INDIAN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS
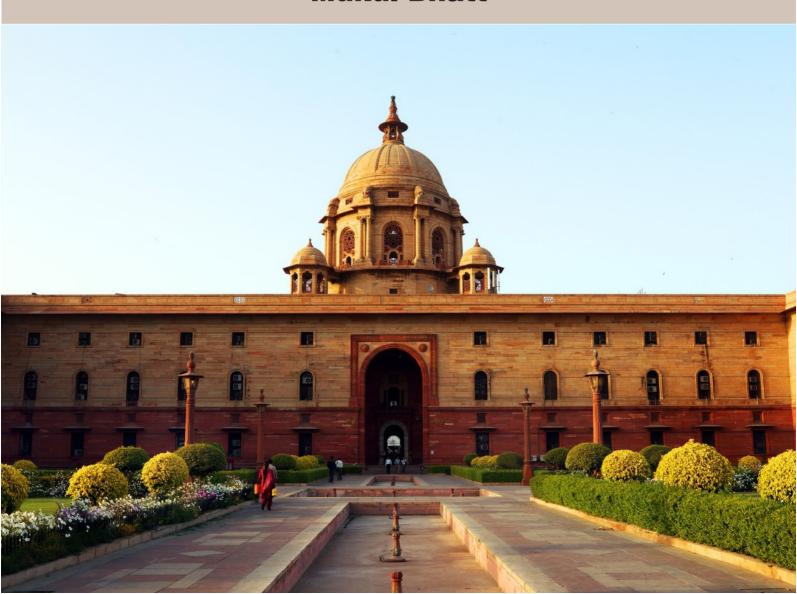
Mukul Bhatt

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CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1

EVOLUTION OF INDIA: FROM NEHRU'S VISION TO INDIRA GANDHI'S ERA

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ABSTRACT:

The political and social legacies of Jawaharlal Nehru in post-independence India are examined in this paper. National cohesiveness, democracy, industrialisation, socialism, scientific progress, and non-alignment were all included in Nehru's vision for the country. While certain aspects of society benefitted from his policies, they were also criticised for failing to effectively address the needs of the poor and for being inefficient from an economic standpoint. The important aspects of Nehru's administration are examined in the study, such as state restructuring, economic policies, legal and social reforms, reservations for underrepresented groups, linguistic rules, international relations, agricultural laws, and educational programmes.

The following time under Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, the Green Revolution, the nationalization of banks, the "Garibi Hatao" movement, and the contentious Emergency phase are also covered. The report comes to a close by considering the conflicting effects of Nehru's initiatives and the complexity of India's political environment in the post-independence period. Nehru's emphasis on industrialization and the mixed economy model did, in fact, result in substantial industrial development and self-sufficiency in important industries. It also resulted in the creation of the notorious "Permit Raj" and protectionist regulations that hampered business growth. Nehru's policies had some advantages, but they also had certain drawbacks. Overall development was hampered by the inability to meet the demands of the rural poor and certain marginalized populations, as well as by the protracted dependence on import substitution. Tensions and disputes were also sparked by discussions over language policies and selective secularism.

KEYWORDS:

Economic, Industrialization, Nationalization, Populations, Policies.

INTRODUCTION

Nehru might be considered as the father of the contemporary Indian state, according to Bhikhu Parekh. This, according to Parekh, is a result of Nehru's national concept for India. The seven objectives of Nehru's modernization ideology were: national cohesion, parliamentary democracy, industrialisation, socialism, the advancement of science, and non-alignment. According to Parekh, the theory and the ensuing policies benefitted a significant portion of society, including industrialists, middle- and upper-class peasants, public sector employees, and middle- and upper-class peasants. However, it did not help the underprivileged in urban and rural areas, the jobless, or Hindu fanatics. The fight for control between conservatives and socialists was resolved when Bose was expelled from the mainstream of Indian politics (as a result of his encouragement of violence to drive the British out of India). However, Sardar Patel passed away in 1950, leaving Nehru as the lone surviving iconic national leader. Soon, the circumstance allowed Nehru to carry out many of his fundamental programmes without opposition. Nehru's daughter, Indira Gandhi, was able

to realise her father's ideal by enacting the 42nd amendment to the Indian constitution (1976), which made India legally "socialist" and "secular," under the period of emergency she enforced.

State Restructuring

The new Indian Constitution, which went into effect on January 26, 1950, transformed India into a sovereign democratic republic. A "Union of States" was proclaimed to be the new republic. The 1950 Constitution established three primary categories of states:

1. The former governors' provinces of British India, known as Part A states, were run by an elected governor and state legislature.
2. Former princely states or groups of princely states, known as Part B states, were run by a rajpramukh, who was typically the head of a constituent state, and an elected legislature. The Indian President appointed the rajpramukh.
3. The Part C states were administered by chief commissioners chosen by the President of India, and they contained both the provinces of the earlier chief commissioners and several princely states. The Andaman and Nicobar Islands were the only D. Part D state; they were governed by a lieutenant governor chosen by the federal government.

However, the JVP (Jawaharlal, Vallabhbhai, and Pattabhi) committee was established in 1949 in response to the growing calls for the creation of additional states. The creation of states based only on language was discouraged by this group. Later, the Justice Fazal Ali Commission was established, and it produced a 1955 report. The linguistic states were not accepted by the Fazal Ali Commission either. However, in response to growing political pressure and widespread bloodshed, the Nehru administration decided to permit state creation based on language [1], [2].

Economic Mix Model

India resisted being used as a puppet state by USSR- or USA-led capitalist or communist blocs after gaining its independence. India joined the Non-Alignment Movement (NAM) as a result. India thereafter developed a mixed economic model that gave both capitalism and communist concepts equal attention. Nehru promoted a mixed economy in which a government-controlled public sector coexisted with a free market economy, putting into practise policies based on import substitution industrialisation. He thought that the growth and modernization of the Indian economy depended on the formation of heavy and basic industries. Therefore, the government prioritised investment in the steel, iron, coal, and power sectors, which it supported via subsidies and protectionist measures.

Because of the cold war's non-alignment policy, Nehru was able to create India's industrial foundation from scratch with the help of both power blocs. Bokaro and Rourkela steel mill complexes were constructed with aid from West Germany and the Soviet Union. There was significant industrial growth. Between 1950 and 1965, the industrial sector increased at a 7.0% annual rate, almost tripling industrial production and elevating India to the seventh-largest industrial nation in the world. However, Nehru's detractors said that India's industrialization of import substitution, which persisted long after the Nehru period, reduced the manufacturing sector's ability to compete internationally. A complicated system of quantitative rules, quotas and tariffs, industrial licences, and a variety of other controls were formed as a result of Nehru's predilection for large state-controlled firms. Up to the liberalisation reforms started by the Congress administration in 1991 under PV Narsimha Rao, this system known in India as Permit Raj was to blame for economic inefficiencies that stunted entrepreneurship and constrained economic progress.

Law and social reforms

Muslims were able to wed under the Special Marriage Act and therefore maintain the safeguards, typically advantageous to Muslim women, that were absent from personal law. Polygamy was prohibited by the legislation, and the Indian Succession legislation would control inheritance and succession instead of the relevant Muslim personal law. The secular law would likewise apply to divorce, and a divorced woman would be maintained in accordance with the civil law. The Hindu Marriage and Succession Act of 1955 was also created alongside it. These progressive legislations aimed to lead India, a newly formed country, towards social and legal change.

Reservations for underrepresented groups in society. In order to eliminate the social injustices and disadvantages experienced by members of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, a system of reservations in government services and educational institutions was established. Along with promoting religious unity and secularism, Nehru worked to increase the number of minorities in the administration. In order to improve the chances for the socially and economically disadvantaged sections in India to advance, Scheduled Castes (SC) and Scheduled Tribes (ST) were granted reservation under Articles 15 and 16 of the Indian Constitution from the very beginning.

Language guidelines

Hindi was advocated as the national language of India by the Congress party segment Nehru headed.Hindi became the official language of India in 1950 following a lengthy and contentious discussion with non-Hindi speakers. English remained an associate official language for another 15 years, after which Hindi would become the only official language. Many non-Hindi Indian states preferred the continuing use of English against efforts by the Indian government to make Hindi the only official language after 1965. Hindi was opposed by the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK), a branch of the Dravidar Kazhagam. To ease their concerns, Nehru passed the Official Languages Act in 1963, ensuring that English will be used after 1965. The DMK was unsatisfied with the content of the Act, which strengthened their doubt that his guarantees would be upheld by future governments. A formula for three languages was used. The Congress government, led by Indira Gandhi, finally revised the Official Languages Act in 1967 to ensure Hindi and English would always be used as official languages. This successfully preserved the Indian Republic's present "virtual indefinite policy of bilingualism [3], [4]."

Foreign Affairs

 The largest issue facing India in 1947 was maintaining its recently attained independence and building its own reputation abroad. States had become sharply divided and polarised as a result of the Cold War. The newly established countries were being coerced, persuaded, or punished to support the Communist or Capitalist blocks. India made the decision to maintain its neutrality because it sought to get support and cooperation from both political and economic power blocs. India effectively established the NAM platform and led the third-world nations. Additionally, it promoted demilitarisation, disarmament, and a world free of nuclear weapons. India was able to incorporate Gandhian and Buddhist ideas into its foreign policy under the capable leadership of Nehru.

Agricultural Regulations

The government of India under Nehru made an effort to industrialise the country swiftly and implement agricultural reform quickly. Giant landholdings were eliminated through a

successful land reform, but attempts to redistribute land by putting restrictions on land ownership failed. Land-owning rural elites, who made up the foundation of the influential right wing of the Congress and had significant political backing in opposing Nehru's initiatives, thwarted attempts to implement large-scale cooperative farming. Up until the early 1960s, agricultural productivity increased as more area was put under cultivation and certain irrigation projects started to have an impact. Economic growth was aided by the introduction of agricultural institutions that were modelled after land-grant universities in the US. These colleges experimented with high-yielding wheat and rice varieties that were first created in Mexico and the Philippines. The Green Revolution, an initiative to diversify and boost agricultural output, was launched in the 1960s. At the same time, despite ongoing development and rising agricultural output, a string of failed monsoons would result in severe food shortages.

Education

Nehru was an ardent supporter of education for children and young people in India because he saw its importance in the country's future development. His administration supervised the founding of several institutions of higher learning, including the National Institutes of Technology, the All India Institute of Medical Sciences, the Indian Institutes of Technology, and the Indian Institutes of Management. In his five-year plans, Nehru also included a pledge to provide all Indian children with free and required basic education. Nehru supervised the building of thousands of schools and the implementation of large-scale village enrolment programmes for this reason. To combat malnutrition, Nehru also started programmes offering free milk and lunches to kids. Adult education programmes, as well as vocational and technical institutions, were established, particularly in rural regions.

Hindu Marriage Law: Under Nehru, the Indian Parliament made several amendments to the Hindu Law to make caste discrimination illegal and to provide women more legal and social freedoms. Nehru explicitly drafted Article 44 of the Indian Constitution, which is found under the Directive Principles of State Policy and reads as follows: Nehru has faced criticism for the law's uneven implementation, however. Most significantly, Nehru let Muslims to continue using their own personal law for inheritance and marriage-related issues. Nehru forbade Muslim personal law in the tiny state of Goa, where a civil code based on the previous Portuguese Family Laws was also permitted. This was the outcome of India's annexation of Goa in 1961, which took place after Nehru assured the locals that their laws would be upheld. Allegations of selective secularism have resulted from this.

DISCUSSION

Despite not passing any legislation to modify Muslim law, Nehru did enact the Special marriage act in 1954. The purpose of this legislation was to allow everyone in India to be married in a civil ceremony, which is a marriage that is not governed by personal law. The legislation was enforced uniformly across India, with the exception of Jammu & Kashmir again raising concerns about selective secularism. The Hindi Marriage legislation, 1955 was almost comparable to the legislation in many ways, which offers some indication of how secular the law governing Hindus had become.

India was effectively destroyed and robbed by previous rulers and invaders after gaining its freedom. India needed to make significant progress on both socioeconomic and political fronts in order to start again. Because of this, the Indian state has chosen a balanced or middle course in all facets of its existence. Democracy and economic growth may go in the correct direction as a consequence. After gaining its freedom, India successfully built the foundations for a functioning democracy.

Emergency, Decentralisation, and the Populist Era: Mrs. Indira Gandhi

Indira Priyadarshini Gandhi, an influential member of the India National Congress, was an Indian politician who lived from 19 November 1917 until 31 October 1984. She served as India's first and only female prime minister. Jawaharlal Nehru, the first prime minister of India, was the father of Indira Gandhi. She was India's second-longest-serving prime minister after her father, holding the position from January 1966 to March 1977 and again from January 1980 till her death in an assassination in October 1984.

The Third Agricultural Revolution, often known as the Green Revolution, was a series of research and technology transfer projects that took place between 1950 and the late 1960s and significantly improved agricultural productivity in many regions of the globe, starting in the late 1960s. As a consequence of the activities, new technologies were adopted, including high-yielding (HYV) crop varieties, particularly dwarf wheat and rice. It was connected to mechanised farming, chemical fertilisers, agrochemicals, regulated water supply (typically requiring irrigation), and innovative farming techniques. These were all seen as a "package of practises" that could replace "traditional" technology and be used as a whole. The use of the most recent equipment and technology, adoption of scientific agricultural practises, use of high yielding seed types, appropriate use of chemical fertilisers, and consolidation of land holdings are some of the essential components of the revolution [5], [6].

Nationalisation in 1969: Nationalisation of banks

Despite the rules, oversight, and regulations of the Reserve Bank of India, private individuals continue to own and run all Indian banks, with the exception of the SBI. The Indian banking sector had grown to be a crucial factor in the growth of the Indian economy by the 1960s. At the same time, it had grown to be a significant employer, and a discussion about nationalising the banking sector had started. In a paper titled Stray thoughts on Bank Nationalisation, Indira Gandhi, the country's former prime minister, stated the government's intentions at the All India Congress Meeting's annual convention.

The Government of India then passed the Banking Companies (Acquisition and Transfer of Undertakings) Ordinance, 1969, which took effect at midnight on July 19, 1969, and nationalised the 14 biggest commercial banks. 85% of the nation's bank deposits were in these institutions. The Banking Companies (Acquisition and Transfer of Undertaking) Bill was enacted by the Parliament two weeks after the ordinance's issuance, and the President gave his consent on August 9 of the same year. The following banks were nationalized in 1969:

1. Allahabad Bank (now Indian Bank)
2. Bank of Baroda
3. Bank of India
4. Bank of Maharashtra
5. Central Bank of India
6. Canara Bank
7. Dena Bank (now Bank of Baroda)
8. Indian Bank
9. Indian Overseas Bank
10. Punjab National Bank
11. Syndicate Bank (now Canara Bank)
12. UCO Bank
13. Union Bank of India
14. United Bank of India (now Punjab National Bank)

1980 saw the nationalisation of six additional commercial banks in a second phase. The government wanted greater control over how credit is distributed, which was the claimed justification for nationalisation. After the second series of nationalisations, the Indian government had control over 91% of the country's banking industry. The following banks were nationalized in 1980:

1. Punjab and Sind Bank
2. Vijaya Bank (Now Bank of Baroda)
3. Oriental Bank of India (now Punjab National Bank)
4. Corporation Bank (now Union Bank of India)
5. Andhra Bank (now Union Bank of India)

Garibi Hatao

The campaign's theme and catchphrase were "Remove Poverty" and Indira Gandhi in 1971. The goal of the slogan and the accompanying anti-poverty initiatives was to give Gandhi a national base of support based on the rural and urban poor, enabling her to bypass the dominant rural castes in state and local government as well as the urban commercial class. Likewise, the heretofore silent poor, notably Dalits and Adivasis, would finally acquire political weight and importance. Despite being implemented locally, the programmes produced under garibi hatao were sponsored, designed, overseen, and manned by Congress party members and New Delhi government officials. The 5th Five Year Plan included it.

Priyanka Gandhi and the Emergency

In India, the phrase "The Emergency" refers to a period of time from 1975 and 1977 during which Prime Minister Indira Gandhi ordered a nationwide state of emergency. The Emergency was formally declared by President Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed under Article 352 of the Constitution as a result of the ongoing "internal disturbance" and lasted from June 25, 1975, to March 21, 1977, when it was lifted. The order granted the Prime Minister the power to govern by decree, enabling the cancellation of elections and the suspension of civil rights. The majority of Indira Gandhi's political rivals were imprisoned for a significant portion of the Emergency, and the media was restricted. Other documented human rights abuses at the period included a widespread forced sterilisation programme led by Sanjay Gandhi, the son of the Prime Minister. One of the most contentious eras in the history of independent India is the Emergency. Based on the justification that there were pressing internal and foreign dangers to the Indian state, Indira Gandhi made the ultimate decision to declare an emergency. The president of India approved it, and the cabinet and parliament then validated it (between July and August 1975) [7], [8].

Government upheaval

The call for a transition to a presidential system emergency declaration with a more powerful directly elected administration resulted from this, according to several Congress party leaders. The Nav Nirman movement, which took place in Gujarat between December 1973 and March 1974, was the most important of the first of its kind. In response to student protests against the state's education minister, the federal government was finally obliged to dissolve the state assembly, which resulted in Chimanbhai Patel's resignation as chief minister and the enactment of presidential rule. The railway minister Lalit Narayan Mishra was killed by a bomb in the meanwhile, and there were attempts to kill other major figures. All of them pointed to a rising law and order issue across the whole nation, of which Mrs. Gandhi's advisers had been forewarning her for months. Gandhian socialist Jayaprakash Narayan, often known as JP, backed a student protest by the Bihar Chatra Sangharsh Samiti

against the Bihar government in the months of March and April 1974. JP called for a "total revolution" in Patna in April 1974, urging labour unions, peasants, and students to peacefully change Indian society. Additionally, he called for the dissolution of the state government, but the centre rejected this. The biggest union in the nation, the Railway Employees Union, staged a statewide rail strike a month later. The All-India Railway men's Federation President and fiery labour activist George Fernandes was in charge of this strike. He served as the Socialist Party's president as well. The government of Indira Gandhi forcibly put an end to the strike by arresting hundreds of workers and evicting their families from their homes.

Declaring a State of Emergency

Due to recent peace negotiations with Pakistan, the government highlighted dangers to national security. The economy was in terrible shape as a result of the conflict and other difficulties like the drought and the 1973 oil crisis. The administration said that the strikes and demonstrations had rendered it ineffective and severely harmed the nation's economy. Gandhi listened to the counsel of a small number of supporters and her younger son Sanjay Gandhi, whose own influence had significantly increased over the previous several years to become a "extra-constitutional authority," in the face of intense political resistance, defection, and instability across the nation and the party. On the evening of June 25, 1975, just a few minutes before the clock struck midnight, President Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed, on the suggestion of the prime minister, proclaimed a state of integral emergency. As required by the constitution, Mrs. Gandhi suggested that the state of emergency be maintained every six months until she chose to call elections in 1977. President Ahmed agreed.

Amendments 73 and 74:

In order to achieve this, a multifaceted strategy was used, with special attention paid to the implementation of the 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendment Acts, 1992, which granted panchayati raj institutions (PRIs) and urban local bodies (ULBs), respectively, constitutional status. Similar to the 73rd Amendment, the 74th Amendment establishes the structure of Urban Local Bodies; It guarantees their regular, free, and fair elections; Provides for the Reservation of Seats for SC, ST, and OBCs; Sets the Term of Urban Local Bodies at Five Years; Protects against Arbitrary Dissolution; Specifies Powers. Mrs. Indira Gandhi's election may be seen in both good and bad ways. Positive because her initiatives focused more on helping the community's impoverished and oppressed members. However, in a bad sense, it was sort of a dictatorship where one woman ruled and would utilise either a democratic or dictatorial system to further her political objectives [9], [10].

CONCLUSION

The leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru was crucial in determining India's course after independence. Many of India's institutions and policies were built on the basis of his vision for a contemporary, democratic, and socially equitable country. The legacy of his leadership, however, is not entirely positive. India's character as a varied and heterogeneous society was shaped by Nehru's dedication to democracy and secularism. His initiatives to advance social justice included reservations for marginalised communities, social change, and education. Additionally, his non-alignment foreign policy helped India to keep its independence and take centre stage on the world scene. Additional advancements were made during the period that followed, led by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, notably the Green Revolution and the nationalization of banks. However, it was tainted by the divisive Emergency era, which called into question democratic principles and civil freedoms. In conclusion, Nehru's legacy is nuanced, including both successes and difficulties. His leadership provided the framework for modern India, but it also left behind a legacy of unsolved social problems and economic

inefficiencies. India's post-independence era in history provides evidence of the difficulties of governing and the dynamic character of the country's political environment.

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CHAPTER 2

EVOLUTION OF CLASS STRUCTURES IN INDIA: FROM TRADITION TO GLOBALIZATION

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ABSTRACT:

With a focus on India's path towards economic liberalisation in the 1990s, this paper examines the idea of liberalism, especially in the context of economic liberalisation. It talks about how protectionism and excessive government interference characterised India's previous economic policies and how this changed with the implementation of reforms towards liberalisation. The article also looks at how many facets of Indian society, such as politics, social classes, and global integration, have been affected by economic liberalisation. It emphasises the complexity of the class structure in India, which is impacted by elements like caste, religion, geography, and access to technology, as well as how globalisation has both masked and emphasised these inequalities. Overall, this paper offers a thorough analysis of liberalism's many facets and how they affect a multicultural and dynamic country like India. Liberalism has been a transforming force in India, particularly in the economic sphere. It has changed the nation's political environment, redrawn its class structures, and thrust it into the international arena. India is an intriguing case study in the challenges of modernization and development due to the delicate interaction of liberalism, caste, culture, and globalisation that continues to affect its social and economic fabric.

KEYWORDS:

Economic Liberalization, Globalization, Liberalism, Policy, Telecommunication.

INTRODUCTION

Liberalism, not Liberalism The prerequisite for privatisation and globalisation is British English. A general word used to describe less government rules and limitations, mostly on economic activity, is liberalisation. Liberalisation is a shift in a state's economic outlook. Liberalisation, in a larger sense, refers to a shift in strategy that permits greater latitude in laws, processes, or ideas.

Towards Liberalisation: India

Early in the 1990s, the government of the time began a strategy of liberalisation by granting licences to a few private banks. The first of these new generation banks to be established was Global Trust Bank, which eventually merged with Oriental Bank of Commerce, Indusind Bank, UTI Bank, Axis Bank, and HDFC Bank. These banks ultimately came to be known as New Generation tech-savvy banks. This action, along with India's economy's fast expansion, reinvigorated the country's banking industry. Government banks, commercial banks, and international banks all made significant contributions to the sector's expansion.

With the anticipated loosening of rules for foreign direct investment, the next phase of Indian banking has been established. The current 10% voting rights limit may be increased to include all foreign investors in banks. The maximum ratio of foreign investments climbed to 49% in 2019 thanks to Bandhan bank in particular. With certain limitations, it has increased to 74%.

The new policy totally upended India's banking industry. Until this point, bankers were used to operating under the 4-6-4 system (borrow at 4%, lend at 6%, and go home at 4). The new wave introduced contemporary thinking and tech-savvy working practises for conventional banks. All of these contributed to India's retail growth [1], [2]. The term "economic liberalisation" in India refers to the economic liberalisation of the nation's economic policies with the intention of increasing the role of private and foreign investment as well as the economy's market and service orientation. A more extensive liberalisation was started in 1991, despite earlier, fruitless efforts to do so in 1966 and the early 1980s. A balance of payments issue that had caused a severe recession served as the impetus for the change.

The exploitative character of colonialism and the leaders' exposure to Fabian socialism had an impact on India's economic strategy after independence. Government engagement at the micro level in all enterprises, particularly in the labour and financial markets, a large public sector, corporate regulation, and central planning were all features of the policy that inclined towards protectionism. India's five-year plans were similar to Soviet-era central planning. Steel, mining, machine tools, water, telecommunications, insurance, and electrical plants, among other businesses, were essentially nationalised under the Industrial Development Regulation Act of 1951. Between 1947 and 1990, setting up a business in India needed a complex collection of permits, rules, and red tape, known as the "Licence Raj."Dirigisme is a term used to describe the Indian economy during this time.

The government made an effort to isolate the Indian economy from the outside world before the reform process got underway in 1991. The rupee, the national currency of India, was not convertible, and imports required licences and were subject to heavy duties. India too had a system of economic central planning where businesses needed permits to invest and expand. Up to 80 agencies had to be satisfied before a corporation could get a licence to manufacture, and the state would control what was produced, how much was produced, at what price, and from what sources of money. This convoluted bureaucracy sometimes resulted in ludicrous limits. Additionally, the government forbade businesses from shutting plants or laying off employees. Import substitution, the idea that India should depend on domestic markets rather than global commerce for growth, served as the policy's main tenet. This idea was a product of both socialism and colonial exploitation. How much investment was required in which industries would be decided by planning and the state, not by markets.

An "irresponsible, self-perpetuating bureaucracy and corruption flourished under this system" were developed under Licence Raj. For industries like steel, electricity, and communications, only four or five licences would be granted, enabling licence holders to create large, strong empires free from rivalry. State-owned businesses could post significant losses without being closed down because to the massive public sector that developed. Controls on company expansion also resulted in subpar infrastructural growth. The Indian government was compelled to go to the World Bank and International Monetary Fund for financial assistance in 1966 as a result of fast inflation brought on by a growing budget deficit associated with the Sino-Indian War and a severe drought. The rupee was depreciated to fight inflation and devalue exports, while the previous system of tariffs and export subsidies was eliminated as a result of pressure from assistance donors. The political reaction against liberalisation, which was characterised by anger at foreign investment in the Indian economy and concern that it would portend a wider move away from socialist policies, was, however, fueled by a second bad crop and ensuing industrial crisis. Trade restrictions were reinstated as a consequence, and the Foreign Investments Board was set up in 1968 to examine businesses operating in India that had more than 40% foreign stock interest. Since 1972, financing from the World

Bank have been used for agricultural initiatives, and following the liberalisation in 1991, foreign seed firms were permitted to sell their products in India.

Economic Changes Around 1980

The administrations of Indira Gandhi and later Rajiv Gandhi started seeking economic liberalisation when it became clear that the Indian economy was falling behind its East and Southeast Asian neighbours.The governments encouraged the expansion of the software and telecommunications sectors while simultaneously easing limits on firm establishment and import regulations.Despite failing to address fundamental problems with the Licence Raj, reforms increased the average GDP growth rate from 2.9 percent in the 1970s to 5.6 percent.The Bofors affair damaged the credibility of Rajiv Gandhi's administration and thwarted his attempts to liberalise, despite his desire for more structural changes [3], [4].

India's economic liberalisation

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DISCUSSION

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An "irresponsible, self-perpetuating bureaucracy and corruption flourished under this system" were developed under Licence Raj. For industries like steel, electricity, and communications, only four or five licences would be granted, enabling licence holders to create large, strong empires free from rivalry. State-owned businesses could post significant losses without being

closed down because to the massive public sector that developed. Controls on company expansion also resulted in subpar infrastructural growth.

A new Congress administration headed by PV Narasimha Rao was elected after the Chandra Shekhar government fell apart in the middle of the crisis and Rajiv Gandhi was assassinated.He appointed Manmohan Singh as finance minister and Amar Nath Verma as his principal secretary, and he offered them full backing in doing whatever they believed was required to address the problem.Along with Chief Economic Advisor Rakesh Mohan, Verma contributed to the creation of the New Industrial Policy, which outlined a strategy for promoting Indian industry in five areas.First, it did away with licencing requirements for all businesses, with the exception of 18 those were "related to security and strategic concerns, social reasons, problems with safety, and overriding environmental issues."It outlined a strategy to pre-approve all investments up to 51% foreign equity involvement in order to encourage foreign investment. This would enable foreign businesses to contribute cutting-edge technology and industrial growth.The previous practise of requiring government permission for international technology agreements was abandoned in order to further encourage technical innovation. The fourth point suggested restricting public sector expansion to necessary infrastructure, products and services, mineral exploration, and defence production while dismantling public monopolies.In the end, the idea of an MRTP company where businesses with assets beyond a particular threshold were put under government regulation was abandoned [5], [6].

Manmohan Singh was developing the Epochal Budget, a new budget that will be released later. He tried to reduce government spending in order to reduce the budget deficit, which was his main focus. Disinvesting in public sector businesses had a role, although this was also accompanied by cuts to fertiliser subsidies and the elimination of the Impact on Social and Political scenario. In nations that embrace quick liberalisation, attempts at trade liberalisation may boost imports in the near term, which might result in trade and current account deficits. Short-term growth rates may be accelerated by liberalisation, which may also lead to more imports than exports. The list of restricted commodities was significantly reduced with liberalisation, and numerous brand-new industries were made accessible to large corporations. Small-scale manufacturing is still the backbone of the Indian economy. It supports a significant part of exports and jobs in the private sector. A general word used to describe less government rules and limitations, mostly on economic activity, is liberalisation. Liberalisation is a shift in a state's economic outlook. Liberalisation, in a larger sense, refers to a shift in strategy that permits greater latitude in laws, processes, or ideas.

The reduction of governmental limits and regulations in an economy in return for a higher level of private sector engagement is known as economic liberalisation or economic liberalisation. Modern administrations have the responsibility of ensuring that our nations are capable of meeting this challenge. Liberalization seems to be a very alluring star, and it is also highly advantageous, but with advantages come disadvantages. In particular for economies that are on the edge of collapse, the liberalisation policy might be considered as a step in the right direction.

"These days, there are extraordinary inequalities everywhere." Extreme wealth and power are concentrated in the hands of capitalist organisations and people like Bill Gates, whose "net worth" of $50 billion in 2009 was greater than the GDP of 140 countries, while 36 million people died from hunger and malnutrition in 2006 alone, according to the (now-former) UN Special Rapporteur on the Right to Food, Jean Ziegler. The same basic, global capitalist classforces at play in Britain are amplified by this grave injustice.

Indian Politics and Government

The term "class" refers to a person's or a group's place in a particular social, cultural, or economic life. The class to which a person or group belongs greatly affects the power relations in society. As a result, people's sentiments about their class begin to develop, grow, and extend. The distribution of values, possessions, and fortunes in society is mostly determined by class. Although class is a notion that originated in the west, it refers to the separation of society into affluent and poor. This chapter's main concern is whether political equality can exist and endure in any meaningful way in the absence of economic equality.

In order to prevent economic inequality from undermining political equality, Aristotle said that "the majority of people should be of "middling wealth." (Robinson, 25 March 2003). However, it is challenging to agree with the class structure of the Greek city-state, where Aristotle had defended slavery as a "natural characteristic of human society." The ideas of Aristotle are not supported by contemporary political theory. Class is not innate. It is artificial because it develops along the lines of societal control over resources, authority, and status. which unjustified value judgements feed. Thus, the issue of whether human nature may be "value-free" emerges. The social theories of the Greek Sophist Glaucon lead to the establishment of institutions that acknowledge the class nature of society. "Societies exist only because human behaviour must always be restrained by law," claims Glaucon. As a communitarian, Plato believed that the goal of "justice" or "behaving as you should" is to create a society that functions like a happy beehive in which everyone knows their place. Although this point of view accepts the existence of class distinctions, it sets real limitations on how people may conduct towards one another. Thus, the class component also prompts the issue of whether property is a major source of social injustice [7], [8].

Historical Change

In the 19th century, the word "class" gained use as a symbol of rank and hierarchy used to characterise social hierarchies. Its origins may be traced back to classical Greek culture. The Greek philosopher Plato's work "Republic" explains the concept of communism. Thomas More's (16th century) utopian views attracted attention throughout the Middle Ages because of what they envisioned. More talks about an imagined island in his "Utopia" where money has been eliminated and people live and work together as a community. It was a vision of a society without classes. It was born out of the industrial capitalism model of economy's shifting social and economic structure. The structure of production and the participation of individuals in economic activities were modified throughout the 18th century by scientific breakthroughs that drove industrial advancement. The feudal system, originally composed of lords and subjects, was reorganised into classes of capitalists and workers. The word class initially became widely used in the early 19th century to describe the main social hierarchical divisions, taking the place of terms like rank and order.

This use was a reflection of how western European society had changed as a result of the political and economic upheavals of the late 18th century. Feudal distinctions of rank were becoming less significant, and the newly emerging social groups commercial and industrial capitalists and the urban working class in the new factories were primarily defined in terms of economics, either by the ownership of capital or, alternatively, by dependence on wages. Despite the fact that the word "class" has been used to describe social groupings in a variety of cultures, including ancient city-states, early empires, and caste or feudal systems, it is most effectively restricted to the social divides in contemporary countries, especially industrialised ones. It is important to differentiate between social classes and status groups since the former

are mostly focused on economic interests while the latter are made up of assessments of the honour or prestige of a profession, a cultural position, or a person's ancestry.

Development and Meaning

In human civilization, classes develop gradually. According to ideas of natural rights, the title to possess property is conferred by combining one's effort with it. However, in the majority of human societies, persons who combine their employment with land ownership and stay in the landless class are uncommon. It occurs because the cunning men in the "state of nature" purposefully stoked violence, terror, and chaos to cultivate a feeling of submission and validate the class nature of the society. With the aforementioned definitions, class theory may be understood.

'Sometimes, the conflict between those who assert that class is still significant and those who assert that it is losing significance is the consequence of sharply divergent conceptions of what the word "class" is meant to mean. Even though some post- and neo-Marxists, most notably E.P. Thompson, analyse (or even define) "class" as essentially subjective identification and action, they also reject the validity of methodologies that distinguish between structure and action, and a class conscious, organised "class for itself." If the objective, non-voluntarily approach to social theory is to be preserved, it seems necessary to draw a distinction between class membership and class awareness and class-based collective organization—or, to put it another way, between structural "class determination" and politicoideological, subjective "class position"[9], [10].

Marx distinguished between a "class in itself" and the actually existent mass that is "already a class in opposition to capital" in The Poverty of Philosophy. Regarding how it relates to the state, Marx's notion of class is ambiguous and problematic. It's not always obvious if class divide in the state is a result of or a cause of it. Not everyone can be easily classified as belonging to a single class, and not all classes are consistently unequal in terms of politics and the economy. because it is impossible to maintain a stateless and classless society.

Indian Politics and Government

Indian Social Classes

A multicultural society exists in India. This civilisation accommodates the variety of all kinds that exist in the planet. Since class-based identities are multi-layered, it is difficult to distinguish them precisely. Additionally, one sort of class identification may readily transcend or overlap with another. Additionally, we must remember that Indian social classes differ from those of the western class system, which is heavily impacted by economic concerns. As a result, a variety of elements served as the basis for the class system's hierarchy and stratification patterns. It is fairly simple to claim, for instance, that members of the higher caste may often be found in the highest economic class as well. Similar generalisations, however, cannot be made about the dalits or the lower caste. because a person's or a community's sociocultural identity is crucial to their ability to advance economically.

Due of this, caste-based backwardness may be quickly linked to a person's financial situation. Even among sociologists, there is disagreement on how to categorise India's class structure. A three-fold categorization of classes has been provided by Sorokin (1927), including a social divide based on economic, political, and vocational factors. In 1959, Warner and Lunt established a six-fold categorization that includes. The idea of dividing social classes into the upper class, middle class, working class, and peasants has been promoted by T.B. Bottomore.

Caste as Class: All four castes are present in Indian society. It features a four-class structure based on caste, known as Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya, and Shudra. Additionally, there existed a group that resided in economic, social, and political marginality. The hierarchy of castes would primarily define a person's class. The higher castes would own the majority of the riches and the land. Dalits and members of the so-called lower castes would often be compelled to labour. The wealthy owner and the underprivileged worker were hence caste-loaded. "In times of globalisation, categories such as caste and class are undergoing radical change both in terms of their essence and existence," claims Professor Gopal Guru.For instance, the term "working masses" now refers to the working classes, while "footloose labour" or "labouring poor" are terms used to characterise labour.

Socio-Cultural Status as Class: According to Joppke (1986), Bourdieu's notion of "Social Class" may be seen as an effort to prevent the short-circuiting of economic circumstances and utilitarian reasoning. The social divisions caused by culture result in a "symbolic struggle" against other social groupings and cultures. In India, there are many different social classes, each of which has a strong cultural foundation. This cultural identity causes direct conflict, exclusion, and discrimination when it is influenced by a feeling of superiority towards others. Ghettos develop in society as a result of the competitive character of culture. For instance, several housing societies and communities do not accept residents from 'different' cultures, languages, religions, or gastronomic customs. Despite the fact that it is legally forbidden, it is rigorously and informally practised. It establishes a social class separate. Such a group takes pride in its exclusion of "others."

Financial Situation as Class:

Karl Marx's revolutionary interpretation of the growing divide between the affluent and the poor in society was his division of society into two distinct classes, "have" and "have not." Control over natural resources like land, water, and forests, as well as wealth that has been created by humans via industry and services, is essentially what determines the economic classes in a community. Due to this control, a small number of individuals enjoy wealth while a large number of the poor toil and suffer. Swati Ramanathan and Ramesh Ramanathan provided a thorough research and offered facts on the Indian class system based on economic status in anpaper that was published in Hindustan Times in 2019.

'In India, there are five different middle classes: the Rising Middle Class, the Public Sector Middle Class, the Urban Private Sector Middle Class, the Trader Middle Class. Although this may seem technical, in the actual world it is all too easy to tell the difference between a senior management in a private company and a mid-level bureaucrat. Which middle classes are the largest? We estimated that they made up around 33% of India's population in 2014. Given that the ratio has increased from 11.7% in 1999, the middle class in India might make up 40% of the country's population at now. Contrary to popular belief, India's middle class is really more concentrated in rural areas, with 13.7% of the total population. When the Trader middle class and the Rising middle class in rural areas are included, the size of the rural middle classes accounts for 2/3 of all middle class households in India. The rural-urban distribution of India's middle class and the rural-urban distribution of the country's total population are almost the same. The economic makeup of rural and urban India is same.

Impact of Class and Globalisation:

The process of globalisation has knit the globe together. More efficiently connecting the people, cultures, and things. The class system in India has either been drastically modified or entirely transformed. Multinational businesses (MNCs), international NGOs (INGOs) like Rotary and Lions Club, and criminal syndicates like gangs involved in terrorism, drugs, and

people trafficking have all benefited from the economic liberalisation. It has brought about changes to ideas, clothes, cuisine, and way of life. Physical distance and boundaries are no longer significant due to the people-to-people connectedness enabled by information and communication technology (ICT). As a result, technology is establishing two new social classes in Indian society: "Those who have access to technology" and "those who do not." It's also crucial to note that forces of globalisation have weakened the distinctions between caste and class in Indian society. Government job prospects have decreased as privatisation has increased, producing a new class. Undoubtedly, the privatisation of the health and education sectors and the reduction of land ownership owing to various divisions have aided in the advancement of democracy and free enterprise. However, it also encourages economic inequality.

In light of the topic, we may state that Indian society is complicated in terms of its class makeup and organisational structure. As it is, it does not represent the western idea of class. The numerous levels of stratification in Indian society that result from caste, religion, area, language, culture, tradition, economic position, job patterns, wealth ownership, etc. must thus be carefully considered while attempting to comprehend the class aspect in Indian society. We also need to comprehend the effects of outside invaders from the Christian and Islamic empires, who brought with them new ideas, patterns, cultures, and ways of life. It has given the Indian class system various additional dimensions. 'Economic situation' had a key role in class formation in India under the British Empire. The class structure has expanded in post-independent India, nevertheless, and now includes elites and non-elites, urban and rural, educated and illiterate, rich, middle class, and lower class.

CONCLUSION

Significant changes in thought and policy have accompanied India's transition to liberalism, more especially economic liberalisation. In the early 1990s, India steadily made the transition away from a period of extensive governmental control and protectionism towards accepting economic liberalisation. This change has had a significant impact on many facets of Indian society. A new class structure with divisions between urban and rural areas, the wealthy and the middle class, and those with and without access to technology has emerged in India as a result of economic liberalisation. As the globe becomes increasingly linked via information and communication technologies, globalisation has played a crucial role in changing these class relations. The old socialist ideas that controlled Indian politics for decades have been challenged by economic liberalisation, which has also affected political decisions and policies. It has facilitated commerce and investments from outside, fostering India's economic development. It has, however, also sparked worries about widening income inequality and inequities in access to resources.

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CHAPTER 3

INDIA'S DIVERSE POLITICAL LANDSCAPE: PARTIES, COALITIONS AND ELECTION PROCEDURES

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ABSTRACT:

There are several political parties in India, each of which has its own ideas, geographical influence, and place in the nation's democracy. This paper examines the development and features of the political party system in India, focusing on the functions of national and local parties, coalition administrations, and electoral processes. It talks about how well-known parties like the Indian National Congress (INC), the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), and local parties like the Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) and Trinamool Congress fit into the historical backdrop. The study looks at the standards for party recognition as well as the particular difficulties brought on by a lack of ideological consistency and personality-driven politics. The variety and dynamism of India's multiparty democracy continue to influence the political climate of the country. In a democracy, several political parties are active. The party's objectives and goals are to seize political power. While in charge of the government, they attempt to execute their philosophy or agenda. Political parties have proliferated widely in India, a multiparty democracy. The people and the government, however, are having a difficult time as a result of the political parties' lack of integrity and honesty. Sometimes after winning office on the platform of one party, these politicians switch allegiances and join the opposition. This is a betrayal of the electorate. However, the same political parties have cultivated India's democratic foundations.

KEYWORDS:

Election Procedures, Government, Political, Politics.

INTRODUCTION

As evidence of the merging of western and contemporary bureaucratic organisation participatory politics with indigenous practises and structures, party politics in India exhibits several contradictory characteristics. The Indian National Congress, the country's largest political party and one of the oldest in the world, has failed to establish the foundation for an institutionalised party system that can easily fit into any of the traditional categories of party systems known in the West (363–80, 2001). Thus Political parties are voluntarily organised groups of individuals that have a same philosophy, platform, and political agenda. They work together to mobilise the populace and seize political control. When A. O. Hume founded the India National Congress in 1885, the party system in India began to develop. However, India's independence was not a priority during its first stage. Later, the theme of nationalism was injected into INC activities with the gradual admission of nationalist stalwarts like G.K. Gokhale, Dadabhai Naoroji, and Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak. Thus, throughout the Indian liberation struggle, INC remained the only major political party. Later, in pre-independence India, political groups such as the Communist Party of India (1925), Hindu Mahasabha (1915), Shiromani Akali Dal (1920), and Muslim League (1906) were founded. Following its independence, India adopted the Westminster model of parliamentary democracy and a multi-party system to ensure that the people were represented. There are four different kinds of political parties in modern democratic states, according to M.

Laxmikanth:There are four types of political parties: reactionary parties, which support outdated socioeconomic and political structures, conservative parties, which support maintaining the status quo, liberal parties, which seek to reform the status quo, and radical parties, which seek to impose a new order by toppling the status quo [1], [2].

Political parties often assert that they support a certain philosophy. They use it to promote their agenda and programmes appeal to the general public for support. As a result, one of the most effective methods for political party mobilisation is ideology. Political ideologies come in a variety of forms, including nationalism, communism, capitalism, fascism, etc. They are crucial in influencing how persons form their political opinions. Following the aforementioned philosophies, political parties may be categorised as follows:

1. A Left-Wing Political Party is a group that supports communism and socialism. Such as the Forward Block, CPM, CPML, and the Communist Party of India (CPI).
2. Right-wing political parties include the BJP, Shiv Sena, Akali Dal, SP, BSP, and others that support nationalism, cultural and traditional values, racial identity, and other identity-based orientations.
3. C. Political party with a centrist leaning: liberal and inclusive. NCP, JD (U), DMK, AIADMK, Indian National Congress, etc. In India, political parties have developed from many political beliefs and support them as it suits them. Political parties in India may be considered to have two basic objectives: gaining power and carrying out this agenda.

Indian Party System Development:

India has several political parties. Although the People's Representation Act of 1951, the Election Commission of India's guidelines for the registration of Political parties, the Anti-Defection Act of 1985, and the Supreme Court of India's guidelines do not mention the nature or structure of political parties, they do provide for their nature, quality, and character.The Indian National Congress was founded in Mumbai in 1985 by A. O. Hume, who served as both its founder and first president, and Womesh Chunder Bonnerjee (also known as Umesh Chandra Banerjee). This organization's primary goal was to serve as a bridge between the Indian subcontinent and the British Empire. It was initially not opposed to British colonial authority in India. Leaders in India such as Pherozeshah Mehta, Badaruddin Tayyabji, Madam Cama, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Dada Bhai Naoroji, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal, and Lala Lajpatrai criticised the British government's policies strongly. As a result, Congress began to advocate for swaraj, or self-rule. The INC, under the direction of Mahatma Gandhi, was crucial in helping the country achieve independence. Following independence, the Indian National Congress dominated politics, among other groups including the Communist Party, Hindu Mahasabha, and Jan Sangh (1954). The right to create and join any union or group of one's choosing is guaranteed under Article 19 of the Indian Constitution (Article 19(1)). Each Indian is therefore free to start their own political party or to affiliate with any political party of their choosing.

The Indian Election Commission gives comprehensive instructions for registering any political organisation as a political party. They are eligible to run for office after registering as a political party. They do not, however, have a unified emblem until they run for every seat in a specific election. As a result, the electoral commission has established the following rules for political parties in order to determine if they are national, regional, or registered parties. The requirements to become a national, regional, or registered party are as follows. The following requirements must be met in order to start a political party in India: It must only be made up of Indian nationals. It must identify itself as a political party formed only to run in

elections for the State Legislature, the Parliament, or local body elections, and it must have at least 100 registered voters among its members.

The Election Commission has established the following requirements for a "National Political Party of India" to qualify: It receives at least 6% of the valid votes cast in any four or more states during a general election for the House of the People or for the State Legislative Assembly; and additionally, it wins four seats or more from any State or States in the House of People. OR It obtains at least 2% of the seats in the House of the People (11 seats out of the 543 members now in the House), and these representatives are chosen from at least three different States. The Election Commission has established the following requirements in order to qualify as a "State Political Party." It obtains at least two seats in the Legislative Assembly of the State in question, as well as at least 6% of the valid votes cast in the State during a general election, either for the House of the People or for the Legislative Assembly of the State in question. It wins at least three seats in the Assembly, or at least three percent (3%) of the total number of seats in the State's Legislative Assembly, whichever is higher [3], [4].

Official Party

Political parties are recognised as registered parties when they adhere to all of ECI's requirements. They do not get a permanent symbol until they receive the necessary number of votes in a state or national election. They may, however, run for office as a political party.

Features of the Indian Party System

A political party must meet a number of requirements before registering with the Election Commission of India (ECI) (Vikaspedia) in accordance with Section 29 A of the Representation of the People Act. 1951 and Article 19 of the Indian Constitution. The following are key characteristics of the Indian political party system:

Various Parties System

Although the nature, quantity, and variety of political parties in India are clearly outlined in the Indian constitution. As a result, the public and politicians were left to make their own decisions on this matter. India's multi-party system so persisted. As a result, any Indian citizen may create and register a political party by fulfilling all the legal requirements with ECI. By March 2019, there were 2293 political parties officially registered in India. There are 59 recognised state-level parties, seven recognised national-level parties, and the rest political parties are just registered. The parties that are acknowledged get a symbol with which they are registered, whereas the unrecognised parties must choose from a list of "free symbols". India therefore has a democratic multi-party system. It also occurs as a result of India's enormous size and diverse social, cultural, political, and ideological makeup.

One Party Dominant System (OPDS)

The primary political organisations that fought for the country's independence before to Independence were the Indian National Congress (INC), various minor parties including the Communist Party, Hindu Mahasabha, and revolutionary groups like the HSRA of Shaheed Bhagat Singh. The liberation movement was, however, being led by the INC. The INC, led by Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, became the main political force after Independence as well. All parties involved acted carelessly. Professor Rajani Kothari referred to it as a "Congress system" in an article he wrote in 1964, which stated that a political culture that developed from congress and influenced other political parties as well. The One Party Dominant System (OPDS) was prevalent throughout this time period, which runs from 1947 to 1967. Following

the passing of Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri and the ascent of Indira Gandhi to the presidency, the prevailing system began to deteriorate. Many regional political groups and leaders have begun to gain ground. Shive Sena in Maharashtra, DMK in Tamil Nadu, etc. Are a few examples.

One Party Dominant System (OPDS)

A sort of unitary state known as a "one-party state," "single-party state," "one-party system," or "single-party system" is one in which one political party has the power to establish the government, often on the basis of the current constitution. All other parties are either forbidden from participating in elections or permitted to do so with strict restrictions. The phrase "de facto one-party state" is often used to characterise a dominant-party system that, unlike a one-party state, permits democratic multiparty elections (at least on paper), but where the rules of the game or the balance of political power effectively preclude the opposition from prevailing.

DISCUSSION

One-party nations use a variety of techniques to defend themselves. Most often, proponents of a one-party state claim that the presence of several parties is inimical to the common good. Others contend that because the one party represents the majority of the people, it is impossible to properly challenge its legitimacy to govern. The Soviet leadership claimed that many parties represented the class struggle, and as a result, the soviet union officially authorised and recognised the communist party of the soviet union as the party leading the proletariat. Only opposition parties are outlawed in certain one-party governments, which let affiliated parties to coexist as a part of a long-lasting alliance like a popular front. These parties must accept the governing party's monopoly of power in order to survive, yet they are primarily or entirely in the service of it. Parties that formed in one of the following three situations have dominated the majority of one-party states:

1. An ideology based on Marxism, Leninism, and global cooperation (such as that practised for the majority of time by the Soviet Union)
2. Any kind of nationalism or fascism (such as the national fascist party that rose to power in the kingdom of Italy when the country gained independence from colonial authority. Decolonization often results in one-party regimes because a single party becomes extremely dominant in liberation or independence battles.

One-party nations are often seen as autocratic, perhaps to the point of totalitarianism. However, not all totalitarian or authoritarian regimes are governed by a single party. Some governments, particularly absolute monarchs and military dictatorships, believe that they do not need a governing party and hence outlaw all political parties. In the West, governments where the governing party adheres to a variant of Marxism-Leninism are frequently referred to as "communist states." Such regimes, however, may not use that word themselves since they see communism as a stage that would occur when socialism reaches its complete maturity.

Lack of ideological coherence

It has been noted that all political parties in India claim to support one or more ideologies. None of them, though, are certain of where they stand. Politics based on vote banks are to blame. Every political philosophy faces criticism and contradiction in a varied nation like India. Political parties therefore soften their hard ideologies in an effort to win over voters and followers. Therefore, it may be claimed that although each party theoretically adheres to

one or more political ideologies, these ideologies are not evident in their organisational or electoral strategies. They become friends of the opposition in their drive for power [5], [6].

Character Cult:

The influence of a leader, not a political party, determines the outcome of an election. Since Jawaharlal Nehru, Indira Gandhi, Rajiv Gandhi (INC), Atal Vihari Vajpayee, L. K. Advani, and Narendra Modi (BJP) were all political leaders, the cult of personality has played a significant role in winning over supporters and voters. All national parties—aside from Communist parties—have recognised the importance of individuals. The SS's Balasaheb Thackrey and M. DMK leader Karunanidhi, J. Prakash Singh Badal of the Akali Dal, Lalu Prasad Yadav of the RJD, Mayawati of the BSP, Mulayam Singh of the SP, Chandrababu Naidu of the TDP, and K. Navin Patnaik (BJD), Chandrashekhara Rao (TRS), and others. Are the political party' founders and top leaders. They serve as the party's public face and may draw supporters, vote, and raise the necessary funds for the operation.

Developing Regional Parties:

Throughout the early decades of Independence, INC remained the primary political force. An "Umbrella organisation" described it. However, several political parties began to establish in various sections of the nation after 1965. Many influential congress party officials have begun to leave the INC and launch their own political parties. As a result, the INC has begun to resemble a 'Banyan' tree from which leaders and political entities sprang. In addition to raising the idea of "sons of soil," regional political parties are also aided by the cultural, linguistic, and demographic preferences of the populace.

Effective Opposition is Missing:

In a democratic government, the opposition plays a crucial role. It must keep an eye on how the governing administration conducts itself on a daily basis. It can always stop the anti-people and anti-constitutional measures, raise awareness, and mobilise large crowds. However, Indian political parties do not continue to be active after losing elections or power due to the country's unique political culture. The leaders lose interest in the people and their problems as soon as the party is defeated. Therefore, it is common to see politicians disregarding the needs of the people in state and federal legislatures.

Indian national political parties:

The political parties that are allowed to run in Indian elections are known as national parties. Some national parties were established before to India's independence. For instance, the Indian National Congress (INC), which was founded in 1885, is the country's oldest national party. The British government followed India's independence with. Gave the Indian National Congress leaders control of the country's governance. India currently has eight national parties. A national party is a registered party that is eligible for free broadcast time on state-run television and radio devoted to party activities or in support of the party, a reserved party emblem, and other benefits. The list of Indian national parties:

Indian National Congress (INC)

The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) is a political organisation that was created in India. Syama Prasad Mookerjee founded the Bharatiya Jana Sangh in 1951, which is where it got its start. The Bharatiya Jana Sangh was combined with other parties to establish the Janata Party after the emergency of I977. After the Janata Party was disbanded in 1980 to make way for the BJP, which included members of the former Jana Sangh party, it stayed in power for three

more years. The BJP's performance in the first election it ran in was dismal; it only succeeded in winning 2 Lok Sabha seats. The National Democratic Alliance (NDA), a coalition of right- and center-wing political groups, won the 1998 Lok Sabha elections under the leadership of the BJP and went on to form the government for 18 months under Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee. Again, after new elections in 1999, the NDA government took office, this time with Atal Bihari Vajpayee serving as prime minister for the whole five-year tenure. For the next 10 years, it remained the primary opposition party. Then, on May 26, 2014, Narendra Modi became India's 15th Prime Minister after the party won the general elections. During his time in office, Narendra Modi's popularity skyrocketed, and when the BJP won the 2019 Lok Sabha election, he was once again able to win the position of prime minister of India [7], [8].

The significance of the BJP's election symbol:

The electoral Commission of India has recognised the Lotus as the BJP's official electoral emblem. It has numerous meanings, including a national identity upheld by the BJP and the oneness of India's cultures. Cultural nationalism, which is the political philosophy of the BJP, is an adherence to Indian cultural values.

The INC is the Indian National Congress. The Indian National Congress was established in 1885 with the help and direction of British government officer Allan Octavian Hume. It was founded even before India gained independence, making it the oldest and first national party in the country. In 1947, India gained independence from British rule. Gave control of running India to the leaders of the Indian National Congress. Its inaugural meeting, attended by 72 delegates, took place in Bombay in 1885. Under Nehru's leadership, the congress was India's biggest party after the country was divided. The party had several difficulties after Nehru's passing. In 1966, Indira Gandhi, a Nehru family member, was elected prime minister of India. She didn't get backing from the influential right-wing faction in the assembly. As a result, in 1969, the party divided into two factions, one led by Indira Gandhi and the other by Morarji Desai.

Indira Gandhi led the Congress party to victory in two elections in 1971 and 1972, but her emergency rule cost them the election in 1977. After that, it regained control in 1980. Later, when she passed away, Rajiv Gandhi took control of Congress. After Rajiv Gandhi's death a few years later, her husband Sonia Gandhi was chosen to lead the Congress. After then, Congress regained control of India's government in 2004 with Manmohan Singh as its leader. Congress, however, lost the 2014 Lok Sabha elections by a wide margin. Rahul Gandhi, the son of Rajiv and Sonia Gandhi, was chosen as the party's leader after a period of time.

The "Right Hand" with the palm pointing forward is the Indian National Congress (INC)'s official election emblem, according to the Election Commission of India. Without any space in between, the fingers of the hand are connected or in contact with one another. The Congress under Indira Gandhi chose this emblem. 'Two bullocks with plough' was the Congress' prior emblem when it was established in 1885. When Indira Gandhi formed the New Congress and broke away from the previous organisation, she chose the hand as her emblem. Congress' emblem stands for power, harmony, and vigour.

Indian Communist Party (CPI)

One of India's national parties is the Communist Party of India (CPI). It adheres to communist philosophy. The communist movement in India, which was sparked by the 1917 Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia, was launched by this country's oldest political organisation. For the anti-imperialist fights in India, the CPI youth sought to uphold the

Marxist ideal in order to better the miserable living circumstances of the nation's working class. Various pieces of information concerning its formation are known. The CPI claims that their party was established on December 26, 1925, at the party's first convention in Kanpur. Cawnpore. The first General Secretary of the CPI was S.V. Ghate. However, it didn't operate officially until 1942. With the backing of the nation's trade unions, it targets problems affecting workers.

CPI's Election Symbol and Its Meaning

The electoral commission of India has allowed the use of maize ears and a sickle as the CPI's official symbols. Typically, the emblem is shown on a red flag. The communist party's fight is symbolised by the colour red. A sickle and corn ears indicate that the CPI is a party of farmers and workers who make their livelihood by working in the fields. As a result, it is connected to the oppression and working-class circumstances in society.

BSP, or the Bahujan Samaj Party

One of the political or national parties in India is the Bahujan Samaj Party, or BSP. It was established in 1984 by Dalit community member Kanshi Ram. The words Bahujan and samaj both mean "society," or "the majority of the people," respectively. The Bahujan Samaj's 'Social Transformation and Economic Emancipation' is the philosophy of the BSP, which primarily represents the oppressed groups in the nation, including the scheduled tribes, scheduled castes, other underprivileged classes, and religious minorities. Kanshi Ram was motivated by B.R.'s philosophy and teachings. Ambedkar. As a result, it was vehemently opposed to the "Manuwadi" social structure that was followed by upper-caste Hindu groups like the Brahmins and the richest members of society. Mayawati replaced Kanshi Ram as president of the BSP in 1993. Before losing the election to the Samajwadi party in 2012, Mayawati served as chief minister of Uttar Pradesh four times.

BSP's Election Symbol and Its Meaning

The Election Commission of India has accepted an elephant facing left as the BSP's official election emblem. This symbol has meaning since it stands for both physical and mental strength. In addition, this animal is quite tranquil. The emblem conveys that there are many lower-caste people and minorities in society, and that they have the fortitude to strive against tyranny from the higher caste and against it.

NCP, or Nationalist Congress Party

On May 25, 1999, the Nationalist Congress Party was established. Tariq Anwar, P.A. Sangma, and Sharad Pawar are among of the first NCP members. These three politicians were kicked out of the Indian National Congress for their adamant opposition to Sonia Gandhi, an Italian-born INC leader. Together, P.A. Sangma and Tariq Anwar established the Nationalist Congress Party, or NCP, as a new political entity. In order to create NCP, they and their supporters came together and convened at the Gurudwara on Rakab Ganj Road in New Delhi. This occasion is referred to as the nation's Red Letter Day. The NCP's other two leaders, P.A. and Tariq Anwar, as well as Sharad Pawar, were chosen at this meeting to serve as its president. Sangma was appointed general secretary. The NCP was subsequently recognised as a National Party by the Indian Election Commission. According to NCP, strengthening federalism and distributing authority all the way down to the village level would preserve India's identity and provide the poorer segments of society more influence. It holds that social fairness and non-discrimination should follow economic prosperity. In addition, NCP is against the parties' dictatorial style of operation. Despite having its

headquarters mostly in Maharashtra, it has grown in prominence in other states as well, including Gujarat, Bihar, Andhra Pradesh, West Bengal, Assam, Madhya Pradesh, etc.

NCP's Election Symbol and Its Meaning

The NCP's electoral emblem is a blue, analogue clock with the time 10:10 on it. It has two legs and an alarm button. On an Indian flag with three colours, it is drawn. The NCP's emblem represents the party's commitment to upholding its values and advocating on behalf of India's working class. As a result, its emblem upholds the ideals of great Indian leaders who battled for India's independence.

Marxist Communist Party of India

A national party in India is the Communist Party of India (Marxist). In 1964, it was formed. M.N. is one of the original CPI (M) participants. Evelyn Trent Roy, Mohammad Siddiqui, Mohammad Ali, Roy, and Abani Mukherjee. It is often referred to as CPIM. It was established as a result of certain Communist Party of India (CPI) members splitting out to form CPIM. It is a left-wing political party that upholds and advocates for social justice, a classless society, and social equality and is motivated by the teachings of Marx and Lenin. According to this party's claims, it is a national or political party of India's working classes that supports and advocates for the welfare and problems of workers, farmers, and other members of the agricultural sector. Tripura, West Bengal, and Kerala make up the majority of the party's support base. The Left Front coalition is headed by CPIM, which operates under the tenets of "Democratic Centralism." It has a hierarchical pyramidal structure, with the Polit Bureau at the top, which is in charge of making all significant decisions. Becoming a CPIM member is not simple. One must enrol in the party's regular lessons on the ideologies of Marx and Lenin in order to join at the base level.

The importance of CPIM's electoral symbol: The Election Commission of India has authorised a hammer and a sickle intersecting as the CPIM's official election emblem. Typically, it is shown with a red flag as the backdrop. The colour red denotes conflict. The intersecting tools demonstrate that it is a party of farmworkers and peasants who support themselves by labouring in the fields. Additionally, it stands for the fight against upper-class society's exploitation of downtrodden groups in society [9], [10].

Trinamool Congress of India (AITC)

The All India Trinamool Congress (AITC) was established in 1988 by Mamata Banerjee as a nationwide political organisation in India. It is also referred to as the AITMC or the Trinamool Congress.

It won the 2011 Vidhan Sabha elections in West Bengal, India, by defeating the Communist Party of India (Marxist), or CPIM. This is how it came to power. Mamata Banerjee is the creator of AITC. After over 20 years as a member of the Indian National Congress, Mamata Banerjee quit the organisation. In 1998, she quit Congress and started her own party.

AITMC and the BJP formed an alliance in 1999 as part of the NDA coalition at the federal level. In the UPA union, the AITMC formed an alliance with Congress for the 2009 general elections. It later joined forces with the United Progressive Alliance (UPA) government in September 2012 because to disputes with the UPA headed by Congress. With nineteen mps, the AITC now holds one of the top positions in the Lok Sabha. Along with West Bengal, other states like Manipur, Tripura, and Arunachal Pradesh also have significant populations of it. It has a significant portion of the seats in the Vidhan Sabha in these states.

AITC's Election Symbol and Its Meaning

The Election Commission of India has recognised the "twin flowers in the grass" as AITMC's official election sign. In West Bengal, this symbol is known as Jora Ghas Phul, which translates to "grass and two flowers." Similar to the tricolour Indian flag, the symbol features three colours. The importance of the party emblem is also shown by the party's motto, "Ma Maati Manush" (Mother Motherland and People). The flowers in the party's logo stand for its support of the social groups who are downtrodden and underprivileged.

People's National Party

India's national political party is called the National People's Party. However, Meghalaya is where it is most prevalent and has a significant population. After being kicked out of the NCP in 2012, P A Sangma formed it in 2013. After being acknowledged as a state party in the states of Manipur, Nagaland, Meghalaya, and Arunachal Pradesh, it was given the status of a national party on June 7, 2019. It is also the first North-Eastern Indian political party to achieve national status. P. A. Sangma said that the National People's Party will join the National Democratic Alliance (NDA) led by the Bharatiya Janta Party after its creation. It consists of northeastern political parties that backed the NDA. A former BJP MP named Kirodi Lal Meena headed the NPP, which took part in the Rajasthan assembly election in December 2013 and won four seats. But in 2015, the electoral commission suspended the NPP because it was unable to cover its expenses for the Lok Sabha elections.

NPP's Election Symbol and Its Meaning

The electoral commission has designated a book as the NPP's official election emblem. It represents the idea that the weakest segments of society can only be strengthened through literacy and education.

Regional party's function:

In India's parliamentary system, regional parties have been establishing themselves on a regular basis and taking on various functions. Even before the nation attained independence in 1947, certain parties, like the Shiromani Akali Dal (SAD) and the Jammu & Kashmir National Conference, were established. But once the nation won independence, the majority of other parties emerged. The number of state parties, which are generally categorised as regional parties, increased, especially after 1967, when the Indian National Congress's hold over the electorate of the nation, which had led the freedom struggle, started to wane. The Election Commission of India currently recognises about four dozen state parties, with another two dozen or so pending recognition. Some of them are now in charge in their respective states, while others are awaiting their chance to take the helm.

Taking advantage of the national parties' disregard for the political and economic interests of the area or even the state, regional parties have challenged the national parties and gained widespread electoral support. The Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee (SGPC), a religious institution, founded one of the first regional parties, the Shiromani Akali Dal, in 1920 to serve as the primary Sikh representation in undivided Punjab under British rule.

Currently, regional parties are in power in Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Delhi, Jammu & Kashmir, Nagaland, Odisha, Punjab, Sikkim, Tamil Nadu, Telangana, Uttar Pradesh, and West Bengal. They may also be in a coalition with a national party or with other parties. All of these parties have the common characteristic of being headed and controlled by a single figure, whose authority over party matters is unchallengeable. They are, in essence, ruled by a single leader and his or her close allies. In these parties, immediate family members and

relatives almost always have a lot of influence. Even political parties that justified their existence on ideological grounds have evolved over time into fiefdoms for one person or organisations that serve their own interests. As a result, under normal conditions, the lifespan of such parties should be strongly correlated with the life expectancy of their individual leaders. Another feature of the regional organisations is that family members, close friends, and relatives manage the party's business, with one of them inheriting the legacy of the party's head during their lifetime or after their death.

The Samajwadi Party (SP) has recently made headlines due to a long-simmering conflict between the supreme leader and his son that finally came to light. Therefore, it is intriguing to carefully examine the SP in order to comprehend the regional parties' historical development and prospects. Since its founding in 1992, the SP has ruled the largest state in the Indian Union, where it had previously held power for around ten years. At the Centre, it had also shared power. Mulayam Singh Yadav, the three-time chief minister of Uttar Pradesh and former minister of defence in the Indian government, created the party after leaving the Janata Dal. After the Mandal Commission report was accepted and put into effect in the early 1990s of the previous century, which explicitly elevated the role of identity politics in north India, Mulayam's political influence rapidly increased.

Coalition Administration:

When political parties work together to establish a government, it is known as a coalition government. No one party has typically won an absolute majority after an election, which is the common justification for such a system. In times of national hardship or disaster (such as during a war or economic crisis), a coalition government may also be formed in order to offer the government a high level of perceived political legitimacy or collective identity. It may also play a role in reducing internal political turmoil. Parties have established grand coalitions (national unity governments) and all-party alliances at such periods. If a coalition fails, a vote of confidence or a motion of no confidence is presented.

Parties may form coalition cabinets, backed by a legislative majority, or minority cabinets, which may include one or more parties, when a general election does not generate a clear majority for a single party. Governments founded on a coalition of parties with a parliamentary majority are more likely to be stable and last longer than minority governments. Although the former is prone to internal conflicts, they have less to worry about no confidence votes. As long as their majority can be maintained, majority governments based on a single party are often much more stable.

Election Procedures:

Since the 17th century, elections have been the primary method used to carry out representative democracy in contemporary times. Elections may be held to fill positions in the legislature, sometimes in the executive and judicial branches, as well as in regional and municipal government. Numerous other private and commercial organisations, including clubs, nonprofit organisations, and companies, also employ this procedure. The practise in the democratic archetype, ancient Athens, where elections were not used and were thought to be an oligarchic institution and most political offices were filled using sortition, also known as allotment, in which officeholders were chosen by lot, is in contrast to the practise in modern representative democracies. Election reforms refer to the process of establishing fair election systems when none already exist or of enhancing the fairness or efficacy of current systems. Psephology is the study of election results and other statistics, particularly in order to predict future outcomes. The act of electing or being elected is known as the election.

CONCLUSION

The political party scene in India is vibrant and ever-changing, with several parties operating at the national and local levels. The Indian National Congress, which was established during the war for independence, was crucial in determining the course of the country. Regional parties, however, rose to prominence throughout time, reflecting the different linguistic, cultural, and social fabric of the nation. Due to the lack of single-party majorities in many elections, coalition administrations have become a regular occurrence in Indian politics. To successfully rule under these coalitions, parties must band together, negotiate, and find common ground. In conclusion, the political party system in India is a lively and intricate mosaic that is always changing. It is distinct and essential to India's democratic path since it represents the nation's many identities and ambitions. In order to strengthen the foundations of democracy and serve the interests of all people, it will be crucial to strike a balance between local concerns and national goals as the political environment changes.

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CHAPTER 4

CASTE SYSTEM IN INDIA: ORIGINS, IMPACT AND CONTEMPORARY RELEVANCE

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ABSTRACT:

The caste system in India is a complicated and varied subject, and this paper explores its history, development, and effects on Indian politics and society. It investigates a number of theories from religious to philosophical to sociopolitical as to how the caste system came into being. Affirmative action programmes have been formed by historical circumstances and constitutional requirements, which are examined in the paper's discussion of the function of caste-based reservations in Indian politics. Additionally, it investigates how caste affects political participation, leadership choice, and electoral dynamics. The result highlights the necessity for a well-balanced strategy that fosters social equality while maintaining governance's effectiveness and meritocracy. In the future, India must maintain its initiatives to help underprivileged people while making sure that reservation laws are routinely reviewed and modified to reflect changing socioeconomic factors. Additionally, it is essential for the nation's long-term prosperity and social cohesion to promote a more diverse and meritocratic political culture that transcends caste connections. In the next years, research, discussion, and policy consideration will continue to centre on the complex structure of the caste system and its effects on Indian society and politics.

KEYWORDS:

Affirmative Action, Caste System, Constitutional Requirements, Historical Backdrop, India, Politics, Reservations, Socioeconomic Discrimination.

INTRODUCTION

In the argument between Aryans and non-Aryans, the post-Vedic Indian social and cultural order was primarily explained, defended, and criticised. With the untouchables being utterly denied any social or cultural space, it offered an ill-conceived social order in Hindu society that was split along the lines of the Chaturvarna four castes system, which included Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, and Shudras. It is said that Aryans who left India are to blame for this. The renowned sociologist G.S. Ghurey said, "They do, however, contain the first mention and a continuous history of the factors that make up the caste system". Although, in the past, standing in society was determined by one's abilities and efforts due to the division of work. The modern caste system is more subtly represented by the way that attitudes, behaviours, interpersonal relationships, and institutional structures are constructed.

Caste is a major factor in Indian politics. Political parties must maintain a balance in the representation of castes at different levels due to caste-based voting patterns. Distribution of tickets and the creation of ministries are done with consideration for caste equations, much like party seats and positions. In both local (Panchayat and Municipal) and assembly (Vidhansabha) elections, caste-based voting is one of the most successful patterns. Nevertheless, it matters in Lok Sabha general elections as well. The caste element has become a highly contentious topic and a delicate one to manage in current times. Because social injustice, violence, atrocities, and caste-based inequality still persist. The Indian

Constitution outlines specific reservation provisions for the socioeconomically and educationally underprivileged segments of society. Additionally, it gives the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe people access to the reservation. Caste-based claim has been more prevalent in the nation in recent years, with major castes such as the Jat, Gujjar, Lingayat, Reddy, Thakur, and Maratha requesting reservations. This has sparked a fresh discussion about the justification for and standards for casting-based reservations. Due to this widespread development, the Union Government passed legislation in 2019 granting 10% of the population's seats to those from economically disadvantaged backgrounds [1], [2].

The Portuguese term "Casta," which denotes a distinction in birth or race, is where the word "caste" originates. Its foundation is the Varna system. It was a sign of a group or clan coexisting, having similar cultural values, and often working in the same field. Because social relationships were unrelated to professions in this society, despite the existence of a cultural hierarchy, there was no social hierarchy at all. The 'noble beast' of Rousseau, however, developed into a self-centered, hungry, and cunning human being as civilization advanced and the amassing of resources of production and money began to take significance in society. As a result, caste in India has developed into a tool for establishing social position and location via birth. Casteism and the concept of caste are thus inextricably linked. Balmurali contends that what he says is a result of heterophobia and heterophilia since it aids in the monopolisation and hegemonization of power and resources.

According to renowned academic Balmurali Natrajan, heterophobia is a psycho-social dread of differences. This fear may manifest itself in a variety of ways, such as wanting to eliminate the bodies that represent the differences. Another possibility is that it's a type of heterophilia a predilection or Bourdieuian "taste" for differences; an ingrained ability to recognise and value differences guarantees recognition without necessitating awareness of the characteristics that make it unique. A person may alter the class system and belong to many classes at once, but one cannot change his or her own caste system, which refers to individuals based on property, business, or vocation.

The Merriam-Webster dictionary One of the hereditary social groups in Hinduism that limits its members' employment options and contact with people from other castes. The definition of a caste, according to Herbert Kisley, is "a collection of families or group of families bearing a common name that typically denotes or is associated with specific occupation, claiming descent from a mythical ancestor, human or divine, professing to follow the same heredity callings & regarded by those who are competent to give an opinion as forming a single homogenous community." "When a class is somewhat strictly hereditary, we may call it a caste," Charles Coole. In his book "History of Caste in India," Ketkar writes that a caste is a social group with two characteristics: (a) membership is restricted to those who are born of members and includes all individuals no born; and (b) the members are prohibited by an unbreakable social rule from marrying outside the group.

According to E. Blunt, "Caste is an endogamous group bearing a common name whose membership is hereditary, imposing on its members certain restrictions in matter of social intercourse, either following a common traditional occupation or claiming a common origin & generally regarded as forming a single homogenous community." The phrase "dominant caste" was initially used by M. N. Srinivas to describe the caste in a hamlet that is both numerically and politically powerful.

Caste system's nature:

Social relationships were not linked to one's work in this society, despite the fact that there was a cultural hierarchy in place. The 'noble beast' of Rousseau, however, developed into a

self-centered, hungry, and cunning human being as civilization advanced and the amassing of resources of production and money began to take significance in society. As a result, caste in India has developed into a tool for establishing social position and location via birth. Casteism and the concept of caste are thus inextricably linked. Because it facilitates what Balmurali believes is a result of heterophobia and heterophilia monopolisation and hegemonization over resources and power.

However, such a socioeconomic trend might be referred to as a violation of the "social contract." As the 'theory of social contract' promoted by Hobbes, Locke, and Rousseau is founded upon the conditions brought about by 'human nature' that led to the 'end of solitary' existence and establishment of the community, the State, and the Laws to give equal protection and happiness. In his foundational book on "Social Exclusion," Amartya Sen appropriately explains it by using the Aristotelian concept of "life" and Adam Smith's understanding of "deprivation [3], [4]."

Origin and Progress

One of the country's most ancient social structures is the caste system. Many hypotheses have been put out to explain how it emerged and changed over the many eras of human civilization. With the aid of the following hypotheses, we may comprehend the beginnings and progression of the caste system in India:

Conventional theory

Vedas, especially Rig The earliest literary works still in existence that make mention of the chaturvarna (four castes) system include the Vedic Purusha Sukta, Mahabharata, Bhagvat Geeta, Upanishad, and Manu Smniti. Although it is vigorously disputed and criticised, this belief holds that Lord Bramha formed the four castes from various portions of his body. Accordingly, the sociocultural status and position were set. Birth and Karma (deeds) were thought to be the dividing factors in society. Additionally, birth into a certain caste group dictated the vocational division.

A philosophy of religion

This argument contends that the absence of religious precepts led to the creation and development of the caste system. Religion was a major factor in both individual and societal life in ancient India. Religious morals and virtues were used to determine what was good and wrong, fair and unjust. The Brahmins were given the responsibility of mastering the texts, carrying out the ceremonies, and guiding the neighbourhood in issues of faith and spirituality. Kshatriyas were entrusted with the duty of overseeing and defending the clan. Coordinating the allocation of resources.

Vaishyas would handle the clan's trade, commerce, animal husbandry, and agriculture. Shudras, on the other hand, were charged with doing service via their manual work. As he explains the cause and intent of the caste system in sanatana dharma, Lord Krishna addresses Arjuna in the following manner:(Shloka 13 in Chapter 4 of the Bhagavad Gita). I divided humankind into four groups that varied in their traits and behaviours; despite my impermanence, I am the cause of this, the actor who never acts. Instead than focusing on birth, he places more importance on guna (aptitude) and karma (function). The varna, or order, to which we belong is unrelated to a person's gender, place of birth, or lineage. Varna is not defined by birth or genetics but rather by temperament and vocation. The Mahabharata claims that the universe was once made up of one class, but due to the unique obligations, it subsequently split into four divisions.

Even the line separating a caste from an outcast is arbitrary and unspiritual. The Brahmin and the outcaste are blood brothers, according to an old poem. Yudhishthira claims in the Mahabharata that caste mingling makes it difficult to determine a person's cast. Men have children with a variety of women. Caste is therefore only determined by behaviour. It is mentioned in the sayings of the wise. It relied on whether they had the necessary skills and certifications. The Rig Veda line that reads, "I am a poet, my father is a physician, and my mother grinds maize on stone," serves as evidence for this statement. We pursue money and pleasure like cows do in various pastures because we are involved in many vocations (Sharma 1996, 99). But when society's needs and times changed, cruel and crafty individuals used birth to establish caste and rank, which prepared the door for extreme brutality towards the defenceless Shudra caste. Their essential human rights and dignity were violated.

DISCUSSION

Political theory: According to Abbe Dubois, it was born out of the Brahmins' dominance the Brahmanism—theory. Different castes and subcastes developed in order to retain their dominance. "Caste is the Brahmin child of the Indo-Aryan culture, cradled in the Ganges and Yamuna and then transferred in other parts of the country," claims renowned Indian sociologist Dr. G. S. Ghuray. 1969 (Ghurey). The favoured classes, particularly the Brahmins, Khatriyas, and Vaishyas, were able to dominate political and economic power and its sources thanks to the rigidity of the caste system. Shudras and untouchables have traditionally outnumbered higher castes in terms of sheer numbers. In such situation, the caste system would be used to either make the sudras a governing class or deny them political power.

Occupational Theory: Caste is nothing more than the "systematisation of occupational differentiation," according to M. N. Srinivas. A hierarchy based on occupation was internalised. Similar to how a priest's offspring would become priests, a monarch's son would become a king, a jeweller's son would become a goldsmith, and so on. It is also important to highlight that because of the patriarchal nature of the culture, women were excluded from positions of power and privilege. The status and position of an individual or group in society are directly correlated with their level of employment. The concept of dignity and a person's employment were intimately related. However, the forces of globalisation and privatisation have removed this taboo in recent times. Anyone may now pursue a career, a company they are interested in, a job they want to, and a skill they want to learn. Due of this, the caste's occupational implications have been greatly diminished. Caste effects are increasingly being eliminated from public life.

Caste-System Characteristics

Regarding the origins, consequences, and present function of caste in Indian society, there is disagreement. However, it is important to comprehend the fundamental aspects of the caste system in order to eliminate its harmful consequences. In South Asia, there is a caste system. As a society, there are people from India, Pakistan, Nepal, Bhutan, Bangladesh, and Sri Lanka. Since it is founded on birth, all attempts at social mobility were rejected. It is impossible for anybody to alter the caste they are born into, as Dr. B. R. Amebedkar described it as being "a multi-story building without a staircase." As a result, societal stratification is quite strict. The qualities listed below make it easier to comprehend:

Exogamy and endogamy

Marrying inside one's caste fold is referred to as endogamy, while marrying outside one's caste fold is referred to as exogamy. It serves to protect the caste system. People still favour

only getting married inside their own caste. Marriages between different castes are discouraged. Even now, intercaste marriage faces a lot of opposition. Media stories of inter-caste marriage partners being killed or subjected to torture are common. Therefore, unless inter-caste marriage is recognised by society, no caste system reform or annihilation is feasible. The restriction on marriage, also known as endogamy or exogamy, is the foundation of the caste system, according to Westermarck. Exogamy is defined as "same caste but not same clean," or "Gotra." Inter-caste marriages may sometimes lead to honour killings as well. For instance, Khap Panchayats forbid marriages between members of the same clan or gotra [5], [6].

Social Structure

The foundation of the caste system is a levelled social hierarchy. It has a four-fold caste structure that includes Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, and Shudras. In contrast, Kshatiyas and Vaishyas are positioned at the base of the pyramid, followed by Brahmins. The Dalits and Shudras were positioned at the base of the pyramid. Upward mobility is viewed as a "sanskritaization" attempt. Individuals in lower social classes would copy or follow culture, language, way of life, celebrations, and traditions in order to psychologically benefit themselves against individuals in their own group. Additionally, it makes them feel good to be a part of elite culture. However, when they emulate westernisation, higher castes exhibit the same behaviours.

Hereditary occupations and occupational restrictions:

Traditionally, a person's caste in the system of castes was determined by their line of work. Vashyas would handle agriculture, trade, and commerce, Kshatiyas would govern, manage, and battle, and Brahmins would study knowledge and execute rituals. Shudras and untouchables, however, were forced to do tasks for castes above the first three. A blacksmith son, for instance, will always be a blacksmith. But once the Indian Constitution went into effect in 1950, these societal restrictions were eliminated. Additionally, this ritual-heavy, inflexible, illogical caste structure, as well as rewards and punishments based on birth, are becoming obsolete due to the forces of globalisation.

Economic inequality

The caste system and the state of the economy are intertwined. People in positions of authority in society were the first to get access to riches and knowledge, and as a result, they benefited first. As a result of being denied access to wealth, education, and fair remuneration for their labour, members of lower castes remained economically underdeveloped. According to Prof. Ghuray, "Segmental division of society," or "society is divided into different castes," is the reason why socially inferior groups like SC and ST experience the benefits of growth and advancement much later in life. There used to be 4 castes, but there are currently more than 3000 subcastes, according to Gurey (1969). There is a moral duty for every caste. All individuals are ethically obligated to uphold the laws and customs of their respective castes and subcastes.

The Indian Constitution and Caste-based Reserving

Reservation is an affirmative step the state takes to improve the wellbeing of the society's weaker groups. The majority of liberal democracies throughout the globe have similar policies to include the underprivileged segment of society in the process of development. We may refer to it as affirmative action or positive discrimination in simple words. Additionally, it attempts to spread the benefits of progress to all facets of society. The reserve is also

outlined in the Indian Constitution. Citizens from the Schedule Caste (SC), Schedule Tribe (ST), Other Backward Caste (OBC), and Economically Weaker Sections (EWS) categories are eligible to receive it. Besides, caste based quota, there are provisions for reservation of employment and places in educational institutions for the Women, differently able (divyang), minorities, Armed forces etc. The country's reservation system was established as a result of the socioeconomic circumstances that have persisted throughout the years. It is a means of giving the underprivileged and weaker members of society a chance to advance. It is carried out through allocating specific seats in employment, educational, and other public benefit programmes [7], [8].

Historical Setting of the Reservation

The caste-based reservation system was first developed in 1882 by William Hunter and Mahatma Jyotirao Phule. The 'Communal Award' was given out in 1933 by British Prime Minister Ramsay Macdonald, who also instituted the genuine system of reservation. A distinct electorate for Muslims, Sikhs, Indian Christians, Anglo Indians, Europeans, and Dalits was provided for under this strategy. The British government was attempting to split apart the independence-fighting Indians. It was also believed that by bestowing this honour, they were causing the hatred and discontent against the British that had arisen after the execution of Shaheed Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev, and Rajguru. Mahatma Gandhi protested the communal awarding policy by keeping a death-defying fast in Poona's Yerwada Jail. The "Poona Pact," which Gandhi and Ambedkar signed after protracted talks, established that there would be a unified Hindu electorate with certain reservations.

The authors of the constitution aimed to establish an egalitarian society after independence. The scs and sts group was offered reservations as a result. At the beginning, for a decade. The class of individuals who were economically and educationally disadvantaged made a demand, nevertheless. The Kaka Kalelkar Commission (1954) advocated reservation for the other backward (intermediary) castes. Again, the Mandal Commission was constituted by the Janata Party administration in 1978.

Advisory Commission

According to the terms of Article 340 of the Constitution, the commission was chosen. In December 1978, the President formed a committee on the underprivileged, with B serving as its head. Mandal, P. The commission was established to decide what constitutes India's "socially and educationally backward classes" and to suggest actions that should be done to promote such sections. According to the Mandal Commission, 27% of government positions in India should be set aside for obcs since they make up around 52% of the population. L.R. Naik, an ex-MP and the only member from the Dalit community, however, issued his dissenting remark (Mandal: 1980). The Commission has not only defined backward classes among Hindus but also among non-Hindus (such as Muslims, Sikhs, Christians, and Buddhists).

Constitutional Rules Governing Indian Reservation

Employment and promotion discrimination:

Articles 15(4) and 16(4) of the Indian Constitution allow for the reservation of seats in government employment, while Part XVI of the Indian Constitution deals with the reservation of SC and ST communities in Central and State legislatures. The 77th Amendment to the Constitution Act. Subclass 4A, which was added to Article 16 in 1995, allowed for reservations in promotions. With the help of the Constitution (85th Amendment)

Act, Class 4A was further altered. 2001. It gave SC and ST corresponding seniority in promotions. The Constitutional (81st) Amendment Act of 2000 added Article 16 (4 B), allowing the state to fill any SC/ST-reserved seats that remain unfilled from one year in the next year, thereby removing the cap of 50% reservation on the total number of vacancies for that year.

Institutionalised racism in politics:

Through the reserve of seats for scs (84) and sts (47) in the Parliament (Lok Sabha) and the State Legislative Assemblies, respectively, Articles 330 and 332 guarantee particular representation. In every Panchayat, seats are reserved for scs and sts under Article 243D. In every Municipality, seats are reserved for scs and sts under Article 233T. According to Article 335 of the constitution, the demands of sts and sts must be taken into account while ensuring the administration's effectiveness.

Economically weaker classes are given preference:

The "economically backward" now have a 10% reservation in government positions and educational institutions according to the Constitutional (103rd Amendment) Act of 2019. "At the present, the economically weaker sections of citizens have largely been kept out of higher educational institutions and public employment on account of their financial inability to compete with the person who is economically more privileged," the statement reads. In order to guarantee that the impoverished "get a fair chance" in life, the bill (103 Amendment Bill 2019) intends to change the Constitution. The Constitution's Articles 15 and 16 were changed to provide the economically disadvantaged groups of society a 10% reserve.

Significant Cases and Judicial Review

Smt. In The State of Madras v. The Champakam Dorairajan case, which was heard in 1951, resulted in the First Amendment being included into the constitution as the Supreme Court's first significant ruling on the reservation problem. In the case, the Supreme Court emphasised that although Article 16(4) of the Constitution allows for reservations in behalf of the underprivileged class of people when it comes to employment with the State, Article 15 does not include any comparable language. Clause was included into Article 15 by the Parliament, in accordance with the Supreme Court's ruling in the case.

In the 1992 case of Indra Sawhney v. Union of India, the court considered the reach and application of Article 16(4). According to the Court, promotions should not include reservations, the overall reserved quota should not be more than 50%, and the creamy layer of obcs should not be included on the list of beneficiaries of reservations. In response, the Parliament passed the 77th Constitutional Amendment Act, which included Article 16(4A). If the communities are not properly represented in public employment, the provision gives the state the authority to reserve seats in favour of SC and ST in promotions in the public services.

In M., the Supreme Court. While upholding the constitutional validity of Art. 16(4A), the Nagaraj v. Union of India 2006 case held that any such reservation policy must satisfy the following three constitutional requirements in order to be valid: The SC and ST community must be socially and educationally backward. In public employment, the SC and ST populations are not sufficiently represented. Such a reservation strategy won't have an impact on the administration's general effectiveness.

The Supreme Court ruled in the 2018 case of Jarnail Singh v. Lachhmi Narain Gupta that the state is not required to gather quantitative evidence on the backwardness of the Scheduled

Castes and Scheduled Tribes in order to provide quota in promotions. According to the Court, SC/sts are also subject to the creamy layer exclusion, hence the State is unable to provide promotions to SC/sts who are part of the community's creamy layer. The Karnataka statute that permits reservations in promotions for scs and sts with consequential seniority was affirmed by the Supreme Court in May 2019.

Reservations are therefore one of the most effective means of achieving social and economic empowerment. Thus, the Caste status and reservation arose as a focal point of political expression among both the untouchable and the Shudra poor in the cities, according to professor Zoya Hassan. The two groups' social movements differed, principally due to their unique vocational and social positions in towns and their divergent reactions to conflict and completion in rural and urban society. The government supported a protected discrimination policy that excluded obcs from government employment and reserved seats in legislatures and universities for members of the Scheduled Castes.

Caste's influence in politics

According to MN Srinivas, "caste politics" "signify a wide range of political activity and theorising founded in the shared experience of injustice to a member of certain social groups." As a result, caste has distinct effects at different levels, i.e. Local, legislative, and federal levels. The following points may be made in relation to caste and the Indian political system:

Caste influences political activism and leadership hiring

Caste is a significant factor in the mobilisation of voters in India. Playing the caste card during an election is a simple way to get support from the public. Voters are swayed by caste interests to support candidates from their own caste. The majority of the time, caste has been a source of pride, thus when picking a leader or showing an interest in a political party, the leader's beliefs or the party's stance towards a certain caste also play an important role.

Casteism's spread during the election

Members of various political parties tend to act politically in a caste-based manner. Political parties' ideals and philosophies are also caste-based. Whether or not caste should be a factor in election-related propaganda depends on the number of that caste in that area. Whether a candidate will be able to win the support of a certain caste or castes is taken into consideration when choosing candidates for a seat. Even the caste of the person making the recommendation for the position matters.

When a single caste is unlikely to be successful, politicians or voters establish caste-based alliances. Even party office holders are chosen based on caste to appease a particular caste group inside the party and the electorate. In order to mobilise support and provide the politically uneducated and illiterate masses of India a chance to participate in the contemporary democratic process, the political system in place today supports the usage of caste.

Local self-government and caste:

Caste is very important to how Panchayati Raj institutions operate. The main barrier to the proper operation of Panchayati Raj institutions has been caste-based division in rural India. Caste serves as a political pressure group in politics as well. Along caste lines, political negotiations are also conducted. To organise caste members for intercaste negotiations, caste organisations have formed.

Caste in Indian politics as a separating and unifying force:

In order to mobilise support and provide the politically uneducated and illiterate masses of India a chance to participate in the contemporary democratic process, the political system in place today supports the usage of caste. However, it also creates an unhealthy power struggle and serves as a unifying factor.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, it can be said that India's caste system is a deeply ingrained social structure with intricate sociopolitical, religious, and historical foundations. Over the years, it has changed from being mostly defined by employment and talent to being primarily determined by birth. The caste system continues to influence Indian society, culture, and politics despite modifications and adjustments. Reservations based on caste have been essential in rectifying past injustices and giving marginalised people opportunity. The quota system, however, also confronts issues with its execution and the ability to keep caste-based differences alive. For Indian policymakers, achieving a balance between advancing social equality and maintaining government efficiency is a crucial task. In India, caste continues to play a considerable role in politics, affecting voting patterns, candidate preferences, and political coalitions. Caste-based mobilisation may provide voice to marginalised communities, but it also has the ability to sow discord and obstruct the achievement of more general national objectives.

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CHAPTER 5

CHALLENGES AND PROSPECTS OF INDIA'S TRIBAL COMMUNITIES: A COMPREHENSIVE STUDY

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ABSTRACT:

Tribes are a unique group of people. They are quite close to nature. They endure significant suffering as a result of internal and external issues such as superstition, drug misuse, illiteracy, and exploitation by business interests, criminal elements, and politicians. Thus, in order to safeguard the identity, culture, language, and traditions of the tribal peoples throughout the nation, the national commission for tribals must approach their challenges with more vigour. Additionally, they must be integrated into the core of national growth in terms of technology, health, and education. To improve India for everybody, the potential of the more than 10% of the people should be exploited and used. With 8.6% of the people living in tribal groups, India is a diversified country. These tribes are quite diverse in terms of their cultures, languages, and ecological makeup, yet they all face the same problems, such as political underrepresentation, hard times, and discrimination on the basis of their ethnicity. Tribal groups struggle with issues like caste identity being distinct from tribal identity and the loss of traditional livelihoods yet having distinct identities. This article examines the several problems plaguing India's tribal community, including differences in geography and demographics, economic illiteracy, health challenges, and the fear of eviction. It also emphasises the need for thorough policies that safeguard tribal cultures while incorporating them into a larger national development goal.

KEYWORDS:

Cultural Exclusion, Education Growth, Health, Social.

INTRODUCTION

India's society is varied and diversified. The term "tribes" refers to the oldest and most traditional of groups. Based on the word's use in ancient Buddhist and Puranic literature, "jana" or "communities of people" is sometimes taken to be the local counterpart of the term "tribe" in India. The name "jana" was employed in this notion to denote that these societies were outside the jati or hierarchical caste system of social structure, in contrast to the term "jati" . After Africa, it has the second-largest population of tribal communities worldwide. The term "tribe" has social and cultural aspects, but the term "Scheduled Tribe" has political and administrative consequences. In India, the tribal community makes up around 8.6% of the total population. They stand for the great variety of groupings.

'The tribal community itself is quite diverse. They differ from one another in terms of their spoken languages, linguistic characteristics, ecological environments in which they reside, physical characteristics, population size, the degree of acculturation, prevalent means of subsistence, level of development, and social stratification. Despite their distinctiveness, tribal communities face some of the same problems, including inadequate political representation, economic hardship, and cultural prejudice. The political voice of the tribes has, in particular, remained marginal.

They struggle with two main issues: the first is the separation of caste from tribal identity, and the second is the separation of peasants from tribes. However, non-tribal groups may learn a lot about how to respect and preserve the environment, about ecology, about culture, and about how to acquire life skills from them. A tribe, according to the Imperial Gazetteer of India, is a group of families with the same name, who speak the same dialect, claim to live in the same area, and are often not endogamous, though this may have been the case in the past. "A tribe is a group of people in a primitive or barbarous stage of development acknowledging the authority of a chief and typically regarding themselves as having a common ancestor," according to the Oxford Dictionary. According to D.N. Majumdar, a tribe is a social group that has a territorial attachment, is endogamous, does not have any tribal officials who have unique tasks, and is unified in language or dialect while acknowledging social difference from other tribes or castes [1], [2]. According to T.B. Naik, tribes in the context of India have the following characteristics:

1. Within a community, a tribe should have the least functional reliance.
2. It should be economically backward (i.e., use primitive methods to utilise natural resources, have a rudimentary tribal economy, and engage in a variety of economic activities).
3. The population should be somewhat isolated geographically.
4. They need to speak a same dialect.
5. A tribe should have customary rules, and tribes should be politically organised with a powerful communal panchayat.

According to Naik, in order for a group to qualify as a tribe, it must have each of the aforementioned traits, and a very high degree of acculturation to outside civilization disqualifies it from doing so. This phrase often refers to a social group bonded by kinship and responsibility and related with a certain location.

Tribal traits: Tribal tribes in India have seen great eras. The Gondwana Empire is proof of it. However, they endured a great deal of discrimination, repression, exploitation, and criminalization under the British government. Non-Regulatory Provinces were established by Regulation XIII of 1833 for the purposes of civil and criminal justice, collecting land taxes, etc. One flagrant infringement of the right to dignity is the British government's designation of certain indigenous populations as "criminal tribes."

In 1950, the Indian constitution provided specific provisions for the SC and ST communities under Article 342 of the constitution.

According to the Constitution's Fifth Schedule, Scheduled places are "such areas as the President may by order declare to be." Currently, the fifth schedule area is announced for 10 states: Andhra Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Gujrat, Himachal Pradesh, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Odisha, Rajasthan, and Telangana.

The 5th and 6th Schedules do not apply to tribal autonomous zones that are created by the parliament or state legislatures. As an example, consider the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council, Kargil Autonomous Hill Development Council, and Leh Autonomous Hill Development Council.

Geographical and Demographic Facts: The 'tribal' or 'Adivasis' of India make up 10.42.81.034 people, or 8.6% of the total population. 698 Scheduled Tribes are included in India's Draught National Tribal Policy from 2006. There are 705 distinct tribes recognised as Scheduled Tribes in India as per the Census of India 2011.

Demographic Make-Up

It extends into the states of West Bengal, Odisha, Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Gujarat, Rajasthan, Andhra Pradesh, and Telangana. About 12% of the population lives in the North-Eastern area, 5% in the Southern region, and 3% in the Northern states. The Mundas, Oraons, and Santhals predominate in Jharkhand and West Bengal, whilst the Bhils and Gonds are located in MP, Maharashtra, and portions of Rajasthan. The Chenchus, Todas, and Kurumbas as well as tiny, endangered Andaman populations like the Jarawas, Onge, and Sentinelese live in the southern region. The Naga and Kuki tribes (Nagaland, Manipur), Khasis (Meghalaya, Assam), Garos (Assam, Mizoram, Meghalaya), Mizos (Mizoram), Bodos (Assam), and Chakmas (Mizoram-Bangladesh) are all quite prevalent in the North-East area of India. Even while each tribe has distinctive qualities, they are all measured against the same criteria when it comes to representation and policy-making.

Some of the tiniest tribes, such the Great Andamanese, Onge, Jarawa, and Sentinelese, are found on the Islands, which are governed as a Union Territory by the Central Government. Only little more than 1% of the tribal population speaks an Indo-European language, with the Bhil and Halbi tribes making up the two largest groupings. Languages from the Dravidian family are spoken by the Gond, Khond, Koya, Oraon, and Toda tribes, among others. The tribes of Northeast India and the Himalayas speak Tibeto-Burman languages. Only the Santhal, Munda, and Ho are native speakers of the Austro-Asiatic family of languages [3], [4].

Natural Resources and Tribes

Districts with a high concentration of tribal people contain more than 50% of the country's natural resources and minerals. However, it is seldom employed to improve the indigenous peoples' economic situation. The mineral reserves in states like Jharkhand, Odisha, and Chhattisgarh are sizable. Examples include: 70% for coal, 80% for iron ore, 60% for bauxite, and approaching 100% for chromite. About half of the mineral-producing districts are tribal districts, according to the Centre for Science and Environment.

DISCUSSION

 More than 100 million indigenous people live in India. They are covered under the constitution's Fifth and Sixth Schedule clauses, which date back to 1949. The sixth schedule applies to the north-eastern areas along the borders with China and Myanmar, while the fifth schedule is in force in the states with a disproportionately large tribal population. The areas of Assam, Tripura, Meghalaya, and Mizoram are covered under Article 244 of the Indian Constitution's 6th Schedule. In Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram, and Tripura, Article 280 was revised in 2019 to improve the financial resources, authority, and autonomy of the hill councils. This schedule gives the District and Regional Hill Councils the authority to pass legislation on a variety of topics and to receive funding from the Consolidated Fund of India for different development projects and programmes, including those pertaining to agriculture, roads, education, health care, and community welfare. Tribal communities are undoubtedly among the most vulnerable populations in the nation. They continue to live apart from modern development. Despite committing horrendous crimes on them, the British government also developed its own administrative systems. The Adivisis have consistently revolted against the horrors committed by the British. Major Adivasi uprisings against the British occurred during the Satal Hul of 1855–1856; the Birsa Ulgulan of 1895– 1900; the Tana Bhagat Movement of 1914– 1920; and the Bastar bhumkal of 1910.

The District Hill Councils play a crucial role in the centralization of administration and the preservation of the tribal community's traditions, culture, and ethnic-linguistic identity. However, these hill councils often watch helplessly as law and order breaks down, interstate rivalries arise, and racial hostilities flare up. They faced an even bigger hurdle since they lacked their own financial resources. The 6th schedule is still subject to state administrative power, although it is exempt from or only partially subject to legislative and parliamentary actions. They have been granted with limited civil and criminal judicial authority, such as the creation of village courts for minor disputes. However, they are subject to the high court's authority in the particular state or states. There are 13 independent district councils spread over six significant northeastern states.

Provisions in the Constitution and Policies Affecting Tribes: The 73rd Amendment Act of the Constitution (1993) mandated the establishment of panchayats, or councils, at the village, intermediate, and district levels in every state. However, once elected panchayats replaced traditional tribal administrations, Adivasi organisations filed a lawsuit, and the Andhra Pradesh High Court decided in 1995 that a separate legislation was required for scheduled territories. As a result, the Provisions of the Panchayats (Extension to the Scheduled Areas) Act (PESA) was approved by Parliament in December 1996. Since many of the Sixth Schedule's provisions relating to customary law are also included in the Fifth Schedule, those areas are covered by this act. In reality, PESA specifically seeks to implement Fifth Schedule regions with arrangements similar to those in the Sixth Schedule. A number of provisions in PESA require that "State legislation on the Panchayats... shall align with the customary law, social and religious practises and traditional management practises of community resources" and that "every Gramme sabha [village assembly] shall be competent to safeguard and preserve the traditions and customs of the people, their cultural identity, community resources and the customary mode of dispute resolution." However, the majority of states have not yet enacted the necessary laws to put the act into effect, and authorities often choose to ignore its requirements [5], [6].

A number of constitutional provisions are directed towards Adivasis as individual citizens, in addition to the Fifth and Sixth Schedules, PESA, and other laws. These include Article 15 (4), which permits special provisions for the advancement of socially and educationally disadvantaged classes; Article 16 (4a), which permits reservations in government services; Article 275 (1), which relates to central grants-in-aid to states for the specific purpose of scheduled tribe welfare; Articles 330, 332, and 335, which stipulate seats for scheduled tribes in the Parliament, state assemblies, and services; and Article 339, which requires the appointment of scheduled tribe representatives to state boards of education and other government bodies. The second, fourth, and fifth five-year plans all included specific plans for tribal development in the form of multifunctional tribal blocks, tribal development agencies, and tribal subplans.

Tribal Land and Displacement Issues

The fundamental tenet of "sustainable development" is progress with a human face. However, owing to projects like roads, bridges, dams, factories, mining, hydroelectric projects, etc., the indigenous people constantly struggle with the issue of relocation. The indigenous people are uprooted and forced to leave their homes due to inadequate planning and restoration policies. Examples of current projects include the POSCO steel mill in Odisha, the Sardar Sarovar dam project, the Hirakund and Upper Indravati hydropower projects in Orissa, and the Bailadilla iron mine in Bastar. The two major axes of tribal politics, besides relocation, are conflicts over the forest and run-ins with the law. According to Xaxa (2014), 40% of people uprooted by dam construction are members of Scheduled Tribes. About 8% of the population

of the nation is made up of Scheduled Tribes, who are disproportionately represented among the internally displaced.

For many ages, the indigenous people have called this location home. They live there naturally as residents. However, neither the British nor the independent Indian governments were interested in providing land ownership documentation to the local tribals. The government often exploits the pretext of development, forestry laws, or environmental restrictions to drive out innocent tribes.

Social and cultural exclusion

The tribal people and their culture are often portrayed as primitive and inferior in popular culture and mainstream media. Tribal populations have been more marginalised as a result of the rising westernisation of India, particularly against indigenous tribes. The culture, tradition, and practises, on the other hand, are on the verge of extinction. For their festivals, arts, crafts, languages, dialects, and writing systems to continue, there is a great need for preservation, support, and exposure on a worldwide scale.

Granting to safeguard their minority interests, tribal tribes need specific protection. Numerous tribal cultures worship the natural world or practise other faiths like Christianity or Islam. As a result, tribal strife among tribes is increasing. They suffer from communalism, and religious conversion makes their lives and rights uncertain. Although the tribals primarily revere the natural world, they have a serious issue with the rivalry among religious organisations to win over or keep them as members.

Economic Backwardness: One of the biggest issues is the economic inequality among tribal people. Their lives are made worse by unemployment and exploitation as a result of the loss of natural and forest resources. They are in extreme poverty. Children and women from indigenous tribes get the best nutrition in the nation. Many health issues result from this. Poverty interferes with their ability to grow. Because they lack sufficient documentation, many of them are unable to take advantage of government-sponsored social programmes for health, food, education, and work. The development of these tribal villages has been hampered by a significant funding gap between the authorised budget and the monies provided by the state government. Additionally, they rely on state governments to make judgements on the implementation of regional development initiatives. Development in these areas is seen as a non-event due to the pervasive corruption. The lethargic execution of the development work is the consequence of a lack of cooperation between the State governments and the Department of Planning and Development, Hill Areas Department, and the Autonomous councils.

Illiteracy

According to the 2011 Census, 73% of people are literate, while just 59% of STs are. State-to-state differences in literacy rates exist. According to the 2011 Census, India's literacy rate is 72.9 percent, compared to 59% for scheduled tribes. Mizoram has the greatest number of scheduled tribes literate citizens (91.7%), while Andhra Pradesh has the lowest rate (49.2%). Lakshadweep has the highest percentage of scheduled tribes who are literate among union territories (91.7%). According to census 2011 statistics, several states with a larger proportion of indigenous residents have been performing very well. They are Meghalaya (74.5%), Mizoram (91.5%), Nagaland (80.0%), and Manipur (77.4%). While certain states with a higher concentration of native settlements continue to do poorly. They are Madhya Pradesh (50.6%), Orissa (52.2%), Rajasthan (52.2%), Andhra Pradesh (49.2%), Jharkhand (57.1%), and Orissa (52.2%). In Odisha, the Schedule Tribe's total literacy rate rose from 23.4% in

2001 to 41.2% in 2011. Despite this increase, it was still below the national average of 47.1% (Source: Data Highlights from the 2011 Scheduled Tribes Census in India).

Superstition, cleanliness, and health:

The tribal people revere nature and local deities. They prefer using natural remedies or paying homage to the deity when they are unwell or experiencing health issues. Witchcraft and superstition are also widely practised. Many of them wind up experiencing several health risks as a result of their ignorance and neglect. In the pretext of carrying out rituals and practising witchcraft, tantriks take advantage of them. Additionally, they are compelled to lead an unsanitary lifestyle due to their way of existence. The indigenous women in particular have several gynaecological issues. Additionally, the tribal population is susceptible to serious ailments as a result of alcohol, tobacco, and other drug usage. As a result, everyone—men, women, and children—faces a variety of health problems, which is bad for their growth.

Tribals are the worst victims of Naxal violence, according to the Naxalite Movement. Innocent tribes living in those areas have been killed and injured as a consequence of the violent struggle between the Naxals and the security forces. states where indigenous people experience double punishment include Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Bihar, Odisha, and West Bengal. In Chhattisgarh, the Salwa Judum counter-insurgency campaign has resulted in rapes, killings, arson, looting, and intimidation in the name of eradicating the Maoists.

According to a study done by researcher Dr. Varnika Sharma, "92% of rebels had joined the movement because of their attraction towards the 'Army-like' green uniform, guns, Maoist influence among villagers, aside from obsession for dance, sloganeering and other activities of Chetna Natya Manch (a cultural outfit of Maoists)." The oversimplification of the issues, however, is what pushes the tribal groups into the Naxalite network. Among other significant issues, she listed poverty, unemployment, and personal/family animosity as reasons why rebels joined the organisation.

The same report surprisingly claims that "none of them were influenced by the Maoist ideology to enter into guerrilla warfare." According to Ms. Sharma, the data also shows that the majority of cadres (approximately 33%) quit the movement because they were pleased by the government's surrender policy, while 25% of them departed because of sickness. In addition, 17% of the Naxals left the movement owing to internal strife and disagreements among the organisation's top leaders, while 13% left due to senior cadres' exploitation (The Hindu: 2015). They are often threatened by the Naxals for access to resources, money, food, and shelter, and the police torture them for supposed involvement with the Naxals. As a result, they are left with no option for a quiet existence [7], [8].

Threatening Market-Politics-Mafia Nexus:

Politicians, the market, and criminal groups all harm the indigenous people. When they band together, they make it exceedingly difficult for tribal people to live. The corporate interests, contractors, and industrialists who go to these regions in search of land and forest resources often work together with corrupt and self-serving politicians. The local authorities also discovered connections between smugglers, poachers, and criminals who engage in illicit mining, logging, animal slaughter, and encroachment on forest areas. As a result, they are made to do forced work or bonded labour. Without sufficient safety precautions, they are forced to do hazardous tasks. It is often brought up that these people physically mistreat the indigenous women.

CONCLUSION

Tribal groups in India make up a significant and diversified portion of the population, yet they are nonetheless forced to deal with a number of issues that impede their development and well-being. These issues range from relocation brought on by development initiatives to illiteracy, superstition, and health inequities, and they touch on economic, social, cultural, and political elements. Comprehensive policies that not only safeguard the distinctive identities, customs, and traditions of tribal peoples but also incorporate them into the larger context of national development are urgently needed in order to successfully address these concerns. To ensure a more inclusive and egalitarian India, it is crucial to empower tribal populations via access to economic, medical, and educational opportunities while also preserving their traditional and environmental values.

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CHAPTER 6

EMPOWERING WOMEN IN INDIAN POLITICS: CHALLENGES, PROGRESS AND THE PATH FORWARD

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ABSTRACT:

Due to improved possibilities and literacy rates, women's political engagement in India has advanced significantly in recent years. This development should not, however, obscure the reality that women continue to experience political exclusion. Government and society must provide women the same possibilities and chances for involvement in order to achieve real gender equality. Legislative actions, public awareness initiatives, and the reserve of seats for women in political bodies may all help to achieve this aim. Despite the long history of women in politics in India, current figures reveal a significant gender disparity in political representation. This paper examines the difficulties women in Indian politics confront, the historical background of women's political involvement, and proposed solutions to the issue of women's underrepresentation in political decision-making. Women have unquestionably advanced in Indian politics despite significant obstacles. The role and influence of women have grown due to increased opportunities and literacy. However, it would be incorrect to assume that women are no longer isolated politically. There is much work to be done. Women should be given equal opportunity and involvement by the government and society. It is feasible thanks to legislation, public awareness campaigns, and seat reservations for women.

KEYWORDS:

Culture, Decision-Making, Political, Women's Political.

INTRODUCTION

In a patriarchal culture, males have rights and women are expected to fulfil obligations. When women are given equal access to political and decision-making authority, the situation worsens. As a result, patrilineal governments continue to dominate most contemporary democracies. Their established constitutions serve as a reflection of the patriarch's authority. Take the Indian law about women's reservations. In all South Asian nations, patriarchal attitudes and social practises maintain gender inequality, according to UNICEF findings. Every element of a child's future is impacted by discriminatory practises, which start even before birth (UNICEF). In every civilization, women make up around half of the population. But compared to this number, they are never fairly represented in society or in political structures. Women's representation and gender equality are long-standing demands. The French Declaration of Man's and Citizen's Rights, adopted in 1789, offended women.

Additionally, they planned a symposium and issued a rival statement on "Rights of Women and Citizens." In addition, women were excluded from powerful roles in politics and society. For instance, even though the US attained independence in 1776 and ratified the Bill of Rights in 1791, women were forced to wait until 1920 to exercise a basic political right and democratic value the right to vote. In a similar vein, the UK, the mother of democracies, only granted women's voting rights in 1928. In 1944, women received universal suffrage in France. It shows how reluctantly patriarchal American and European culture and politics are.

South Asian countries have a low proportion of women in politics, although they have always allowed both men and women to vote at the adult age.

Mary Wollstonecraft's 'A Vindication of the Rights of Woman: With Strictures on Political and Moral Subjects' title page from the American version published in 1792. It was one of the most innovative books of the 19th century, strengthening the feminist cause. The first feminist philosopher, Christine de Pisan, challenged traditional views of women by making a forceful argument for female education in late 14th and early 15th century France. Later in the century, Laura Cereta, a Venetian woman, who lived in the 15th century, picked up her mantle and published Epistolae familiares (1488; "Personal Letters"; English translation: Collected Letters of a Renaissance Feminist), a collection of letters that addressed a variety of women's complaints, from the denial of education and marital oppression to the frivolity of women's attire (Brunell, L. Raja Mohan Roy, Mahatma Jyotirao Phule, and Savitribai Phule all made significant contributions to women's emancipation in India [1], [2].

India is ranked 153rd out of 190 countries in terms of the proportion of female lawmakers in the lower house. The Inter-Parliamentary Union created a list, and Rwanda came out on top with 61% of its lower house delegates being female. The average percentage of women represented globally is around 22%. The percentage of female MPs in India is much lower, at 14.44% (as of 2019 statistics). India's condition is worse than that of other nations in South Asia. Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Pakistan, and Nepal are now lagging behind it. The data listed above provide an unflattering image of women's involvement in South Asian politics. Nordic nations (including Finland, Iceland, Norway, Sweden, and the Faroe Islands) top the area with an average of roughly 40%. With 32% and 23%, respectively, the UK and the US are lagging behind. Despite being relatively moderate, the latest congressional elections saw exceptionally high results for women, which supports the country's existing standing. Even Pakistan, where women make up 20% of the workforce, is superior than India.

Only 21 nations have female heads of state or government, while 119 nations have never had a female head of state. Parity in the most important political choices won't be achieved at the present pace for 130 more years. There are only 10 nations with a female head of state, and 13 with a female head of government. Only 14 nations have attained 50% or more women in cabinets, with women making up only 21% of government ministers. Gender parity in ministerial seats won't be reached until 2077 with a mere 0.52 percentage point rise per year. Family/children/youth/elderly/disabled, followed by Social affairs, Environment/natural resources/energy, Employment/labour/vocational training, and Women affairs/gender equality, are the five portfolios that women ministers hold the most often.

It is not adequate in terms of Indian circumstances. Even though the Indian Constitution guaranteed equal rights for all citizens, including the ability to vote, run for office, hold public office, and create or join unions and associations, their participation in elected bodies is still low. ADR reported in 2019 that "Women are even less represented in Assemblies than in Parliament." Only around 9% of the state assemblies' members are female MLAs. The Constitution (108th Amendment) Bill, often known as the Women's Reservation Bill, which sought to allocate one-third of seats in the Lok Sabha and all Legislative Assemblies to women, has expired. About 50% of them are victims of child marriage in terms of their social lives. One out of every two females gets married before becoming 18 years old. According to a UNICEF study on gender, the prevalence is 47% in India, 52% in Bangladesh, 37% in Nepal, and 33% in Afghanistan.

The main cause of gender discrimination is the patriarchal societal structure and desire for a male kid.

Out of the 545 MPs elected in India, 65 women served in the 16th Lok Sabha, and 78 in the 17th. In 2014, there were 12% of women in the Lok Sabha; by 2019, that number had risen to 14.22%. The population serves as the foundation for the idea of electoral representation. Thus, states like Uttar Pradesh, with a population of more than 210 million, have 80 MPs (14 women, or 17.5%), Bihar, with a population of 120 million, has 40 seats, and Maharashtra, with a population of 120 million, has 48 seats. Only 24% of women could be elected to the current Maharashtra Assembly. With a national average of a pitiful 9%, the situation for women Members of Legislative assembly (MLAs) in all state assembly in India is much worse. The best among these are Bihar, Rajasthan, and Haryana, with 14% participation, while Puducherry and Nagaland, with zero female legislators, are the worst [3], [4].

Representation of Women in Indian Politics:

History of Women's Political Participation:

However, India's history of women participating actively in politics or as rulers is highly inspirational. Razia Sultana (1205–1240) was Delhi's only female ruler throughout history. The Gond Rani Durgavati (1524–1564) reigned for fifteen years before succumbing to injuries sustained in a 1564 conflict with the general of the Mughal emperor Akbar. In the 1590s, Chand Bibi defended Ahmednagar against Akbar's mighty Mughal army. From 1263 until her death, Rudrama Devi ruled the Kakatiya dynasty on the Deccan Plateau, with its capital at Warangal, modern-day Telangana. Queens of the Sivaganga estate were Rani Padmavati (1303), Rani Karmavari (1537), Tarabai Bhonsale (1700–1708), and Rani Velu Nachiyar. 1780- 1790. She was the first queen of India to engage in combat with the East India Company there. The first Tuluva Queen of Ullal, Rani Abbakka Chowta, reigned over a region of coastal Karnataka (Tulu Nadu), India. Later in the 16th century, she engaged in battle with the Portuguese. Kittur Chennamma was the Indian queen (rani) of Kittur, a princely state in modern-day Karnataka, from 23 October 1778 until 21 February 1829.

The ruler of the Keladi Kingdom in Karnataka was Keladi Chennamma. Lakshmibai, the Rani of Jhansi (19 November 1828–18 June 1858), also known as Mai Sukhan Dhillon (1824), was a ruthless Sikh monarch of the Majha area who was well-known across Punjab. Women successfully commanded their realm and bravely fought off the soldiers of the adversary. Many reformers, including Ram Mohan Roy, Dayanand Saraswati, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, and Jyotirao Phule, battled for the advancement of women throughout the British Raj. The first free school for girls in India was established in 1847 in Barasat, a suburb of Calcutta, by Peary Charan Sarkar, a former student of Hindu College in Calcutta and a member of "Young Bengal." The institution was subsequently known as Kalikrishna Girls' High School. 20221 (Wikipedia). Therefore, it would be incorrect to assume that women had no place in active politics in ancient, mediaeval, or contemporary India. However, the women who attained positions were those from the powerful privileged sectors of society.

DISCUSSION

Women actively engaged in the movement for India's independence. Against the guerilla warfare of British colonel Malcolm, Bhima Bai Holkar fought valiantly. Avadh's Rani Begam Hazrat Mahal also resisted the British. Gandhi Ji's Non-Cooperation Movement (1920) had equal participation from men and women. Kasturba Gandhi, Sarla Devi, Sarojini Naidu, Muthulaxmi Reddy, Susheela Nair, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Sucheta Kriplani, Kamla Nehru, Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, and Swarup Rani were only a few of the leaders and activists that bravely and persistently fought for the country.Women participated in the Dandi March (1930) campaign and civil disobedience as well. They spoke out in an effort to overthrow

brutal British tyranny and achieve freedom. The ladies planned "Prabhat Pheris" processes, "picketing," etc., and took part in them. Gandhiji designated Saorjini Naidu to organise an attack on the Dharasana Salt Works in May 1930. Kamla Devi spoke at meetings, made salt, and protested foreign clothing and liquor stores throughout the revolution. During that time, the Nari Satyagraha Committee, Mahila Rashtriya Sangha, and Ladies Picketing Board all played significant roles. The women were actively involved in both revolutionary actions and nonviolent initiatives, notably in the Dhaka, Comilla, Chittagong, and Punjab areas. Preetilatha Waddedar, Bina Das, Kalpana Dutta, Samiti and Suniti, Durga Bhabhi, etc. The actions of these female rebels alarmed the British.

Women's participation in Indian politics after independence began with their election to the constituent assembly and subsequently to the country's first elected parliament. For the first time, women gained the freedom to exercise their right to vote. Thirty-nine women were elected to the first Parliament. The national average of women in the lower house of the Parliament stayed constant from 5% (22 MPs) in 1951 to 14.39% (78 MPs) in 2019. However, the literacy rate of women increased from 8.86 (Census 1951) to 65.46 (Census 2011). It highlights a significant female representation gap in parliament.

Current Conditions and Women's Political Participation:

Only 418, or 9%, of the nation's 4896 MPs and MLAs are women, according to ECI statistics. There are 59 (11% of the 543 MPs in the Lok Sabha in 2014) and 23 (10% of the 233 MPs) women MPs in the Rajya Sabha. The most women are elected to state legislatures in West Bengal (34 out of 294 MLAs), Bihar (34 out of 243 MLAs), and Andhra Pradesh (34 out of 294 MLAs), followed by Uttar Pradesh (32 out of 403 MLAs) and Rajasthan (28 out of 200 MLAs). In terms of percentage, the highest number of women are elected to state legislatures in Bihar (34 out of 243 MLAs), Rajasthan (28 out of 200 MLAs

The lack of female participation in the assemblies of the states of Nagaland and Puducherry raises fundamental questions about the political empowerment of women. However, in Nagaland, the percentage of females who are literate climbed from 10.52 percent in 1951 to 80.11 percent in 2011. In Puducherry, the current literacy rate is 86.55 percent (2011), up from a 1961 figure of 43.65 percent (Economic Survey Data). Therefore, it would be incorrect to relate the growth in female literacy to the rise in women's representation in politics as a guarantee [5], [6].

A lengthy wait: Women's Reservation Bill

The only option is to reserve 33% of the Lok Sabha seats if society is not prepared to give Indian women the space in Parliament that they most deserve. This argument is based on the fact that Panchayats, local municipal councils, and the state legislature all have reserved seats. Though the patriarchy is also at play there eventually, the women will take over as the genuine representatives. The idea of female leaders supported by patriarchy is quickly vanishing. Originally, a 1993 constitutional amendment served as the inspiration for this measure. The Women's quota Bill was proposed as a long term strategy to expand this quota to Lok Sabha and state legislative assemblies. The people who opposed this bill considered this as preferential treatment towards women of India. The bill for women's reservation was introduced in Lok Sabha in 1996, 1998 and 1999. But it lapsed on each occasion due to a lack of consensus amongst the political parties. The bill was once again introduced in Lok Sabha in 2008. It had the following features:

1. It allocates one-third of all seats in the Lok Sabha and state legislatures for women.
2. There is a quota-within-quota for Anglo-Indians, SCs, and STs.

3. After every general election, the reserved seats are rotated, thus after three elections, every constituency will have had a reservation.

For 15 years, this reservation will be in use. This bill's past has been rocky. Seven suggestions were made by a Joint Parliamentary Committee that looked at the 1996 Bill under the direction of Geeta Mukherjee. The most recent 2008 Bill includes five of them. These include (i) a 15-year reservation period, (ii) sub-reservation for Anglo Indians, (iii) reservation in states with fewer than three Lok Sabha seats (or fewer than three seats for SCs/STs), (iv) reservation for the Delhi assembly, and (v) changing "not less than one-third" to "as nearly as may be, one-third." The 2008 Bill did not include two of the proposals (Madhvan: 2010).

The first is for reserving seats in the Legislative Council and Rajya Sabha. After the Constitution gives reserving to OBCs, the second is for sub-reservation for OBC women. According to Article 80 of the Constitution, members of state legislatures shall elect Rajya Sabha MPs using a single transferable vote. This suggests that the most favoured candidate receives the most votes, followed by the second most preferred candidate, and so on. The idea of blocking off a certain number of seats for a given group is not supported by this technology. At the moment, there are no reservations for SCs and STs in the Rajya Sabha. As a result, any voting method that allows for a reservation in the Rajya Sabha means that the Constitution has to be changed in order to eliminate the Single Transferable Vote system (Madhvan: 2010). The law is still pending in the Lok Sabha, which is the Lower House of Parliament. Due to their majority in the Lok Sabha, the current government must fully support the measure in order for it to succeed.

Causes of Women's Low Political Participation

Understanding sociocultural, economic, educational, and psychological variables is necessary to comprehend the percentage of women participating in Indian politics. It lays the groundwork for promoting women's involvement. government executive posts held by women. The following factors may be studied as potential contributors to the low representation of women in Indian politics:

Domestic Variables

Women are forced to take up domestic tasks. In a patriarchal society, women are expected to take care of home chores. She needs to work, take care of others, and give birth. Her likelihood of participating actively in social or political life is diminished. It maintains women's roles nonpartisan. It results in male family members making political choices such as who to vote for, which party to join, and participating in elections. After a woman is elected to a public post, her decisions and duties are handled behind the scenes by the male family members. Another widely held belief is that politics would need sacrificing morals and ethics. As a result, she is denied political prospects due to her responsibilities as a daughter, sister, wife, mother, etc. in the family.

Absence of family support: Families are crucial to anyone's success. Each and every household needs women. They have a lot of duties to take care of. Even families that encourage women to run for office want them to balance it with other household duties like child care, cooking, and cleaning. As a result, entering politics adds to her already heavy workload. The family will sometimes make a connection between the women's lifestyle and the honour and dignity aspect. As a result, barriers related to culture and family have thus far prevented women from participating actively in politics.Social Attitude: Patrilineal dominance is a problem in Indian society. In all family affairs, the patriarch's perspective is

prominent. Women are thus seen as non-decision makers in sociopolitical issues. Additionally, it is depressing how society views women in politics. It is not accepted when women participate actively in movements, revolutions, protests, party meetings, or other political activity. Ethics and moral principles are constantly questioned. It becomes quite demoralising for the family and demoralising for the ladies to adopt such a pessimistic outlook. Their chances are limited by the patriarchal mentality and the conventional perception of women.

Financial dependence: Because society is patriarchal, males control the majority of the resources. Men are in charge of everything in the family, including the family company, the home, the land title, and the monetary income. As a result, women are unable to make decisions on financial commitments, investments, charitable giving, or participation in social or political causes. Even women who are employed have virtually little influence over their money. Men in society are in charge of it and utilise it. The women's socioeconomic status is also important. Women from higher socioeconomic classes may pay for domestic assistance and other services. They can think more quickly and engage in political activities with less effort. On the other hand, women from lower socioeconomic levels are preoccupied with home duties and don't have time to engage in political discussion. The social and emotional perspective is still not particularly supportive in sharing the money with women, even if the law now guarantees that women would get an equal portion of parental wealth and property. One of the most important areas where Indian society needs empowerment is in this field [7], [8].

Political parties' functions:

The manner that seats are reserved for women is distinctive in Germany and France. The party level itself is where it is handled. Party tickets and posts are allotted for women in a proportion of 33%. This guarantees that women are fairly represented. Additionally, Indian political parties have failed in this area. There are many parties, such as the Trinamool Congress (TMC), which is led by Ms. Mamta Banarjee, the Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP), which is led by Mayawati, the AIADMK, which is led by the late J. Jayalalitha, and the Indian National Congress (INC), which is led by Ms. Sonia Gandhi, but these parties were unable to offer sufficient positions and party tickets to the women. They also adopted the political narratives that were dominated by men. There is no framework in place to guarantee the participation of women in political parties. Males who come from the same traditional social-cultural background where women play a little role are in charge of the party leadership. But the nation may take pride in the fact that it has previously had a female prime minister (Indira Gandhi) and a number of chief ministers (Sucheta Kripalani, Nandini Satpathy, J. Jayalalitha, Rabri Devi, and Vasundhara Raje, for instance).

Potential remedies

Global Lessons for India:

While women dominate Rwanda's national legislature (thanks to the thirty per cent quota for women in parliament and government), a 2014 electoral law in Bolivia required 50 per cent of each political party's list to be women. Similarly countries like Mexico, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, South Africa etc., to have legislated quotas that women are elected in their respective parliaments (D'Cruz: 2020). There are many democracies in the world that has satisfactory representation of women in highest representative body. Counties like Bangladesh and Pakistan are ahead of India. Thus, India needs to learn a lesson from these countiers and create ways for women to participate in politics.

Women's Reservation:

The reservation of 33 per cent seats for the women at Panchayat, Municipal, State Assembly and Parliament is the need of he day. The women's reservation bill has been pending in parliament since 1996. Even after 24 years, political parties and administrations were unable to agree on anything. However, it's imperative that the law be approved. Whatever reservations and issues there may be with the law must be discussed in public. The primary objections to a quota for women based on their ethnicity or caste need both intellectual and technological consideration.

Social and cultural mindset change is necessary for the Indian patrilineal society. The societal stereotypes that women are only capable of childbearing and childrearing need to be changed. The feminist movement popularised the idea that "personal is political." The phrase "the personal is political," sometimes known as "the private is political," is a political catchphrase used by feminists to emphasise the idea that women's political circumstances and gender inequality are at the base of their personal experiences. The phrase "the personal is political" has an ambiguous beginning, but it gained popularity after American feminist Carol Hanisch's paper of the same name, which was published in 1970 and made the same argument, that many personal experiences particularly those of women can be linked to one's position within a system of power relations. As Amaritya Sen said in "Social Exclusion," women's rights should not be seen as a matter of charity or compassion but rather as a "entitlement." The barriers that society has created as a consequence of its own conservative and exclusive mentality and culture must be checked and eliminated. The ladies will be free to chart their own course for empowerment and growth.

Knowledge and Instruction:

India's tendency towards low political engagement is pervasive. People's attitudes towards politics and politicians are often unfavourable. The problem becomes worse when it comes to women. Therefore, we need deep political knowledge and formal and informal political education. Lessons on good citizenship and politics must be imparted to students. Making ensuring that women are fairly and equally represented in decision-making and elected positions should be seen as the duty of politicians and political parties. There is little doubt that this will boost the number of women running for office.

Women have always played crucial roles in forming the country, as seen by India's rich history of female leaders and activists, which serves as both inspiration and a reminder. It is time for India to build on this history, remove obstacles, and guarantee that women have a voice in politics that is both equal and powerful. India can only genuinely attain a more representative and inclusive democracy when women actively participate in determining the future of the country via collective effort.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, India is making progress and facing hurdles on its path to reaching gender parity in politics. Even though historical personalities like Razia Sultana, Rani Lakshmibai, and many more have shown that women are capable of holding positions of leadership, the current political climate still does not provide women the same possibilities as males. The statistics on women's participation in politics in India, both at the national and state levels, serve as a sobering reminder of the work that still has to be done. A crucial start in resolving this problem is the Women's Reservation Bill, which calls for 33% of seats in the Lok Sabha and state legislatures to be reserved for women. It has encountered a number of challenges, nevertheless, and is not yet a law. It is essential to approve and execute this measure in

addition to fostering a change in cultural attitudes and views about women in politics in order to close the gender gap in politics. To encourage more women to actively engage in politics, educational programmes and political awareness campaigns must be prioritised. The political empowerment of women is not just about achieving equality, but also about maximising the possibilities of a pluralistic and inclusive democracy.

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CHAPTER 7

RELIGIOUS PLURALISM AND COMMUNALISM IN INDIA: A COMPREHENSIVE ANALYSIS

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ABSTRACT:

This paper examines the idea of secularism in India, a varied and culturally rich country. It examines secularism's value dimensions in civic life, as a constitutional concept, and for human rights. It digs into the historical and constitutional facets of secularism. The study also analyses the dangers communalism poses to democratic politics while underlining the causes of intercommunal conflict. The study offers a thorough explanation of the complicated interaction between secularism and communalism in India by analysing a variety of elements, including historical legacies, political leaders, identity concerns, poverty, and media impact. In the end, it highlights the significance of preserving secular values in order to preserve India's democratic and constitutional integrity. In addition to safeguarding constitutional ideals, securing secularism in India is a crucial condition for defending human rights and guaranteeing a peaceful and cohesive country. In addition to the government, civil society, religious authorities, and the general public are all accountable for working together to make India more diverse and secular.

KEYWORDS:

Communalism, Constitutional Guarantees, Human Rights, India, Religious Diversity, Religious Freedom, Secularism.

INTRODUCTION

India is a country where all global faiths are practised. The predominant religion in this nation is Hinduism. In addition, Buddhism, Jainism, and Sikhism were developed in this region and later spread across the globe. After the seventh century AD, Christianity, Zoroastrianism, Islam, and Judaism were introduced to India. Along with the invaders and missionaries, it arrived. India is quite diverse and can easily fit anything within it. Additionally, governmental powers and faiths have long coexisted in India. They were shielded and patronised by the king. In exchange, the religious leaders would advise and assist the state in putting "just" and "unjust" practises into practise. Good and bad. They would also serve as a means of persuading the populace of the state's judgements. The following population ratios of different religious groups are based on census data from 2011.

The idea of secularism

Secular refers to being "separate" from religion or without a religious foundation. One who does not owe his moral principles to any one religion is considered secular. His logical and scientific thinking produces his values. Secularism involves seeing religion as exclusively personal, separating it from the political, economic, social, and cultural spheres of life. It placed a strong emphasis on the separation of the state and religion, as well as on the complete freedom and acceptance of all faiths. Additionally, it advocates for nondiscrimination and impartiality based on faith, as well as equal chances for adherents of all religions. The future government of a free India, according to Pandit Nehru, "must be

secular in the sense that government will not associate itself directly with any religious faith but will give freedom to all religious functions," he wrote in 1945 [1], [2].

Secularism in India: Value Dimensions

The separation of church and state is a fundamental tenant of the secular state. The idea of 'religion and state' being separated was initially put out by Italian philosopher Machiavelli. In his book "The recovery of faith," Dr. S. Radhakrishanan, a former president of India, said that "the religious impartiality of the Indian state is not to be confused with atheism." The definition of secularism follows long-standing religious customs. It aims to create a community of believers by fostering peace among them rather than sacrificing individual talents for the sake of the whole.

As a civic value, secularism

The 'secular' ideals that underpin Indian state 'civic' life. People have citizenship and privileges based on secular standards. The foundation of civic equality in India is secularism. According to Hoveyda and Kumar, "civic equality also implies that all citizens are equally entitled to their conscience." This refers to the equality of religious freedoms, including the freedom to practise and practise one's faith. As a result, every citizen has the right to have a conscience and a scientific temperament thanks to the civic ideal of secularism. As a result, every Indian person is free to practise their faith or not. Religion and conscience are seen as personal and private matters of an individual by the secular Indian state. Therefore, adhering to the nation's "civic" existence without introducing personal preferences, dislikes, biases, or prejudices into public life is what secularism in India entails on a public or social level. Everyone has the right to practise any religion or creed they want, but no one has the right to pressure, penalise, or compel others to do the same.

Secularism as a Value of the Constitution

Modern liberal democracies place a high importance on religious freedom. The right to freedom of religion, as well as the ability to form and join religious unions and organisations, is implied by the rights to freedom of speech, expression, unions, and associations. Articles 25 through 28 of Part III (Fundamental Rights) of the Indian Constitution provide religious freedom. The constitution's preamble promises to transform India into a "secular" republic. The preamble makes a clear declaration of "liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith, and worship." In terms of religion, Articles 25 to 28 guarantee a delicate balance between individual conscience and societal morality.

Article 25: Freedom to profess, practise, and propagate religion is guaranteed under.

Article 26: The right to freely conduct religious matters.

Article 27: Freedom from paying taxes to promote any certain faith.

Article 28: Freedom from commandments of religion.

These liberties are still constrained by national laws, morality, and public health. While maintaining their religious beliefs, no one should disparage, denigrate, or demean the same beliefs of another individual or group of people. Additionally, it is forbidden for the State to actively or indirectly support any religion, belief, or other similar values via its organs (Government agencies). Institutions that receive government grants, assistance, or contributions in whole or in part are not permitted to engage in any religious activities. However, it won't put any barriers in the way of religious freedom at the same time. As a result, the Indian Constitution is impartial and equitable to all sects and faiths that exist on its

soil. As a result, the Indian Constitution declares that the country should be "a-religious (neutral) state," neither supporting nor opposing religion [3], [4].

The case S.R. Bommai v. UOI According to the ruling, "Religious tolerance, equal treatment of all religious groups, protection of their lives, property, and places of worship are essential components of the secularism enshrined in our constitution." While it is legal for citizens of this country to profess, practise, and spread any religion, faith, or belief they so choose, from the point of view of the state, all people are equal and have a right to receive the same treatment regardless of their religion, faith, or belief.

DISCUSSION

India's constitution establishes a secular state. The use of religion or its involvement in political activity is not permitted by law. It is formed by following the guidelines outlined in the process for registering political parties, organisations, members of the organisation, election campaigns, political literature, etc. The People's Representation Act of 1951 required political parties to uphold secular norms and prohibited the inclusion of religion in party constitutions, emblems, election manifestos, or other political activities. According to Section 123 (2 - b) of the PRA 1951 and Sub-Clause 6[(3), "The appeal by a candidate or his agent or by any other person with the consent of a candidate or his election agent to vote for or refrain from voting for any person on the basis of his religion, race, caste, community, or language or the use of, or appeal to, religious symbols, or the use, or appeal to, national symbols, such as the national flag or the national emblem, for the Thus, this ambiguity was caused by Section 123(3) of the Representation of the People Act, 1951, as revised in 1961. The use of religion or any other communal or sectarian values in the voting process is generally prohibited, the Supreme Court has declared by a four-to-three majority of its seven-member bench. In order to acquire more votes during elections, political parties are often caught breaking the rules.

Secularism as a Value for Human Rights

According to Bennoune (2007), secularism is essential for the realisation of human rights. It is exceedingly challenging to promote secularism without laying the foundation for everyone in society to have access to human rights. According to Article 18 of the UDHR (1948), a democratic society must place the highest premium on religious freedom. According to this, "Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience, and religion; this right includes the freedom to change one's religion or belief, as well as the freedom to manifest one's religion or belief through teaching, practise, worship, and observance, whether alone or in community with others, in public or private" (UNO-UDHR: 1948). The success of every democracy depends on the protection of people' rights. Secularism is a unique ideal that benefits both the government and society. Similar to human rights, secularism is a universal ideal that is supported by the majority of world democracies. However, in certain cases, like as in Turkey, fundamentalist groups attempt to repress the secular nature of the state. Human rights and secularism are concepting that India has always supported. This country has been the source of the'sarve bhavantu sukhinah' (may everyone be happy) concept from ancient times. The freedom of everyone to practise their faith is protected under the Indian constitution. Additionally, it formed the National Commission for Human Rights and adopted the human rights charter.

Threat of Communism to Secular Politics

A strong sense of belonging to one's own group is characterised by communalism. It goes against secular principles. It is a sense of community and orthodox people. It is the root of bigotry and intolerance towards other religions and beliefs. Though it's not a terrible thing to

work on bringing any community together. It could contribute to the community's residents' social and economic development. But when it's used improperly, it causes societal rifts based on ideologies and identities. It produces a sense of "we" and "them."

The worst case of communalism of its sort occurred in India. The country became racially divided on the eve of independence. Massacres occurred all across the subcontinent as a consequence of the Muslim League's demand for "direct action" led by Mohammad Ali Jinnah. The worst-affected regions were Bengal, Bihar, Sind, and Karachi. Politics have since acquired a collective hue. The secular fabric of the country has been permanently damaged, particularly by the politics of minority appeasement and hostile majority attitude. The first riot against Aurangzeb's discriminatory religious policies occurred at Narnaul, Benaras, between 1671 and 1681. Muslims and Hindus slaughtered each other while destroying mosques and temples.

Intriguingly, the Bombay Dog Riots occurred in South Mumbai on June 6 and 7, 1832. Pars was demonstrating against the slaughter of stray dogs by the British authorities. There were several Parsi-Muslim riots in the 19th century AD. But once the British arrived in India, the Hindu-Muslim conflict turned into the worst location for racial unrest. In addition to the Hindu-Muslim riots, there were also anti-Tamil riots in Karnataka in 1991 when tensions between Tamils and Kannadigas over the Cauvery river issue erupted into violence. Sikh Riots (1984), Hindu-Buddhist Riots in Maharashtra (1974), and ethnic riots in India's North-East (Nagaland, Tripura, Manipur, Mizoram, Assam) targeted migrant labourers, among other incidents. Thus, the use of religion in politics is not new nor do politicians hesitate to utilise it to their advantage during campaigns or in other political contexts. However, there are many other reasons for communalism as well [5], [6].

The reasons for comunalism

Numerous social, cultural, economic, ideological, political, and other key behavioural variables form the basis of every socio-political conflict. It makes sense that "the peak of secularist politics creates room for communalism." Secularism is an illogical practise that breeds animosity and a notion that one society is gaining an advantage over another. It is more likely to occur in a multifaith culture like India. because the governing class or party often abuses secularism to advance appeasement politics. India has more experience with this kind of polarising politics dating back to the British colonial period. The British approach of "divide and rule" sometimes led to rioting inside communities. They did not spare any effort in stirring communal leaders or dividing Hindus and Muslims, whether it was via the partition of Bengal (1905), the Communal Award (1909), supporting the Muslim League and Jinnah, or encouraging them.

The worst kind of racial unrest have occurred in India as a result of Jinnah's "call for direct action" and his two-nation idea. It has caused a divide and ongoing feeling of mutual distrust between the Muslim and Hindu populations. Politicians have often attempted to capitalise on this sentiment. Despite conforming to the secularist philosophy, the past constantly haunts the present and poses a danger to the future.

Leaders in the Community Roll

Politicians like Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi no longer risk their lives to put an end to racial unrest. Today's power-hungry politicians influence public opinion in opposition to one another. Sometimes, via their words, deeds, and other activities, they help to foster communalism and enmity. They incite conflict amongst communities in order to further their political agenda and get more votes.

Community Parties and Organisations' Function

In India, religion plays a significant role in political mobilisation. The public's emotional response to it is fairly muted. Religious groups with political motivations and links to politics take use of this emotion in order to strengthen their own parties. During elections, they issue calls, diktats, and fatwas. The rise of communalism is either directly or indirectly attributable to organisations like the Muslim League, Jamaat Islami, Hindu Mahasabha, Akali Dal, Vishwa Hindu Parishad, and AIMIM. The so-called secular parties also engage in appeasement politics, which affects India's secular atmosphere.

Minority Approach: Sectarian approach has been the primary force behind the minority community's integration with mainstream politics and culture. The emergence of majority communalism results from this. Community feelings often worsen as a result of the growing separation and communication gap between minorities and the majority. Community riots may emerge from this feeling being stoked by local religious and political leaders. Sometimes false information or rumours breed distrust, which breeds communalism.

Focusing Too Much on Identity

Accepting others' identities and choices is crucial in a community as diverse and diversified as India. Members of minority communities may place too much attention on how their identity and rituals are shown publicly. Intentionally or not, it damages the feelings of the majority. Similar customs are prevalent in the society. Such emotions cause the society to reject secularist principles. Additionally, it causes issues in the community when the majority group tries to ignore, subjugate, or dissuade the minority community from savouring its unique identity. In India, communal issues are mostly brought about by the public celebration of festivals and rituals.

Poverty and Illiteracy

Poverty and unemployment are caused by illiteracy. People who lack literacy are more susceptible to being tricked into accepting misleading information or incomplete facts. Youth without jobs are taken advantage of by social miscreants who waste their time, energy, and intellect by instilling them with animosity and violent motives against other populations. As a result, those living in widespread poverty and ignorance are more prone than educated and employed individuals to engage in acts of community violence. An atmosphere of resistance and animosity is fostered by the poor economic situation and social backwardness.

Election-Bank Politics

Religion has a significant role in Indian politics. Using religious polarisation as a vote-bank strategy is simple. Occasionally, riots between communities are led by politicians. Both before and after India gained independence, this was a common characteristic. Muslim League and Hindu Mahasabha were the primary political fronts during the British era. Similar to this, post-independence Indian politicians engage in communal politics. Furthermore, we must recognise that both majority and minority community political leaders are equally at blame for racial tensions created by vote-bank politics.

Foreign elements' hands

Along with internal causes, cross-border forces, terrorist groups, and criminal gangs continue to try to split the community apart. so that they may divide people along communal lines and accomplish their objectives. Babar Khalsa's outlawed terrorist outfit Babar Khalsa sympathisers helped to foster the Hindu-Sikh communalism. The terrorist organisations

operating out of Pakistan or its intelligence service, ISI, are often behind the Hindu-Muslim attacks. Similarly, anti-India forces continue to recruit anti-nationalist groups inside the nation to sow discord among communities [7], [8].

Social media and media abuse

Community tension may sometimes be brought on by the news or any little occurrence that appears in print, electronic, internet, or social media. For the average Indian, the media is a key source of knowledge and information. On social media platforms like Whatsapp, Facebook, and others, people forward and spread unauthentic and unverified news, viewpoints, and rumours, which results in intergroup violence. Digital and online media have a broad and extensive audience. It fosters conflict within the community when it is abused by communal and antisocial groups. People in India have a propensity to believe without checking, which makes them easy target for fake information and news.

Recent riots and the trend of communalism have shown grave dangers to secular principles in Indian society. According to Sudha Pai, "our model of 'institutionalisation of everyday communalism' suggests that the relationship between communalism and riots has undergone significant change: it is not riots that promote communalism; rather, it is the steady, long-term work at the grassroots." Therefore, our nation's deeply polarised communal history, economic laggardship, persistent social inequality, pervasive conservatism, and entrenched caste/communal identities have all led to the establishment of communalism, which has a major negative influence on the democratic framework and constitutional framework of our nation.

CONCLUSION

This emphasises the importance of secularism in India, which is profoundly ingrained in the country's rich cultural fabric and is not simply established in the constitution. Despite India's admirable dedication to secularism, it confronts significant obstacles from communal organisations that want to use religious identities for political benefit. Community conflicts are exacerbated by historical legacies, political opportunism, poverty, and media misrepresentation. India must methodically address these issues if it wants to maintain its secular character. This entails encouraging economic growth and education to combat poverty and illiteracy, limiting the influence of religion in politics, and combating divisive narratives propagated via different media platforms. In order to close the gaps between various religious groups, it is also crucial to promote a culture of tolerance and acceptance.

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CHAPTER 8

EXPLORING THE COMPLEX DYNAMICS OF REGIONALISM AND ETHNICITY IN INDIA

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ABSTRACT:

India's regionalism is a complicated phenomenon with several ramifications for the integrity and cohesion of the country. This paper examines the historical background and numerous elements that contribute to regionalism, such as federal structures, economic inequalities, political dynamics, resource distribution, ethnic pride, linguistic identity, and leadership. Regionalism has the ability to promote polarisation and disputes while simultaneously fostering progress, cultural preservation, and variety. In order to manage regionalism successfully, the research emphasises the need of resolving underlying concerns, encouraging decentralisation, equal resource allocation, and rigorous respect to constitutional rules. The importance of ethnicity in India's varied environment as well as the possibilities and difficulties it brings are also covered. The variety of India is both a strength and a problem. To ensure that regionalism advances the country rather than serving as a catalyst for conflict and division, it is essential to embrace this variety and advance intercultural understanding. India's capacity to control regionalism and ethnicity will be crucial in determining how it will develop as a unified and peaceful country in a world that is changing quickly.

KEYWORDS:

Cultural Identity, Ethnic Diversity, Ethnic Conflict, India, Integrity, Regionalism, Unity.

INTRODUCTION

The term "regionalism" refers to the way individuals express their linguistic, geographical, demographic, and cultural ties to a particular place. It inspires a feeling of community, brotherhood, and cohesion among people. However, its unfavourable strategy feeds into bigotry and hostility, endangering the "unity and integrity" of the country. Following the 1960s came the movements in favour of regionalism and language nationalism. It was seen as the outcome of the Congress party's decline and the emergence of local kshatraps (leaders) in different regions of the nation. As a result of the nationwide opposition to the "sons of soil" notion, another category of regional movements formed. Particularly in Maharashtra, Punjab, and the nation's northeast. The Khalistan Movement in Punjab, the Naga Movement in Nagaland, and the Separatist Movements in Jammu and Kashmir were examples of the third form of regionalism. These movements promoted the demand for independent "nationhood." In addition, there are other notable examples of politics, language, and regionalism, such as the anti-Hindi movement in Tamil Nadu and the Shiv Sena's Movement for the Marathi language in Maharashtra.

Regionalism may be an idea, a feeling, a plan, or a way of organising and bringing people together under one cause. If it has a good intention, it will lead to social integration, educational advancement, economic progress, and local empowerment. Additionally, creative regionalism never fosters any kind of animosity against immigrants. When it develops a bad attitude and agenda, the area experiences violence, hate, backwardness, and disruptive politics [1], [2].

The British administration in India treated presidents, princely states, and other tribal territories differently. This is the historical context of the state's reorganisation. It gave rise to regionalist sentiments. The social and economic landscapes of many areas were already unbalanced and uneven. The struggle for freedom served as a catalyst for Indian unification and acceptance of diversity. However, separatist movements in North East India and the desire for a separate Bihar (1915), the Dravida movement in Madras (1940), the demand for a separate Andhra Pradesh (1953), and the Sanyukta Maharashtra movement (1956) all helped to advance regionalism in India.More than 500 princely kingdoms were reorganised in the nation after it gained independence. Both the S. K. Dhar Commission (1948) and the JVP committee (1949), which included Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel, and Pattabhi Sitharamaiyah, promoted reorganising the state based on administrative efficiency, geographic proximity, financial independence, and development potential. However, in Andhra and Maharashtra, the call for a separate state based on linguistic grounds had descended into violence. Veteran Gandhian leader Potti Srirammalu fasted for 53 days, at which point he died away. Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh have very tumultuous conditions. As a result, the State Reorganisation Committee (SRC) was established in 1953 by Justice Fazal Ali to investigate the feasibility of creating states based on linguistics. However, none of the aforementioned three panels supported the establishment of the state on linguistic grounds. However, the State Reorganisation Act of 1956 was passed as a result of mounting political pressure.

However, throughout the 1970s and 1980s, the North-East region of India saw significant insurgency. The North-Eastern State Reorganisation Act was approved in 1971 by the Union government. Tripura and Manipur (1972) and the Sub-State of Meghalaya became complete states as a consequence of this union area. In 1987, the tribal district of Arunanchal and Mizoram were admitted as states. But the need for a distinct state based on linguistic, ethnic, or other grounds continued growing. Since 2000, four new states have been created: Chhattisgarh (2000) from Madhya Pradesh, Jharkhand (2000) from Bihar, Uttarakhand (2000) from Uttar Pradesh, and Telangana (2014) from Andhra Pradesh. In India, there is a sense of regionalism or sub-nationalism that is growing. The emergence and development of regionalism in India is the result of a number of reasons. It falls within the broad categories of politics, economy, and constitution. The key reasons for regionalism in India are as follows:

Federal or Constitutional Arrangements

A union of states makes up India. While the judiciary is incorporated into a hierarchical framework, the legislative, executive, and financial functions are shared between the centre and the states under the Indian constitution, giving it a federal character (Jagran Josh 2021). Three categories, which are described below, split center-state relations: Legislative Relations (Articles 245-255), Administrative Relations (Articles 256-263), and Financial Relations (Articles 268-293) are the three categories of relations.

Part XI of the Constitution deals with the legislative relationships between the State and the Centre in Articles 245 to 255. The three lists of legislative powers are as follows: Union List (100 items), State List (61 items), and Local List. 52-item Concurrent List and residual power are both found in Article 249. However, the union's laws take precedence over state laws in any situation where they clash. The concurrent list also offers the union the advantage.

Economic sluggishness

India's state and various regions have both seen uneven development. As a result, several areas voice their displeasure with the central government's partial view of their growth. Articles 268 to 293 of Part XII of the Indian Constitution provide the provisions for center-

state financial relations. The Union and the States now have their own separate sources of income thanks to the Constitution. Taxation authority over the items included in their legislative list is exclusively to the Union and the States. However, Union has the advantage when it comes to taxes over the items on the concurrent and residuary lists. There were vast variances as a consequence of this unequal growth approach. Due to their industrialization, states like Tamil Nadu, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Punjab, and Haryana have developed; yet, states like Bihar, Odisha, Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, and UP are still falling behind. This strengthens the sense of regionalism in both developed and developing countries [3], [4].

Political elections

Indian National Congress was once the most popular party in the whole country. It causes the party and government to become more centralised. After the 1960s, a large number of leaders left the Congress to create or join already-existing regional political parties. The regional leaders used the concerns of development, ethnic pride, sons of soil, etc. To mobilise the voting base when the party was formed. Thus, the pressures of election success heightened the regionalism's feelings.

Distributing resources

The conflict between the Union, the State, and the State has been around securing or defending their claim to natural resources. For instance, there are disagreements over water in practically all governments. Water conflicts along the Cauvery, Krishna, and Narmada rivers have been very violent. Similar to this, industrial initiatives and job possibilities in India foster a sense of regionalism. A rule requiring locals to apply for 75% of private sector employment was recently enacted by the Haryana government.

Racial or ethnic pride

India's strength is its diversity. However, sometimes, its unfavourable propagation causes societal rifts based on identities. Political figures and local parties often use racial, linguistic, or ethnic identities to win over voters. They make the appeal under the slogan "sons of the soil vs. Outsiders."

Language identity

One of the key contributing reasons to regionalism has been language. Every linguistic group or community takes pride in its language since India's states are divided according to language. Additionally, it fosters hate towards speakers of other languages. Similar to the Karnataka-Maharashtra Belgavi Conflict.

Leadership

This is one of the primary causes of regionalism in India. Leaders that have a lot of sway in a particular area strive to get their voices heard before the union government or political parties at the national level. It aids them in expanding their support base on their own soil. As a result, they spur on, encourage, and sometimes fuel regional nationalism.

DISCUSSION

India has several different languages. It serves as a significant source of learning about many civilizations and expertise.

The language and regionalism are closely related. The Constituent Assembly designated Hindi as the official language of the country. However, non-Hindi-speaking areas, particularly the South and North Eastern, have been quite hostile to it. In 1965, the anti-Hindi

agitations in West Bengal and Tamil Nadu became very violent. The administration of Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri implemented a three-language strategy to address the issue.

The trilingual formula

Promoting national integrity and togetherness is the primary goal. Getting exposed to the rich literature and concepts that are accessible in various languages also helps.

First language: For official and general purposes, the mother tongue of the area should be the first language or regional language.

Second Language: Hindi is the second language in countries where the language is not spoken, whereas English is the second language in countries where the language is.

Third Language: The third language in the area is either English or any other contemporary Indian language.

Linguistics Conflicts:

While the states in the Hindi belt did not include any South Indian languages in their curricula at first, states like Tamil Nadu, Tripura, and Puducherry were not ready to teach Hindi. As a result, there is constant discussion over India's linguistic unity. The states often lament the lack of resources needed to adhere to the three-language pattern. Due to the significant resources needed for instruction, translation, publishing, and the range of jobs available in that language. Conflict and hostility are often caused by the language problem. It is an all-Indian occurrence. As a result, rather than unifying the people in India, the linguistic construction of the states divided them. It is also linked to ego and pride. As a result, accommodating all the languages becomes quite challenging. The political elite has also divided the populace using language in order to advance its vote-basing strategies. The nation's founding fathers believed that language might serve as a link between concepts, cultures, and knowledge, but politics, regionalism, and linguistic sub-nationalism have instead built barriers.

Languages and Constitutional Provisions:

The Indian Constitution is devoted to defending the rights of people, particularly minorities. Fundamental rights are guaranteed in Part III of the constitution, protecting the interests of minorities. The constitution's VIII schedule lists 22 languages as India's official tongues. Governmental Languages the Constitution's Eighth Schedule lists the following 22 languages: Assamese, Bengali, Gujarati, Hindi, Kannada, Kashmiri, Konkani, Malayalam, Mnipuri, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Punjabi, Sanskrit, Sindhi, Tamil, Telugu, and Urdu are among the other languages. Bodo, Santhali, Maithili, and Dogri are among the 19th and 22nd groups. 14 of these were at first included into the Constitution. The 21st Amendment Act of 1967 introduced the Sindhi language. The 71st Amendment Act of 1992 includes Konkani, Manipuri, and Nepali. The 92nd Amendment Act of 2003 adds the languages of Bodo, Dogri, Maithili, and Santhali. Any segment of the population with a unique language, script, or culture has the right to preserve it, according to this article.

The requirements of the Union of India's official language are outlined in Article 343 of the Constitution. It states that "Hindi written in Devnagari script shall be the official language of the Union of India, and the numerals shall be in the international form of Indian numerals." Additionally, according to this article, English will remain the official language for 15 years after the constitution's adoption [5], [6].

The "authorised" language of communication between the Union and States is outlined in Article 346. If two or more states agree, Hindi might be used as a communication language.

As long as the President is convinced that a significant section of the state wants the language to be recognised, Article 347 grants the President the authority to recognise a language as the official tongue of a certain state. Such recognition may be applicable to part or all of the state.

Articles 350A and 350B: Article 350A gives the option of providing instruction and elementary education in the local language. The appointment of a Special Officer for linguistic minorities is allowed under Article 350B. This officer will be chosen by the President of India, and it will have the authority to look into issues including protections for linguistic minorities. The report is sent directly to the President of India, who may order that Parliament be informed of it. You may also forward the issue to a specific state if it affects that state.

Article 351: This provision gives the Union government the authority to provide instructions for actions to be taken to advance the Hindi language.

One of the biggest threats to India's national unity and integrity is regionalism and linguistic subnationalism. Development, fair representation, and the enlargement of language and culture are the outcomes of its favourable expression. However, its unfavourable implications might be used as weapons to polarise society. However, the underlying issues in states and regions must be addressed as soon as possible. Decentralisation of authority, equitable sharing and transfer of economic resources, fulfilling of union government. Regionalism will undoubtedly be controlled by commitments and a strict adherence to the proper use of emergency authorities under the constitution, such as Article 356.

We encounter words like "Ethnicity or Ethnic" while reading about human civilization. Ethnicity is a general phrase that includes race. There are many different ethnic groups in India. The origins of its variety may be traced to the post-Vedic period, when Aryans with roots in central Asia came to India. As a result, many invaders from various regions of the globe arrived to India throughout the ancient and mediaeval periods. Examples include European, Mangol, Central Asian, Shaka, Hun, and so on. India now has several different ethnic groupings as a result. India now has a wide range of social diversity. A community may be identified by its language, religion, culture, or any combination of these. One of India's biggest issues has been ethnicity and nation-building. Conflict develops when politics support ethnicity. Numerous ethnically motivated massacres occurred in a number of recently constituted countries after the 1950s. Such as Nigeria, Pakistan, Canada, and Belgium. Ethnic strife and the issue of national unity suffered. India, which had a population of 1,210,193,422 as of the March 1, 2011, census, is a vibrantly coloured canvas that shows the unique blending of ethnic groups with a variety of cultures and beliefs. The characteristic that sets the country apart from other countries is its distinctive ethnic makeup. More so than just a nation-state, India is seen as the centre of a significant global civilisation due to the depth of its nationalism, which accounts for a wide variety of cultures, faiths, etc.

A population's ethnic groups are subgroups that share a variety of social, cultural, and historical experiences. It frequently fosters a strong feeling of belonging and has unique ideas, values, and behaviour. As a result, being identified as a member of an ethnic group has biological, cultural, and historical implications. We are aware of the cultural, economic, and social diversity in India. Our country has a complicated ethnic plurality, which is a recognised reality. The size, culture, sense of group identification, and other characteristics of the ethnic groups vary, and quite often, distinct borders may be drawn between them. Overall, the system is quite fragmented and diverse. (e-gyankosh). The definition of "ethnicity"

according to the Britannica Encyclopaedia is "the identification of a group based on a perceived cultural distinction that transforms the group into a "people." Language, music, morals, art, styles, literature, family life, religion, ritual, cuisine, and other aspects are said to convey this identity.

Since ancient times, India has demonstrated a wide range of cultures, religions, races, languages, and other characteristics. The presence of several ethnic groups that, although residing inside the borders of a single country, profess various social customs and traits is explained by this diversity in race, culture, religion, and other factors (Know India: 2021). In terms of culture, tradition, usages, rituals, and lifestyles, ethnic groups vary from one another. They vary from one another in terms of both geography and demographics. Their ethnic features are influenced by their employment, habitat, and natural environment. The following are the key characteristics of the many ethnic groups in India: territorial identity (there are several ethnic groupings in India). The Aryan race predominates in the North, the Davidian race in the South, and the Mongolian race in the North-East. It is important to emphasise that the aforementioned categorization is based on race and not on citizenship or national identity. India's regional regions are crucial in separating various ethnic groups from their own social and cultural identities.

Religion: Citizens of the nation are free to practise whatever religion they want, with Hinduism, Christianity, Islam, Sikhism, Buddhism, and Jainism being the most common. Indian regional identity: India is a sizable nation. With 35 different states and union territories under the country's governance, a sense of regionalism and sub-nationalism has developed among the various regions. Different states exhibit distinctive cultures, which eventually meld together through a shared bond to demonstrate a national cultural identity.

Hindi is the official language of India and is used in the majority of its metropolitan centres. The Indian Constitution has designated 22 other languages as being widely used in the nation. Hundreds more dialects, in addition to these 22 languages, also contribute to India's multilingualism. India's languages, which are divided into four different language families Indo-Iranian (a subfamily of the Indo-European language family), Dravidian, Austroasiatic, and Tibeto-Burman (a subfamily of Sino-Tibetan) have likely hundreds of major and minor languages as well as many hundreds of recognised dialects. There are a few of isolated languages as well, such Nahali, which is only spoken in a tiny portion of the state of Madhya Pradesh. Dravidian or Indo-Iranian languages are spoken by the vast majority of people in India.

Identity based on lifestyle: In India, ethnicity derives from identities like caste, language, religion, and regional elements. Different ethnic groups have distinctive cultures and social structures. Each ethnic group has its own traditions, customs, and rituals. Their social interactions, cuisine, and clothing vary. The ethnic minorities have often been marginalised by powerful political interests. They continue to be socially and politically isolated as a result. They often fight over their financial assets as a result [7], [8].

As a result, it may be claimed that India is a country made up of several ethnically distinct countries. Due to the extreme ethnic variety, it is a lively place with many possibilities for learning from one another. However, when it becomes politicised, there might be ethnic confrontations, particularly in the North East. Conflicts between groups of people over issues like religion or language are also a kind of ethnic conflict. However, ethnic variety is a fact of life in the contemporary world. As Will Kymlicka has also emphasised, a multiethnic society is preferable than one that is homogeneous. The importance of cultural variety in modern society has grown, and it is only expected to do so in the near future. Population migrations

and population shift have been caused by increased interaction between cultures as a consequence of better communication and transportation. Changes in immigration trends, including a significant increase in immigrants of colour, have led to an increase in diversity in Canada. Conflicts between different cultures are becoming the most common source of political violence worldwide. Middle East, Yugoslavia, Rwanda, Eastern Europe, Central Asia, etc.

CONCLUSION

India's regionalism is a two-edged sword that may either promote variety and growth or represent a serious danger to the country's unity and integrity. It is crucial to comprehend the historical background and the wide range of elements that contribute to regionalism in order to develop efficient management policies and plans. Regionalism in India is greatly influenced by the federal organisation of the country, economic inequalities, political climate, resource distribution, ethnic and linguistic variety, and leadership dynamics. Focusing on decentralisation of authority, equitable resource allocation, and strict adherence to constitutional provisions are essential if regionalism is to be used for its positive aspects, such as cultural preservation and development, while mitigating its negative consequences, such as polarisation and conflicts. A comprehensive strategy that promotes inclusion and national unity is also necessary to address the problems associated to language, ethnicity, and regional identity.

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CHAPTER 9

LEGACY AND CONTINUITY: INDIA'S TRANSITION TO INDEPENDENCE AND POST-COLONIAL GOVERNANCE

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ABSTRACT:

The complicated dynamics of India's transition from colonial control to independence and its subsequent change to a post-colonial state are explored in this paper. It investigates the tremendous effects of nationalism, democracy, and colonialism on Indian politics, highlighting their contributions to the formation of the political system in that country. This research examines the persistent effects of colonial rule, demonstrating how India's post-independence government kept certain aspects of its colonial history, even though the Indian Independence Act of 1947 was a historic event. It also discusses the difficulties of forging a cohesive nation-state in an ethnically and racially diverse community. The article also explores the Constitution's writing in India, highlighting the pragmatic decision-making process that shaped the country's founding text. The analysis's conclusion highlights the pragmatic approach used by India's Constitution's creators, who aimed to strike a balance between various interests and realities while establishing a democratic and unified government system. In conclusion, India's post-independence political development has been marked by a careful balancing act between maintaining remnants of its colonial history and adjusting to the shifting demands of a varied nation. In response to the demands of a dynamic and heterogeneous society, India has been able to develop a democratic and unitary government system thanks to the pragmatic approach used in the Constitution's drafting. India's political environment continues to be evidence of the long-lasting effects of democracy, nationalism, and colonialism on its political discourse and system of government.

KEYWORDS:

Continuity, Governance, Independence, Legacy, India's Transition.

INTRODUCTION

The culmination of India's independence movement was the handover of sovereignty in 1947. The modification was approved by the Indian Independence Act of 1947. The advent of a new age was recorded by Jawaharlal Nehru in his well-known "tryst with destiny" speech, which goes as follows: We had a long-ago tryst with fate, and now the moment has come to fulfil our promise not entirely or fully, but very substantially. India will awaken to life and independence at the stroke of midnight, when the rest of the world is sleeping. There is a unique historical moment when we transition from the old to the new, when an era ends, and when the long-suppressed essence of a country finds expression. The future of India does not lie in relaxation or rest, but rather in constant effort in order to meet the commitments we have made in the past and will make today. The millions of people who suffer are served by India. It signifies the cessation of poverty, illiteracy, sickness, and opportunity inequity. The goal of Mahatma Gandhi, the greatest man of our age, has been to dry every tear from every eye. Even if it may be beyond our power, our task will not be over as long as there are tears and suffering.Through a process known as "the transfer of power," India became a free country in 1947. However, 'legacies' of many kinds may be blamed for a large portion of what we see in independent India. Was India's independence a departure from the past or a

continuation? Did India really "step out of the old to the new," as Nehru claimed? Given the obvious similarities between governing structures and the principles that underpin them, these are the issues that historians find difficult to answer was the transformation India underwent after independence only superficial? There is also the claim that, merely because of its length, over 200 years of colonialism's impacts seem to have been ingrained in India's culture, economy, and politics [1], [2]. It was thus almost impossible for those who oversaw India's fate in the early stages of her nationhood to entirely abolish the existing structure of government, which was so important for the British Raj. Even after the colonial government was withdrawn on August 15, 1947, political liberalism of the British sort continued to be a significant intellectual influence. Although Nehru joyfully said that "a new age" had begun when "the soul of a nation." Finds speech," the language had hardly altered while being spoken in a traditional liberal manner.

The colonial system of government was not popular among those who remained outside the Congress fold, but Nehru and his colleagues may have had no choice but to accept it because it effectively dealt with the communal unrest that erupted in Bengal and Punjab after the British declared their countries' independence. At a pivotal point in India's history when the administration the British left behind proved beneficial to the country's new governing elite, it was maybe the only alternative open to nationalists. Therefore, the nationalists made an ideological decision, probably as a result of the pressures of the situation, which more-or-less precluded the search for alternatives. Therefore, it is impossible to say that 1947 "marks a total disjunction between the colonial and post-colonial." Given the deeply ingrained administrative legacy of the British Raj, the post-colonial state in India is hardly a break with its recent past. Rather, it is a continuation of the methods of colonial administration that the nationalist movement chose. This may have been due to the exceptional circumstances of communal riots.

Colonialism, nationalism, and democracy seem to have had a significant impact on Indian politics. Therefore, even after decolonization, it is essential to understand the colonial, nationalist, and democratic articulations of "the political" in order to understand Indian politics. Two things should be remembered. First, despite the fact that nationalism and colonialism are inherently hostile, there is no denying that the former created the conditions under which nationalism evolved as a potent ideology to represent the voices of the colonised. Second, by progressively including those who had favourable attitudes towards the foreign government, colonialism also sped up the process of democratisation. The colonial authorities has given a few carefully chosen Indian interests various forms of representation. Additionally, it had made sure that "the state had always operated at a level removed from the society it governed."

The colonial state claimed "the executive privilege" for itself and gave the impression that it "stands outside the realm of and is free to be arbiter over, social conflict and political competition [and its relationship with the subject] continued to be conducted in the language of sup- plication and concession, grants and demands, charters and petition, grievances and repression"3. The British were aware that their own "theories of liberalism and self-government" had an impact on them. The British imperial attitudes in India appear to be "highly ambiguous" as a result of their attempts to compromise their liberal regard for self rule as the best form of government and their vested interests in being imperial masters. The colonial government introduced principles of representation, appropriate for its rule, into the colonial legislature.

The 1935 Government of India Act is unquestionably a potent constitutional intervention that the colonial rulers seriously made to accommodate the nationalist zeal within, of course, the

colonial administrative format. It was modelled after the British North America Act, 1867, which established the Canadian federation. This serves as an example of attempts to use constitutional action to legitimise the increasing democratic ambitions of the governed in India. It's interesting to note that the 1935 Act continued to have the most impact on the 1950 Constitution for a free India. In reality, the Government of India Act served as the inspiration for almost 250 sections in the current Constitution. The governing principles of independent India are unquestionably rooted from its colonial history, notwithstanding the political system's reliance on democratic sovereignty and universal adult vote. The 'emergency clauses' that provide the President the power to revoke democratically elected governments and basic liberties are the most conspicuous features that distinguish the Indian Constitution from its equivalent from 1935. Additionally, many colonial laws that allowed for the "preventive detention" of anyone deemed to be "politically subversive individuals" are still in effect in independent India [3], [4]. Some examples that draw on the colonial and authoritarian legislation of the colonial past include the infamous Maintenance of Internal Security Act (MISA) of 1972, the Terrorist and Disruptive Activities (Prevention) Act (TADA) of the early 1980s, and the Prevention of Ter- rorist Act (POTA) of more recent times. However, the 1935 authorities of India Act is unquestionably a crucial concession that the colonial authorities was had to make in response to the escalating nationalist and democratising currents.

DISCUSSION

There is no question that the post-colonial state in India inherited the colonial ways of doing things. And its weltanschauung (world view) is based on "the mixed legacies of colonial rule," which also supported the rule of law, bureaucracy, citizenship, parasitic landlords, modern political institutions, and a "two-track tradition" of protest and participation.6 This ability to adapt to the altered socio-political circumstances and the gradual but steady "internalisation" of domination by the subjects of colonialism accounts for the relative stability of colonialism in India. Nandy contends that for the subjects, it was a result of their own mutilation and failure in legal power politics. Colonial exploitation was seen by the rulers as an unfortunate unintended result of a way of life that was in tune with more advanced systems of political and economic organisation. Consciously or not, this was the consensus that the rulers of India desired. ..The reason the subjects worked together over the long haul, whether as players or counter-players, was because they seemed to have embraced the ideology of the system. This is the only way they could maintain any sense of dignity in the face of an inescapable injustice.

Such a cultural agreement served as the foundation for colonialism, which was strengthened even more by the development of defences against threats and nationalist ire as and when needed. For instance, the 1935 Government of India Act was the most significant institutional step when the British model of unitary governance was found to be largely ineffective for a diverse nation like India. Although the colonial state was hardly federal in the classical sense, the federal arrangement that the Act stipulated seemed to have provided critical institutional support for the colonial state.

The thesis highlighting the crucial role of the three ideological influences of nationalism, democratisation, and colonialism in outlining a unique course for India is shown by these detailed instances. The thesis presented in this book is based on the dialectical interactions between colonialism, nationalism, and democratisation during the period of history leading up to and after India's independence. Therefore, it is not meant to imply that India's polity was unchanged by political emancipation from colonial authority or to say that post-colonial India is just a continuation of her colonial history. Despite having obvious colonial origins,

India's major political institutions have experienced remarkable transformations since independence. A close examination of how Indian institutions have changed throughout time makes it abundantly evident that they have been adaptable to shifting conditions. For instance, the parliamentary democracy based on the Westminster model that India chose was not a clone but rather responsive to the situation-specific ethos and the pre-existing socio-cultural context. The national elections in 1977 and 2004, which were called by the current governing authority, which was reportedly unfriendly to "democratic values and procedures," provide no stronger evidence of the "deepening of democracy." In other words, the 2004 elections, which were called by the BJP and did not exactly respect democratic procedures, and the 1977 elections, which were both called by Indira Gandhi, who had demonstrated dictatorial tendencies, were both evidence of "the deep roots that democracy had struck in the soil of India". In addition, the shifting socio-economic profiles of the legislative assemblies and national parliament are also suggestive of a trend towards a genuinely inclusive democracy. The elite-centric form of government is vanishing as people-centric government gains strength in light of the rising politicisation of society's periphery. A powerful indicator of the depth of democratic processes, which are not just expressed in periodic elections, is the frequent alternation of political power via elections. The advent of adult suffrage completely altered Indian politics. Therefore, democracy is no longer limited to voter involvement in elections; it is now expressed in the "everyday struggle" that people engage in as they use their constitutional rights [5], [6].

But there is a word of warning. For a number of factors related to India's socio-cultural diversity, colonialism influenced nationalism but did not result in the establishment of a nation-state in that country. For this reason, post-colonial India was more of a state-nation than a nation-state, simply because the institutions of government, which were heavily influenced by British heritage, were already in place when the transfer of power occurred in 1947. With the exception of M. As the creation of states in the west was characterised by a lack of cultural and moral cohesion in India, A. Jinnah purposefully avoided using nationalist terminology that may be disastrous. In the political discourse of the day, the country as a conscious political articulation scarcely made an appearance. There was no unifying language, religion, or ethnic identity that underpinned Indian nationalism. The existence of a common opponent, namely British colonialism, may have "united men and women from different parts of the subcontinent in a common and shared endeavour." A country was formed, but it did so along a wholly distinct course that was in no way influenced by European sources. India is a country that does not prioritise a particular language or religion. India is not a "Hindu Pakistan," despite the fact that Hindus make up the majority of its population. Both its constitution and the nationalist movement that led to decolonization made no distinctions between individuals based on their religious beliefs. Even though the religious divide between Hindus and Muslims caused the pleasure of liberation to be tarnished by division, Gandhi's political successors were resolved to build independent India as a secular republic since they were unable to prevent the conflict.

India cannot, however, ever be a country in the truest sense of the word, but the 1992 destruction of the Babri Masjid serves as an example of efforts to bring Hindus together on the basis of a nationalist standard, namely religion. The fact that the political groups that led the drive for Hindu unification are still mostly insignificant in modern India is another evidence of the shortcomings of a strong nationalist ideology. The emergence of "regionalists," who seemed to have benefited greatly from the public's increased participation in political processes, may be balanced by the relative collapse of nationalist ideology. The regionalists have reinvented Indian politics' lexicon in the framework of coalition politics by bringing individuals from India's peripheral in terms of religion, elite caste rank, or physical

distance from the centre. As a result, the norms of political discourse in modern India no longer reflect the ideals of the former Congress period but rather are a result of the "deepening" of democratic processes. The regionalists seem to have built a framework for an effective interaction between the core and the periphery by articulating the voice of the regions. These regionalists are responsible for the fact that India's new multi-party democracy "is not merely an anomic battle for power and short-term gain, but releasing a pent-up creativity and visions that provide a fertile and cohesive backdrop to the realignment of social forces" Thus, the history of independent India provides evidence of a creative articulation of democracy that is sui generis and neither ethnocentric nor precisely a copy of western experiences.

The efforts made by the founding fathers to interpret the nationalist and democratic ambitions of an independent polity after decolonization are reflected in the Constituent Assembly's creation of free India's constitution over a period of little over three years. Furthermore, the 1950 Constitution relied on an ideology that attempted to construct a liberal democratic government in the wake of colonialism's end, thus even while the Constitution represents continuity at least in structural and procedural terms, it was also a distinct departure with the past. The Constitution, which the founding fathers drafted despite significant challenges brought on by partition, is the clearest indication of their dedication to constitutionalism and the rule of law. As the procedures of the Constituent Assembly indicate, the dedication to liberal democratic ideals remained crucial in the formulation of the Constitution. In order to build "a Nehruvian statist political order," the constitution's authors reformulated the concept of popular sovereignty while adopting the liberal representative principle. This gave rise to the Habermasian proceduralized definition of popular sovereignty, which said that "popular opinion and will formation in informal and voluntary public spheres could seek to influ- ence the channels of legitimate law-making [7], [8]."

The Constituent Assembly was established as a result of discussions regarding a potential post-war constitutional arrangement in India between nationalist leaders and the members of the Cabinet Mission. Its deliberations started on 9 December 1946 and ended with the adoption of the Constitution on 24 January 1950. In this time span of slightly more than three years, national trauma related to the partition and acts of violence that killed Mahatma and butchered innocent people in the wake of the transfer of population in the immediate wake of the declaration of freedom severely diminished the joy of freedom. According to Paul Brass, "more fear and trepidation than hope and inspiration" were there when the Indian Constitution was drafted. Given the circumstances of how the Constitu- ent Assembly started and ended its deliberations, it is difficult to refute this assertion. Thus, the Constitution was a practical answer to the situation that the Assembly encountered as it drew the blueprint for a free India. The founding fathers engaged in "the art of the possible and never allowed their ideological cause to blind them to reality," as has been correctly argued.

Despite appreciating India's diverse social fabric, the Assembly members were almost unanimous in their support for a powerful state. Even those who opposed the emergency measures supported a centralised government as a means of containing inclinations that endangered the nation's integrity. The Constitution's emergency powers were justified on the grounds that "disorder" or "misgovernance" threaten India's status as "a territorial state." Such worries, according to Paul Brass, could only be a reflection of "another kind of continuity" between the new governing elite and the former British rulers, namely "a lack of faith" in the capability of the newly enfranchised population to check "the misdeeds" of their elected rulers and "an attitude of distrust" towards the country's average political figures. Nevertheless, despite its obvious inconsistency with the cherished goal of the nationalist

leaders for a federal state, the fear of "disorder" was perhaps the most important element in support of the arguments for a centralised state. Thus, regardless of the situation, B. R. Ambedkar's inconsistent views on federalism may seem absurd. Ambedkar was unambiguously in support of a federal system of government in 1939 due to its political viability in India's multiethnic society.19 When he said in 1946, "I like a strong united Centre, much stronger than the Centre we had created under the Government of India Act of 1935," he offered a drastically different perspective.20 Jawaharlal Nehru argued in favour of a strong state while presenting the Union Powers Committee's final report, saying, "we are unanimous that it would be detrimental to the interest of the country to provide for a weak central authority that would be unable to ensure peace, to coordinate crucial matters of common concern, and to effectively speak for the entire country in the international sphere."

Federalism did not seem to be a suitable structural system of government, as is clear, given the feared risks to the fledgling Indian nation's survival. The constitution of a nation is intended to suit "the normative-functional requirements of governance," hence the authors of the document advocated for a strong central government. Regardless of whether it reflected the deeply held principles of the independence movement that the majority of the Assembly members had nurtured while taking part in the battle, the constitution was to represent "an ideology of governance." We must construct the system based on the realities of our nation, not on any arbitrary notions, in the words of G. L. Mehta due to Alladi Krishnaswamy Ayyar, who made a similar argument, "our constitutional design is relative to the peculiar conditions obtaining here, accord- ing to the peculiar exigencies of our country and not according to a prior or theoretical considerations." They were more influenced by their opinions on statecraft while creating the constitution for governance, which would undoubtedly have changed had the terrible event that preceded the Constitution's inauguration in 1950 not occurred. Therefore, one can confidently assert that "the architects of our Constitution" were motivated by "hard-headed pragmatism and not abstract governmental theories."

The paper, however, was not written by the full Assembly. The Canning Lane Group, so called because "they lived while attending Assembly sessions on Canning Lane," bore the brunt of the job, which was plainly the "hard work of the government wing of the Congress, and not the mass party." There is still another aspect of how the Assembly operates that is as illuminating. Granville Austin argues that the constitutional design of India is potentially "a good example" of decision-making through agreement and accommodation. He bases this claim on an analysis of the discussions around several constitutional clauses. Scholars disagree, nevertheless, since non-Congress members' opinions were often suppressed due to the primacy of the Congress in the Assembly. At least two important issues political minorities and language were readily sacrificed, according to S. K. Chaube. There was no consensus over the political minority, and Austin acknowledges that the linguistic issue was only resolved with "a half-hearted compromise."27 The depleted Muslim League underlined its sense of alienation from the chamber by referring to the Assembly as "a packed house." Even Ambedkar saw the diminished significance of the Assembly since, as he conceded, "they had to go to another place to obtain a decision and come to the Assembly" on a number of times.

The phrase "decision by consensus" may not be an accurate depiction of the deliberative processes. However, as the proceedings demonstrate, there was often near unanimity and disagreements among the Congress Party members, who made up the majority, were resolved politically. According to Ambedkar, who acknowledges this, "the possibility of chaos was reduced to nil by the existence of the Congress Party inside the Assembly which brought into its proceedings a sense of order and dis- cipline."   Therefore, the Party deserves full credit

for the Assembly's adoption of the Draught Constitution without incident. According to Shiva Rao, attempts were made to eradicate or at the very least reduce disagreements on a number of contentious subjects via informal gatherings of the Congress Party's MPs in the Constituent Assembly.30 When a disagreement could not be resolved via informal dialogue, "the Assembly leadership exercised its authority formally by the Party Whip." The emphasis on unanimity in the Constituent Assembly is clear evidence that no effort was made to compel a decision. This is likely because "the leaders were aware that the constitution adopted on the principle of majority vote would not last long." As a consequence, it was not unexpected that Rajendra Prasad, the president of the Constituent Assembly, chose to delay discussion so that everyone might come to an agreement rather than cast a vote that, in his opinion, may produce "something not wanted by anyone."

The talks that have gone before highlight two significant aspects. First off, creating the Indian Constitution was a challenging endeavour due to the particular social fabric of Indian reality, which had to be reflected in the Constitution, as well as the historical backdrop. The growing tide of violence that was claiming innocent lives soon after partition made everyone in the Assembly defensive. Second, it seems that the founding fathers were fixated on their own interpretation of a united national life. The Constitution was intended to provide India "an appropriate ordering framework." Personally I do not attach any importance to the label which may be attached to it whether you call it a Federal Constitution or a Unitary Constitution or by any other name, Rajendra Prasad said ambiguously on the Assembly floor. As long as the Constitution meets our needs, it is irrelevant. Overall, a unitary mind created "a basically unitary constitution sprinkled with permissive power for a highly supervised level of constituent units."

CONCLUSION

As India transitioned from colonial authority to independence and then into a post-colonial state, colonialism, nationalism, and democracy interacted in complicated ways. These influences have had a significant influence on Indian politics, helping to shape the country's political discourse and governance framework. Despite gaining independence in 1947, India has carried over a number of colonial remnants. The British Raj's administrative structure, representational values, and legal frameworks still have an impact on post-colonial government. This consistency may be attributed in part to the nationalist leaders' pragmatic choices, which included adapting the existing administrative institutions to deal with obstacles like racial unrest and other issues during the early years of nationhood. India's road to becoming a country was distinct since it did not follow the traditional concept of a nation-state. The variety of the nation in terms of language, religion, and ethnicity made it difficult to establish a cohesive nation-state. However, in order to preserve stability and handle possible challenges to the integrity of the country, the founding authors of India's Constitution prioritised the necessity for a powerful central government, demonstrating pragmatism.

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CHAPTER 10

EVOLUTION OF COALITION POLITICS AND SOCIOECONOMIC TRANSFORMATIONS IN MODERN INDIAN HISTORY

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ABSTRACT:

For a variety of causes, the national elections in 1999 and 2004 constituted key turning points in Indian politics in the contemporary era. This paper examines the development of coalition politics in India, commencing with the Janata experiment of 1977–1979, which served as a model for later coalition national administrations. The research emphasises how the 1975–1977 Emergency helped the opposition come together and gave rise to a variety of political coalitions. In the coalition period, it also emphasises the significance of regional parties, reflecting the regionalization of Indian politics and the nationalisation of regional issues. The study makes the case that these coalitions have evolved into a reliable system of government in India, reflecting the social, economic, and political environment of the nation. It also explores how these changes have affected Indian nationalism and their larger consequences for the political climate of the country. In the end, this research sheds light on the intricate and dynamic character of Indian politics while highlighting the importance of coalition administrations in a multiethnic and multicultural democracy. In conclusion, the evolution of coalition politics in India highlights how flexible and resilient the Indian democracy is in addressing the needs of various socioeconomic groups and interests. It casts doubt on the idea of a uniform Indian identity and emphasises how crucial it is to deal with local and regional problems in order to achieve stable administration. The coalition period is a special time in Indian politics that may teach the biggest democracy in the world important lessons going forward.

INTRODUCTION

For at least two reasons, the national elections in 1999 and 2004 marked a turning point in modern Indian political history. First off, the 'deepening' of democracy has resulted in significant socio-economic transformations at the grassroots that make it difficult to undo the coalition period that these elections have brought in in India. There is rarely a stable voter base for any of the candidates. Parties don't win or lose in elections based on the ideologies they promote, but rather on the amount of support they can mobilise. Second, the 2004 election marked a new age for voters' estimates of their payoffs by making strategic decisions at a time when mobilisation based on caste or ethnic identities did not seem to be as important as it had been in the past. The three Ms of the 1990s, Mandal, Mandir, and Market, barely ever continued to be successful in winning over voters. Hindutva, whether in favour or opposition, has lost its appeal, forcing the BJP, the current governing party, to rely on the "India shining" campaign, which was ineffective in winning over people. Thus, political parties "tell a story of gradual withdrawal from links of one's performance and capabilities". Local concerns, such as water, power, or roads, were crucial in determining the results of the election in a significant number of seats. This implies that "the issue of governance," or more specifically, performance, was what mattered most to voters.

As a result of the splintered election results and trend that the 1999 election reaffirmed, coalitions of parties seem to be the only viable option for forming a government in the 2004 presidential election. However, it would be incorrect to claim that the coalition period started in 1999 since the experiment while brief in scope was carried out earlier in India. Although nine Indian states Punjab, Haryana, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, West Bengal, Orissa, Tamil Nadu, and Kerala formed coalition governments in 1967, the Janata Party's victory at the Union level in 1977 marked the beginning of a national coalition government experiment. For at least two primary reasons, the Janata experiment of 1977–1979 stands apart from other similar studies. The non-Congress catch-all coalition governments that were established in 1967 were just state-level experiments with no evident influence on the union government.

This was the first effort at building a coalition government at the national level. Regionalization of Indian politics was perhaps inevitable after it seemed as if the politically widespread Congress system had lost its all-India appeal. Second, while on a different level, the Janata administration was a continuation in that it not only capitalised on anti-Congress feelings but also gathered parties of all ideologies under its wing in order to achieve a set of shared socioeconomic and political objectives. In bringing together political groups and forces against the Indira Gandhi-led Congress immediately after the 1977 election, the significance of the 1975–1977 Emergency cannot be overlooked. As members of the union government and national-level parties develop a sense of the politics of the state and lower levels, state-level parties with the Janata alliance at their heart cross paths with national concerns [1], [2].

In addition to attacking the Constitution, the Emergency also attacked the liberal democratic traditions that had developed alongside the Constitution since Independence. The authoritarian regime sought to stifle democratic procedures, which gave the opposition parties a chance to band together against the ruling party regardless of ideology. Thus, the 1975–1977 Emergency was a turning point in India's post–colonial history, not only because it created the conditions for coalition politics to emerge and become more established, but also because it strengthened democratisation efforts by instigating spontaneous uprisings against authoritarian rule. The engagement of the populace, particularly in urban centres, in protests against the suspension of basic rights and privileges to which a citizen in a democratic polity had access made it simpler for diverse political organisations to mobilise large support for their cause.

This alliance of opposition parties seems to have two significant facets. On the one hand, those who opposed Indira Gandhi relied heavily on anti-Congress- sism, which is loosely defined as a political attitude against the Congress Party. The second aspect was Jayaprakash Narayan's (hereinafter JP) overall endeavour to unite ideologically disparate political groups around a common goal of opposition to the Congress Party. The fact that JP was able to solidify the link raised the potential of political unification across many social groupings despite significant socioeconomic disparities. After the Emergency of 1975–1977, the socialists decided to do this in order to minimise the ideological divide with other constituencies. Even the RSS supported the participation of the Jana Sangha in the Janata experiment after its leader Bala Sahab Deoras realised that, in order to "remain in the mainstream of national politics, the RSS should opt for a politics of accommodation" by redefining its exclusivist ideological identity"38. Furthermore, the class character of the Bharatiya Lok Dal (BLD) never stood in the way of forming a coalition in which a completely opposite BJS was a significant partner. Four opposition groups - Congress (O), the Jana Sangha, the Bharatiya Lok Dal, and the Socialist Party - combined as soon as the

1977 elections were announced to create the Janata Party, which agreed to have a joint candidate and same symbol in this election. In as many as 425 of the 539 seats where there was essentially a direct fight between Congress and the opposition, it was a great feat for the party to have put together a single list of candidates with other parties like the CPI(M) and Akali Dal.

Due to widespread unhappiness about the Emergency's abuses and the movement JP started against "the authoritarian rule," Congress lost, and the opposition parties gained a majority, most likely. The Janata Party won 270 of the 539 seats in the Lok Sabha, while its allies, the Jagjivan Ram-led Congress for Democracy, the Akali Dal, and the CPI(M), all gained seats. Not only did the Congress party lose in north India, but Indira Gandhi also lost in the UP town of Rae Bareli. The creation of history. It was a non-Congress coalition's history in India. In the elections of 1967, what was expressed at the state level was transferred to the national level in the election of 1977. In light of the waning significance of a single party majority in the central legislature, the concept of coalition governments however vague became a crucial component of the new national political landscape.

As is clear, the Janata Party, which ruled between March 1977 and July 1979, was "a hastily assembled coalition of quite different opposition parties and groups united primarily by their opposition to Indira Gandhi and the Emergency."40 In other words, the opposition groups' unity was only maintained because it was politically advantageous; however, as soon as the common enemy was vanquished, the groups' natural divisions started to show. The conservative yet secularist wing of the Congress Party predominated the alliance known as the Janata Party. Additionally, it had the Jana Sangha, a "Hindu Right" party that mostly represented high-caste middle-class residents of metropolitan regions in northern and central India. Specifically in the Hindi Belt, the BLD intended to represent the interests of "prosperous small peasant proprietors." Redistributing resources from the urban, industrial sector to farmland was its main ideological objective [3], [4]. The Socialist Party, the fourth component, had a solid support base among urban workers as well as among parts of north India's rural poor. Last but not least, the Congress for Democracy was a breakaway faction of the Congress that had support among the underprivileged, especially Dalits in rural India.

DISCUSSION

The alliance led by the Janata Party had only fleeting joy after their triumph. Holding the party together once the government was established was a top priority for the leaders. The ongoing squabbling and faction warfare inside the party, both at the national level and in the states, often jolted the administration. The Janata Party continued to be "a coalition of different parties and groups" and was "a victim of factionalism, manipulation, and the personal ambitions of its leaders"42. The coalition, which was constrained by anti-Indira Gandhi sentiments, was too dissimilar historically, ideologically, and even programmatically to gel. The future of the socialists was largely limited by its inability to expand outside of Bihar, where it had a base and strong support. Jana Sangha, which had 90 MPs, was distinct in its ideology and had clear communal characteristics due to its organic link with the RSS. Congress (O) was secular but conservative, adhering to more or less the Congress ideology. BLD, though secular, was using a rich-peasant strategy and failed to gain traction with the rural masses. The establishment of a reasonably stable alliance was hindered by the lack of ideological compatibility.

The Janata coalition is a notable example of governing by ideologically diverse but programmatically less incompatible parties, although being fleeting in its existence. The mandate of the restoration of the constitutional regime "served as the strongest foundation of

sup- support for the Janata coalition" because the main issue of the 1977 elections was how to stop the authoritarian usurpation of democratic power.44 What is striking is the effort of the Janata Party government to comply with the election pledges as much as possible.45 This includes a swift end to the Emergency regime, the restoration of the rule of law, and other promises.

The experiment was carried out once again in 1989 when the Delhi Janata Dal administration was in power, but this time it only lasted for two years when the members split over different ideological disagreements. In 1996 and 1998, coalition governments were established due to the failure of a single party to win a majority. Both of these governments met the same demise. In 1999, elections were called, and the BJP-led National Democratic Alliance (NDA) won a majority in the Lok Sabha, the lower house of India's parliament. A trend in Indian political math seems to have been validated by the 2004 election, namely that coalition government may be the only political mechanism that can provide stable administration in India. The United Progressive Alliance (UPA), headed by the Congress and supported by the left-leaning parties in the lower house, came to power in New Delhi by uniting anti-BJP forces. What is most notable is the rise of regional parties as prominent players in the administration and as being quantitatively necessary for the coalition's continuation in the event that a majority on the house floor can be shown. State-centric concerns have become remarkably salient with the rise in regional political parties' influence in the coalition period, perhaps as a result of coalition politics' need. Therefore, political pluralism in the truest sense of the word has resulted from the establishment of regional parties as significant system players. In this way, what I refer to as the "regionalization of national politics" and the "nationalisation of regional politics" processes are made possible by the parties with roots and support in a certain area becoming more prominent [5], [6].

The survival of the governing party at the centre depends now heavily on regional parties. The prominent role that numerous regional parties played in the formation of the NDA and in the race for power after the elections "created an impression of regionalization of the national political arenas". For decades, all parties, especially the Congress, derided small and regional parties as "parochial." They were charged with "furthering social and geographic divisions." They were referred to as "destabilising forces" in the single-party political culture. The regional and indigenous elite have been given a legitimate space by the national politics that pitched the "nation" against the "regions," and they cannot be disregarded under India's new system of political power. In other words, the political system is compelled to organise government around a coalition of minor and regional parties, which, incidentally, happens to be a coalition mostly made up of middle and lower castes in the social hierarchy. This is because voters tend to choose local problems. The occasional hiccups in the ruling coalition after the alleged threat of the AIADMK in 2001 show how important the coalition's constituents are. This forced the acceptance of a more federal system of governance in regional and social terms than the proponents of states' rights earlier.

The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP)-led former NDA coalition has persevered despite a fluid and extremely volatile political environment. The Indian variety of coalition, however, offers a relatively "moderate" form of government, as large national parties have been forced to accept the need for alliances and accommodations with a variety of new and old parties, including the regional parties. Putting aside the alleged "ideological purity," "the exigency of the situation" is what unites the partners and generally supports the alliance. The continuation of the NDA administration for a full term is indicative of a substantial shift in India's political texture by making coalition unavoidable, despite the two previous subsequent coalition governments at the capital only lasting a short time. The region's participation on the national

stage is indicative of a process of empowering numerous marginalised populations. Regional parties' increasing influence is likely due in part to their success in expressing the aspirations of the Dalits and aggressive backward castes. These parties continue to be "regional" in terms of their physical locations, but they are national in that they advocate for problems that affect the whole nation.50 The increasing weight of regional parties in the national coalition is a sign of a more cutthroat and polarised party system. In fact, democracy is becoming closer to the people.

Therefore, the NDA and its successor, the UPA, are effective experiments in coalition government and federalism in India. It implies a crisis of majoritarian political culture, based on the dominance of a single party headed by a charismatic leader, rather than just the collapse of one party and the development of the regional and minor parties. This succinct chronological overview of India's recent political history serves the objective of giving an analytical account of the development of coalition politics in light of the disjointed electoral mandate in the country's previous two elections. Two crucial aspects become clear. First, the Hindutva movement tried to mobilise Hindus against "the hated other," mainly the Muslims, but it seems that appealing to the "nation" is ineffective for gaining a majority in parliament. In light of the 1992 Babri Masjid destruction, the avowed Nehruvian objective of "unity in diversity" as the cultural foundation of tolerant pluralism in India seems to have significantly lost its appeal.

The possibility of a one-party majority has disappeared. Perhaps the only institutional vehicle that can accommodate competing pulls of regional and sub-national identities is the coalition of parties. By sustaining multicultural nationalism as an essential component of India's political processes, the alliance, which is based on India's deeply ingrained pluralism, may result in the "banalization" of the idea of nationalism altogether. Second, the NDA and subsequently the UPA constitute an unstoppable new trend in Indian politics, reflecting clear social alliances. Despite significant ideological disparities between them, both of these national coalition administrations were formed as a consequence of the alliance of different political parties. The Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP), which gained a majority in the state legislature in 2007, is an alliance of the Dalits and Brahmins, two politically opposed socioeconomic groupings. The BSP earned the support of the Brahmins by stating its vehement opposition to the Mandal quota system for other backward castes, drawing on Ambedkar's pro-Dalit beliefs. The results of the UP election show that societal obstacles to political mobilisation have clearly been broken down. Dalits and Brahmins may occupy distinct, if not hostile, social positions. However, as the UP election results showed, they may unite to form a successful coalition on the basis of a shared socio-economic agenda.

The country of India is very fractious, and an appeal to the nation can never be a serious ideological agenda, according to a comprehensive analysis of election events in India. Additionally, it has shown that, in India's fiercely competitive political environment, using moderate ideological overtones is perhaps the most successful kind of political mobilisation. Since sub-national concerns and identities seem to be crucial in determining the destiny of political parties vying for votes, two processes seem to have occurred simultaneously. On the one hand, the country no longer serves as a credible electoral plank for mobilising voters. On the other hand, this amply demonstrates the effects of the democratic processes that got under way when adult suffrage was implemented in independent India. Thus, Indian politics are not only a place for various social experimentation involving many social groups; they are also a hub for various social, economic, and political activities that are difficult to comprehend when seen through the lens of ethnocentric theoretical frameworks.

'The time of the constitutional foundation of two dominions with concomitant carnage' is the definition of partition.2 The 1940 Lahore resolution, which pushed for the creation of a distinct Muslim state, was the Muslim League's first formal declaration of Pakistan or its split. Although the word "Pakistan" was not used, the resolution's call for an independent Muslim state or states transformed the ideal of a fully autonomous Muslim state into real words.3 The resolution, which sought to unite Indian Muslims around the Pakistan demand, was therefore historically significant for at least two reasons: first, the fact that Fazlul Haq, the most well-known Muslim leader in Bengal, proposed the resolution suggests the League's growing influence in the provinces with a majority of Muslims; and second, for the first time, a clear demand was formally articulated, insisting that the areas in India where Muslims made up the majority4 Additionally, it made the case that Indian Muslims should be treated equally with the Hindu majority in any future constitutional debates since they make up the majority nation in India's north-west and east [7], [8].

Despite scepticism over Pakistan's feasibility, the colonial authorities became more receptive to the arguments put forward by the Muslim League. By 1945, the League had not only insisted on "the division of India as the only solution of the complex constitutional problem of India," but it had also made Pakistan the focal point of its electoral campaign. "The League will be entitled to ask for Pakistan without any further investigation or plebiscite" if Muslims supported the League in the 1946 elections. Additionally, Jinnah designated the regions that make up Pakistan during the election campaign. He believed that those regions, where there was a certain Muslim majority, inevitably belonged to Pakistan. As a result, Pakistan was given Bengal and Assam in the north-east of India, Sind, Baluchistan, the North West Frontier Province, and Punjab in the north-west.

He claimed that the next elections "will settle the issue once and for all, and after they are over, Pakistan will become an immediate reality."7 By emphasising that "the question a voter is called on to answer is are you a true believer or an infidel and a traitor" they allegedly played on the religious sensitivities of Muslim voters in Punjab. The 1946 election was a referendum for the League, as the poll's results showed. Even in the provinces with a plurality of Muslims, the League did not do well in the first provincial election in 1937. However, nine years later, in 1946, the League emerged as the only representative of Muslims by polling in the majority of instances, if not all of them, at or near its highest natural strength. This feat was notable in terms of organisation and leadership. The 1946 elections saw a clear victory for the Muslim League in the provinces with a Muslim majority, which fundamentally transformed India's political landscape and made the League a stronger party in its discussions with the British during the last stage of the transfer of power.

Even more than 50 years after India was divided, the historian is still intrigued by the conflicting aspect of the reality of August 15, 1947. Although freedom was attained, it was accompanied by the pain of division and the ensuing chaos until the actual transfer of authority was stated. India's independence therefore stands for a major historical conundrum. The nationalist movement helped bring about independence but couldn't stop the division. Therefore, the nationalist movement's triumph was also its downfall. Why did it take place? The solution is found in another contradiction, notably the anti-imperialist movement's both successes and failures under Gandhi and his Congress allies. The Congress had two challenges in its fight against the colonial power: uniting many classes, towns, and organisations into a country, and securing independence for this fledgling nation. The Congress was mostly unsuccessful "in welding the diversity into a nation and particularly failed to integrate the Muslims into this nation," while having been successful in organising the country against the British, which is what led to the British Empire's eventual exit from

India. The origins of the independence paradox that came along with the Great Divide of the Indian subcontinent lay at the heart of this paradox the success and failure of the nationalist struggle. As one analyst puts it, "independence and partition were but the reflection of the success and failure of the strategy of the Congress-led nationalist movement. "Because it sought to define its members in accordance with the political border that was created in the wake of the transfer of power, the 1947 split fundamentally changed the subcontinent's character. 1947 was not only about division; it also represented the Muslims' liberation from both the British and the Hindu ruling class. For the Hindus in Bengal, for example, it helped them feel at home, comfortable and secure. Despite the fact that it was unquestionably a milestone in many ways, not everything in India was permanently altered as a consequence of these two connected events independence and division. India's colonial history continued to hold the country captive, at least throughout the early years of her independence.

India's political economy as a state

India's post-colonial political economy is an odd blend of the two, neither wholly capitalist nor wholly feudal. Because of this, India's route of growth can never be simply conceptualised, much like the evolution of India as a country in the years after independence in 1947. The socialistic social structure, in which the state remained the most important participant, was established by the Preamble to the Indian Constitution. As a result, it is emphasised in the Directive Principles of State Policy (Part IV of the Constitution) that the objective of the Indian polity is not unrestrained laissez-faire but rather a welfare state where the state has a positive duty to ensure to its citizens social and economic justice with individual dignity in accordance with the unity and integrity of the nation. The founding fathers made it necessary for future governments to find a balance between individual liberty and the public good, between preserving the property and privilege of the few and bestowing benefits on the many, in order to liberate the powers of individuals equally for contributions to the common good, by making these principles fundamental to governance and making it the laws of the nation and duty of the state to apply them. This new institutional framework included 'a regulatory system' that included public sector growth, discretionary market and private economic activity regulations, and strict import and foreign currency restrictions. The latter one had its foundations in economic nationalism, whereas the previous two had their roots in the philosophy of socialism. They defined "activism of the newly established nation state" when taken as a whole.

The most important tool in this form of state-directed development was the Planning Commission, which was established in January 1950 over strong resistance from Gandhians within the Congress Working Committee. However, three key ideas were highlighted as specific terms of reference in the cabinet decision that ultimately resulted in the founding of the Commission, which essentially defused objections. These guiding principles were that all citizens, men and women alike, have a right to an adequate standard of living; that ownership and control of the nation's material resources are distributed in a way that best serves the common good; and that the operation of the economic system does not lead to the concentration of wealth and production resources to the detriment of the general welfare. The 1948 Industrial Policy Resolution opens by noting that the country has now committed itself to establishing a social order where fairness and equality of opportunity will be provided to all the people, underscoring the ideological commitment of the country. To achieve this, meticulous planning and coordinated efforts throughout the whole spectrum of national activity are required; hence, the Government of India intends to create a National Planning Commission to devise development initiatives and oversee their implementation [9], [10].

Therefore, the 1948 Industrial Policy Resolution insisted that the government should play a more active role in the growth of crucial industries, such as those producing arms and ammunition, atomic energy production and management, and ownership and management of railway transportation, as well as the basic industries, such as iron, coal, steel, shipbuilding, aircraft manufacturing, and oil. This resolution was repeated in the 1955 Avadi session of the Congress by highlighting that the state should play a crucial role in planning and development in light of the avowed purpose being a socialist pattern of society. The industrial policy resolution of 1956, which was adopted after parliament had accepted in December 1954 a socialist pattern of society as the objective of social and economic policy and the Second Five-Year Plan (also known as the Mahalanobis Plan), which formalised this ideological goal, was the next landmark event confirming the intention of an activist state. The plan's creator, P. C. Mahalanobis, promoted 'the autarkic industrialization approach' as a means of increasing growth via state-controlled economic development. He therefore insisted that the basic and heavy industries should remain in the public sector for two reasons: the private sector might not be able to raise sufficient resources for these extremely capital-intensive industries, and even if it did, it would command a monopo- listic control that was deemed detrimental to social welfare; and by controlling the allocation of output of the basic and heavy industries according to social priorities, it was certain that the government would be ab In order to achieve the goal of a socialist social structure, the Nehru-led administration foresaw a larger role for the public sector and the significance of planning in the overall development of the nation.

Planning seems to be a powerful operational instrument to organise the state's function in conformity with its ideological foundation. Planning is thus not simply a tool for economic regeneration, but it is also closely linked to the political inclinations of the government. To emphasise the intricate interdependence, which involves a simultaneous interplay of multiple pulls and pressures in a continually changing social fabric, rather than conceptualising the relationship between planning and the ideological tilt of the regime in a deterministic manner. Planning is a "practise of instrumental rationality institutionalised outside the normal processes of representative politics and executed through a developmental administration," according to this definition. Despite the crucial need of planning, Aseema Sinha contends that the structure of mediation between the central and the regions "was and continues to be a constraint on the developmental project in India." Additionally, central planning resulted in the growth of regionalism in India, most likely as a result of the "haphazard and unequal" development of the component provinces. In addition to external pressures after globalisation, regional variations and politico-economic disputes resulting from a centrally planned system continue to play a significant role in post-independence India's political economy.

In the past, the arguments in favour of planning for growth have convinced Congress. Since 1929, the Congress Party has shown considerable interest in socialistic methods such as planning and heavy industrialization as "essential to make revolutionary changes in the present economic and social structure of society and to remove gross inequalities," in contrast to Gandhi's explicit opposition to "planned development." Within two years, a resolution demanding state control of "key industries and services, mineral resources, railways, waterways, shipping, and other means of public transportation" was accepted by the 1931 Karachi Congress. The Congress Working Committee, however, stressed in a resolution voted in 1934 in Banaras that "large and organised industries are in no need of the services of Congress organisations or of any Congress effort on their behalf." Jawaharlal Nehru criticised the aforementioned and organised support to reformulate the resolution in order to get Congress support for industrialization and planning, which, in his opinion, were the only

ways to achieve significant economic progress in India. In September 1934, the Congress Working Committee met in Bombay and came on a compromise formula. Small-scale cottage enterprises were given great focus as a result. In spite of the Congress's lack of organisational or financial support, Nehru was encouraged by the party's partial backing and spoke vehemently in favour of heavy industrialization and the careful planning of human resources in his 1936 presidential speech in Faizpur.

CONCLUSION

From the Janata experiment of 1977–1979 to the present, the development of coalition politics in India shows a significant change in the political environment of the nation. The Janata Party was founded as a result of the opposition coming together during the 1975–1977 Emergency, and subsequent national coalition government attempts. These coalitions, which are made up of ideologically divergent but less incompatible parties on policy issues, have come to characterise Indian politics. It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of regional parties since they have significantly influenced coalition politics' dynamics. Major national parties have been obliged to accept the value of alliances and accommodations with a variety of parties, including those representing particular states or regions, as a result of the regionalization of Indian politics and the nationalisation of regional issues. A more federal structure of government has resulted from this change, both regionally and socially. The fading attraction of a single-party majority in the Indian political environment is one of the fundamental conclusions from this development. Election support has been shown to be more effectively attracted by mobilising around regional and sub-national identities and issues than by appeals to the "nation" as a whole. As coalition governments prioritise a pluralistic style of administration, this has led to a banalization of the concept of nationalism.

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CHAPTER 11

INDIAN POLITICAL EVOLUTION AND ADMINISTRATIVE CHALLENGES: FROM INDEPENDENCE TO MODERNITY

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ABSTRACT:

This examines Jawaharlal Nehru and Mahatma Gandhi's ideologies in relation to India's battle for independence and the ensuing economic planning. Both men were prominent members of the Congress party. Gandhi opposed industrialization out of concern for its detrimental effects on Indian society, while Nehru backed it as a method of fostering growth and freedom. The Congress was able to stay together despite its divisions. Nehru enthusiastically participated in Gandhi's freedom campaign as a result of his pragmatic outlook. Future confrontations within the Congress were foreshadowed by the discussion of planning and industrialisation. In the end, Nehru's support for planning signalled a crucial change in India's war for independence. Meghnad Desai proposes a reorientation of economic development instruments, contending that planning was harmful to India's capitalist progress. He emphasises the necessity for participatory planning that is geared to support capitalism expansion and is economically predictive. This article emphasises how crucial it is to modify economic plans to fit India's particular conditions, political stability, and the significance of state-led growth. In order to fully realise its potential as a dynamic and democratic country, India must strike a balance between its historical heritage, political realities, and the need for sustained economic development.

KEYWORDS:

Congress, Country, Democratic, Industrialization, Planning, Political.

INTRODUCTION

The Congress veterans seem to have used planning as a forum to express their various ideological viewpoints. In accordance with their differing ideologies, Nehru supported industrialism while Gandhi opposed it because he believed that, rather than promoting social welfare, machine civilization would not only subject Indians to more severe forms of exploitation but also cause a general degradation of human life. Even while Nehru and Gandhi sometimes disagreed, unlike his militant colleague Subhas Bose, the former never pushed their disagreements to the point of producing a rift within the Congress. Nehru, a pragmatist, joined enthusiastically in the Gandhi-led liberation movement despite the negative ideological implications of doing so because he understood that achieving independence came before ideology. In light of the Congress endeavour to develop an anti-British platform encompassing even opposing views, the debate among Gandhi and Nehru in regards to planning and industrialisation was only a signpost suggesting the impending friction. There is little question that Nehru ushered in a new era in the Indian independence war by arguing for planning and industrialisation.

Though he admitted that planning had to be driven by what he characterised as "integrated planning," Nehru's unwavering trust in planning is seen by the preceding in-depth analysis of the growth of planning. In light of this, he said, "the Planning Commission has performed an essential task; without which it could not have progressed." Because of our federal

framework, the many states have come together to have coordinated planning. Without it, the federal government would have been unable to carry out its duties because there would have been immediate concerns that it was infringing on the rights of the states.' It was only natural that planning would play a significant role in India's development once he assumed the position of prime minister. Meghnad Desai steps in at this point and makes a compelling case for why planning was bad for India's growth of capitalism. Planning was essentially a political instrument used by the state to mechanically interfere with economic processes, which may or may not always go as intended. He asserts that "the Green Revolution, and the owner-cultivation context in which it made its impact, brought capitalism irrevocably to the country side". This significant structural transformation in the Indian economy "came independently of planning." In India, where capitalism had a lopsided rise for a number of historical causes, it had shown the slow but continuous fall of planning as a tool for fast economic development. In light of this, Desai draws the conclusion that "planning has lost the driving seat it once had." The capitalist social relations in the Indian economy will be the driving force [1], [2]. What it proposes is a change in the Planning Commission's function based on valuing the capitalist route of growth rather than a complete rejection of planning. In Desai's own words.

Economically predictive and interactive planning is necessary. It won't be all-encompassing; it will be strategic. It will begin at a certain growth rate. A workable limit will be established by the growth rate that results from the interactive predictive quinquennial exercise. To determine if a greater growth path is feasible and, if so, what barriers need to be eliminated, more iterative and counterfactual work with the current models will be necessary. This is the core of Desai's argument for reorienting the tools for economic development, including planning for a clear plan based on the fundamentals of capitalism growth as articulated by classical Marxism. Planning is thus "designed for an insulated national economy." is not appropriate'. Instead, it must take into account the fresh material circumstances brought on by the expanding significance of the world economy, particularly the non-state entities like the IMF, World Bank, and other transnational donor organisations. The national economies must adapt as best they can to this new environment since it is impossible to ignore it. Therefore, "a rapid integration of the Indian economy into capitalism" is the most important stage for consistent economic growth.

The formula works spectacularly in the cases of China, Taiwan, and Korea, where capitalism is not only not discriminatory but also pro-people. In India, socialism's fundamental goal was not achieved. Those at the bottom kept going through hardship. The Indian economy "had grown too slowly to qualify as a capitalist economy," and the mixed-economy approach, which sought to also pursue state-led capitalist development, therefore largely failed. Desai came to the conclusion that "India's problem is not so much capitalism but that it is stuck with a backward version of capitalism". Accordingly, Desai contends that economic growth is rooted in a comprehensive overhauling of the economy, supported by a strong political will endorsing, for example, various anti-poverty programmes and cutting the subsidies to the rich. In light of the new situation, it is also conceivable for the government to pursue an economic agenda in behalf of the poor, who have always suffered as a result of the much-lauded socialistic planning.

It is accurate to say that there is no substitute for economic changes, as Desai contends. It is also true that economic changes lack real substance if they lack a strong political foundation. The same political establishment in India that had protected the previous system now supported the new one. Desai questions if this is "a genuine change or mere electoral window dressing". Given India's current political structure, economic reform does not seem to have as

promising a future as it does in South-East Asian nations or China. A administration that is ideo- logically compatible with an appropriate number of lawmakers is one of the key prerequisites for a sustained reform programme. The political system now lacks stability due to the excessive number of elections, making it unable to pursue economic changes consistently. Desai regrets that "an unreformed political system is an obstacle to fundamental and irreversible economic reform." There is no secret formula. It is necessary to adopt a new mindset because "it is quite clear that India must liberalize" in order to experience long-term economic progress. According to Desai, the elite interests in India are the ones resisting liberalisation, not the underprivileged. The organised sector industrialists, who gained from the protectionist strategy and are now wary of competition, are in the lead. In light of the recent changes in the situation, the state plays a key role. State ownership of firms that are otherwise not sustainable must be abandoned since it has been shown to be inefficient and growth-decelerating [3], [4]. However, "reform is a contentious issue and India as of now is not an enthusiastic reformer." However, as the examples from South-East Asia show, change is unquestionably a guaranteed way to contribute to economic progress. India believes that holding to liberalisation is "a resumption of history" since, before to independence, India was able to compete on a global scale in the production of cotton textiles.

DISCUSSION

The state-led development plans seem to have lost their relevance with the advent of macroeconomic reforms in the 1990s, since non-state players played a crucial role in redefining the state agenda. India has implemented changes maybe very cautiously. The theoretical argument for government involvement in a transitional economy is probably impossible to ignore. There are several reasons. Though socialist ideals may have fallen by the wayside, the role of the state in the social sector cannot be understated until a compelling alternative is put up. Economic liberalisation brought about changes "by stealth" in India since it was largely seen as inevitable in order to avert the severe balance of payment crisis in 1991. In addition to the domestic pressure, two significant international events challenged "the fundamental assumptions of the earlier social consensus regarding the development strategy." The first was the fall of the former Soviet Union and its east European satellite states, which abandoned the model of planned economic development entirely and moved towards "a market-oriented economic system." Second, India's growth approach, based on economic nationalism, is seriously questioned in light of China's stunning achievement with its "socialist market economy" after the opening of the economy since 1978.

Nevertheless, while considering the effects of economic change in India, the significance of the current "politico-institutional context" cannot be understated. The institutional legacy of 'a well-entrenched state' had a considerable impact on India's post-reform prospects. There is no "Washington Consensus" or "neo-liberal" route to reforms in India, a commentator claims, because of the bureaucratized regime there the license-quota-permit raj. All state governments and central regimes continue to rely on state-led reform strategies. There is little question that India's political economy underwent significant adjustments as a result of economic reforms. However, the outdated regulatory structure from a bygone period continued to play a very significant role in the course and outcomes of liberalisation. Thus, rather than market fundamentalism, "state-guided routes to liberalisation" are becoming prevalent across India.37 This is evident in the economy's glaring distortions. An empirical study of Andhra Pradesh's author makes the claim that "two economies - one affluent and the other predominantly agricultural economy - are emerging" based on her research and other relevant facts. ..The technology-based, export-oriented, city-centered economy is thriving in the new economic environment, while the agricultural economy remains backward and those

associated with it "have little expectation of a better future [and] remain preoccupied with the daily struggle to secure a livelihood." This division is visible throughout India's social and regional landscape [5], [6].

The 1991 Indus- trial Policy Resolution included many suggestions to "unshackle the Indian industrial economy from the cobwebs of unnecessary bureaucratic control," while remaining under the overall direction of the state, in an effort to capture the usual Indian reaction to liberalisation. Four particular actions were suggested. In the beginning, the government made the decision to abolish the "industrial licencing policy," with the exception of a small number of sectors connected to security and strategic issues, social concerns, dangerous chemicals, and overwhelming environmental factors. Second, "direct foreign investment up to 51 percent foreign equity in high priority industries" was also supported by the government. A revision to the 1973 Foreign Exchange Regulation Act was proposed in order to prevent bottlenecks. Third, in order to guarantee that people working for these state-sponsored businesses are held accountable, it was also determined to remove protection from "the sick public sector units" and to place "a greater emphasis on performance improvement." Last but not least, the 1991 Policy aimed to eliminate "the threshold old limits of assets in respect of those companies functioning under the MRTP (Monopolies and Restrictive Trade Practises) Act."

The 1991 Policy proposed amending this statute to remove the need for "the prior approval of the Union Government for establishment of new undertakings, expansion of undertakings, merger, amalgamation and takeover, and appointments of Directors under certain circumstances." If considered in its wider perspective, the Indian reaction to economic liberalisation is the most innovative. For historical reasons, the Nehruvian socialist model of society cannot be so easily abandoned, and globalisation may not be a suitable strategy for economic growth in a developing nation like India because, according to Joseph Stiglitz, it appears to be "a pact with the devil" in its current form. Closer integration into the global economy may have made a small number of people wealthier, but for the majority of people, it has "brought greater volatility and insecurity, and more inequality"40. Economic liberalisation is thus a two-edged sword that, while improving some Indians' lives, has also left millions of others unaffected. Therefore, it has been correctly noted that a Buddhist saying stating that "the key to the gate of heaven is also the key that could open the gate to hell" can be used to sum up economic liberalisation in India. Economic changes are indeed fraught with potential and risk, and for the majority, "the journey to the promised land of economic prosperity could easily turn into a hellish nightmare of poverty and widening inequality."

Indian Public Administration

The Macaulay Committee Report, 1854, is a turning point in the development of bureaucracy in India, bearing the clear imprint of British colonial administration. Bureaucracy in India has evolved over a long period of history since the system was designed around the middle of the nineteenth century. The Committee advocated a merit-based civil service in an effort to replace the venerable patronage system of the East India Company. Supporting the idea of a "all-rounder" generalist administrator, the Committee "portrayed the ideal administrator as a gifted layman who, moving from job to job regardless of its subject matter, on the basis of his knowledge and experience in the government." The federal employees were picked via a competitive test and came from some of the top institutions, representing the wealthier segments of society. Given their elite class, caste, and educational backgrounds, those in the ICS were therefore isolated from the others. In other words, they enjoyed the unique standing in society that Weber believed was necessary for a real bureaucracy. Given their odd

personalities, British officials in India created a very unique type of society with no organic ties to the society they were supposed to serve.

Nevertheless, the Indian civil service played a crucial role in the administrative structure that thrived during the colonial period. They are the steel frame of the whole building, Lloyd George said in the House of Commons in 1922, recognising their enormous significance in maintaining the empire. No matter what materials you choose to construct it, if you remove the steel frame, the cloth will collapse. The Indian Administrative Service (IAS) replaced the Indian Civil Service (ICS) in independent India. Despite its imperial roots, the Indian political leaders decided to keep the ICS's organisational structure, most likely due to the ICS' effectiveness in carrying out Indian administration in accordance with set rules and regulations that supported a particular regime. Thus, their prior experience made them more inclined to support its continuance, even if there was some disagreement within the Constituent Assembly during the deliberation of this matter. The justification for opposing its continuance was that it supported imperialism. "The Steel Frame of the Civil Service." They forced us into servitude and stabbed the nation throughout our fight for independence. The argument continues that "we should not, therefore, perpetuate what we have criticised so far." Vallabhbhai Patel was arguably the most outspoken supporter of the ICS and its steel frame. He was aware that Pax Britannica would have been impossible without the ICS. Additionally, he came to the realisation that independent India required a dedicated bureaucracy even more due to the state's many obligations. Patel was convinced to support the continuity of the British bureaucracy because they were "patriotic, loyal, sincere and able," particularly when the nation was wracked by upheaval at the end of colonial rule.

He organised the provincial premier's conference in 1946 to get an agreement on the direction of what was then known as All India Services (AIS). Officers of the AIS are "most well-equipped to deal with new and complex tasks" due to their lengthy involvement with public administration. Not only "are they useful instruments," he continued, "but they will also serve as a liaison between the Provinces and the Government of India and introduce a certain amount of brashness and vigour in the administration both of the Centre and the Provinces." Later, in the Constituent Assembly, he categorically stated that "you will not have a united India if you do not have a good all India service" that had the freedom to express its opinions and felt a sense He also said, "If you do not adopt this course, then do not follow this Constitution. This Constitution is meant to be worked by a ring of service which will keep the country intact." He further linked the success of the Constitution to the existence of an all-India service.   Patel came to the conclusion that "I need hardly emphasise that an efficient, disciplined and contented service, assured of its prospects as a result of diligent and honest work, is a sine qua non of sound administration under a democratic regime even more than under an authoritarian rule" if you remove them, he reasoned, "I see nothing but a picture of chaos all over the country [7], [8]."

Even Jawaharlal Nehru, who harshly criticised the ICS for maintaining imperial rule in India, appeared persuaded and backed its continuation for "the security and stability of India, including coping with the slaughter and its aftermath in Punjab, crushing opposition in Hyderabad, and containing it in Kashmir." No civil servant shall be dismissed, removed, or reduced in rank except after an enquiry in which he has been informed of the charges and given a reasonable opportunity to be heard in respect of those charges. Thus, an instrument that solidified the imperial rule in India "with so slight use of force "survived in completely different political circumstances primarily because it was written into Article 311 of the Constitution of India. Furthermore, the dominant classes that ruled India after the transfer of power in 1947 were not threatened by its continuation. According to a former bureaucrat, the

new civil service was, in all actuality, "the continuation of the old one with the difference that it was to function in a parliamentary system of government, accepting the undeniable primacy of the political executive which, in turn, was responsible to the people through their elected representatives in the legislature." In addition to its structure, which is essentially an expansion of the steel frame, the continuity in the new civil service also stems from its acceptance of the political executive' Contrary to the paternalistic attitude of the colonial civil servants, who ruled primarily with negative discretionary powers, "their successors, noting the vast unmet development needs of the people, substituted positive discretionary powers of patronage and subsidies, reinforcing the colonial syndrome of dependency on the mai-baap state."

The steel frame was kept more or less intact in addition to serving a practical purpose since, as B. The Congress leaders who assumed government shared the social background of the senior civil officials that they inherited from the colonial state, according to P. R. Vithal, an IAS officer, who made this argument. As a result, Nehru felt at comfortable while interacting with senior public servants, for instance. In a same vein, Rajagopalachari preferred certain Congress Party factions above the ICS officials who were assigned to him while he served as Madras' prime minister (1937–1939). Following independence, political processes led to changes in the social makeup of the political executive that were more profound and quick-moving than those in the civil service. Those in the steel frame were often urban-based and English-educated, in contrast to the political executives who were mostly from rural and semi-urban regions and had received a vernacular education. In the Westminster parliamentary form of government, where politicians played a key role in the creation of a new country, frequent conflicts between administrators and politicians resulted from the widening gap between the class origins of the political executive and the civil workers.

Government operations have grown in breadth and depth since independence. The parliamentary system of government was established, and institutions for the common people were established all the way down to the village level. As a result, there was bound to be an increase in expectations, and the gap between expectations and performance grew. In order to establish self-governing institutions at the village level, people's institutions were established. The goal will always seem far away. People also equated independence and the Five Year Plans with economic and social fairness, wellbeing, and freedom from hunger and persecution. People in the early planning period did not grumble much about the scarcity they bravely faced because they saw hope and promise in the future. As time went on, they began to feel as if their aspirations had been dashed and that they were far from the promised land of integrity, plenty, and happiness. With a great deal of élan and fanfare, the ethos of self-governance, decentralisation, and community development was welcomed.

The recent Seventy-Third and Seventy-Fourth Amendments (1992) to the Constitution seek to advance the concept of "self-governance" by providing for regular elections, minimal suppression of Panchayati Raj bodies by administrative fiat, and regular finances through statutory distribution. For instance, the three-tier Panchayati Raj system and the urban local bodies were conceived of as a properly meshed network of institutions to speed up the According to Kuldeep Mathur, the goal is to "reduce the margin of political and administrative discretion and to allow the decentralised institutions to gather strength on the basis of people's involvement." However, for a number of reasons, the political process became what might be described as "reversed," and highly centralised and individualised systems of government emerged both at the central and state levels. The judicial system, the party structure, the democratic processes used in party governance, the press, and even the Parliament and legislative institutions have all suffered significant degradation. Rajni Kothari

has attempted to make sense of a peculiar reality in which public administration appears to be largely de-linked from the fundamental institutions of the democratic system that has thrived in India since independence. She describes the crisis and erosion of institutions as "the natural and expected consequences of a political process that has undermined both the role and authority of basic institutions" [9], [10].

Indian history has resulted in the formation of a public administration that was unsuited to the demands and aspirations of the populace, both during the British era and soon after. Finding the causes is not difficult because studies have shown that bureaucrats who were raised and trained in the colonial administrative culture are wedded to Weberian characteristics of hierarchy, status, and rigidity of rules and regulations and are primarily focused on the upholding of order and collecting taxes. This organisation was ideal for the colonial government, but it is totally unable to carry out its duties in the new context of a development-focused administration. The function of the officials has changed as the government in India's democratic system has evolved as the primary institution for development. The bureaucrat, also known as "the development administrator," is defined by "tact, pragmatism, dynamism, flexibility, adaptability to any situation, and willingness to take rapid, ad-hoc decisions without worrying too much about procedures and protocol." Their sole goal is to "emphasise results, rather than procedures, teamwork, rather than hierarchy and status, [and] flexibility and decentralisation, rather than control and authority."

The idea of governance has helped people understand how different agencies organise and conduct public business. Non-governmental organisations and community-based organisations have been recognised as supporting public agencies in addition to the official government. Decentralisation and local communities' empowerment for access to local resources and knowledge-based genuine grassroots government are additional major developments. The seventy-third and seventy-fourth constitutional amendments (1992) heralded significant improvements in terms of the empowerment of the people at the grassroots, however such developments have yet to reach their full potential. There is no question that decentralisation via panchayats might significantly alter how our democracy operates given the obvious legal support for decentralisation. In addition to changing local governance, this could also deepen political democracy by making it more direct. However, as long as the ideological framework in which panchayati raj institutions are articulated is left unchanged, this change will still have all the drawbacks of "agency-induced instrumental decentralisation." A major portion of the plans and activities developed elsewhere are carried out by local governments. Additionally, there is a chance that these local governments in India will turn out to be agents of global capital given the interests of global capital in grassroots governance.

The creation of new tools like the Lokpal or Lokayaukta to address public complaints against powerful government officials is still just a pipe dream. The Indian public system continues to be plagued by corruption in numerous ways, but it has not been able to effectively combat corruption at all levels. The national and state-level human rights organisations, which are relatively new to Indian public administration, are the other tool. In order to maintain the public sphere's ongoing democratisation, there are local and international requirements to defend human rights and create effective "rights regimes" at all levels.

CONCLUSION

The ideological conflicts and practical concessions that occurred within the Congress during India's fight for independence and the ensuing economic planning, in conclusion, highlight the difficulties of nation-building. An important turning point in India's progress towards

independence and growth was highlighted by Jawaharlal Nehru's unflinching support for planning and industrialisation. Meghnad Desai's criticism, however, emphasises the necessity for a sophisticated strategy, fitted to India's particular circumstances and the requirements of capitalist development. Additionally, a reevaluation is necessary to satisfy the requirements of a contemporary, development-focused administration due to the evolution of India's bureaucracy, which is based on colonial traditions. Constitutional revisions that call for decentralisation and grassroots empowerment show promise for strengthening democracy, but they also raise questions about possible global capital influence. India's public system continues to struggle with corruption, necessitating strong anti-corruption measures and safeguards for human rights.

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CHAPTER 12

FIFTH PAY COMMISSION'S IMPACT ON INDIAN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION IN A GLOBALIZED WORLD

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ABSTRACT:

In the light of globalization and neoliberal tendencies, this paper analyses the Fifth Pay Commission's effects on the Indian government and its public administration. The commission, which was established in 1994, sought to improve public administration by putting a stronger emphasis on the demands of the people. It aimed to streamline government operations, increase accountability, and strengthen grievance procedures. The suggestions also noted how India's governance model has been impacted by global neoliberalism. This paper contends that although the commission's recommendations adhere to neoliberal principles, they may not adequately take into account India's distinctive socioeconomic and political circumstances. In connection to the commission's recommendations, the study examines the development of Indian politics, identity, and communal concerns, emphasizing the intricate interaction of historical, sociological, and political elements. At the end of the day, it highlights the need of having a comprehensive grasp of Indian politics and culture while also rejecting oversimplified ideas of identity preservation. The report also emphasizes how Indian politics, identity, and communal concerns are dynamic. The constant interaction of historical causes, social elements, and political changes challenges the notion of a single, unchanging identity. It is essential to develop a more sophisticated concept of identity and politics given India's democratic journey and the diversity of identities found inside its boundaries.

KEYWORDS:

Historical, Identity, Politics,Policy, Sociological.

INTRODUCTION

The Fifth Pay Commission was appointed by the Indian government in 1994, underscoring the new public administration regime. This was a significant intervention in redefining the role of politics in public administration for two key reasons: The Commission undertook the exercise at a time when globalisation appeared to have significantly influenced, if not shaped, human life; and there is no doubt that the governance paradigm which is obviously an antithes According to the Commission, the main objective of public service is to "understand customer needs." The Commission's mission statement is based on this fundamental issue and reads as follows: -

1. Helping the management to clearly understand the organization's objectives;
2. Make clear to personnel how their roles contribute to achieving organisational objectives,
3. Make the government's policy clear to ensure that staff members perceive it correctly,
4. To foster a sense of organisational pride,
5. Provide goals to work towards, allowing for the evaluation of outcomes.

The purpose of this section is twofold: first, to pinpoint the sociological foundations of the Fifth Pay Commission, which was established after India adopted the New Economic Policy

in 1991; and second, to assess whether the recommendations are merely contextual and independent of the neo-liberal trends of the international forces, or whether they are unmistakably shaped by the so-called international actors and largely, if not entirely, devoid of national roots.

It is clear that a number of initiatives to revitalise the administration were taken even before the start of liberalisation. These initiatives owe their origin to very different socio-economic concerns at the time, as post-liberalization initiatives are primarily externally motivated. In all nations, there has been a definite movement towards the government playing a smaller role. The Fifth Pay Commission said that "Thatcherism in the UK and Reaganomics in the USA tried to pull the State out of the muck of over-involvement." As a result, the Commission acknowledges that "India could not have remained unaffected by these global trends" and that "the decline of Communism in Eastern Europe has furthered the trend towards economic liberalisation and disinvestment in public sector enterprises." However, the most important factor in the whole process was "the deep economic crisis of 1991 which pushed India on to a new path of development, which meant that Government should confine itself to the core functions that cannot be performed by the market," which meant that government should focus largely on those areas.

As is obvious from the Fifth Pay Commission's unequivocal articulation of "a new path of development," underscoring the diminished role of the government, "everything else must be left to the private initiative." The Commission designates certain "core functions" for the government while reserving a broad variety of services for private businesses in response to criticism of "the over-involvement" of government. The Commission aims to deal with the neo-liberal trend in public administration while conceptualising government within the governance paradigm, and as a result, it offers "reform packages" to modernise the Indian civil service. The government withdraws, making room for private operators to carry out tasks that it had previously handled for the "public good." The Commission seems to have given the state the tools it needs to keep up with change in an interconnected world by rethinking the function of government [1], [2].

The Fifth Pay Commission's recommendations are another significant step in the right direction for public service reform in light of the aforementioned well-intentioned plans. In keeping with the sentiments expressed at the 1996 Chief Secretaries conference, the Fifth Pay Commission has recommended downsizing the government through corporatization of activities that involve "manufacturing of goods or the provision of commercial services"; transparency, openness, and economy in the operation of government through "privatisation of activities where government does not need to play a direct role" and also "contracting out of services which can be convenient".

The Pay Commission concluded that it would be inappropriate to allow the government sector to remain as "an island of inefficiency" and "inertia," hence it suggested the central government to proceed with a 30% cut in public service manpower. After twenty years, the customary process of voluntary retirement should continue. Additionally, the Commission suggested a specific programme of voluntary retirement in the departments with identified excess workers. In these situations, there should be a mechanism for selected retirement of individuals, with the government always taking the lead and for "a golden handshake."

The Commission's second important suggestion is related to "openness" in administration. The Commission emphasises on transparency, which it defines as "giving everyone the right to have access to information about the various decisions taken by the Government and the reasoning behind them," in support of the repeal of "the Official Secrets Act of the old

colonial days." Nothing should be withheld just to serve the interests of particular bureaucrats and politicians, but what is harmful to the interests of the nation, the security of the state, or its commercial, economic, and other strategic interests may not be made public. Every significant government decision involving "a shift in policy" should always be accompanied by a White Paper "in the nature of an explanatory memorandum." The Commission maintained that the creation of "an efficient grievance redressal machinery that has to be effective, speedy, objective, readily accessible and easy to operate" was a crucial component of public service reform. The proposal of a Citizen's Charter, which would define the rights of users of government programmes and services, was proposed by the Commission, which cited the examples of Canada, the UK, and Malaysia as successful grievance redressal cell models. The Commission's acknowledgment of the citizen's right to information and the related processes are of fundamental significance for debureaucratizing and making government more hospitable to the people. The 1997 Conference of Chief Ministers adopted an action plan to make the administration accountable and citizen-friendly, ensure transparency and the right to information, and adopt measures to purge and motivate the civil service. The issues raised by the Pay Commission were prominently featured in this plan [3], [4].

DISCUSSION

For a number of reasons, the Fifth Pay Commission represents a turning point in the development of India's public administration. This is not a pay commission in the traditional sense of the word since it also aimed to reform the bureaucracy in accordance with new global trends, particularly in the wake of the fall of the Soviet Union. The Commission puts the push for "debureaucratization" into practise by proposing considerable reforms to the administrative structure. There are two direct repercussions. It redirects our focus from the "steel frame" to other organisations that are just as important to the "public service" but have not yet received official recognition. In this way, the Commission offers a potent criticism of Weberian bureaucracy, which is primarily "status-quoist" and highly hierarchical.

The Commission creates a formal space for collaboration between the government bureaucracy and these organisations by recognising the significance of civil society organisations in public administration. The'sanctity' of the governmental realm, where the state bureaucracy seems to be the sole legitimate agency in carrying out duties on behalf of the state, is likely what prevented such collaboration. The Fifth Pay Commission has redefined Indian bureaucracy and expanded its sphere of influence by attempting to involve various non-governmental organisations, the role of which was never recognised under traditional theories of public administration. This highlights the importance of organisations that are not directly related to the government and its peripheral organisations.

The Fifth Pay Commission makes a critical observation on the clearly colonial-influenced structure of Indian government. The Commission, which is critical of hierarchical Weberian administration, is unmistakably in support of "decentralised" administration, which makes place for institutions that aren't quite part of the government. Decentralised administration emphasises the value of many tiers of the decision-making process from a structural standpoint. According to a World Bank document, "overregulation," which is both "a cause and an effect of bloated public employment and the surest route to corruption," is what cripples public administration in post-colonial India. The World Bank offers a number of particular actions to "motivate" government employees in addition to "contracting out of the state" "through a combination of mechanisms to encourage internal com- petition." It is obvious that India's administration is being circumspect in its reaction to the governance-

initiated public service reforms given that the Pay Commission's recommendations have not been adopted in their entirety.

The civil service has played the function of a "regulator" rather than a "facilitator" in India's planned economy. Despite this, the civil service did not face significant challenges, possibly because to its structural importance to government. Within the framework of the linked global system, there doesn't seem to have been a significant shift in the mood. This may be related to how India has responded to globalisation, which has been affected by her unique socioeconomic and political situation. Thus, two opposing scenarios can be seen: on the one hand, there are signs of a developing free market in India, despite the fact that the Indian state is still quite interventionist and the Indian economy is still comparatively closed to commodities, capital, and investment from elsewhere. Thus, it is "better to interpret the policy trend as a rightward drift in which the embrace of the state and business continues to grow warmer, leaving many others out in the cold" [5], [6].

Whether the Fifth Pay Commission's proposals represent a rightward movement or not, they were clearly influenced by the neo-liberal theoretical trend towards globalisation. The Commission has brought up problems that are essential in reframing its function in the new governance context, accepting that bureaucrats in poor nations are also "rent-seekers." Sadly, the context in which the suggestions are to be put into action is absent. The odd combination of positions in public administration that has a distinctly colonial taste due to its clear historical origins is arguably best shown by India. Although Weberian in structure, Indian bureaucracy underwent a major transformation when the state-run planned economy was implemented. The Fifth Pay Commission is attempting to reorganise the Indian public service in response to the new problems that governance now presents. Most of the Commission's proposals may not be relevant or worthwhile given the bureaucratic history of India. However, there is no denying that the Commission has contributed to history in the sense that it has highlighted both the drawbacks of an established bureaucracy and the benefits of critically evaluating its usefulness in the social, economic, and political contexts brought about by globalisation.

The Wilsonian distinction between politics and administration in which administration is seen as an entirely technical endeavor is somewhat revived by the Fifth Pay Commission. Regardless of whether this argument, which has its origins in a Woodrow Wilson piece from 1887, has a definitive conclusion, administration without politics which refers to principles or ideologies is like to a fish without water, one may assert with confidence. A directed action is administration. Therefore, it seems that values are important for their articulation and embodiment. This aspect of civil service reform does not seem to have received enough consideration from the Fifth Pay Commission. In its proposals, it has instead largely embraced the governance ideal. There is no question that the Pay Commission's recommendations are historical in the sense that they roughly align with neo-liberal values; however, they are also ahistorical because they are non-contextual responses to a situation in which globalisation continues to be despised for a variety of legitimate socio-economic and political reasons.

Lasting impressions

Independent governments in South Asia have evolved entirely distinct styles of administration while sharing a similar colonial past. For instance, India has continued to practise democracy, but Pakistan and Bangladesh haven't, other than momentarily. Analysts find it strange why democracy is very strong in India but hasn't taken hold elsewhere in the area, including Bangladesh, Pakistan, or Pakistan. Therefore, the issue is why, despite having

almost identical principles that they received from British colonisation, democracy is so strong in India but not elsewhere in South Asia. Both Pakistan and Bangladesh have just had elections, but the ritual of voting should not be mistaken with the establishment of a genuine democracy based on social and economic rights of individuals. Highly inequitable state institutions continue to hold Pakistani and Bangladeshi political processes captive. The likelihood of a large redistribution of political power and economic resources in the foreseeable future is ruled out by ongoing inequities within state institutions as well as between them and civil society.

Finding the causes is not difficult. India was historically in a better position than her neighbours in at least two significant ways: India's transition to democracy owed a lot to the Congress Party and its leadership, who respected the nationalist legacy; and religious divisions were crossed by numerous regional, linguistic, and caste cleavages as well as the obvious decline of Muslims as a significant factor in political decisions. Without a doubt, the leadership of the party had access to an outstanding political resource thanks to the depth of the Congress organisation and its electoral success following independence. The legislative majority it had provided it "the freedom to make "hard choices" in the immediate after- math of decolonization," and its elite enjoyed considerable influence in the process of drafting the constitution of independent India.

This idealised depiction of consensus politics under the Congress system seemed to be cut off from a far more nuanced reality that was, among other things, marked by very low levels of political awareness among the lowest castes and lower socioeconomic strata. It is also realistic to say that politics in the Nehru period as a whole is essentially "a continuum with the Raj" given the persistence of the main political institutions that retained colonial authority long after independence. No matter what social structures the Congress party encountered in the many provinces, "its leader, like the British before them, did not attempt to change the social order but to adapt to it" (source). Furthermore, it is arguably fair to claim that the foundation of Indian politics during the first two decades after independence was a consensus that was largely founded on elite accommodation. Because of its proximity to the national movement's mobilisation and the implicit confidence that existed between its leadership and the people, the system was approved without opposition. "Discourse rather than ideological positions" was the general agreement. The system began to fall apart soon after Nehru's death, and this process became notably evident from 1969 onwards when Indira Gandhi, Nehru's successor, "rejected the principle of consensus in favour of the majoritarian principle" in response to growing opposition strength. She disregarded the party, which had lost its democratic foundation since she was carrying the majority with her. It quickly became clear that centralization was "suicidal to the prevalent party system and the federal structure and wider affiliations that were built through them," despite its initial perception as "an instrument of purposive interventions by cohesive and disciplined elite [7], [8]."

Adoption of the 1991 New Economic Policy and the strengthening of coalition politics are signs of recent substantial changes in India's political landscape. The Nehruvian socialistic structure of society seems to have been permanently ended by the former, while the latter is unquestionably a result of the expanding democratisation of the politically marginalised and economically underprivileged sectors of the Indian people. The pan-Indian parties, including Congress, have redefined their ideological platforms by adopting the market-oriented economic reforms, and they have also charted a new direction for India's economic growth. Regional parties that are crucial to the Congress and the BJP, two main all-India parties, in forming the national government, seem to have accepted the neo-liberal economic strategy as a fait accompli more or less. Therefore, it is reasonable to argue that coalition politics and

economic reforms appear to be mutually supportive and that they cannot be undone for reasons related to the failure of the state-led development paradigm in India and elsewhere or the emergence of new social constituencies looking to redefine the role of previously marginalised groups of society in political decision-making and governance. Because of the evident difficulties in its articulation in this new setting, the political cannot be understood just in terms of its manifestation. Thus, it is crucial to comprehend Indian politics as intricate systems having roots in the country's current socio-economic and political conditions, which are layered and ruled historically. The current effort is a significant contribution to discussions that aim to understand the nuanced political landscape of India, which cannot be fully understood by "received wisdom" or "derivative discourses" based on ethnocentric theoretical paradigms.

The Identity Language

The political is continuously reconstituting itself, adapting its traits to the environment in which it is situated. It is institutional and non-institutional at the same time. This means that whatever is expressed in the well-established political institutions has its origins in the larger socio-economic processes, which are mostly external to the governmental institutions. This chapter discusses the mechanisms that greatly influence, if not entirely decide, politics. First, the political may be located not only in structured human acts but also in the historical contexts shaping them in a particular way. Second, the process that is crucial in the evolution of the political in a particular way can never be comprehended without taking into account the dialectical interplay of human values and attitudes within a particular sociopolitical context. Therefore, institutions other than the political continue to be important in conceptualising and also articulating the political in any critical examination of human conduct. This chapter replies to three significant problems within this framework that are pertinent to understanding contemporary Indian politics and offers a distinctive model that could be appropriate in socio-economic settings comparable to those of India. First, define Indian identity and describe how it is expressed. Second, given its innate and historically justified variety, can India be conceptualised as a nation? Third, if India is a collection of countries, what is the commonality between such a big and varied continent as Europe?

This chapter also makes an effort to understand the sociological and political components of "the Indian identity," which often conflict with the definition that is generally accepted in a liberal democratic framework. Here, the 2006 dispute around the national anthem Vandemataram serves as an example. There is little question that the independence fighters valued this song for its great capacity for mobilisation, since its moving lyrics and visuals inspired millions of Indians to take part in the nationalist movement despite negative outcomes. However, due to the mostly religious imagery and "anthropomorphic depiction" of the Indian nation, it also caused controversy even during the nationalist era, which made many people uncomfortable with its acceptance as a national hymn. While there was strong opposition when it was decided to sing the song on the day of its centenary year (2006) in schools, including madrassas, equally strong was the voice in support of the decision because it reflected national sentiments and thus fulfilled a historic purpose during the struggle for freedom. However, Muslims in contemporary India, who were identified as "the hated other" in the song, are divided.

Identity is constantly negotiated within a flow of diverse influences since the contemporary period presents a plurality of identities that depend on country, region, class, gender, language, and citizenship. Therefore, there are two aspects to our identity: ontological and epistemological. Ontological relates to who we are, while epistemological refers to who we believe we are. The two inevitably influence one another, and "their constant and dialectical

interaction shapes our identity." Thus, the definition of the contemporary subject is "by its insertion into a series of separate value spheres, each of which tends to exclude or attempts to assert its priority over the other." Individual identities can never be cemented permanently because of sociocultural and political factors. The result of the divided politics shown in the partition of the Indian subcontinent in 1947 was undoubtedly one of the examples of a drastic transformation in identity. According to Amartya Sen, people's sense of themselves as Indians, Asians, or members of the human race appeared to abruptly give way to sectarian affiliation with the Hindu, Muslim, or Sikh groups. The widely Hindu or delicately Muslim of March quickly and obviously replaced the largely Indian of January. The devastation that followed was largely caused by unthinking herd conduct, in which individuals 'found' their new dividing and aggressive identities without critically analysing the process. The same folks all of a sudden changed.

Concerns in two complimentary directions drive the current discussion of communal identity. First, there is a fear that Indians as a community "lack" or have lost identity, or that it has been diluted, corroded, corrupted, or confused. The apparent issue is thus how to maintain, enhance, or maintain the feeling of identity as a corollary to the first. The "belief" that identity consists in being different from others and is always diluted by intercultural borrowing, that identity is historically fixed, that it is the only source of political legitimacy, that the state's main responsibility is to maintain it, and that national identity establishes the boundaries of acceptable diversity is thus highlighted [9], [10].

The aforementioned argument does not seem to hold water because communal identity is not a single thing but rather a collection of tendencies and values that must be periodically redefined in light of historically inherited traits, current needs, and future aspirations. Instead of being something "we have," identity is "what we are"; it is not a "property," but rather "a mode of being." Therefore, it is inaccurate to utilise metaphors like conserving, maintaining, protecting, or losing one's identity. A community's identity cannot ever be an abstract, sterile, or essentialized concept since it must continuously be reconstructed in response to larger historical forces. For instance, current Indian sensibilities have changed significantly as a result of interaction with the west. The interaction "acted as a catalyst, setting off responses and reactions that took on a life of their own." The effects "were very different from their counterparts in the Indian past or the contemporary western experience," as shown by new ways of thinking, feeling, and acting.

Therefore, it would be counterproductive to have a stereotyped image of Indian sensitivities. In the Indian context, for example, both the appeal to shared experiences and the drawing of boundaries have resulted in frequently fatal contradictions. This is likely because the appeal to shared experiences, while frequently intended as a device for inclusion, typically invoked the experience of one specific group upper castes, Hindus, or the political elite which was then made an authoritative marker of identity. Furthermore, the concern with borders has led to conflicts and has resulted in the exclusion of important groups and people who are as much a part of India's cultural and historical fabric as anybody else.

Although the word "communal" now often refers to religious separation, notably the split between Hindus and Muslims, it had a variety of meanings in north and south India prior to 1947. For instance, in the south, the same word was used to describe distinctions between castes or groups of castes, notably the one between Brahmins and non-Brahmins, in expressions like "Communal Award". The 1927 Communal G. O., which established a system of reservation that lasted until 1947 when it was altered, formalised the caste quotas. Even though it was mainly interested in ascriptive social identities, the Constituent Assembly intended to create a political system in which the person and the country would triumph

above caste and group. Therefore, the only three unique sorts of groups that were significant in its discussions were caste, religion, and language. Even after decades of the successful experience in electoral democracy, religion, caste, and language continue to likely be the most influential elements in political mobilisation in India.

CONCLUSION

In the backdrop of globalisation and neoliberal tendencies, the Fifth Pay Commission's proposals reflect a substantial effort to restructure India's public administration. It is crucial to understand that these suggestions do not apply universally and must be examined in the perspective of India's particular socio-economic and political system. Although the commission's focus on reducing government size, fostering openness, and enhancing grievance procedures is praiseworthy, its implementation must take into account the complex and varied structure of Indian culture. In conclusion, India's path towards public administration reform is marked by the recommendations of the Fifth Pay Commission. The key to their success, however, is their capacity to adjust to India's dynamic socioeconomic and political environment. Effective governance may be hampered rather than facilitated by a strict commitment to neoliberal ideas without taking India's particular circumstances into account. As a result, authorities must carefully assess the commission's recommendations and modify them to fit the unique requirements and difficulties of India's varied and rapidly changing society.

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