, trade and commerce. However, during post-independence time, pains should have been ended for regional stability in subject of agriculture, industrial, and importantly economic growth. This difference has reasoned the sentiment of comparativedenialbetween the people of economically ignored regions. It has obvious itself in the insist for separate states such as Bodoland, Jharkhand, Uttarakhand, Chhatisgarh, Telangana, and so on.

5.8.5 POLITICO-ADMINISTRATIVE FACTORS:

Particularly regional political parties and the local leadersutilize the regional emotions, regional denial and transfer them to freeze their factional helproots. They provide place to the regional troubles in the election manifesto and assure for political and regional growth.

Check your progress-1

1. Discuss the Concept of regionalism

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2. Discuss the Regionalism in India

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3. Discuss the Reasons for the development of regionalism

5.9 TYPES OF REGIONALISM IN INDIA

In truth, in India regionalism emerges in four types, examplein some areas demand for separate statehood,in some union territories people demand for full-fledged statehood, some people demand for favourable settlement of inter-state arguments, and some demand of certain areas for secession from the Indian Union. Still, it is settled that the increase and expansion of regionalism is entrenched in the collapse of the national political system to convene the ambitions of the persons. To some amount, these have also occupied the form of aggressiveactionselectrifying the popular involvement. They can be explained as follows: -

5.9.1 Regionalism, Appropriately So Named.

It is the primary and generallylawfulsort of regionalism which is frequently in the shape of the demand of a separate state, for the reason of resting firmlyin the Union of India. This was led by the Telugu-speaking people of the former Madras Presidency. The types of objections concerned attacks on state property.

These parties proclaimed themselves regional by their very names. This category also includes sub-regionalism, which pertains to the groups, which are in minority within the states-based o language, who also occupy a definite territory within these states, and by virtue of language or ethnicity, they have enough to bring them together and to bind them against the majority community in that state.

5.9.2 Parochialism

The other type of regionalism has been expressed as parochialism. This can be caring, as in obvious in shape or posing of the Bengali Bhadralok, who assert that their literature, music, dress and cuisine are greater to

others in India. Nevertheless, from time to time it has also occupied the shape of blood shade, as obvious in the assaults on Bihari labourers by the Ulfa cadre, in which the faithrespites that only Assamese speakers have the right to reside in Assam. This sort of blood shade was dedicated by the Shiv Senagoons in mid-60s, who in Bombay started to assault south Indians enable them as outsiders to the city. Even Udupi restaurants were torched, and offices and factories endangered not to employ south Indians in their organisations. Freshly, the Shiv Senahas kept back the Bengalis and Biharis at its object. Subsequent the same, the MNS has made the north Indians its object. The currentattacks on labourers from Bihari by the United Liberation Front of Asom (Assam) are criminal acts, and justify to be treating as such by the security services, and with the persons of Assam. However, they also require to be observing historically, asdefinitelychangedsign of anacceptedemotion that has survived since the starting of the Indian Republic, and which has certainlyformed and reformed the republic. This is aemotion based on the connection to one's language and area.

5.9.3 Secessionism From The Indian Union

It can be categorised as the largelyaggressive and riskytype of regionalism as it is footed on the wish, or trust, or dream, to separate the Republic of India and outline a separate nation of one's own. This type of regionalism developed with Naga National Council of A.Z.Phizo, and National Socialist Council of Nagaland of T. Muivah. In the samemanner, militants in Kashmir can also be thought to pursue this type of regionalism as they are constantlycausing bloodbath in search of their dream of a separate state. During 1980s the movement of Khalistan, headed by the Sikh extremists also expected to shape their own nation-state. In piece of evidence, even the Dravidian group for several years demanded a separate nation out of India.

5.9.4 Inter State Disputes

In India a different type of regionalism has found in the form of Interstate disputes. There is still a disagreement over Chandigarh between Punjab and Haryana. There are some border disagreements, between Maharashtra and Karnataka on Belgaum, in which the Marathi

speaking population is bounded by Kannada speaking individuals, on Kasargod between Karnataka and Kerala and many other border areas between Assam and Nagaland on Rangma reserved forests in Ram Pagani region.

The initial significant argument about use of water resourcesand was for the use of water resources of four chief rivers like Yamuna, Narmada, Krishna and Cauvery into which the states of Delhi, Haryana and Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, Gujarat, Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh and Maharashtra were concerned. There areseveral other argumentslinking the distribution of the waters of other rivers, but those are of minor importance.

In all these cases the Chief Ministers of state acted like spokes men of independent nation and endeavoured to acquire the highest for their own states. It appeared as if India is a multi-national country.

5.10 IMPACT OF REGIONALISM ON INDIAN POLITICS

- Rise of regional parties.
- Change on regional matters.
- Regionalist inclinationsrepeatedlywhip inter-state antagonism as its spillover effect.
- Regional actions repeatedlyeffect in violent demonstrations, upsets not only the law and order situation but also have negative proposition on the economy of the state and the nation.
- Regionalism at times undercuts the national concern by anobstacle in international diplomacy.
- For example, the opposition of regional/state parties of Tamil against the stand of the central government had a straight impact on the relation of India with Sri Lanka.
- The difference of political leadership in West Bengal with the central government over the Land Boundary Agreement and Teesta River Water contribution treaty with Bangladesh effected in bigger tensions between the two nations.

- Regionalism can become a protection for militancy, extremism to make an internal security threat. Kashmir militancy is an example of this sort of regionalism.

5.11 REGIONALISM VS. NATIONALISM

1. A sense of belonging to one nation is nationalism, aemotion one shares with all the citizens of the nationdespite of their caste, creed, culture, religion or region.

2. This relationshipby a country is the main mode of identification for anindividual and allnationspromotes its citizens to take pride in being its citizen.

3. Nevertheless, when persons begin identifying more powerfully with their region than with their nation, it is assumed that nationalism is undercut by a sense of regionalism.

4. As a country attempts to create harmony between all its citizens by joining them by a constitution, national symbols, and songs, regionalism adores the legacy of only one exact region and of one culture.

5. This leads to the pattern of multiple communities within one nation and confines the efforts of national integration.

5.12 IMPACT OF REGIONALISM IN INDIA

5.12.1 Positive Impact:

Scholars consider that regionalism stagean important role in building of the nation, if the load of the regions are lodged by the political system of the country.

Regional acknowledgment in provisos of statehood or state sovereignty provides autonomyto the people of that specificarea and they sense empowered and happy internal self-willpower of community, whether tribal, religious, linguistic, regional, or their combinations, has lingered the majortype in which regionalism in India has required to convey itself, historically as well as at current time.

In Indian regional identities have not constantlydefinite themselves in opposition to and at the cost of the national identity, perceived a democratic result of such procedure in that representative democracy of India has moved closer to the persons who think more concerned and explainsuperior concern for organizations of local and regional governance.

For instance, Tripura Tribal Autonomous District Council (TTADC), created in 1985, has serve to guard andor elsescarce tribal entity in the state by giving a democratic stage for previous separatists to become a party of governance, and thuscondensedconsiderably the bases of political extremism in the state.

In such political company, there is forever a relic a scope of balanced regional growth. The socio-cultural varietyis given due respect and it aids the regional people to practise their own culture too.

5.12.2 Negative Impact:

It is frequently seen regionalism as a severedanger to the growth, progress and unity of the nation. It provides challenges for internal security by the insurgent groups, who spread the opinions of regionalism against the mainstream politico-administrative setup of the country.

Regionalism absolutelyinfluences politics as of collation government and alliances are taking place. Regional calls become national demands, policies are started to please regional demands and usually those are extended to all areas of nation, hence national policies are now conquered by regional demands. For example, MSP given to sugarcane is supportive for farmers in Maharashtra but it isexecuted across all states resulting agitations of farmers belonging to UP, Punjab and Haryana. For now,its sowed seed of defection among ministers and targeting to corresponding minister.

Several regional leaders play politics of vote bank based on culture, language, this is surely against healthy democratic methods. This constantly leads to call for separate state and it has seen that after making small states only few political leaders could run resourcefulgovernment

besides alliances run government which eventually makes administration machinery unsuccessful.

Growth plans are executed unequallycentred on areas to whichtop leaders belongs are benefitted, thereforeconflict is produced among rest regions. Law and order areconcerned, agitations with huge violence take place finally government is bound to take harsh steps; therefore, wrong signals are released about government authorities.

At the international diplomacy regionalism, also becomes obstacle, since in 2013 we observed how Tamil Nadu regional parties were against the Prime Minister of India, attending the Commonwealth heads meeting (CHOGM) in Sri Lanka. These performances have itsstraightinference on the association of India with Sri Lanka or other nations of the forums or in case of Mamata Banerjee not accepting to Land Boundary agreement and Teesta River Water sharing, while the central leaders were ready to do it.

The regionalism persuades violence concernin the entire society, individuals are killed, students unable attend the schools and colleges, and tourism cannot be encouraged so on. This influences the growth of human resource; governments requiredeploying extra forces to manage the condition and it has direct inference on the economy of the country. Impacted societies remain remote from the majority development and then the regional differences and backwardness is obviously reflected.

On the broader front, it troublesthe position of India at global pitch and becomes obstacle in becoming global power or world leader. Other than the development of regionalism in India and its influence, it is also linked a discussed with the Nationalism and federalism.

Check your progress-2

4. Types of regionalism in India

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5. Impact of regionalism on Indian politics

5.13 LET S SUM UP

In truth, it is the usualwish of the persons in anarea or territory to createfast social and economic growth so that they could live joyfully. However, in course of time while some part of the region createsquick development, and other remains ignored, afterwards the opinion of annoyance and aggravationsneak into the mind of the individuals which discover expression in ask for a separate homeland. Therefore, this growth imbalance in which some division of the state obtains special interest and other regions are deserted and allowed to rot becausevast suffering and hardship to the generalemerged in the shape of Gorkha movement, Bodo movement, Telangana movement, etc.

Many regional parties have fused in current years and have achievedpower for clearcauses. The handful of national parties cannot, by the awfully nature of things, sufficientlysymbolize and follow regional causes. Many of the national parties have even unsuccessful to live up to the expectations of the individuals. Thisclarifies why state-based parties have been shaped in different regions and is fairlyvictorious in their endeavours. Regional parties are not a new phenomenon many parties have existedin the country for the lastseveral decades. They held power, or are still holding power, in several states like Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Goa, Pondicherry, Jammu and Kashmir, Assam and other States in the North Eastern area. However,for no reason before was regional parties call as anti-national or considered as a danger to the unity of country. People pose assurance in regional parties since they think that they only can preserve the happiness of the state concerned and can brawl for the lawful rights and powers of the states devoid of being constrain by their union with a national party. Obviously Regional parties focus on upholding and endorsing regional causes. But they do not forgo the big interests of the nation. It is also important that in the Lok Sabha a regional party now shapes the largest opposition group.

Amongst the reasons of the expansion of regionalism is long lastingmismanagement and desert of a region or state by the Central Government. There has been a sneakingdisappointment against Central rule. Regional symbols, regional culture, history and in several cases a general language, all endorse regionalism. Theapathyof centre to the growth of certain areas has created imbalances.

The patriotism of regional parties should not be suspected, regionalism does not decline India. The popular groups must not become arrogant or obsessed with authority. They must be kind towards the minorities, religious, cultural and linguistic Suppression of regional aspirations is not the right remedy.

5.14 KEY WORDS

- **Regionalism:** Region or state in fondness to the country as a total is regionalism.
- **EU:** European Union
- **TTADC:** Tripura Tribal Autonomous District Council

5.15 QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

1. Discuss the Concept of regionalism
2. Discuss the Regionalism in India
3. Discuss the Reasons for the development of regionalism
4. Types of regionalism in India
5. Impact of regionalism on Indian politics

5.16 SUGGESTED READINGS AND REFERENCES

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5.17 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. The very onset of any conceptual thought of anoccurrence is necessary;due to this observethe concept of development of regionalism in India. In India the concept of regionalism is not novel though it has obtaineddistinction in the currentperiod, not as type of economic, political and social occurrence, and also as an area of study. Truly concept of regionalism has concernedvastinterest by Scholars. Indian polity regionalism since a historical issue has been pact in diverse means by various Scholars and in changed social situations. In political scenario of India regionalism became obligatory and anobviousfacet of the Indian political party system.

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3. Anumber of elements in India have galvanized the actions of regionalism:

5.8.1 Geographical Factor:

The territory orientstand on geographical borders links to the people of a specific region which are figurative, in the Indian background. This is so as of the linguistic allocation along geographical borders. The topographic and climatic disparities along with dissimilarity in the conclusionoutlineencourage people the concept of regionalism.

5.8.2 Historical And Cultural Factors:

In the Indian situation, the historical and cultural issuespresumebettermeaning. The historical and cultural mechanismread regionalism by means of traditional heritage, custom, myths, symbolism and historical habits. Persons of a specific cultural set also obtainmotivations from the graciousactions and magnificentaccomplishments of the local heroes. Nonetheless, there are abrupt political and economic truths which can be enclosed under the scope of historical and cultural features.

5.8.3 Caste And Religion:

While caste is united with language disagreements or holy fundamentalism, it converts regional emotion. It leads to rigidity, obscurantism, and accepted belief.

5.8.4 Economic Factors:

If irregularprogresshappens in various parts of the nationmay possibly be interpreted as the maincause of regionalism and separatism. In reality

some areas in the nationfast agricultural growth has been made possible, industries and factories have been intense, educational and health services are sufficientlyoffered, communication network has been developed. Whereas in certain areas where the value of independence is so far to be understood in provisos of socioeconomic expansion. Certainly, the British administration can be saidaccountable for making such broad regional disparity due to their aptness for the point of administration, trade and commerce. However, during post-independence time, pains should have been ended for regional stability in subject of agriculture, industrial, and importantly economic growth. This difference has reasoned the sentiment of comparativedenialbetween the people of economically ignored regions. It has obvious itself in the insist for separate states such as Bodoland, Jharkhand, Uttarakhand, Chhatisgarh, Telangana, and so on.

5.8.5 Politico-Administrative Factors:

Particularly regional political parties and the local leadersutilize the regional emotions, regional denial and transfer them to freeze their factional helproots. They provide place to the regional troubles in the election manifesto and assure for political and regional growth.

4. In truth, in India regionalism emerges in four types, examplein some areas demand for separate statehood,in some union territories people demand for full-fledged statehood, some people demand for favourable settlement of inter-state arguments, and some demand of certain areas for secession from the Indian Union. Still, it is settled that the increase and expansion of regionalism is entrenched in the collapse of the national political system to convene the ambitions of the persons. To some amount, these have also occupied the form of aggressiveactionselectrifying the popular involvement. They can be explained as follows: -

5.9. 1 Regionalism, Appropriately So Named.

It is the primary and generallylawfulsort of regionalism which is frequently in the shape of the demand of a separate state, for the reason of resting firmlyin the Union of India. This was led by the Telugu-

speaking people of the former Madras Presidency. The types of objections concerned attacks on state property.

These parties proclaimed themselves regional by their very names. This category also includes sub-regionalism, which pertains to the groups, which are in minority within the states-based o language, who also occupy a definite territory within these states, and by virtue of language or ethnicity, they have enough to bring them together and to bind them against the majority community in that state.

5.9.2 Parochialism

The other type of regionalism has been expressed as parochialism. This can be caring, as in obvious in shape or posing of the Bengali Bhadralok, who assert that their literature, music, dress and cuisine are greater to others in India. Nevertheless, from time to time it has also occupied the shape of blood shade, as obvious in the assaults on Bihari labourers by the Ulfa cadre, in which the faithrespites that only Assamese speakers have the right to reside in Assam. This sort of blood shade was dedicated by the Shiv Senagoons in mid-60s, who in Bombay started to assault south Indians enable them as outsiders to the city. Even Udupi restaurants were torched, and offices and factories endangered not to employ south Indians in their organisations. Freshly, the Shiv Senahas kept back the Bengalis and Biharis at its object. Subsequent the same, the MNS has made the north Indians its object. The currentattacks on labourers from Bihari by the United Liberation Front of Asom (Assam) are criminal acts, and justify to be treating as such by the security services, and with the persons of Assam. However, they also require to be observing historically, asdefinitelychangedsign of anacceptedemotion that has survived since the starting of the Indian Republic, and which has certainlyformed and reformed the republic. This is aemotion based on the connection to one's language and area.

5.

- Rise of regional parties.
- Change on regional matters.

- Regionalist inclinationsrepeatedlywhip inter-state antagonism as its spillover effect.

- Regional actions repeatedlyeffect in violent demonstrations, upsets not only the law and order situation but also have negative proposition on the economy of the state and the nation.

- Regionalism at times undercuts the national concern by anobstacle in international diplomacy.

- For example, the opposition of regional/state parties of Tamil against the stand of the central government had a straight impact on the relation of India with Sri Lanka.

- The difference of political leadership in West Bengal with the central government over the Land Boundary Agreement and Teesta River Water contribution treaty with Bangladesh effected in bigger tensions between the two nations.

- Regionalism can become a protection for militancy, extremism to make an internal security threat. Kashmir militancy is an example of this sort of regionalism.

UNIT- 6 DEVELOPMENT IN INDIAN POLITICS

STRUCTURE:

6.0 Objectives

6.1 Introduction

6.2 Concept of political development

       6.2.1 modernization

       6.2.2 institutional

6.3 Instability

       6.3.1 political instability

       6.3.2 social developments

6.4 India's elections and the politics of development

6.5 How India's politics has changed

6.6 India's political development at the crossroads

6.7 Let us sum up

6.8 Key words

6.9 Questions for review

6.10 Suggested readings and references

6.11 Answers to Check Your Progress

6.0 OBJECTIVES

After studying this unit, you should be able to:

- Understand meaning and definition of political developments
- Learn about India's elections and the politics of development

6.1 INTRODUCTION

Political decay is a political theory, originally described by Samuel P. Huntington, which describes how chaos and disorder can arise from social modernization increasing more rapidly than political and institutional modernization. Huntington provides different definitions for political development and describes the forms of political decay according to the various definitions. Huntington focuses primarily on political development as modernization and institutionalization. However, he points to the different definitions of political development as being arbitrary ways to understanding the rise of political systems and the relationship between the political systems in different nations.

6.2 CONCEPT OF POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

Huntington identifies two characteristics of political development. The first is that development is synonymous with modernization, thus political development can be defined as political modernization. The second is that there are many criteria to measure political development because modernization and development are such broad topics, covering many areas. There are four generally agreed-upon criteria to determine political development. The first is rationalization, which involves the movement from particularism to universalism, or, from a political standpoint, a focus on functional differentiation and achievement criteria. The second criterion is nationalism, and national integration. This emphasizes nation-states and nation-building as a key aspect of political development. The third criterion is a focus on democratization, which is in essence a focus on competition and equalization of power. The final criterion is mobilization, which is a focus on political participation. The greater the development, the greater the modernization, the greater the mobilization, and therefore the greater the political participation. Ultimately, political development can be defined as an increase in national political unity and an increase in political participation.

6.2.1 Modernization

According to Huntington's definition of political development as modernization, political decay is the opposite of the linear idea of social progress—although, within the model of modernization, social regression is not possible. Instead, political decay takes place because "modern and modernizing states can change by losing capabilities as well as by gaining them. In addition, a gain in any one capability usually involves costs in others."The model of modernization was used to compare the political systems of different countries with social development reflecting the linear progression of political institutions. However, research into the relationship between development of political institutions and modernization has pointed to inconsistent development. In some political systems, such as certain Latin American regions, governments have been influenced by military intervention as a result of the government's inability to cope with the strains of modernization.

6.2.2 Institutional

Under the framework of political development as institutional development, political decay occurs when institutions fail to change or adapt when they become unnecessary due to social or economic changes. Dan Halvorson challenges the idea of political decay as an institutional failure by claiming that the idea of political decay is tied to a Western ideal of political institution without taking into account widely-varying cultural institutions and the inability of post-colonial states to adapt to Western ideals. Fukuyama refers to political decay as the social and economic forces that upset the equilibrium of established political order. Institutions of the Roman Empire government failed to meet the moral and economic needs of the citizens, resulting in the conditions that would facilitate political decay and the fall of the Roman state. Under the institutional model, political decay can be observed as a decrease in competence and credibility and establishment of institutional corruption over a period of time.

6.3 INSTABILITY

Different social and economic factors contribute to both the political development as well as the political decay of nations. Outside forces such as foreign governments affect the stability of established governments due to contrasting social institutions or economic interests. In order to be considered stable, government procedures and institutions must maintain autonomy and be resistant to outside agents. The social and economic forces that established political stability could change or disappear, leading to internal instability. Economic development, such as shifts from agriculture-based economy to manufacturing-based economy, as well as economic collapse, can also lead to political instability. Social developments, such as the proliferation of literacy, lead to the rise and spread of new ideas.

6.3.1 Political instability

Political instability occurs when one faction in a state's government is in opposition with another faction or with another institution in government. Sri Lanka saw a period of political instability following elections in 1994 caused by the ambitions of political leaders. The elected President Kumaratunga attempted to change the constitution and dissolve the parliament in order to remain in power, leading to sudden changes in the structure of the law-making body. Political instability occurred during the late 18th century in France and other parts of Europe during the 19th century. Political development in France, such as the development of the bureaucracy and other institutions, led to a greater demand for meritocracy and greater political conflict among the ruling class. In some cases, political breakdown can occur within the framework of a state's constitution. India has provisions its constitution which grant leaders the power to breach or oppose the constitution in cases of emergency. These breaches of the state law from within the political system can lead to political decay.

6.3.2 Social developments

Huntington's model of political development and decay describes elements such as industrialization, urbanization, education and literacy as social developments that create instability. The presence of violent conflict is not always indicative of social decay. Due to the complex

character of state-building and shifts in political systems, violence is not a reliable indicator of political decay or development. The socialization of law is a process by which legislation is changed in order to adapt to economic and social changes. Socialization of law is one of the forces that opposes political decay within Huntington's structure of modernization, by ensuring that the political institutions in place are resistant to social instability.

Check your progress-1

6. Discuss the Concept of political development.

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7. Discuss the social developments in India.

6.4 INDIA'S ELECTIONS AND THE OF DEVELOPMENT

The sixteenth general elections in India have produced a stunning victory for the conservative Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) and its allies in the National Democratic Alliance (NDA). The conservative coalition has secured 336 seats out of a total of 543 seats in India's lower house of parliament. The BJP's Narendra Modi is slated to take oath as India's fourteenth prime minister.

Does this electoral victory give Modi "a clear mandate to push forward his economic agenda?" It is difficult to tell. His election victory signifies a combination of backlash against the country's inherently *conservative* development regime of the past and Modi's masterful deployment of a suite of political strategies that epitomize the rough and tumble of India's electoral politics.

The 'Gujarat model' of development, named after the state that Modi has led since 2002 as chief minister, signifies high economic growth propelled by a business-friendly regulatory environment and large investments in infrastructure necessary for promotion of growth in business, industry, and capital intensive agriculture.

Critics argue that the Gujarat model is lopsided and marked by exclusion of large numbers of the state's poor who are not part of the formal economy. They may cite the BJP's 31 percent of the national vote share to argue that India's poor have not voted for Modi's growth-oriented platform. That claim is not entirely without reason considering that 65 percent of country's population lives below the $2-a-day poverty benchmark of the World Bank. On the other hand, the Modi-led BJP swept the entire slate in states such as Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh and Madhya Pradesh, which have experienced the type of 'economic dislocations and social breakdowns' that critics associate with the Gujarat model. Yet, there are alternative explanations for the BJP's electoral successes in the states with large numbers of poor people.

While electoral numbers are only a partial reflection of the complex set of underlying issues, results of the recent elections point to a very strong anti-incumbency effect. In big states, such as West Bengal, Tamil Nadu and Odisha, strong regional parties that offered a credible alternative to the National Congress Party secured remarkable electoral victories. The regional parties in these states fought against the BJP and Congress, which shows that voters in these states also rejected the BJP-led platform. Moreover, seen in the context of India's recent political history, discussed below, the anti-incumbency vote symbolizes the proverbial final straw on the back of a tired camel. The camel in this case is not really the National Congress Party as much as it is the notionally socialist model of development.

For nearly four decades following the independence in 1947, the Indian state remained the most dominant economic actor. Economic reforms introduced in the early 1990s led to the state moving out of some industries (and hotels, airlines etc.). The state also cut back its tight control over the formal economy. However, this did not mean that state

was or is any less relevant to the lives of majority of the population. If India is the world's largest democracy, it also houses the world's largest informal economy, which provides about 84.7 percent of all jobs in the country. Governments' social welfare policies are critically important to those in the informal economy. The large size of the country's informal economy and high rates of poverty are indicators of the accumulated failures of country's past governments, most of which have been led by the Congress Party.

When seeking electoral mandates, the Congress Party showcased small gains in the economic conditions of the poor masses and minor additions to rural infrastructure. Such small gains, however, were disbursed selectively through a patronage system that the "Congress system" perfected under the leadership of India's first prime minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, and then by his daughter, Indira Gandhi. Even though both of these leaders were known as staunch socialists, Indira Gandhi, in particular, built her politics around the populist slogan of *Gareebi Hatao* (Remove Poverty). In practice though, the state-led social and economic development did not result in substantive changes on the ground. The accumulated outcome of this notional socialism was, as Paul Brass argues, a deep-seated conservatism in India's development regime, which failed to meet even "the basic minimum needs of its people".

India's economy liberalized in the late 1980s and early 1990s during governments led by the Congress Party. However, the party did not put its electoral fortunes at stake for the sake of pursuing economic reforms. Instead, as Rob Jenkins showed, the Congress governments pursued "reforms by stealth" by cloaking "policy change in the guise of continuity."

The BJP-led NDA government (1998-2004) was the first incumbent government to fight the 2004 general elections on the strength of an anticipated mass appeal of economic reforms that the NDA government had carried forward. However, the opulence of the first high-tech electoral campaign, encapsulated into jingles of "India Shining" amidst the high rates of poverty and unemployment in rural areas, irked Indian voters, who shunted the NDA aside. The 2004 elections revealed a

significant divide in the level of support for reform between the urban middle class and the majority of the urban and rural poor. The Congress Party-led UPA coalition was voted into power for two consecutive terms leading up to this month's general elections.

Keen to address the continued imbalances in India's economy, the UPA-led governments enacted a number of 'rights-based' laws and interventions aimed at the development of broad-based infrastructure, such as the Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission, rural livelihood missions and a nationwide plan to provide good all-weather roads to unconnected villages. However, observations of some of these key programs on the ground suggest that neither the UPA governments nor the party cadres were fully committed to ensure implementation. Consider two such programs, the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA) and the Forest Rights Act (FRA).

MGNREGA is a unique piece of legislation through which the state committed to provide jobs for unemployed people who would work at the minimum wage in programs to build rural and agriculture infrastructure. Political economist Dilip Mookherjee summarized research on its effects in a recent essay and concluded: "Providing employment to rural unskilled labour is the single most direct and effective way of reducing poverty," and the MGNREGA was successful "in providing a safety net and reducing poverty for the most vulnerable sections of the rural population."

Notwithstanding the importance of MGNREGA, and advocacy by one of the top advisers of the UPA for active involvement of village-level cadres, the Congress Party failed to mobilize its cadres to ensure effective implementation of the program. The state of affairs was even more dismal vis-à-vis the Forest Rights Act (FRA), which grants land and forest rights to India's 100 million indigenous *Adivasis*. The law was introduced in part to counter the growing influence of India's Maoist rebels. Field research and interviews conducted by this author in the states of Gujarat, Rajasthan, and Madhya Pradesh revealed that the Congress leaders and cadres had failed to make use of the opportunity

the FRA provided for active involvement of elected representatives, resulting in nationwide failures in implementation of the law. These failures are particularly critical because in at least two states the forests and land rights activists had offered to work with the Congress Party if party cadres were asked to mobilize.

Reports suggest that in addition to the multiple cases of corruption, voters also punished the Congress Party at the ballot box for its failures to implement the programs it showcased repeatedly. Post-poll assessments suggest that faulty implementation of FRA contributed to the party being routed in all but three of the *Adivasi* majority seats. Ironically, in the state of Tamilnadu, Congress's competitors secured significant electoral dividends for a carefully monitored implementation of the MGNREGA. These failures are the manifestation of the fact that the Congress system was not structured as a vibrant cadre-based party system, nor has it ever been 'a viable force for social change'. As a senior Congress leader acknowledged in his post-election comments, patronage politics continues to dominate the party's internal functioning. The structural failures of Congress have been evident in the past in the states of Gujarat, Maharashtra, and Madhya Pradesh. In each of these cases, Congress has yielded ground to the political right.

The results of the sixteenth general elections, examined within the context of India's recent political history, suggest that India is witness to an unprecedented backlash against its inherently conservative development policies and programs. And Modi knows this well – he rarely brought up the state versus the market debate, let alone taking sides, during the long-winded election campaign. As a political commentator has argued, "For all his brilliance and innovation, Modi did not enlighten the nation about his 'agenda'; he simply harnessed the anti-Congress mood."

More importantly, careful analyses of the election campaign show that in key states, Modi's victory is owed to a meticulous planning "constituency by constituency, candidate by candidate, and caste by caste." Moreover, one of the key target constituencies that the BJP's election manifesto targeted at the behest of Modi is the 'neo middle

class'. In the past, Modi has promised to form a committee to *define* this 'neo middle class'. He is determined to prove wrong the old notion that patronage politics could only win pre-defined constituencies. At the same time, it would be a mistake to read too much into the rather small vote share that the BJP secured in these elections. Modi's tenure as the chief minister of Gujarat shows that he is among the best practitioners of a well-known political science dictum: policies make politics.

To conclude, India's election results are a classic case of equifinality, that is, "there are multiple causal paths to the same outcome". Modi and the BJP have become the default political choice of groups of electorates who have remarkably different types of engagement with India's political system. Notwithstanding the mood of the moment, it is important to remember, above everything else, Narendra Modi epitomizes the craft of political entrepreneurship in all its hues and colors.

6.5 HOW INDIA'S POLITICS HAS CHANGED

When Control Risks set up its office in Delhi 10 years ago, India was a different country. It had just started to shake off the inertia of slow growth that had hobbled it for decades. In 2007 it was the 12th largest economy in the world in nominal terms. Today it's the seventh largest; third, if you count by purchasing power parity. In 2013 India joined a handful of nations that have mounted successful missions to Mars. By one count, the number of multinational companies in India quadrupled in just over a decade to 2012.

The changes of the decade are not only reflected in numbers. There have been profound shifts in politics and policy, in diplomacy and digitization, in arts and sports. Well, perhaps not so much in sports – except that India won two more cricket world cups in this time.

What is certain is that India has changed remarkably in a number of ways in these 10 years. Some of these changes affect not just the country's 1.3 billion people – but the rest of the world too. On the occasion of 10 years

of Control Risks in India, we have selected what we consider to be the 10 most significant changes of the decade.

1) Emerging as one of the largest economies

India's recent economic expansion has brought a record number of people out of poverty. A growing middle class has fueled impressive consumer growth. It is today the world's third largest market for smart phones and the sixth largest for cars. India's software industry employs more than 4 million people directly and more than 10 million indirectly. The breadth and depth of this growth is reflected in the extraordinary range of projects Control Risks has engaged in during this period.

1   **PROMOTED**

Civic Nation BRANDVOICE

2   **My Journey As A First Generation American In Post-Secondary Education**

UNICEF USA BRANDVOICE

3   **In Photos: Migration's Searing Impact On Children**

Grads of Life BRANDVOICE

4   **More Than What's On Paper: Dedication Has Its Rewards**

But India is not just one of the world's largest economies; it is one of the youngest too. Almost half of India's population today is under the age of 26. While this unique demographic holds the promise of making India a thrumming engine of the world economy, it also poses the staggering challenge of finding jobs for the million-odd Indians who enter the employment market *every month*, not to mention providing for the health and education of such a large nation.

2) Gaining diplomatic clout

Economic heft has brought with it a greater strategic sway. Gone are the Nehruvian years of the Cold War era, when India led the global Non-Aligned Movement. In 2008, the then government staked its parliamentary majority to ratify the US-India Civil Nuclear Treaty. It

heralded India into the global nuclear elite. For the last three years, India has given more aid than it has received, with neighbors Bhutan, Afghanistan and Nepal topping the list of recipients. All of this has added up to give India much more power in diplomatic negotiations. Ministers from the largest economies can be routinely seen making a beeline for Raisina Hill, the seat of power in the nation's capital – including those from the UK keen on agreeing a post-Brexit trade deal.

India has reached out, too. This Indian government is the first one to consistently conduct diplomacy in the language of international business. Prime Minister Narendra Modi has undertaken more than 70 foreign trips since taking office in May 2014. He has been as at home on the campuses of Facebook and Google as at packed diaspora events at Madison Square Garden in New York and Wembley Stadium in London. Given his focus on trade and investment, Modi is widely promoting the fact that India jumped 30 places on the World Bank's Ease of Doing Business list for 2018 to the 100th place.

3) Evolving federalism

Ten years ago many of our multinational clients viewed India as a single, homogenous market, not the agglomeration of 29 states that it really is. Over this past decade, the federal structure has come into a sharper focus, with more policy-making powers and funds devolving to the states and village panchayats (local governments). The mantra of cooperative federalism has morphed into a competitive federalism in which states – many with the populations of large countries – vie with each other for investment. Our clients now need to assess the political and regulatory scenarios at both the federal and state levels and pay attention to the state-wise ease of doing business rankings that are published every year.

In the middle of 2017, India implemented perhaps the boldest tax reform in history. It replaced dozens of state and federal taxes with a national one, called the Goods and Services Tax or GST. The idea is to create a more unified national market and, despite its early teething troubles, we expect the new tax to lead to greater efficiencies and a more attractive business environment.

4) Fighting corruption and black money

Another unprecedented policy move was announced on 8 November 2016. As the world woke up to hear the news of Donald Trump's election victory, Prime Minister Modi announced the immediate withdrawal of two high-value currency notes. In one stunning move, 86% of the currency was sucked out of circulation, to be gradually replaced by new bills. The declared aim of the move was to fight black money and counterfeiting. While its success is still being debated, it made one thing clear: this government – elected on an anti-corruption manifesto – was willing to rip up the rulebook in order to drive home its agenda.

That resolve has been shown in other ways too. The Prevention of Money Laundering Act, which was implemented in 2005, has been given more teeth in recent years with an expanded Enforcement Directorate, the federal agency tasked with fighting money laundering. Between April and August of 2017, the Enforcement Directorate and the Securities and Exchange Board of India, the stock market regulator, acted against at least 331 shell companies and 100 brokerages charged with facilitating money laundering. This government has implemented Aadhaar, the world's largest biometric identification system, which was initiated by the previous government to root out duplication of identities and safeguard welfare schemes from corruption-related leakages.

5) Forging a stricter compliance regime

Control Risks has always worked with foreign and domestic Indian companies concerned about their exposure to extra-territorial anti-corruption legislation such as the US Foreign Corrupt Practices Act and the UK Bribery Act. However, today we are also seeing nervousness around the application of a more rigorous domestic compliance regime. The Companies Act of 2013 has brought clearer accountability to corporate anti-corruption and anti-fraud measures. The Reserve Bank of India, the country's central bank, has been given more power in 2017 to act against loan defaulters. Our clients today do not just want to fix a problem; they are seeking to instil a preventive compliance culture right across their businesses.

The challenge here is to be able to disrupt previously entrenched relationships – such as those along the supply chain or with public officials – which might require companies to trade a short-term financial hit for long-term resilience. The good news is that this kind of approach, while always hard, is being increasingly adopted by Indian and multinational companies.

6) Emergence of the modern Indian multinational

Those Indian groups that have extended their international footprint during the decade have changed in more significant ways. In January 2007, the salt-to-software conglomerate Tata Group bought Britain's Corus Steel for $13 billion. The next month, Hindalco, the aluminium company of the Aditya Birla Group, announced the acquisition of Canada's Novelis for $6 billion. The next year Tata Motors bought the Jaguar Land Rover car businesses from Ford Motor for $2.3 billion. Some of the global growth has been organic too: Tata Consultancy Services, a $17 billion software company that employs more than 370,000 people, operates in 46 countries now.

These acquisitions have helped change the culture of corporate India, embedding international best practices in some of India's top companies. During the same period, Indians have been appointed to the top jobs in some of the world's leading companies, particularly in Silicon Valley. However, family-run conglomerates still represent the largest part of the business environment in the country and acrimonious disputes that pit promoters against professional management still dominate the headlines – a trend that is likely to continue for some time.

7) Tilting to the political right

Another dark shadow lengthened on India this September. Gauri Lankesh, an award-winning journalist whose work was critical of the ruling right-wing BJP, was shot and killed at point blank range in front of her Bengaluru home. It was a horrific reflection of a murder that in 2006 had rocked Russia, where I had worked for six years before coming to India. Like Gauri, Anna Politkovskaya, an award-winning journalist who often criticised the ruling regime, was shot and killed at point blank in

her block of flats in Moscow. It's an extreme example of the shift to the hard right and the intolerance that is becoming more visible in India.

Business leaders are certainly not immune from this growing right-wing nationalism. A few months ago, I had the opportunity to discuss the changing business climate with the heads of some of the largest multinational companies in India. If there was something in common that the leaders of these various industries faced, it was a sense of nationalism coming in the way of business decisions and policies. As the most populous democracy in the world heads towards another national election in the first half of 2019, this position is unlikely to soften anytime soon.

8) Growing wealth of "godmen"

In an atmosphere filled with right-wing rhetoric, religion mixes better than ever with politics and business. And this can bestow superhuman powers to god men of all hues.

Consider this: the fastest growing FMCG company in the country today is Patanjali, which was founded just a decade ago by Baba Ramdev, a yoga evangelist whose religious sermons on his own television channel are watched by tens of millions every day. His diet-biscuit-to-dish-washer company is now a $1.6 billion behemoth whose success has forced several multinational giants to rethink their market strategies.

In August 2017, the police arrested a guitar-wielding 'rockstar' godman, Gurmeet Ram Rahim, in his sprawling compound 260 km outside Delhi. While the police scrambled to contain the tens of thousands of his followers running amuck after his arrest, our clients in the area found it impossible to ship their products, an operational challenge that befuddled and frustrated them in equal measure.

9) Changing security challenges

Operational challenges have evolved over the decade. In November 2008, ten members of Lashkar-e-Taiba, an Islamic terrorist organisation based in Pakistan, launched coordinated attacks at various locations across India's financial capital, Mumbai. The event, which lasted four

days and cost 164 human lives, changed India's approach to terrorism, instilling a resolve to fight terrorism in a more coordinated way. The other internal security threat at the time – extreme leftist Maoist insurgents – has subsided over the years, though *bandhs* (or shutdown strikes) do still occur frequently.

Clients today are looking at a broader range of security risks, such as those related to labor activism, restructuring and cyber extortion. Putting in place mitigation steps tailored to these scenarios is essential, not to mention the business continuity measures to navigate natural disasters such as the Chennai floods of 2015 or communal protests, such as when the ethnic Jat community paralyzed the state of Haryana for more than a week in 2016 and cut off the main water supply to Delhi for days.

The terrible state of Delhi's air is an existential challenge that – in contrast to other polluted cities like Beijing – has elicited little meaningful government action. The worsening pollution is setting off loud 'duty of care' alarm bells in embassies, multinationals and Indian companies across one of the world's largest capital cities by population.

10) Leaping into a digital future: One of the dividends of India's young demographic is that a large number of Indians are quick adopters of new technologies. The country is supposed to have 62 internet connections per 100 people, though there is a sharp divide in the levels of access between urban and rural areas, and between men and women. The Modi government has launched Digital India, a campaign to improve the country's digital infrastructure and offer more government services online.

This breakneck growth has come at a cost. Indian citizens are increasingly concerned about data privacy and censorship, and perhaps with good reason given the intention to link Aadhaar ID biometric details to transactions, such as opening bank accounts, obtaining a new phone and filing tax returns. The Supreme Court's decision to affirm the inalienable right to privacy – or the right to be left alone – in September 2017 does not sit easily with the government's digital mission, but the agenda is here to stay and many Indian companies are leveraging

artificial intelligence, data analytics and machine learning to disrupt their markets and deliver competitive edge.

These 10 extraordinary changes remind us that, as Control Risks steps into its second decade in India, the challenges and opportunities in front of us are quite different from those that faced us and our clients a decade ago. We have a fantastic team to take on those challenges. What we can assure you is that we will keep a keen eye on the shape of things to come.

6.6 INDIA'S POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS AT THE CROSSROADS

What has been called the "largest exercise in democracy"—eight weeks of voting in which over 800 million people participated—has concluded in India with a victory for the opposition, the Indian Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) led by Narendra Modi. Although it earned slightly less than one-third of the vote nation-wide, the Indian single-party district system magnified the scope of the win. The BJP, along with its allied parties, has almost doubled the number of seats it holds in the *Lok Sabha* (lower house of parliament). Moreover, the BJP on its own now holds 282 out of 543 constituency seats, enough to allow it to form a government without any coalition partners. Meanwhile, the Congress Party suffered an historical defeat, now relegated to just 44 seats. Rahul Gandhi, the Congress Party's prime ministerial candidate and scion of the Nehru-Gandhi family that has led the Congress Party since independence, barely won his own constituency in Amethi district, Uttar Pradesh.

This election has also changed the Indian electoral map. Four states—Modi's own Gujarat, along with Himachal Pradesh, Rajasthan, and Uttarakhand—are now BJP-only states, with no other party representation in the *Lok Sabha*. Another six "union territories," including Delhi and Goa, are also represented entirely by the BJP. Additionally, some 109 seats flipped from Congress to the BJP—most of them rural districts where the Congress Party has traditionally shown strength. One can drive from Mysore to Delhi while crossing only BJP constituencies.

The reasons for the BJP's victory are multiple: an anti-incumbent mood among Indian voters given the state of the economy, the failure of the Congress Party to connect with younger voters, corruption scandals that saddled the current government, Modi's 24-hour campaign which—much like Barack Obama in 2008—made innovative use of technology and social media, attracting millions of first-time voters.

While there are reasons to avoid the term "realignment," this election may nonetheless mark a turning point in India's political development more generally. Modi's victory highlights four possible changes to the political system that, if they persist, could portend welcome shifts in the character of the democratic franchise as it is traditionally practiced in India.

India's political system may become more issue-based and less identity-driven.

Historically, caste, religion, language, and ethnicity, have motivated significant blocs of voters. Although these factors—particularly the power of caste-based voting—are hardly irrelevant, in 2014 they took a back seat to punishing the party in power for presiding over falling growth rates, inflation, and a rupee that had lost up to 25 percent in value before recovering. Economic voting has occurred in India's past; for example, in the 1991 elections, which took place amid a currency crisis. But in this election, the BJP and Congress adopted the rhetoric of conventional center-right and center-left parties, respectively. Modi, perhaps due to allegations of his own culpability in the 2002 communal violence in Gujarat, assiduously avoided religious politics and stuck to the pro-market, anti-red tape platform that earned his home state a reputation as a business-friendly place. Indian stock markets hit a record at the prospect of a Modi-led government. The rupee also strengthened to an 11-month high. Meanwhile, Rahul Gandhi focused on rural poverty and unemployment, on the widening gap between rich and poor, and on basic needs such as food, education and health. That much of the political debate was focused on ideology rather than identity was a welcome development in the history of Indian politics

Nothing has been more certain in Indian politics than the expectation that the party in power will shower its supporters (and fence-sitters) with benefits in order to secure their vote. The Congress Party has expanded the National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (NREGA), a massive public works program that has provided jobs to close to 300 million households. Congress also enacted an ambitious right-to-education program, a national "rural livelihoods" program, as well as a food security bill that will ultimately deliver subsidized grains to two-thirds of the population. Supporters argue that these laws are critical to addressing India's chronic poverty and inequality; critics deride them as old-fashioned budget-busting handouts. There is evidence that the NREGA, for example, helped the Congress-led coalition win in the 2009 general election. But the failure of the Congress' welfare-based platform to cushion its collapse even in rural areas may signal the eclipse of welfare populism as a central electoral strategy. If true, this could prompt parties to modernize, to generate ideas, mobilize support, and govern on the basis of a consistent policy platform rather than entice backers through patron–client networks and seek power in order to gain control over state resources.

The election may signal a greater nationalization of politics.

Much has been written about the rise of regional parties in India. Milan Vaishnav of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace notes that, rather than erode the stature of national parties, regional parties have more or less stabilized in terms of their relative power. The figure below compares the changes in vote shares for the BJP and Congress, by state, between the 2009 and 2014 elections. With the possible exceptions of Bihar, Andhra Pradesh, and Uttar Pradesh, most of the BJP's victories came at the expense of the Congress Party. Unsurprisingly, Andhra Pradesh—which has been in the process of splitting into two states—is one of the few states where Congress' losses were taken up by a regional party (Telugu Desam). Although the number of states where regional parties gained greater shares of votes than either of the two main national parties remained roughly the same, in some of the larger states—UP and Bihar—BJP popularity eroded the strength of regional parties.

MIDDLE-CLASS AND URBAN CITIZENS MAY CONTINUE TO BE MOBILIZED.

One of the truisms of Indian democracy has long been the apathy of urban and middle-class voters. As mentioned above, Indian political parties make numerous direct appeals to poor and rural voters through a targeted transfers, but also through vote-buying schemes. Meanwhile, the middle classes have generally remained on the sidelines. It is not likely that these patterns have, all of a sudden, reversed themselves in this election. But we do know that urban areas experienced unprecedented voter turnout. There is also anecdotal evidence that the middle classes may have increased their turnout, prompted by pocketbook issues, anti-corruption sentiments, crumbling infrastructure, shoddy public service, and other concerns. If so, it would be the continuation of a trend in middle-class mobilization that has coincided with, among other things, a broad anti-corruption movement, street protests against a high-profile gang rape, the emergence of the *Aam Aadmi* (Common Man) party on an explicit "clean government" platform. All of these events were characterized by middle-class, primarily urban, support.

All of these developments are, in their own ways, precarious. Religion, for example, remains a strong factor in Indian political life. According to exit polls, only 9 percent of Muslims voted for the BJP which, although up from 4 percent in 2004, suggests that the largest minority religion remains excluded from the largest center-right party. The problems of vote buying are as rampant as ever, with party officials having been caught distributing cash, alcohol, and even drugs, in an effort to win votes. National parties have yet to make inroads in states such as Orissa, Andhra Pradesh, or Tamil Nadu, where regional parties remain dominant. And, the mobilization of middle-class or urban voters may prove temporary. But all of these changes, should they continue, would be unequivocally beneficial for the Indian political system, making it more institutionalized, stable, coherent, and transparent.

Check your progress-2

8. Discuss the changes of Indian politics.

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9.   Write a short note on political development at the crossroads.

6.7 LET S SUM UP

Huntington identifies two characteristics of political development. The first is that development is synonymous with modernization, thus political development can be defined as political modernization. The second is that there are many criteria to measure political development because modernization and development are such broad topics, covering many areas. There are four generally agreed-upon criteria to determine political development. The first is rationalization, which involves the movement from particularism to universalism, or, from a political standpoint, a focus on functional differentiation and achievement criteria. The second criterion is nationalism, and national integration. This emphasizes nation-states and nation-building as a key aspect of political development. The third criterion is a focus on democratization, which is in essence a focus on competition and equalization of power. The final criterion is mobilization, which is a focus on political participation. India's economy liberalized in the late 1980s and early 1990s during governments led by the Congress Party. However, the party did not put its electoral fortunes at stake for the sake of pursuing economic reforms. Instead, as Rob Jenkins showed, the Congress governments pursued "reforms by stealth" by cloaking "policy change in the guise of continuity."

The changes of the decade are not only reflected in numbers. There have been profound shifts in politics and policy, in diplomacy and digitization, in arts and sports. Well, perhaps not so much in sports – except that India won two more cricket world cups in this time.

What is certain is that India has changed remarkably in a number of ways in these 10 years. Some of these changes affect not just the country's 1.3 billion people – but the rest of the world too. On the occasion of 10 years of Control Risks in India, we have selected what we consider to be the 10 most significant changes of the decade.

6.8 KEYWORDS

> ➢ Modernization: The model of modernization was used to compare the political systems of different countries with social development reflecting the linear progression of political institutions.

> ➢ Institutional: Under the institutional model, political decay can be observed as a decrease in competence and credibility and establishment of institutional corruption over a period of time.

> ➢ Instability: Different social and economic factors contribute to both the political development as well as the political decay of nations.

6.9 QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

1. Discuss the Concept of political development.
2. Discuss the social developments in India.
3. Discuss the changes of Indian politics.
4. Write a short note on political development at the crossroads.

6.10 SUGGESTED READINGS AND REFERENCES

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.11 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Huntington identifies two characteristics of political development. The first is that development is synonymous with modernization, thus political development can be defined as political modernization. The second is that there are many criteria to measure political development because modernization and development are such broad topics, covering many areas. There are four generally agreed-upon criteria to determine political development. The first is rationalization, which involves the movement from particularism to universalism, or, from a political standpoint, a focus on functional differentiation and achievement criteria. The second criterion is nationalism, and national integration. This emphasizes nation-states and nation-building as a key aspect of political development. The third criterion is a focus on democratization, which is in essence a focus on competition and equalization of power. The final criterion is mobilization, which is a focus on political participation. The greater the development, the greater the modernization, the greater the mobilization, and therefore the greater the political participation. Ultimately, political development can be defined as an increase in national political unity and an increase in political participation.

2. Huntington's model of political development and decay describes elements such as industrialization, urbanization, education and literacy as social developments that create instability. The presence of violent

conflict is not always indicative of social decay. Due to the complex character of state-building and shifts in political systems, violence is not a reliable indicator of political decay or development. The socialization of law is a process by which legislation is changed in order to adapt to economic and social changes. Socialization of law is one of the forces that opposes political decay within Huntington's structure of modernization, by ensuring that the political institutions in place are resistant to social instability.

3. Another dark shadow lengthened on India this September. Gauri Lankesh, an award-winning journalist whose work was critical of the ruling right-wing BJP, was shot and killed at point blank range in front of her Bengaluru home. It was a horrific reflection of a murder that in 2006 had rocked Russia, where I had worked for six years before coming to India. Like Gauri, Anna Politkovskaya, an award-winning journalist who often criticised the ruling regime, was shot and killed at point blank in her block of flats in Moscow. It's an extreme example of the shift to the hard right and the intolerance that is becoming more visible in India.

Business leaders are certainly not immune from this growing right-wing nationalism. A few months ago, I had the opportunity to discuss the changing business climate with the heads of some of the largest multinational companies in India. If there was something in common that the leaders of these various industries faced, it was a sense of nationalism coming in the way of business decisions and policies. As the most populous democracy in the world heads towards another national election in the first half of 2019, this position is unlikely to soften anytime soon.

8) Growing wealth of "godmen"

In an atmosphere filled with right-wing rhetoric, religion mixes better than ever with politics and business. And this can bestow superhuman powers to godmen of all hues.

Consider this: the fastest growing FMCG company in the country today is Patanjali, which was founded just a decade ago by Baba Ramdev, a yoga evangelist whose religious sermons on his own television channel

are watched by tens of millions every day. His diet-biscuit-to-dish-washer company is now a $1.6 billion behemoth whose success has forced several multinational giants to rethink their market strategies.

4. What has been called the "largest exercise in democracy"—eight weeks of voting in which over 800 million people participated—has concluded in India with a victory for the opposition, the Indian Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) led by Narendra Modi. Although it earned slightly less than one-third of the vote nation-wide, the Indian single-party district system magnified the scope of the win. The BJP, along with its allied parties, has almost doubled the number of seats it holds in the *Lok Sabha* (lower house of parliament). Moreover, the BJP on its own now holds 282 out of 543 constituency seats, enough to allow it to form a government without any coalition partners. Meanwhile, the Congress Party suffered an historical defeat, now relegated to just 44 seats. Rahul Gandhi, the Congress Party's prime ministerial candidate and scion of the Nehru-Gandhi family that has led the Congress Party since independence, barely won his own constituency in Amethi district, Uttar Pradesh.

This election has also changed the Indian electoral map. Four states—Modi's own Gujarat, along with Himachal Pradesh, Rajasthan, and Uttarakhand—are now BJP-only states, with no other party representation in the *Lok Sabha*. Another six "union territories," including Delhi and Goa, are also represented entirely by the BJP. Additionally, some 109 seats flipped from Congress to the BJP—most of them rural districts where the Congress Party has traditionally shown strength. One can drive from Mysore to Delhi while crossing only BJP constituencies.

The reasons for the BJP's victory are multiple: an anti-incumbent mood among Indian voters given the state of the economy, the failure of the Congress Party to connect with younger voters, corruption scandals that saddled the current government, Modi's 24-hour campaign which—much like Barack Obama in 2008—made innovative use of technology and social media, attracting millions of first-time voters.

UNIT- 7 MIGRATION AND THE PROBLEMS OF DISPLACEMENT IN INDIA

STRUCTURE:

7.0 OBJECTIVES

After studying this unit, you should be able to:

- Understand the concept and types of Migration
- Learn about the concept of Displacement
- Learn about the conditions of Displacement

7.1 INTRODUCTION

Human migration is the movement of people from one place to another with the intentions of settling, permanently or temporarily at a new location (geographic region). The movement is often over long distances and from one country to another, but internal migration is also possible; indeed, this is the dominant form globally. People may migrate as individuals, in family units or in large groups.

A person who moves from their home due to forced displacement, e.g. natural disaster or civil disturbance, may be described as a displaced person or, if remaining in the home country, an internally displaced person. A person who is seeking refuge in another country can, if the reason for leaving the home country is political, religious, or another form of persecution, make a formal application to that country where

refuge is sought and is then usually described as an asylum seeker. If this application is successful this person's legal status becomes that of a refugee.

The distinction between involuntary (fleeing political conflict or natural disaster) and voluntary migration (economic or labour migration) is difficult to make and partially subjective, as the motivators for migration are often correlated. The World Bank estimated that, as of 2010, 16.3 million or 7.6% of migrants qualified as refugees. This number grew to 19.5 million by 2014 (comprising approximately 7.9% of the total number of migrants, based on the figure recorded in 2013).At levels of roughly 3 percent the share of migrants among the world population has remained remarkably constant over the last 5 decades.

Nomadic movements are normally not regarded as migrations as the movement is generally seasonal, there is no intention to settle in the new place, and only a few people have retained this form of lifestyle in modern times. Temporary movement for the purpose of travel, tourism, pilgrimages, or the commute is also not regarded as migration, in the absence of an intention to live and settle in the visited places.

Structurally, there is substantial South-South and North-North migration; in 2013, 38% of all migrants had migrated from developing countries to other developing countries, while 23% had migrated from high-income OECD countries to other high-income countries. The United Nations Population Fund says that "while the North has experienced a higher absolute increase in the migrant stock since 2000 (32 million) compared to the South (25 million), the South recorded a higher growth rate. Between 2000 and 2013 the average annual rate of change of the migrant population in developing regions (2.3%) slightly exceeded that of the developed regions (2.1%).

7.2 CONCEPT OF MIGRATION

Migration is the third factor for changes in the population, the other being birth rate and death rate. As compared to birth rate and death rate, migration affects the size of population differently. Migration is not a

biological event like birth rate and death rate, but is influenced by the social, cultural, economic and political factors.

Migration is carried by the decision of a person or group of persons. The changes occurring in the birth rate and death rate do not affect the size and structure of the population on a large scale, while migration, at any time, may cause large scale changes in the size and structure of the population.

The study of migration is of vital importance because the birth rate, death rate and migration determine the size of population, the population growth rate and thus the structure of population. In addition, migration plays an important role in determining the distribution of population and supply of labour in the country.

Thus, the study of migration is also useful for formulating economic and other policies by the government, economists, sociologists, politicians, and planners along with demographers

Migration shows the trends of social changes. From the historical viewpoint during the process of industrialisation and economic development, people migrate from farms to industries, from villages to cities, from one city to another and from one country to another. In modern times, technological changes are taking place in Asia, Africa and Latin America due to which these regions are witnessing large-scale migration from rural to urban areas.

Economists are interested in the study of migration because migration affects the supply of skilled and semi-skilled labourers, development of industries and commerce causing changes in the employment structure of the migrated people. Formulation of economic policies has a close relation with the process of migration because migration affects the economic and social development of a country.

Out of the many side effects of the population growth in India and other developing countries, an important effect of industrialisation and economic development is the internal migration of the population on a large scale, which has drawn the attention of planners and formulaters of

economic policies. Thus, migration is a demographic event, whose long term effects fall on the socio-economic and cultural development of any region or country.

Migration is the movement of people between regions or countries. It is the process of changing one's place of residence and permanently living in a region or country. According to the Demographic Dictionary of United Nations, "Migration is such an event in which people move from one geographical area to another geographical area. When people leaving their place of residence go to live permanently in another area then this is called migration."

Migration may be permanent or temporary with the intention of returning to the place of origin in future.

7.3 TYPES AND EFFECTS OF MIGRATION

Migration is of the following types:
(i) Immigration and Emigration:
When people from one country move permanently to another country, for example, if people from India move to America then for America, it is termed as Immigration, whereas for India it is termed as Emigration.

(ii) In-migration and Out-migration:
In-migration means migration occurring within an area only, while out-migration means migration out of the area. Both types of migration are called internal migration occurring within the country. Migration from Bihar to Bengal is in-migration for Bengal, while it is out- migration for Bihar.

(iii) Gross and Net Migration: During any time period, the total number of persons coming in the country and the total number of people going out of the country for residing is called gross migration. The difference between the total number of persons coming to reside in a country and

going out of the country for residing during any time period is termed as net migration.

(iv) Internal Migration and External Migration:

Internal migration means the movement of people in different states and regions within a country from one place to another. On the other hand, external or international migration refers to the movement of people from one country to another for permanent settlement.

5   Concepts Relating to Migration:

Besides, the following concepts are used in migration:

(i) Migration Stream:

Migration stream means the total number of people migrating from one region to another or from one country to another for residing during a time period. It is, in fact, related to the movement of people from a common area of origin to a common area of a destination. For example, migration of Indians to America during a time interval.

(ii) Migration Interval:

Migration may occur continuously over a period of time. But to measure it correctly, the data should be divided into intervals of one to five or more years. The division relating to a particular period is known as migration interval.

(iii) Place of Origin and Place of Destination:

The place which people leave is the place of origin and the person is called an out-migrant. On the other hand, the place of destination is the place where the person moves and the person is called an in-migrant.

(iv) Migrant:

Migrant is the labour which moves to some region or country for short periods of time, say several months or a few years. It is regarded as a secondary labour force.

Effects of Migration:

Internal migration affects the place where from people migrate and the place to which they migrate. When the migrants move from rural to urban areas, they have both positive and negative effects on the society and economy.

(i) Effects on Rural Areas:

Migration affects rural areas (the place of origin) in the following ways:

1. Economic Effects:

When population migrates from rural areas, it reduces the pressure of population on land, the per worker output and productivity on land increases and so does per capita income. Thus family income rises which encourages farmers to adopt better means of production thereby increasing farm produce.

Those who migrate to urban areas are mostly in the age group of 18-40 years. They live alone, work and earn and remit their savings to their homes at villages. Such remittances further increase rural incomes which are utilised to make improvements on farms which further raise their incomes. This particularly happens in the case of emigrants to foreign countries who remit large sums at home.

Moreover, when these migrants return to their villages occasionally, they try to raise the consumption and living standards by bringing new ideas and goods to their homes. Modern household gadgets and other products like TV, fridge, motor cycles, etc. have entered in the majority of rural areas of India where larger remittances flow from urban areas.

Further, with the migration of working age persons to urban areas the number of farm workers is reduced. This leads to employment of

underemployed family members on the farm such as women, older persons and even juveniles.

Further, out-migration widens inequalities of income and wealth in rural area families which receive large remittances and their incomes rise. They make improvements on their farms which raise productivity and production. These further increase their incomes. Some even buy other farm lands. Thus such families become richer as compared to others, thereby widening inequalities.

2. Demographic Effects:

Migration reduces population growth in rural areas. Separation from wives for long periods and the use of contraceptives help control population growth. When very young males migrate to urban areas, they are so influenced by the urban life that they do not like to marry at an early age.

Their aim is to earn more, settle in any vocation or job and then marry. Living in urban areas makes the migrants health conscious. Consequently, they emphasise on the importance of health care, and cleanliness which reduces fertility and mortality rates.

3. Social Effects:

Migration also affects the social set-up of rural communities. It weakens the joint family system if the migrants settle permanently in urban areas. With intermingling of the migrants with people of different castes and regions in cities, they bring new values and attitudes which gradually change old values and customs of ruralises. Women play a greater role in the social setup of the rural life with men having migrated to towns.

(ii) Effects on Urban Areas:
Migration affects urban areas (or the place of destination) in the following ways:
1. Demographic Effects:
Migration increases the population of the working class in urban areas. But the majority of migrants are young men between the ages of 15 to 24

years who are unwed. Others above this age group come alone leaving their families at home.

This tendency keeps fertility at a lower level than in rural areas. Even those who settle permanently with their spouses favour small number of children due to high costs of rearing them. The other factor responsible for low fertility rate is the availability of better medical and family planning facilities in urban areas.

2. Economic Effects:

The effects of migration on income and employment in urban areas are varied depending upon the type of migrants. Usually the migrants are unskilled and find jobs of street hawkers, shoeshine boys, carpenters, masons, tailors, rickshaw pullers, cooks and other tradesmen, etc.

These are "informal sector" activities which are low paying. But, according to the ILO, the evidence suggests that the bulk of employment in the informal sector is economically efficient and profit-making. Thus such migrants earn enough to spend and remit to their homes.

Other migrants who are educated up to the secondary level find jobs as shop helpers, assistants, taxi drivers, repairing machines and consumer durables, marketing goods and in other informal activities that are small in scale, labour intensive and unregulated. Their earnings are sufficient to bring them in the category of a common urbanite with an income level higher than the unskilled workers.

Another class of migrants that is very small is of those who come for higher education in colleges and institutes to towns. They find good job in the "formal sector", get good salaries, and follow a good standard of living. These are the persons who remit large sums to their homes and help in modernising the rural scenario.

(iii) Adverse Effects of Rural-Urban Migration:

Migration from rural to urban areas has a number of adverse effects. Towns and cities in which the migrants settle, face innumerable problems. There is the prolific growth of huge slums and shantytowns.

These settlements and huge neighbourhoods have no access to municipal services such as clean and running water, public services, electricity, and sewage system.

There is acute housing shortage. The city transport system is unable the meet the demand of the growing population. There are air and noise pollutions, and increased crime and congestion. The costs of providing facilities are too high to be met, despite the best intentions of the local bodies.

Besides, there is massive underemployment and unemployment in towns and cities. Men and women are found selling bananas, groundnuts, balloons and other cheap products on pavements and in streets. Many work as shoeshine's, parking helpers, porters, etc.

Thus, urban migration increases the growth rate of job seekers relative to its population growth, thereby raising urban supply of labour. On the demand side, there are no enough jobs available for the realities in the formal urban sector for the uneducated and unskilled rural migrants.

Consequently, this rapid increase in labour supply and the lack of demand for such labour lead to chronic and increasing urban unemployment and underemployment.

7.4 MIGRATION PATTERNS

There exist many statistical estimates of worldwide migration patterns.

The World Bank has published three editions of its Migration and Remittances Factbook, beginning in 2008, with a second edition appearing in 2011 and a third in 2016. The International Organisation for Migration (IOM) has published a yearly *World Migration Report* since 1999. The United Nations Statistics Division also keeps a database on worldwide migration. Recent advances in research on migration via the Internet promise better understanding of migration patterns and migration motives.

Substantial internal migration can also take place within a country, either seasonal human migration (mainly related to agriculture and to tourism to urban places), or shifts of population into cities (urbanisation) or out of cities (suburbanisation). Studies of worldwide migration patterns, however, tend to limit their scope to international migration.

The World Bank's Migration and Remittances Factbook of 2011 lists the following estimates for the year 2010: total number of immigrants: 215.8 million or 3.2% of world population. In 2013, the percentage of international migrants worldwide increased by 33% with 59% of migrants targeting developed regions. Almost half of these migrants are women, which is one of the most significant migrant-pattern changes in the last half century. Women migrate alone or with their family members and community. Even though female migration is largely viewed as associations rather than independent migration, emerging studies argue complex and manifold reasons for this.

7.5 FORCED MIGRATION

The Global Commission on International Migration (GCIM), launched in 2003, published a report in 2005. International migration challenges at the global level are addressed through the Global Forum on Migration and Development and the Global Migration Group, both established in 2006.

The United Nations reported that 2014 had the highest level of forced migration on record: 59.5 million individuals, caused by "persecution, conflict, generalized violence, or human rights violations", as compared with 51.2 million in 2013 (an increase of 8.3 million) and with 37.5 million a decade prior. As of 2015 one of every 122 humans is a refugee, internally displaced, or seeking asylum. National Geographic has published 5 maps showing human migrations in progress in 2015 based on the UN report.

7.6 LABOUR MIGRATION THEORIES IN THE 21ST CENTURY

Numerous causes impel migrants to move to another country. For instance, globalization has increased the demand for workers in order to sustain national economies. Thus one category of economic migrants - generally from impoverished developing countries - migrates to obtain sufficient income for survival. need quotation to verify Such migrants often send some of their income home to family members in the form of economic remittances, which have become an economic staple in a number of developing countries.People may also move or are forced to move as a result of conflict, of human-rights violations, of violence, or to escape persecution. In 2013 it was estimated that around 51.2 million people fell into this category. need quotation to verify Other reasons people may move include to gain access to opportunities and services or to escape extreme weather. This type of movement, usually from rural to urban areas, may class as internal migration. need quotation to verify Sociology-cultural and ego-historical factors also play a major role. In North Africa, for example, emigrating to Europe counts as a sign of social prestige. Moreover, many countries were former colonies. This means that many have relatives who live legally in the (former) colonial metro pole, and who often provide important help for immigrants arriving in that metro pole. Relatives may help with job research and with accommodation. The geographical proximity of Africa to Europe and the long historical ties between Northern and Southern Mediterranean countries also prompt many to migrate.

The question whether a person takes the decision to move to another country depends on the relative skill premier of the source and host countries. One is speaking of positive selection when the host country shows a higher skill premium than the source country. Negative selection, on the other hand, occurs when the source country displays a lower skill premium. The relative skill premia defines migrants selectivity. Age heaping techniques display one method to measure the relative skill premium of a country.

A number of theories attempt to explain the international flow of capital and people from one country to another.

7.6.1 Neoclassical economic theory

This theory of migration states that the main reason for labour migration is wage difference between two geographic locations. These wage differences are usually linked to geographic labour demand and supply. It can be said that areas with a shortage of labour but an excess of capital have a high relative wage while areas with a high labour supply and a dearth of capital have a low relative wage. Labour tends to flow from low-wage areas to high-wage areas. Often, with this flow of labour come changes in the sending as well as the receiving country. Neoclassical economic theory is best used to describe transnational migration, because it is not confined by international immigration laws and similar governmental regulations.

7.6.2 Dual labor market theory

Dual labour market theory states that migration is mainly caused by pull factors in more developed countries. This theory assumes that the labour markets in these developed countries consist of two segments: the primary market, which requires high-skilled labour, and the secondary market, which is very labour-intensive requiring low-skilled workers. This theory assumes that migration from less developed countries into more developed countries is a result of a pull created by a need for labour in the developed countries in their secondary market. Migrant workers are needed to fill the lowest rung of the labour market because the native labourers do not want to do these jobs as they present a lack of mobility. This creates a need for migrant workers. Furthermore, the initial dearth in available labour pushes wages up, making migration even more enticing.

7.6.3 New economics of labor migration

This theory states that migration flows and patterns can't be explained solely at the level of individual workers and their economic incentives, but that wider social entities must be considered as well. One such social entity is the household. Migration can be viewed as a result of risk

aversion on the part of a household that has insufficient income. The household, in this case, is in need of extra capital that can be achieved through remittances sent back by family members who participate in migrant labour abroad. These remittances can also have a broader effect on the economy of the sending country as a whole as they bring in capital. Recent research has examined a decline in U.S. interstate migration from 1991 to 2011, theorizing that the reduced interstate migration is due to a decline in the geographic specificity of occupations and an increase in workers' ability to learn about other locations before moving there, through both information technology and inexpensive travel. Other researchers find that the location-specific nature of housing is more important than moving costs in determining labour reallocation.

7.6.4 World systems theory

World-systems theory looks at migration from a global perspective. It explains that interaction between different societies can be an important factor in social change within societies. Trade with one country, which causes economic decline in another, may create incentive to migrate to a country with a more vibrant economy. It can be argued that even after decolonization, the economic dependence of former colonies still remains on mother countries. This view of international trade is controversial, however, and some argue that free trade can actually reduce migration between developing and developed countries. It can be argued that the developed countries import labour-intensive goods, which causes an increase in employment of unskilled workers in the less developed countries, decreasing the outflow of migrant workers. The export of capital-intensive goods from rich countries to poor countries also equalizes income and employment conditions, thus also slowing migration. In either direction, this theory can be used to explain migration between countries that are geographically far apart.

Check your progress-1

10. Discuss the effects of Migration.

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    11. Discuss the world system theory.

7.7 SOCIOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCE THEORIES

Sociology

A number of social scientists have examined immigration from a sociological perspective, paying particular attention to how immigration affects, and is affected by, matters of race and ethnicity, as well as social structure. They have produced three main sociological perspectives: symbolic interactionism, which aims to understand migration via face-to-face interactions on a micro-level; social conflict theory examines migration through the prism of competition for power and resources; structural functionalism, based on the ideas of Émile Durkheim, examines the role of migration in fulfilling certain functions within each society, such as the decrease of despair and aimlessness and the consolidation of social networks.

More recently, as attention shifted away from countries of destination, sociologists have attempted to understand how transnationalism allows us to understand the interplay between migrants, their countries of destination, and their countries of origins. In this framework, work on social remittances by Peggy Levitt and others has led to a stronger conceptualisation of how migrants affect socio-political processes in their countries of origin.

Political science

Political scientists have put forth a number of theoretical frameworks on migration, offering different perspectives on processes of security,

citizenship,and international relations.The political importance of diasporas has also become a growing field of interest, as scholars examine questions of diaspora activism, state-diaspora relations,out-of-country voting processes,and states' soft power strategies. In this field, the majority of work has focused on immigration politics, viewing migration from the perspective of the country of destination.With regard to emigration processes, political scientists have expanded on Albert Hirschman's framework on 'voice' vs. 'exit' to discuss how emigration affects the politics within the countries of origin.

7.8 CONCEPT OF FORCED DISPLACEMENT

Forced displacement (or **forced migration/immigration**) is the involuntary or coerced movement of a person or people away from their home or home region, resulting from causes including natural disasters, violence, and persecution. Specific examples may include droughts, civil wars, and population transfer, forcing populations to relocated or flee to another country. A person or people who experienced forced displacement may be referred to, among other terms, as: "**forced immigrant**," "**displaced person/persons**" (**DP**), or, if within the same country, "**internally displaced person/persons**" (**IDP**). While some displaced persons may be considered refugees, the terms specifically refers to displaced persons receiving legally-defined protections recognized by countries and/or international organizations.Currently, forced displacement continues gaining attention in international discussions and policy making, partly resulting from a greater ease of travel facilitating migration, increased discussion surrounding international human rights protections, and greater consideration to the impacts of forced migration on other regions. Approximately over 60 million people may be considered forcibly displaced since the onset of the 21st century, with the majority coming from the Global South.

Various governments, NGOs, and international organizations have posed definitions for forced displacement, generally agreed upon as the forced removal/relocation of people from their environment and associated

connections to said environment due to a variety of circumstances. The concept also envelopes demographic movements, such as flight (from fleeing), evacuation, and resettlement. Although a rising phenomenon, IDPs face uncertain classification, owing in part to gaps in data due to state sovereignty and overall visibility.

- The International Organization for Migration defines a forced migrant as any person migrating to "escape persecution, conflict, repression, natural and human-made disasters, ecological degradation, or other situations that endanger their lives, freedom or livelihood".

- According to UNESCO, forced displacement is "the forced movement of people from their locality or environment and occupational activities," with its leading cause being armed conflict.

- Unlike other definitions, researcher and professor Alden Speare stated the following regarding forced migration:

" In the strictest sense, migration can be considered to be involuntary only when a person is physically transported from a country and has no opportunity to escape from those transporting him. "

In essence, according to Speare, movement under even immediate threat to life contains a voluntary element as long as an option exists for escape to another region, for going into hiding, or attempting to avoid persecution. This viewpoint has come under scrutiny under the consideration of various direct and indirect factors leaving migrants with little to no choice in their decisions.

7.9 CAUSES AND EXAMPLES

7.9.1 Natural Causes

Forced displacement may result from natural disasters and their subsequent impact on infrastructure, food and water access, and local/regional economies. Displacement may be temporary or permanent,

depending on the scope of the disaster and the area's recovery capabilities. Climate change is increasing the frequency of major disasters, placing a greater number of populations in potential situations of forced displacement. Crop failures due to blight and/or pests fall within this category, affecting access to food and potentially leading to the displacement of people in the affected area. Additionally, the term environmental refugee has recently represented people who are forced to leave their traditional habitat because of environmental factors which negatively impact their livelihood, or even environmental disruption i.e. biological, physical or chemical change in ecosystem. Migration can also occur as a result of slow-onset climate change, such as desertification or sea-level rise, of deforestation or land degradation.

- **Examples of Natural Disaster-Induced Displacement**
- 2004 Indian Ocean Tsunami: Resulting from a 9.1 earthquake off the coast of North Sumatra, the Indian Ocean Tsunami claimed over 227,898 lives, heavily damaging coastlines throughout the Indian Ocean. As a result, over 1.7 million people were displaced, mostly from Indonesia, Sri Lanka, and India.
- 2005 Hurricane Katrina: Striking New Orleans, Louisiana in late August 2005, Hurricane Katrina inflicted approximately $125 billion USD in damages, standing as one of the costliest storms in United States history.As a result of the damage inflicted by Katrina, over one million people were internally displaced. One month after the disaster, over 600,000 remained displaced. Immediately following the disaster, New Orleans lost approximately half of its population, with many residents displaced to cities such as Houston, Dallas, Baton Rouge, and Atlanta. According to numerous studies, displacement disproportionally impacted Louisiana's poorer populations, specifically African-Americans.
- 2011 East African Drought: Failed rains in Somalia, Kenya, and Ethiopia led to high livestock and crop losses, driving majority pastoralist populations to surrounding areas in search of accessible food and water.In addition to seeking food and water,

local populations' migration was motivated by an inability to maintain traditional lifestyles. According to researchers, although partly influenced by local armed conflict, the East African Drought stands as an example of climate change impacts.

- **Examples of Crop Failure-Induced Displacement**

- Irish Potato Famine: Between 1845-1849, a potato blight struck Ireland, whose poor population mostly depended on potato harvests. Over one million perished from subsequent famine and disease, and another million fled the country, reducing the overall Irish population by almost one quarter.

7.9.2 Man-Made Causes

Man-made displacement describes forced displacement caused by political entities, criminal organizations, conflicts, man-made environmental disasters, development, etc. Although impacts of natural disasters and blights/pests may be exacerbated by human mismanagement, man-made causes refer specifically to those initiated by humans. According to UNESCO, armed conflict stands as the most common cause behind forced displacement, reinforced by regional studies citing political and armed conflict as the largest attributing factors to migrant outflows from Latin America, Africa, and Asia.

- **Examples of Criminal-Induced Displacement**

- Displacement in Mexico due to cartel violence: Throughout Mexico, drug cartel, paramilitary, and self-defense group violence drives internal and external displacement.According to a comprehensive, mixed methodology study by Salazar and Álvarez Lobato, families fled their homes as a means of survival, hoping to escape homicide, extortion, and potential kidnapping. Using a collection of available data and existing studies, the total number of displaced persons between 2006-2012 was approximately 740 million.
- Displacement in Central America due to cartel/gang violence: A major factor behind US immigrant crises in the early 21st century

(such as the 2014 immigrant crisis), rampant gang violence in the Northern Triangle, combined with corruption and low economic opportunities, has forced many to flee their country in pursuit of stability and greater opportunity. Homicide rates in countries such as El Salvador and Honduras reached some of the highest in the world, with El Salvador peaking at 103 homicides per 100,000 people. Contributing factors include extortion, territorial disputes, and forced gang recruitment, resulting in some estimates of approximately 500,000 people displaced annually.

- Displacement in Colombia due to conflict and drug-related violence: According to researchers Mojica and Eugenia, Medellín, Colombia around 2013 exemplified crime and violence-induced forced displacement, standing as one of the most popular destinations for IDPs while also producing IDPs of its own. Rural citizens fled from organized criminal violence, with the majority pointing to direct threats as the main driving force, settling in Medellín in pursuit of safety and greater opportunity. Within Medellín, various armed groups battled for territorial control, forcing perceived opponents from their homes and pressuring residents to abandon their livelihoods, among other methods. All in all, criminal violence forced Colombians to abandon their possessions, way of life, and social ties in pursuit of safety.

- **Examples of Conflict-Induced Displacement**

- Vietnam War: Throughout the Vietnam War and in the years proceeding it, many populations were forced out of Vietnam and the surrounding countries as a result of armed conflict and/or persecution by their governments, such as the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. This event is referred to as the Indochina Refugee Crisis, with millions displaced across Asia, Australia, Europe, and North America.

- Salvadoran Civil War: Throughout and after the 12-year conflict between the Salvadoran government and the FMLN, Salvadorans

faced forced displacement as a result of combat, persecution, and deteriorating quality of life/access to socioeconomic opportunities. Overall, one in four Salvadorans were internally and externally displaced (over one million people).

- **Examples of Environmental Disaster-Induced Displacement**

- 2019 Amazon Rainforest Wildfires: Although man-made fires are a normal part of Amazonian agriculture, the 2019 dry season saw an internationally-noted increase in their rate of occurrence. The rapidly spreading fires, combined with efforts from agricultural and logging companies, has forced Brazil's indigenous populations off their native lands.

- Chernobyl Nuclear Disaster: A nuclear meltdown on April 26, 1986 near Pripyat, Ukraine contaminated the city and surrounding areas with harmful levels of radiation, forcing the displacement of over 100,000 people.

- **Other Human-Driven Displacement**

- Human trafficking/smuggling: Migrants displaced through deception or coercion with purpose of their exploitation fall under this category. Due to its clandestine nature, the data on such type of forced migration are limited. A disparity also exists between the data for male trafficking (such as for labour in agriculture, construction etc.) and female trafficking (such as for sex work or domestic service), with more data available for males. The International Labour Organization considers trafficking an offense against labour protection, denying companies from leveraging migrants as a labour resource. ILO's Multilateral Framework includes principle no. 11, recommending that "Governments should formulate and implement, in consultation with the social partners, measures to prevent abusive practices, migrant smuggling and people trafficking; they should also work towards preventing irregular labour migration."

- Slavery: Historically, slavery has led to the displacement of individuals for forced labour, with the Middle Passage of the 15th

through 19th century Atlantic slave trade standing as a notable example. Of the 20 million Africans captured for the trade, half died in their forced march to the African coast, and another ten to twenty percent died on slave ships carrying them from Africa to the Americas.

- Ethnic cleansing: The systematic forced removal of ethnic or religious groups from a given territory by a more powerful ethnic group, with the intent of making it ethnically homogeneous. Examples include the Catholic removal of European Protestants (e.g. Salzburg Protestants) during the 16th through 19th centuries during the counter-Reformation and the cleansing of Jewish people and other ethnic minorities during the Holocaust.

- If the displaced person was forced out their home because of economically driven projects, such as the Three Gorges Dam in China and other examples in India, the situation is referred to as development-induced displacement.

7.10 CONDITIONS

In most instances of forced migration across borders, migrants do not possess the required documentation for legal travel. Displaced persons are often forced to place their lives at risk, travel in inhumane conditions, and may be exposed to exploitation and abuse. These risk factors may increase through the involvement of smugglers and human traffickers, who may exploit them for illegal activities such as drug/weapons trafficking, forced labour, or sex work.The states where migrants seek protection may consider them a threat to national security. Displaced persons risk greater poverty than before displacement, financial vulnerability, and potential social disintegration, in addition to other risks related to human rights, culture, and quality of life. Forced displacement has varying impacts, dependent on the means through which one was forcibly displaced, their geographic location, their protected status, and their ability to personally recover. Under the most common form of displacement, armed conflict, individuals often lose possession of their assets upon fleeing and possible upon arrival to a new country, where they can also face cultural, social, and economic discontinuity.

7.11 RESPONSES TO FORCED DISPLACEMENT

7.11.1 International Response

Responses to situations of forced displacement vary across regional and international levels, with each type of forced displacement demonstrating unique characteristics and the need for a considerate approach. At the international level, international organizations (e.g. the UNHCR), NGOs (Doctors without Borders), and country governments (USAID) may work towards directly or indirectly ameliorating these situations.Means may include establishing internationally-recognized protections, providing clinics to migrant camps, and supplying resources to populations. According to researchers such as Francis Deng, as well as international organizations such as the UN, an increase in IDPs compounds the difficulty of international responses, posing issues of incomplete information and questions regarding state sovereignty.State sovereignty especially becomes of concern when discussing protections for IDPs, who are within the borders of a sovereign state, placing reluctance in the international community's ability to respond.Multiple landmark conventions aim at providing rights and protections to the different categories of forcibly displaced persons, including the 1951 Refugee Convention, the 1967 Protocol, the Kampala Convention, and the 1998 Guiding Principles. Despite internationally cooperation, these frameworks rely on the international system, which states may disregard. finds that nations "very selectively" respond to instances of forced migration and internally displaced persons.

World organizations such as the United Nations and the World Bank, as well as individual countries, sometimes directly respond to the challenges faced by displaced people, providing humanitarian assistance or forcibly intervening in the country of conflict. Disputes related to these organizations' neutrality and limited resources has affected the capabilities of international humanitarian action to mitigate mass displacement mass displacement's causes.These broad forms of assistance sometimes do not fully address the multidimensional needs of displaced persons. Regardless, calls for multilateral responses echo

across organizations in the face of falling international cooperation. These organizations propose more comprehensive approaches, calling for improved conflict resolution and capacity-building in order to reduce instances of forced displacement.

7.11.2 Local Response

Responses may occur at more local levels, such as the individual's place of relocation. Lived in experiences of displaced persons will vary according to the state and local policies of their country of relocation. Policies reflecting national exclusion of displaced persons may be undone by inclusive urban policies. Sanctuary cities are an example of spaces that regulate their cooperation or participation with immigration law enforcement.The practice of urban membership upon residence allows displaced persons to have access to city services and benefits, regardless of their legal status. Sanctuary cities have been able to provide migrants with greater mobility and participation in activities limiting the collection of personal information, issuing identification cards to all residents, and providing access to crucial services such as health care.Access to these services can ease the hardships of displaced people by allowing them to healthily adjust to life after displacement.

7.12 MIGRATION AND DISPLACEMENT

In 2015 there were 258 million international migrants globally. Additionally, over 70.8 million people were displaced mainly by conflicts. Displacement due to climate change and disasters has on average affected 22.5 million people since 2008.

We believe that long-term development approaches are important in addressing migration and displacement. In the coming years, UNDP will continue to work with partners to advance the development dimensions of migration and displacement in the Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework, the Global Compact for Migration, the Global Compact on Refugees, the Global Forum for Migration and Development, the Platform on Disaster Displacement, the Plan of Action

for the Guiding Principles for Internal Displacement (GP20), and other important fora on migration and development.

In partnership with IOM, UNDP is supporting countries to mainstream migration into local and national development strategies. UNDP's work in Syria and the neighbouring countries has impacted millions of people, providing temporary jobs to women and young people, increasing access to basic services and working together with other UN agencies to help those displaced by conflict, climate change and environmental degradation.

Together with UNHCR and IOM, UNDP addresses the plight of migrants, refugees, internally displaced people and their host communities through:

- Supporting national and local governments to mainstream migration into development plans, including localized SDGs;
- Addressing root causes of displacement and negative drivers of migration;
- Investing in resilience based development to ensure migrants, refugees, IDPs and host communities cope, recover and sustain development gains in crisis and post crisis situations.
- Supporting countries to create an enabling environment for sustainable community based re/integration.

Check your progress-2

12. Discuss the concept of forced Displacement.

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13. Discuss the conditions of Displacement of India.

7.13 LET S SUM UP

Migration is the third factor for changes in the population, the other being birth rate and death rate. As compared to birth rate and death rate, migration affects the size of population differently. Migration is not a biological event like birth rate and death rate, but is influenced by the social, cultural, economic and political factors.Migration is carried by the decision of a person or group of persons. The changes occurring in the birth rate and death rate do not affect the size and structure of the population on a large scale, while migration, at any time, may cause large scale changes in the size and structure of the population.

Forced displacement (or **forced migration/immigration**) is the involuntary or coerced movement of a person or people away from their home or home region, resulting from causes including natural disasters, violence, and persecution. Specific examples may include droughts, civil wars, and population transfer, forcing populations to relocated or flee to another country. A person or people who experienced forced displacement may be referred to, among other terms, as: "**forced immigrant**," "**displaced person/persons**" (**DP**), or, if within the same country, "**internally displaced person/persons**" (**IDP**). While some displaced persons may be considered refugees, the terms specifically refers to displaced persons receiving legally-defined protections recognized by countries and/or international organizations.Currently, forced displacement continues gaining attention in international discussions and policy making, partly resulting from a greater ease of travel facilitating migration, increased discussion surrounding international human rights protections, and greater consideration to the impacts of forced migration on other regions.

7.14 KEYWORDS

➢ Migration: Migration is the third factor for changes in the population, the other being birth rate and death rate.

> ➤ Displacement: While some displaced persons may be considered refugees, the terms specifically refers to displaced persons receiving legally-defined protections recognized by countries and/or international organizations.

7.15 QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

1. Discuss the effects of Migration.

2. Discuss the world system theory.

3. Discuss the concept of forced Displacement.

4. Discuss the conditions of Displacement of India.

7.16 SUGGESTED READINGS AND REFERENCES

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7.17 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. **(i) Effects on Rural Areas**:

Migration affects rural areas (the place of origin) in the following ways:

1. Economic Effects:

When population migrates from rural areas, it reduces the pressure of population on land, the per worker output and productivity on land increases and so does per capita income. Thus family income rises which

encourages farmers to adopt better means of production thereby increasing farm produce.

Those who migrate to urban areas are mostly in the age group of 18-40 years. They live alone, work and earn and remit their savings to their homes at villages. Such remittances further increase rural incomes which are utilised to make improvements on farms which further raise their incomes. This particularly happens in the case of emigrants to foreign countries who remit large sums at home.

Moreover, when these migrants return to their villages occasionally, they try to raise the consumption and living standards by bringing new ideas and goods to their homes. Modern household gadgets and other products like TV, fridge, motor cycles, etc. have entered in the majority of rural areas of India where larger remittances flow from urban areas.

Further, with the migration of working age persons to urban areas the number of farm workers is reduced. This leads to employment of underemployed family members on the farm such as women, older persons and even juveniles.

Further, out-migration widens inequalities of income and wealth in rural area families which receive large remittances and their incomes rise. They make improvements on their farms which raise productivity and production. These further increase their incomes. Some even buy other farm lands. Thus such families become richer as compared to others, thereby widening inequalities.

2. Demographic Effects:
Migration reduces population growth in rural areas. Separation from wives for long periods and the use of contraceptives help control population growth. When very young males migrate to urban areas, they are so influenced by the urban life that they do not like to marry at an early age.

Their aim is to earn more, settle in any vocation or job and then marry. Living in urban areas makes the migrants health conscious.

Consequently, they emphasise on the importance of health care, and cleanliness which reduces fertility and mortality rates.

(ii) Effects on Urban Areas:

Migration affects urban areas (or the place of destination) in the following ways:

1. Demographic Effects:

Migration increases the population of the working class in urban areas. But the majority of migrants are young men between the ages of 15 to 24 years who are unwed. Others above this age group come alone leaving their families at home.

This tendency keeps fertility at a lower level than in rural areas. Even those who settle permanently with their spouses favour small number of children due to high costs of rearing them. The other factor responsible for low fertility rate is the availability of better medical and family planning facilities in urban areas.

2. Economic Effects:

The effects of migration on income and employment in urban areas are varied depending upon the type of migrants. Usually the migrants are unskilled and find jobs of street hawkers, shoeshine boys, carpenters, masons, tailors, rickshaw pullers, cooks and other tradesmen, etc.

2. World-systems theory looks at migration from a global perspective. It explains that interaction between different societies can be an important factor in social change within societies. Trade with one country, which causes economic decline in another, may create incentive to migrate to a country with a more vibrant economy. It can be argued that even after decolonization, the economic dependence of former colonies still remains on mother countries. This view of international trade is controversial, however, and some argue that free trade can actually reduce migration between developing and developed countries. It can be argued that the developed countries import labour-intensive goods, which causes an increase in employment of unskilled workers in the less developed countries, decreasing the outflow of migrant workers. The export of capital-intensive goods from rich countries to poor countries

also equalizes income and employment conditions, thus also slowing migration. In either direction, this theory can be used to explain migration between countries that are geographically far apart.

3. **Forced displacement** (or **forced migration/immigration**) is the involuntary or coerced movement of a person or people away from their home or home region, resulting from causes including natural disasters, violence, and persecution. Specific examples may include droughts, civil wars, and population transfer, forcing populations to relocated or flee to another country. A person or people who experienced forced displacement may be referred to, among other terms, as: "**forced immigrant**," "**displaced person/persons**" (**DP**), or, if within the same country, "**internally displaced person/persons**" (**IDP**). While some displaced persons may be considered refugees, the terms specifically refers to displaced persons receiving legally-defined protections recognized by countries and/or international organizations.Currently, forced displacement continues gaining attention in international discussions and policy making, partly resulting from a greater ease of travel facilitating migration, increased discussion surrounding international human rights protections, and greater consideration to the impacts of forced migration on other regions. Approximately over 60 million people may be considered forcibly displaced since the onset of the 21st century, with the majority coming from the Global South.

Various governments, NGOs, and international organizations have posed definitions for forced displacement, generally agreed upon as the forced removal/relocation of people from their environment and associated connections to said environment due to a variety of circumstances.

4. In most instances of forced migration across borders, migrants do not possess the required documentation for legal travel. Displaced persons are often forced to place their lives at risk, travel in inhumane conditions, and may be exposed to exploitation and abuse. These risk factors may increase through the involvement of smugglers and human traffickers, who may exploit them for illegal activities such as drug/weapons trafficking, forced labour, or sex work.The states where migrants seek

protection may consider them a threat to national security. Displaced persons risk greater poverty than before displacement, financial vulnerability, and potential social disintegration, in addition to other risks related to human rights, culture, and quality of life. Forced displacement has varying impacts, dependent on the means through which one was forcibly displaced, their geographic location, their protected status, and their ability to personally recover. Under the most common form of displacement, armed conflict, individuals often lose possession of their assets upon fleeing and possible upon arrival to a new country, where they can also face cultural, social, and economic discontinuity.