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The research journal has been a tri-annual publication of Panjab University, Chandigarh since 1976. It is a peer-reviewed initiative that publishes articles, review articles, perspectives, and book reviews drawn from a diversity of social science disciplines. Each of the pieces published is of a very high standard, and lays the groundwork for a systematic exchange of ideas with scholars across the country and the world. The prime objective of the university has, therefore, been to initiate and stimulate debate on matters of contemporary socio-political significance, a vision that the journal endeavours to carry forward.

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An Insider's View of the Ghadar Movement: Bhai Bhagwan Singh's Autobiography and Poetry

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Karamjit K. Malhotra*

Abstract

The Ghadar movement gave the first overtly declared political program for complete independence through an armed revolution against British rule. This movement was led by passionate Indian immigrants, predominantly Sikhs, who were determined to sacrifice their lives for India's freedom. A prominent leader of the movement was Bhai Bhagwan Singh 'Pritam' (1884-1962), the second President of the Ghadar Party and its most prolific poet. This paper analyses his autobiography which throws light on his early life and the religious and political influences imbibed by him. Political activity was added to his religious interests before he left India towards the end of 1909. His activities in South East Asia prepared him well for participation in the Ghadar movement. His visit to Canada in 1913 brought out his qualities as a leader. His visit to the USA in 1914 proved to be even more important. He became President of the Ghadar Party and played a significant role in its program and reorganization. His poetry illumines the

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ideology of the revolutionary movement and complements his autobiographical narrative. Together, they provide an insider's view of the Ghadar movement.

Keywords: Ghadar movement, Bhai Bhagwan Singh 'Pritam', revolutionary nationalism, *Komagata Maru*, Ghadar Party

The literature of the Ghadar movement provides valuable insights into the moral conviction, commitment and activity of its members. The political subjugation of India to the British was seen as the root cause of the discriminatory treatment of Indian immigrants in North America. Their disillusionment with the Government of India resulted in the formation of the Hindi Association of the Pacific Coast in the USA in May 1913. It came to be called the 'Ghadar Party' after its weekly organ the *Ghadar*, which was first published in November 1913 in Urdu, and subsequently in Punjabi in December. Har Dayal, who was the Secretary of this Association and also the editor of the weekly, is generally believed to have played a catalytic role. Significantly, the Lahore Conspiracy Case II Supplementary points out that 'In 1913 Canada received a visit from the notorious Bhagwan Singh granthi one of the most dangerous revolutionists at large, and little, if any below Hardial [sic] in his influence on his fellow countrymen' (Waraich and Sidhu, 2013: 16; Sidhu and Singh: 2013:116). In Vancouver, Bhagwan Singh was 'the first man to deliver vigorous revolutionary diatribes against the British rule, both from the "pulpit" and in open religio-social congregations of the immigrants' (Puri, 1993:58). He was a 'firebrand' and a 'great' orator (Sidhu and Singh, 2013:117). Through his speeches in the Sunday congregations he filled his audience with revolutionary ideas punctuated with quotations from the scriptures he alluded to the Sikh history of crusades and the war poetry of the tenth Guru. He embellished these with his own passionate poetical compositions and asked his people to adopt the revolutionary nationalist salutation-*Bande Mataram* (Puri, 1993:58).

Bhai¹Bhagwan Singh's autobiographical writings published as *Gadri Baba Bhai Bhagwan Singh 'Pritam'* presents valuable evidence on the history of the Ghadar movement and supplements and complements the earlier writings of the Ghadarites like Bhai Rattan Singh, Baba Sohan Singh Bhakna and Baba Harjap Singh. Bhagwan Singh's life may be seen as consisting of two main parts: one, up to 1920 and two, after 1920 till his death in 1962. The book relates almost exclusively to his early life and activities from 1884 to 1920 and provides a window into the activities of the Ghadar movement. His autobiographical account does not go beyond 1917 but is supplemented by some of his other writings: his diary entries from 1 to 9 January 1917; 'Samaj ate Viakti' (Society and the Individual), extracts given in Appendix 2, and his article, 'The Pending Continental War', published in 1920 (Sidhu and Singh, 2013: 267-269, 323-335, 336-351). Furthermore, the text and transliteration of 'Jiwan Natak' (Life Drama) with signatures of Bhagwan Singh, and his 'Smapati Shabad' (concluding words) are given separately from the main autobiographical account by the editors but may be regarded as its integral part. Bhagwan Singh's 'Jiwan Natak' is a general but very brief reflection on human life which is 'a drama, a play'. In the 'Smapati Shabad' Bhagwan Singh says: 'My life is the life of a Sikh and an Indian soldier who has faced and is facing difficulties. To cry over them does not behove a soldier. To dedicate his life to the freedom and the good of the country as a matter of course is the duty of every Indian soldier' (Sidhu and Singh, 2013: 26-27, 311).

A little over 200 pages in this work are devoted to notes, references, appendices, newspaper cuttings, advertisements and photographs, which are meant to throw some light on the life of Bhagwan Singh and the history of the Ghadar movement. Apart from simple notes to clarify the text, there are references to information from the published works by and about the Ghadarites. There are extracts from judicial records, like the

¹The prefix 'Bhai' is used for a *granthi* and also for respectable Sikhs known for piety.

proceedings of the Lahore Conspiracy Cases and the Hindu-German Conspiracy Case. There are extracts from archival records of the Government of India, the Government of Punjab, the British Embassies and Consulates in South-East Asia and the Far East. All these materials confirm or modify, amplify or supplement the information given in the autobiographical core. For the present, I have concentrated on the core:

Early Life, Education and Politicization

Bhagwan Singh was born on 27 July 1884 and he left Punjab at the end of 1909. He refers to his primary education in a school started in his village by a Christian missionary who used to visit the school only once a year. The teacher in charge was a *Mirasi* named Mian Jhanda, 'an excellent person'. All that Bhagwan Singh remembered of the school was his elementary learning and his pre-occupation with sports. He left the school when he was punished for coming late. He refers to a person who was called a dacoit (*dharvi*) by the people and yet admired by them. He used to carry a weapon openly despite the official ban on weapons. Bhagwan Singh was fascinated by wrestling and aspired to become a wrestler. But his father sent him to his grandfather for education (Sidhu and Singh, 2013: 37-40).

Like his father, Bhagwan Singh's grandfather was a *vaid* (physician). He explained the meaning of Gurbani to Bhagwan Singh who read the *Adi Granth* and the *Dasam Granth* several times. For three years he studied Punjabi literature and Sikh history. He was stirred by the story which his grandfather narrated about the battle of Chillianwala fought between the British and the Sikhs in early 1849². His grandfather was with the Sikh army. He was full of patriotic fervor when he narrated the event. Bhagwan Singh recalls that this fervor got conveyed to the listeners who began to cherish

²The battle was fought on 13 January 1849, in which the British had suffered 'the worst defeat since their occupation of India'. (Grewal and Banga, 2013:21.)

the hope of early independence of their country. Bhagwan Singh himself in any case began to dream of a free India. His education with his grandfather continued up to the age of 14, and then he returned to his father's home (Sidhu and Singh, 2013: 40-42).

Bhagwan Singh was tall and well-built. For five years he tried to gain some distinction as a wrestler. However, his experience of a match against a stronger and experienced wrestler, who could beat him easily, persuaded him more than any argument of his father to leave professional wrestling. He had walked for 45 miles to reach in time for the match and at the end received a reward of only 12 *annas*. All along to dissuade him from wrestling, his father had been offering monetary incentives to commit to memory compositions from the Gurbani—the *Jap ji*, *Jaap Sahib*, *Anand*, *Sukhmani* and the *Rahiras*. Bhagwan Singh had a good memory and this exercise changed his attitude towards religion. Once his father asked him whether or not he liked the Sikh prayer (*ardas*). Bhagwan Singh said that he liked the concluding verse (*shalok*) immensely: *Nanak naam charhdi kala tere bhane sarbat da bhala* (the message of the name propagated by Guru Nanak may ever remain ascendant for the good of the entire humankind through God's grace) (Sidhu and Singh, 2013: 42-45).

Before long, Bhagwan Singh decided to go to the Khalsa Updeshak College at Garhakh in district Gujranwala. This college was meant for those who wanted to become Sikh missionaries (*parcharaks*) and teachers. The full course consisted of three grades: *Budhimani*, for two years; *Vidwani*, for another two years and *Gyani* for one year. In these five years, the students were taught Indian philosophy and culture, Sikh history and literature, grammar and poetics, the *Vars* of Bhai Gurdas, the *Dasam Granth* and contemporary history. His background and his own strict regimen of work enabled Bhagwan Singh to pass all the three examinations in one year. At the same time, he learnt music (*sangeet*). He says that by this time he was perfectly familiar with *Guru Granth Sahib*, the Sikh tradition and Sikh history (Sidhu and Singh, 2013: 45-49).

Bhagwan Singh was 21 years old in 1905 when he married Maya Devi, a widow. The Brahmanical taboos did not allow her to remarry, and she was thinking of accepting Christianity. Bhagwan Singh says that this was the first incident in his life which made him conscious of the caste system and its moral degradation. He had already been inspired by religious faith and an anti-British feeling and he was now convinced of the need for social regeneration. In consultation with his teacher, and with the consent of his father, he married the widow in December 1905 to save her from Christianity. He was appointed as 'Professor' in his college in 1906. Some months later, the college committee sent him to the Khalsa Diwanat Gojra to work as a missionary. Thereafter, as a lecturer he went to many places in the districts of Lyallpur, Jhang, Multan, Amritsar, Lahore, Gujranwala, Jhelum, Rawalpindi and Peshawar (Sidhu and Singh, 2013: 50-56). Initially diffident, he gradually became an effective speaker.

Bhagwan Singh recalls that a new political consciousness was emerging in the Punjab around 1906-7, and he met Master Amir Chand, Sufi Amba Prasad, Pindi Das Mehta and other nationalists in the wake of widespread agrarian unrest. He began to feel the tremors of patriotism (*desh-bhagti*) and took up political activity, delivering political lectures. On moonless night (*amavas*) of 1907 at Gurdwara Tarn Taran, where his father and Bhai Mohan Singh Vaid were also present, he gave a fiery lecture on water rates: 'The water of the rivers is our own. The rivers which have been flowing on the Indian soil for centuries are our own and we have the right to use their water. What kind of right have these Englishmen, who have come from outside, to raise the tax and to put restrictions on the use of our own water?' The revolutionary Ajit Singh (uncle of Bhagat Singh) also spoke, and then to escape arrest, they both went to Amritsar. There also Ajit Singh and Bhagwan Singh gave two or three lectures from the same stage. In 1908, Bhagwan Singh was able to get a teaching job in a school in Daska in the Sialkot district. There, a person who aspired to become a *Zaildar* tried to get him arrested. Towards the end of 1909,

Bhagwan Singh went to Delhi and from there to Calcutta to sail to Penang in a British ship under an assumed name. As he recalls, by this time he was fully consumed by the fire of revolution against British rule in India (Sidhu and Singh, 2013:56-57,61).

From early 1910 to the middle of 1916, Bhagwan Singh remained mainly in South East Asia and the Far East. He visited Canada for over five months in 1913, and the United States of America for about five months in 1914. From 1916 onwards he remained in the United States till his return to India in 1958 where he died in 1962. Bhagwan Singh was politically most active in the second decade of the twentieth century.

South-East Asia and Far East

For the first few months of his stay in South East Asia, Bhagwan Singh visited several places, giving lectures in Gurdwaras and outside, and acting as a *granthi*¹. The nature of his lectures was both religious and political. He tells us in retrospect that he had got enough time in Gujranwala to study Sikh religion and history and the lives of the ten Gurus. He felt inspired when he reflected on the sacrifices made by Guru Gobind Singh. He says that he had received *desh-bhagti* as a heritage. 'The tenth Master was my Guru, my ideal, my guide and my role model. The story of his life was the object of my dedication. Whenever I spoke about his life my mind opened like a blossom, my tongue became sweet and my heart was full of pangs.' He wanted to sail for the USA, but was prevailed upon by the local people to become the *granthi* of the Gurdwara in Hong Kong. For over three years, then, he stayed on in Hong Kong. These three years were important in his eyes. (Sidhu and Singh, 2013: 63-66).

Hong Kong being a port where nearly all the ships stopped, the Gurdwara was generally filled with a large number of new people. Bhagwan Singh met several important persons there. One of them

¹A professional reader of Granth Sahib.

was Bhai Takht Singh of Ferozepur⁴. When he performed *ardas* in the Gurdwara he prayed to Akal Purkh that the reign of George the Fifth may last for ages. Bhagwan Singh comments, 'what would Guru Gobind Singh have thought about Bhai Sahib had he been present'. Another person Bhagwan Singh met in Hong Kong was Sohan Lal Pathak⁵. Towards the end of 1911, Bhagwan Singh received a book in English. Till then he knew only Punjabi, Urdu and Hindi but not English. Therefore, he asked a young traveller (who was Sohan Lal) to tell him what this book was about. He said, 'Bhai Ji' keep it concealed; 'it is a whirlwind of fire'. This was a copy of V.D. Savarkar's *The Indian War of Independence 1857*⁶ which Madame Cama⁷ had sent for Bhagwan Singh. Sohan Lal explained to him the contents of this book. It further inflamed the patriotic fervor of Bhagwan Singh. Sohan Lal also encouraged him to learn English. Bhagwan Singh saw Kartar Singh Sarabha as a promising young man on his way to North America and they became very friendly. He met Kartar Singh again in USA in 1914. Bhagwan Singh helped Pandit Ram Chandra on his way to North America. Maharaja Sayaji Rao of Baroda⁸ too visited Hong Kong and after a short meeting, he said to Bhagwan Singh that he must meet the Maharaja on his return to India. Bhag Singh Bhikhiwind and Bhai Balwant Singh, respectively the Secretary of the Khalsa Diwan Society, Vancouver and the *granthi* of the Gurdwara at Vancouver, met Bhagwan Singh for the first time in Hong Kong (Sidhu and Singh, 2013: 71-81).

⁴He was a well-known social reformer of the Singh Sabha movement and a Sikh educationist.

⁵Later, a well-known member of the Ghadar Party.

⁶V.D. Savarkar wrote the account in Marathi in 1908. Recognizing its importance, it was translated into English in 1909 for a wider readership. The book faced immediate censorship and was banned shortly after its publication. The third edition was published in 1912 by Lala Har Dayal in the USA (Sohal, 2015:277)

⁷Bhikaji Cama, a Parsi woman, who arranged for the proscribed literature to reach British India through Pondicherry and was engaged in various revolutionary activities which brought her three terms of imprisonment in France and a ban on her re-entry to India. She eventually returned to India in 1935 and died the following year (Mansingh:1998, 87-88).

⁸Sayaji Rao is known as a patriotic and progressive prince.

Bhagwan Singh performed his duties as the *granthi* rather effectively. But he was equally interested in political propaganda among the troops stationed in Hong Kong. A local Sikh Police officer was hostile towards him. It was largely due to him that Bhagwan Singh was arrested once in 1910 and then in 1911. Opposition to Bhagwan Singh by the military officials obliged him finally to leave Hong Kong in May 1913 (Sidhu and Singh, 2013:75-76,81-82,94).

From his experience in Hong Kong Bhagwan Singh came to a few important conclusions. Firstly, the fire of *desh-bhagti* could remove the fear of the British from the minds of Indians. Secondly, to awaken the love of the country in the hearts of the people, it was necessary to appeal to their national feelings, giving examples of independent nations for inspiration, and also invoking their racial honor and challenging their manliness. Thirdly, he felt that Indians were prepared to make sacrifices for the country. He realized that patriotic, nationalist and racial feelings were still very strong among the Sikhs in particular (Sidhu and Singh, 2013: 85).

In Vancouver

Bhagwan Singh was in Canada from 7 June to 18 November 1913. He had been illegally taken to that country by Bela Singh (a tout of W.C. Hopkinson, a spy, ostensibly an interpreter with the Immigration Department) under the name of Natha Singh who had earlier lived in Canada for some time. Bhagwan Singh gives his assessment of the political position of Indians in Canada. There were three main groups: (a) *Akali jathas*, consisting generally of religious enthusiasts, (b) the saner men in Gurdwaras who were patriotic (*desh-bhagat*), and (c) the immigration party under the leadership of Hopkinson, consisting of Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims, who were generally traitors. Bhag Singh and Balwant Singh belonged to the second category, that is, the Sikhs who loved freedom and who were keen to remove social and national weaknesses, in addition to the performance of their religious duties. They were supported by men like Babu Harnam Singh

Sahri, Bhai Piara Singh Langeri, Munsha Singh Dukhi, Raja Singh, and 'Rahim' (Sidhu and Singh, 2013: 94, 96-97).

In consultation with Bhai Bhag Singh and Babu Harnam Singh, Bhagwan Singh started his political lectures in Vancouver. This could not be done on the first floor of the Gurdwara building where Sikh religious worship was performed. Bhagwan Singh suggested that the ground floor could be used for his lectures. This was agreed to. His first political lecture on 'The life of Guru Gobind Singh' was attended by 35 people who were all Khalsa or *keshdhari* (sporting long hair). For the next lecture, however, there were 300 people, and in the third it became difficult to find a place in the hall. Invitations began to pour in from other places. Apart from these lectures, Bhagwan Singh managed to revive Guru Nanak Mining Company which had been founded by (Sant) Teja Singh⁵ in 1908, and also the United India League, a common forum of Indians founded in 1911 for political freedom and social reform, and which had become defunct. Bhagwan Singh felt happy about the revival of these two institutions, which could give common platforms to all Indians (Sidhu and Singh, 2013:97-100).

Significantly, Bhagwan Singh tried to encourage people to take action at their own level. It was quite common for the Indians travelling by train to be told that they should sit in the compartments at the back where smoking was allowed. Bhagwan Singh told his audience to travel in small groups and physically resist being removed from any compartment. Even if it led to a fight, the matter would be reported in the newspapers and the real reason for the clash would become known to the public. It actually happened that way and the grievance was removed. Similarly, a few persons were encouraged to contest Hopkinson's claim that he knew Punjabi well enough to be an official interpreter. As a result,

⁵Born as Niranjan Singh in 1877, he became the Vice-Principal of Khalsa College, Amritsar in 1904. He took initiation of the double-edged sword from Sant Attar Singh and was given the new name 'Teja Singh'. In 1906, he enrolled for a science degree at the University of London. It was the first occasion when a turbaned Sikh was seen around Cambridge. In 1908, he moved to the Columbia University, New York. In 1913, he returned to the Punjab. (Tatla: 2005, 173-194).

Bhagwan Singh was forcibly repatriated on the plea that he had entered Canada under a false name. There was a strong reaction from the Sikh immigrants, when on 19 November 1913, he was virtually thrown into a ship of the Canadian Pacific Company (the *Empress of Japan*) which was sailing to Hong Kong via Japan (Gill, 2013: 249; Sidhu and Singh, 2013:100). Bhagwan Singh's deportation aroused a 'wave of anger' (Puri, 1993: 87).

Back in Japan

Bhagwan Singh was back in Japan before the middle of December 1913. He had been able to leave the ship at Yokohama without being detected by the authorities. There he met Dr Sun Yat-sen, the (provisional first) President of China, who had come from Shanghai to Japan only recently. Maulvi Mohammad Barkatullah, later a Vice-President of the Ghadar Party, was also present. Sun Yat-sen had a message for India that China and India, the oldest nations with half of the world's population were neighbors from ancient times, both physically and culturally: 'For the future, we have to live together' (Sidhu and Singh, 2013:112,113,122-125).

Bhagwan Singh tried to get assurance of help from Japan. Soon afterwards it was discovered that Husain Hatanu, who had been converted to Islam by Barkatullah and who worked with him, was actually an informer. Now Bhagwan Singh tried to go to Germany but dropped the idea given the number of ports on the voyage which were under British control where he could easily be arrested. He had to cut off his hair and beard to return to Japan without being detected (Sidhu and Singh, 2013:125-126,129-133, 149-155).

The *Komagata Maru*³⁰ on its voyage to Canada stopped at Yokohama from 21 April to 2 May 1914. Bhagwan Singh and

³⁰ *Komagata Maru*, a Japanese company vessel for coal transportation, was chartered by Gurdit Singh to bypass the 'continuous journey clause' of the Canadian immigration law which allowed only those who had through tickets from their country. The ship had 376 passengers who sought landing in Canada as British subjects. However, they were forcibly

Barkatullah lectured to the passengers twice, telling them about the conditions in Canada and what to do there. They emphasized that the entry of the passengers in Canada was a test of the genuineness of the law about 'direct travel' to Canada. They should behave in a manner worthy of the Indian nation. They should not give the impression that they were frightened. If necessary, they should all die for the cause. They should land in Canada with honour and not through bribery. Bhagwan Singh does not fail to mention that Gurdit Singh who had chartered the Japanese ship was perturbed to see him without *kesh* and beard. On the homeward voyage of the *Komagata Maru*, Bhagwan Singh managed to send arms to the ship with the help of Kartar Singh Sarabha, the young Ghadarite. These arms were distributed among the passengers by Bhakna, and used at the Budge Budge Harbour clash with the police, according to Bhai Bhagwan Singh (Sidhu and Singh, 2013: 161-164).

In San Francisco

Bhagwan Singh and Barkatullah now decided to go to the USA, and reached San Francisco on 23 May 1914. They came to know that Har Dayal had been arrested in March. They met Ram Chandra, Harnam Singh Tundilat, Sohan Lal Pathak and other Ghadar leaders. Bhagwan Singh talks about the Ghadar organization. Sohan Singh Bhakna was the President of the General Committee, Bhai Jawala Singh was its Vice-President, Bhai Santokh Singh was its Secretary, Lala Munshi Ram was its treasurer, and there were nine members from different areas. The Ghadar Press was under the control of this committee. The workers of the Ghadar Council and the Ashram (Yugantar) Council were headed by Ram Chandra as the editor of the *Ghadar*

returned after 62 days of humiliation and unsuccessful negotiations with the Canadian immigration authorities. They were forced to land at Budge Budge near Calcutta to go to the Punjab directly by train. The passengers refused that and came into a violent confrontation with the police, and 18 Sikhs lost their lives (Waraich and Sidhu, 2013:15-16, 26-33, 105; Tatla: 2013, 198-220).

weekly. About four weeks after Bhagwan Singh and Barkatullah arrived in USA, the executive committee resolved that Sohan Singh Bhakna may be allowed to resign voluntarily, and in his place Bhagwan Singh may be made President, with Barkatullah as Vice-President. Ram Chandra remained editor of the *Ghadar* weekly, with full responsibility for propaganda. These three 'commissioners' were seen by Bhagwan Singh as the symbols of unity among Hindus, Muslims, and Sikhs of India. He also states that he remained President of the Ghadar Party from 1914 to 1920¹¹ (Sidhu and Singh, 2013:166-69; Sareen, 2015: I, 38).

Bhagwan Singh narrates an incident in which a sort of crisis was created by the publication of his poem which contained the following line: '*Jap Jaap da wakt vatit hoeya, bela aa gia teg uthavane da*' (The time for *Jap* and *Jaap* has passed and now is the moment for taking up the sword). There was a strong objection to this line and the situation was saved by an apology by the editor of the *Ghadar*.

Three months later, World War I broke out and the leaders of the Ghadar Party had to take the decision whether or not to make use of this opportunity for an armed revolt against British rule of India. Their idea earlier was that war would break out by about 1920, and they were making preparations on that assumption. After much discussion, it was decided to take advantage of the war even though the Ghadar Party was not adequately prepared for an armed revolution. Bhagwan Singh wrote the declaration of war against the British (*Ailan-i Jang*)¹² which the *Ghadar* weekly propagated. Indians in the USA, Canada, Brazil, Panama, Mexico, Philippines, China, Japan and other places responded to the call and returned to India. The Governments of Germany and Austria

¹¹However, in 1919 Rattan Singh was elected as the President and Santokh Singh as the General Secretary of the Ghadar Party. Rattan Singh remained the President till 1922 (Pooni: 2013, 20; 117-122). Incidentally, his 'A Brief History of the Hindustan Gadar Party', written in 1929 is considered as the earliest work on the Ghadar movement by an insider (Sidhu and Singh, 2013: 13-14).

¹²For English translation (Sareen:2015, II, 30-31).

were contacted for help. Talks were held with the Turkish Embassy. It was decided that Bhagwan Singh should go to South East Asia and the Far East, Barkatullah should go to the Muslim countries like Turkey, Afghanistan and Arabia, and Ram Chandra may look after the affairs of the Ghadar Party in the USA. Bhagwan Singh left the USA on 27 October 1914 (Sidhu and Singh, 2013:170-178).

Before leaving, Bhagwan Singh asked five men for consultation and help: Babu Harnam Singh Sahri, Balwant Singh Khurdpur, Sohan Lal Pathak, Bhai Santokh Singh, and Sardar Gopal Singh Sohi. Duties were assigned to other leaders of the Ghadar Party. There was a great hope that Germany would provide weapons and other war materials to the Ghadarites. Bhagwan Singh observes that the feeling of *desh-bhagti* was very strong among the Sikhs. They were prepared to sacrifice their lives as Indians for the sake of Hindustan. He narrates his activity in the Philippines where he met 'Hafiz Abdullah' who was very fond of Bhagwan Singh's poem entitled 'Sachi Pukar'. This was the first poem to be published in the *Ghadar di Goonj*. Working among the Indians in South East Asia, Bhagwan Singh says that even among the Muslims who were not suspected by the British there was a great enthusiasm now. He regrets that he could not reach Singapore at the time of the *ghadar* there (Sidhu and Singh, 2013:186-200). The reference here is to the Singapore Mutiny.¹³

In the context of interactions with Germans for help, Bhagwan Singh narrates in some detail his meeting with the well-known Bengali revolutionary, Rash Behari Bose. When Bhagwan Singh was approached by the representatives of Germany to meet them in Shanghai to discuss the aid they could provide, he persuaded Bose to meet them because the risk of his being detected was much

¹³On 15 February 1915, Indian officers and men of the Fifth Indian Native Light Infantry, a British-officered regular battalion rose in revolt against the British in Singapore. The mutineers were familiar with the *Ghadar* and *Ghadar di Goonj*. It was not a coincidence that a Ghadarite of Amritsar was one of the individuals who incited the mutineers (Kalia, 2013: 321, 330).

less than in the case of Bhagwan Singh. According to him, Bose received 90,000 US dollars from the Germans to promote the armed revolution of the Ghadarites. Bose knew Sohan Singh Bhakna, Kartar Singh Sarabha, Vishnu Ganesh Pingley and other Ghadarites and he also knew who had been hanged or imprisoned. They thought about the future plans of occupying Port Blair where 16,000 to 17,000 Indians could be armed and sent into Burma, and from there they could invade India for its liberation. Bhagwan Singh received another message from the Germans to meet them in Shanghai but he thought that it was not safe to go there. Instead, he went to China to establish contact with the Germans. Gradually, he was disillusioned with them and came to believe that they were not in a position to provide arms and they were trying to use the Ghadarites for their own purposes. One tangible result of his meeting with the Germans was the writing of his *Jang Aur Azadi*. Bhagwan Singh tells us that he wrote it in a German warship in Nanking in April-May 1915. It was printed, and two lakh copies were distributed in South East Asia. To keep his identity concealed from the police, Bhagwan Singh adopted the Muslim name Nura. Gopal Singh was given the name Maula Bakhsh, and Santokh Singh became Eedu (Sidhu and Singh, 2013:206-215, 222-229).

In May 1916, Bhagwan Singh sailed from Shanghai under an assumed name. On reaching San Francisco he was received by Bagai who had been sent by Ram Chandra. However, he began to talk against Ram Chandra, telling Bhagwan Singh how he was using party funds for personal purposes. Bhagwan Singh was keen to go to the South American countries to work there for the revolution. He went to Panama where he held meetings, collected funds, and sent money to the Ghadar Party. Then he tried to return to North America under his own name but was detained in Cuba and sent back to Panama. Ram Chandra wanted Bhagwan Singh to go to Europe to work with the Germans. However, Bhagwan Singh thought that his services were needed in the USA rather than Europe and he left Panama and managed to reach New York on 11 October 1916. For several months, then, his primary occupation was to establish his control over the Ghadar Party and the *Ghadar*

weekly. He ousted Ram Chandra early in 1917 (Sidhu and Singh, 2013: 242-48, 250-59).

On 7 April 1917, the American Government joined the War. Within 24 hours, Bhagwan Singh was arrested along with 18 other Ghadarites. Within one week, he was released from detention on a surety of 25,000 dollars, the highest among all the Ghadar leaders arrested. Bhagwan Singh does not say anything more about himself but refers only to 500 pages of the proceedings of the Hindu-German Conspiracy Case (Sidhu and Singh, 2013:272). We know that he was sentenced for 18 months, and was served a notice of deportation while in jail. After his release, however, the proceedings of deportation were dropped and he was allowed to live in the United States (Sidhu and Singh, 2013: 292-293, 302, 304,312, 314-315, 321).

Bhagwan Singh's Poetry

Bhagwan Singh ('Pritam') is regarded as the foremost poet of the Ghadar movement not only for his political awareness and intellectual maturity, but also for his poetic sensibility and craft. In volume also his poetry is the largest, according to its editor (Kesar Singh Kesar, 1995: 445-46, hereafter as Kesar Singh).¹⁴ He includes 24 poems of Bhagwan Singh from 1913 to 1917 in *Gadar Lehar di Kavita*.¹⁵ These poems were published in the weekly *Ghadar* and

¹⁴It may be added that the poetry of the Ghadar movement was collected by Giani Kesar Singh, the first novelist of the Ghadar movement who was based in Canada. He handed over his effort of 20 years to Professor Kesar Singh Kesar of the Panjab University, Chandigarh who edited this poetry with a longish introduction and five appendices. The work was published by the Punjabi University, Patiala in 1995.

¹⁵Kesar Singh also includes three later poems of Bhagwan Singh. In one poem from 1918, Bharat Mata entreats her sons to save her from English tyranny. Bharat Mata is portrayed as a vulnerable woman (*ablaa naar*), who can only be liberated through unity, bravery, and the willingness to make sacrifices. Just as China and Japan have shown defiance against the English, it is time for the people of India to rise and defend their motherland. Bhagwan Singh had included some of these ideas in a poem penned in July 1915. In another poem of 1918, he says that his homeland (*vatan*) shines brightly among the nations, exuding majesty, allure, radiance, vibrancy, and a kaleidoscope of colours. It is a beacon of enlightenment for both China and Japan. (Kesar Singh, 1995:386-388; 391). This poem too was written in 1915 but reproduced with minor changes in 1918. (Sidhu and Singh, 2017: 176,194). The longish

Hindustan Ghadar from December 1913 to July 1917, and in the monthly *Yugantar* in July and September 1917. As noted before, the first poem to be published on 30 December 1913 was '*Sachi Pukar*' (True Call) which was followed by '*Piari Watan Wasian nu Sandesa Kamagata Maru de Hindian Wallon*' (Message of Indians of the *Komagata Maru* to their beloved countrymen) on 28 February 1915. Four other poems were published in 1915. Seven poems were published in 1916. The remaining eleven poems appeared in 1917. The increasing number of poems may be a reflection of Bhagwan Singh's increasing involvement in the revolutionary movement from 1913 to 1917.

We may turn to '*Sachi Pukar*', which consists of a series of questions. The whole of mankind is wide awake, why is India (Hindustan) still asleep? An answer to this basic question is suggested through some other questions. Indians do not dream of independence because they have gotten used to 'slavery'. They do not have the political sagacity to get rid of slavery. The English divided the Hindus and Muslims to rule over them. There are no *ghazis* (warrior or hero) among Muslims, and no Hindu is really alive. There are no men comparable with Kalidas, Raja Bhoj, Bhim, or Arjun. There is no knowledge of *dharma*, *raj-yog*, and ethics anymore. The men like Tilak, Aurobindo, Har Dayal, and Ajit Singh appeared on the scene but they were not followed by many. Bhagwan Singh underlines that the state of slavery was extremely shameful for all Indians. There was stark poverty and no adequate food to maintain bodily strength. Indeed, the living human beings had become corpses fit to be cremated. The Indians enjoyed no respect in their own country and abroad: they were called 'black thieves' (*kala chor*) and 'coolies'. There were no schools or colleges for the young. There was no spirit of sacrifice and no sense of honour. The Sikhs had forgotten the use of the sword (*kirpan*) and the double-edged sword (*khanda*). They were no longer true to the dictum (of Guru Gobind Singh) that *jabi ban lage tabi ros jage* (fervor

poem of 1933 presents a dialogue between an admirer of British colonial rule and a revolutionary advocating democracy (Kesar Singh, 1995: 392-398). This too was written in 1915 and revised later (Sidhu and Singh, 2017: 149-167).

to fight is roused when one is struck by an arrow in the field of battle). Bhagwan Singh's purpose in this poem is to exhort Indians to rise against the foreign rulers who were exploiting the country. He specifically calls upon the Sikhs ('the sons of my great father', Guru Gobind Singh) to come together and sacrifice their lives in order to oust the English by force (Kesar Singh, 1995: 93-94).

The poem on the *Komagata Maru* alludes to several situations connected with the fateful voyage: no supply of food and water; repelling of the armed police by the passengers who had no arms; infringement of their own law by the Canadian authorities; and the massacre of many passengers at Budge Budge. The 'Indians' (Hindi) of the *Komagata Maru* refer to Hindustan as 'Bharat Mata' who is a helpless woman (*ablaa-naar*). Their salutation is 'Bande Mataram'. They claim to have awakened Indians from their deep slumber. They sacrificed their lives for the sake of India. It is easy to talk about *ghadar* but they have shown through their action how to bring it about. They have taught how to die with honour and not to die the death of a dog. Soon the armed revolution (*ghadar*) would begin; they have blown the bugle. They exhort the lovers of *ghadar* to rise so that they do not regret later that they wasted the opportunity. They have shaken the roots of oppression. They look upon themselves as martyrs (*shahid*) and they want their compatriots to follow their example (Kesar Singh, 1995: 93-94).

Another poem of 1915 relates to the critical situation of the English rulers of India and the need to strike at them. They went to other countries, took their people unawares, and captured their country by setting one ruler against the other. At the cost of India, they built up England. Bhagwan Singh refers to the English as monkeys. China and Japan had woken up by now and it was high time for the Indians to wake up. Bharat Mata was calling upon them loudly to free her from foreign yoke. Her children should take up the double-edged sword and die fighting in the field of battle. It was far more honourable for Sikhs, Hindus, and Muslims to die as martyrs rather than live as slaves. Armed revolution (*ghadar*) is our life and the only solution (Kesar Singh, 1995: 206-208). In yet another poem, 'Bharat Mata calls upon her sons to save

her from the English who made her merely a helpless woman (*ablaa naar*).¹ Her sons did not understand the strategy of the enemy who had divided Indians into Hindus and Muslims. The whole nation was suffering. Now was the time to save her from death (Kesar Singh, 1995: 209).

In yet another poem of 1915, Bhagwan Singh underlines the difficulties on the path of armed revolution. He uses a number of phrases which are familiar to the readers of Sikh literature in connection with the difficulties on the path of liberation as conceived by the Sikh Gurus: *khoon bahawana*, *sees katawana*, *apna aap ganwawna*, *soolan sej bachhavana*, *sirar nibhavana*, *dukhi uthavana*, *karam kamavana*, *raaj kamavana*, *reham kamavana*, and *hukam manana sis noon tali dhar ke*. Bhagwan Singh adds that sacrificing one's life for the beloved country is rewarding. The *ghadar* (armed revolution) is 'the water of life' (*aab-i hayat*) which makes men immortal. He exhorts his compatriots to first think of death and only then of independence. It is extremely difficult to attain true union (*jog*); it demands the sacrifice of family and children (Kesar Singh, 1995: 221-222). In the last poem of 1915 Bhagwan Singh laments that the Indian Princes were submissive and helpful to the English. The people followed their example and supported the English in their war. The fools were prepared to die for their foreign rulers and not for freedom. The Rajputs, the Khans and the Singhs [the designated Martial Races] were not prepared to take up the sword against the English. The Indian soldiers who sold their services for the price of a sheep (Rs 11/-) should realize that it was none of their business to kill the people of other countries; they should join the armed revolution to fight for the freedom of their own country. 'India is our country and we are its legitimate masters', says the poet (Kesar Singh, 1995: 228-29).

The project of armed revolution in the Punjab had failed in 1915 but Bhagwan Singh was not dismayed. His first poem in 1916 refers to the 'last message of Indian martyrs' in which they say that they have performed their duty and kissed the noose. They should be remembered for their love of the country. They should know the hardness of the path. They should behave like lions and not like

jackals. They should regard the jail as their college. Many fail in examinations, but those who pass get a certificate of death (Kesar Singh, 1995: 243-44). In another poem, Bhagwan Singh urge Indians to make sacrifices for the freedom of their country. Instead of dying in support of the enemy of their country, they should demonstrate their bravery in freeing it. The Indian soldiers and policemen who supported the English in their measures of suppression were all playing the role of pimps. They should obey the orders of the real servants of the country and join the armed revolt (Kesar Singh, 1995: 244-246).

The indispensability of armed revolution is emphasized in a short poem. Rulership cannot be achieved with requests; it was necessary to take up the sword. Bhagwan Singh laments that there was no Prithvi Raj among Indians. They cannot face the English. They have failed to develop the tradition of sacrifice for the country. They had no objection to being enslaved. They should crush the head of the wretched English, like an onion (Kesar Singh, 1995: 247-248). In another short poem of 1916, Bhagwan Singh refers to the English as blood-sucking he-bats (*chamgiddar*), and emphasizes the need of joining the *ghadar* (Kesar Singh, 1995: 248-249). Our country would not have been enslaved, he says in a poem of July 1916, if we had kept our hand on the hilt of the sword and refused to suffer dishonour. Men like Bannerjee, Bipin, Gandhi, and Madan Mohan were cleaning the shoes of the English [extending support during the war]. Men like Sufi (Amba Prasad), Arvind, and Har Dayal had to leave the country. Having lost their rule and their army, Indians had become light like a blade of grass. We would not have left our homes if, in the very beginning, we had been prepared to sacrifice our heads for the sake of the country (Kesar Singh, 1995: 255-256).

In a longish poem published in November 1916, Bhagwan Singh uses the refrain that the Ghadar Party had performed its duty. The Brahmgianis were dead without honour. There could be no learning and no bravery without freedom. The Ghadar Party had awakened the Indians to this truth. Bharat Mata had been captured by the butchers; the Indians should rescue her at the cost

of their lives. The Ghadar Party had shown the way by performing its duty. It was a universal truth that freedom could be attained only by placing your head on the palm of your hand. The moderates were asking others to draw their carriage. The Ghadar Party demonstrated how to use one's own hands. 'Our blood shall flow for the sake of the nation and we shall establish the rule of the people (*parja raj*) by ousting the English dacoits' (Kesar Singh, 1995: 270-273). In the last poem of 1916, Bhagwan Singh reiterates that foreign rule is the source of degeneration and misery; nothing could be worse than foreign rule. He warns the reader that India will be free after a hard battle, harder than the battles of Saragarhi and Chitral (Kesar Singh, 1995: 274-275).

The first poem of 1917 is in the literary form known as *Painti Akhri* after the thirty-five letters of the Gurmukhi alphabet. It consists of thirty-five stanzas of four lines each, this makes it the longest poem by Bhagwan Singh. He refers to the absence of political awakening in India and some other countries of the world, and emphasizes the importance of war in any struggle for freedom. He reiterates that nothing can be obtained merely by making requests. The best men of the country had departed, leaving behind *sants* and *faqirs*, fools and slaves, and cowardly men who remained silent. The only helper was the *ghadar*. Sooner or later, India would become free through an armed revolution, involving sacrifices by lacs of people. Some of the important leaders, like Bannerjee, Bipin Babu and Gokhale, were in despair, but service of the country through sacrifice was our faith. Those who had remained indifferent to the *ghadar* cannot do anything now. Armed revolution needed many things: power, money, intelligence, fervor, dedication, organization, love of freedom, leadership, knowledge, guns and gun powder. Armed revolution is the physician (*vaid*) who can cure all kinds of illnesses. Bhagwan Singh refers to the patriots (*desh bhagats*) like Nana Sahib, Tantia, Lakshmi Bai, Shah Muhammad, Baba Ram Singh, Ali Naqi, Maulvi Barkatullah, Pingley, and Kartar Singh. Love of the country, though late, has caught hold of us, and no oppression by the English can obliterate it. The English will have to account for what

they did in 1857. We are ready for a new armed revolution. Bhagwan Singh invokes nationalism: India belongs to Indians just as Germany belongs to Germans, Russia to Russians, Spain to Spaniards, America to Americans, Arabia to Arabs, Iran to Iranians, China to Chinese, and Japan to Japanese (Kesar Singh, 1995: 283-289).

So long as we are weak, says Bhagwan Singh in another poem, no help would come from outside. A country with cowardly people can never become independent. There can be no invention in a country where there is no freedom of expression. They who do not give call for *ghadar* have no use of *sankh* (a conch) and *naad* (sound) for a clarion call. They who do not read the *Ghadar Akhbar* can have no appreciation for the story of the love of Shireen and Farhad (who sacrificed their lives for love). The Hindus in India were silent and the Musalmans did not take pride in *jihaad*; they were bound for destruction (Kesar Singh, 1995: 288-289). Other people are busy in their own work but we have not attended to our business. We should dedicate our bodies, minds, and wealth to our beloved country. There are lacs of traitors amongst us, but none of them has been punished. Those who are dedicated to the service of people are humiliated in foreign countries. There is no point in indulging in subtleties if we cannot propagate the idea of armed revolution (Kesar Singh, 1995: 289-290). Addressing his countrymen in another poem, Bhagwan Singh talks of the sad plight of Indians in India and abroad. Only freedom can put an end to their plight (Kesar Singh, 1995: 290-291). In another poem in the same tone, Bhagwan Singh refers to the categories of people in India who were indifferent to politics for one reason or another. In fact, many of them supported the foreign rulers in different ways and in various capacities (Kesar Singh, 1995: 291-292).

In the poem entitled '*Ascen Rahe Ghulam Besaar Baithe*' (We remain slaves without an awareness), Bhagwan Singh refers to the adverse effects of foreign rule on the people of India and their indifference to their own plight. The Congress leaders in this poem are seen as falsely claiming that their goal is independence (Kesar Singh, 1995: 293-294). In a *Kafi*, Bhagwan Singh refers to the sad and

demeaning position of his countrymen under slavery, and regrets that there are no longer any Rajputs, Marathas, and Bengalis in the country who could fight for freedom. 'The Khalsa Panth is no longer pure and there is no happiness in their hearts.' The Musalmans and Hindus have lost all sense of honour; their bodies are 6 feet tall but merely clods of earth. There are many Rajas but none like Prithvi Raj; they are rulers in name but subjects in reality. Foreigners had become the real masters of the country. (Kesar Singh, 1995: 297-298).

In the last four poems of 1917, from June to September, Bhagwan Singh strikes a different note. In a poem addressed to the English in which every line ends with 'are we', the poet tells them that Indians are not cowardly people: 'we are well versed in the use of the sword'. Do not call us conspirators; we are servants of our beloved country. For the sake of the country, we go to jails and we go to the gallows. We remember our country all the time and we suffer in many ways. 'We have one country, and we are one nation'. For ousting the deceitful English from our country we are like the sharp edge of a sword. We are without arms but we are all lovers of our country's freedom (Kesar Singh, 1995: 300-301). Another poem is entitled '*Ghadar di Mahima*' (Praise of the Ghadar). Bhagwan Singh says that *ghadar* has ultimately owned us. The Indian brothers were divided before, but now they have become one. Those who were asleep have been awakened and those who were dead have become alive. Every heart is now stamped with *ghadar*. We are inspired by the love of the country and we have taken up the dagger. The armed revolution has taken away the crowns of monarchs and demonstrated the power of the people. A great revolution has occurred in the world [Russian Revolution]. Apart from the Tzar of Russia, the rulers of Turkey and China are also mentioned as monarchs who have lost their crowns. Bhagwan Singh says towards the end that those who die for the nation live forever (Kesar Singh, 1995: 307-308).

In the first poem published in the *Yugantar* Bhagwan Singh says that the more the English become oppressive the sooner would come the armed revolution. Indeed, the refrain of the poem

is to the effect that all the rebels would come together and work for the *ghadar* very soon. The Indians would rule over their own country, and everything in it would belong to them. Bhagwan Singh exhorts Indians to wake up and seize the country (Kesar Singh, 1995: 311-314). In the last poem, Bhagwan Singh tells his countrymen what they have lost and invites them to free the country in the name of the martyrs who have died for its sake; there is no time to lose (Kesar Singh, 1995: 315).

In Retrospect

Bhagwan Singh's autobiographical account provides valuable insights both into the making of the revolutionary that he became and the Ghadar movement. His education made him familiar with Sikh faith and literature and Sikh history and tradition. His primary source of inspiration was Guru Gobind Singh who created the Khalsa to wage a struggle for freedom. Bhagwan Singh was inspired also by the story of bravery which his grandfather narrated in connection with the war of freedom against the British in 1848-49. He was trained as a Sikh missionary. In 1907, he was drawn towards the anti-British agitation in the Punjab. Political activity had thus been added to his religious interests before he left India at the end of 1909.

Bhagwan Singh's activities in South East Asia, particularly in Hong Kong for over three years, prepared him well for participation in the Ghadar movement and even influence its course. In Hong Kong he gave religious and political lectures. Bhagwan Singh cultivated good relations with the local army units and gave them ideas about independence. His visit to Vancouver in 1913 created a good deal of political enthusiasm among the Indians and brought his qualities as a leader into focus. This could be one reason for his visit to the USA in 1914. After Sohan Singh Bhakna's voluntary resignation, he was made the President of the Ghadar Party. As President he played a significant role in its program and reorganization. Both in Canada and USA Bhagwan

Singh tried to create a common 'Indian' platform for revolutionary struggle.

Bhai Bhagwan Singh enables us to see the Ghadar movement from the inside as it were. Its ideology is illumined by his poetry which exposes the ills of colonial rule and exhort Indians to oust it through armed struggle to establish rule of the people (*parja raj*). Significantly, Bhagwan Singh saw no contradiction between his revolutionary nationalism and religious faith and convictions.

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Sex Differentials In Haryana - Spatial Dimension

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Abstract

Haryana is one of the most progressive states of India in terms of economic development. It has emerged as important IT destination of India in last decade. It is home for many multinational companies. This economic development has not been matched by social development in the state. This is the reason for selection of the state of Haryana. In this paper we have analyzed ten demographic and social indicators for Haryana which measure the status of women. Our approach is spatial where we have mapped these ten demographic and social indicators. The paper discusses each of ten indicators individually and in the conclusion status of women in Haryana has been calculated with the help of Weighted Index Method. Northern district of Panchkula is ranked highest. It is the district where female literacy is highest and it has low female infant and female child mortality rates. The sex differential in infant and child

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mortality is also lowest for Panchkula. Palwal and Mewat are districts ranked lowest. Both these districts have lowest literacy and high female infant and child mortality rates.

Keywords: Sex differential, spatial, status of women, Weighted Index Method

Introduction

Present state of Haryana was created in November 1966. It has its capital at Chandigarh, which is also the capital of Punjab and seat of Government of Union Territory of Chandigarh. Haryana is administratively divided into 21 districts. It accounts for 2.09 % of total population of country and 1.4 % of land area (RGI, 2011).

Before its formation as a separate state and even during colonial times Haryana was one of the backward and underdeveloped regions of Punjab. Large parts of the state were drought ridden and chronic food shortage region. The economy of the western region in particular was dependent on animal husbandry and served as a recruitment area for British Army (Chaudhary, 1994). But after its formation as a separate state in 1966 it has made tremendous progress in agricultural, industrial and service sector. Now Haryana has emerged as a major IT center in North India.

Physiographically and geographically Haryana is part of Northern Indian Great Plains (Census of India, 1981). Haryana is divided into five natural topographic divisions.

- (i) The Bagar and the undulating sandy plains. The sand dunes and the tals (230-350 mt) found in South Western parts of Haryana cover parts of districts of Sirsa, Hissar and Bhiwani
- (ii) The Alluvial Plain or the Ghaggar-Yamuna Plain Within the alluvial plain are the narrow low lying flood plains, known as Khadar of Yamuna, Nali of Ghaggar, and Bet of

Markanda. The saucer like flat plain of Sonipat and northern parts of Rohtak districts forms a part of the alluvial plain. Bangar, Khadar, Naili and Bet (below 300 mt) cover parts of districts of Ambala, Yamuna Nagar, Kurukshetra, Karnal, Kaithal, Jind, Sonipat and the north-eastern part of Hisar.

- (iii) The Aravali outliers (300-600 mt); The Aravalli outliers are scattered in Gurgaon, Mahendragarh, Rewari and Bhiwani districts
- (iv) The Shiwaliks -The hills (over 400 mt) cover the northern boundary of the Panchkula district
- (v) The Foot Hill Zone-The piedmont plain (300-400 mt).

Second classification of Haryana is based on ethnicity, dialectical variance and ecology. These are the eco - cultural zones demarcated by the Anthropological Survey of India (Sharma and Bhatia, 1994). It includes:

- a. Ahirwal - Dominance of Ahirs - Includes Mahendragarh and parts of Gurgaon districts
- b. Mewat - Dominance of Meos - It includes Gurgaon and Faridabad districts
- c. Bagar - Influence of Bagri dialect of Rajasthan and influenced by ecology of bordering Rajasthan - Includes Sirsa, Hisar and Bhiwani districts
- d. Nardak - Influenced by Punjab and H.P. - Includes districts of Ambala, Kurukshetra and Karnal
- e. Khadar - Khariboli - heartland of Haryana - Includes the districts of Rohtak, Sonipat and Jind

Historical background and status of women

Historically, western and southern region of the state has been economically backward and frequently experienced droughts.

Even in colonial times this area was agriculturally backward, only producing fodder crops and coarse grains. The British made no efforts in developing the area for agriculture by providing irrigation facilities like canals etc. They thought that it is suitable for providing only drought animals for the whole country. The economy of the area depended on supply of drought animals for rest of country and also on recruitment in British army (Chaudhary, 1994).

The area basically had subsistence agriculture frequently affected by famines. Large land holdings were required to feed the family and ensure their survival. Land was the only resource, so very precious and family labor was important to do hard and tough work related to farming and animal husbandry in this dry region. This resulted in strong desire for male progeny as a heir to the land, which was at that time registered only in name of male member of family. Daughters were considered to have a temporary stay at maternal household and their labor was not utilized for work in farm. As a result, daughters were less preferred and given low value. So, desire for son was also more because he will bring in a daughter-in-law who will not only help in household and outdoor work but also produce a male heir for family (Chaudhary, 1994). Because of low economic participation of women in agriculture and social practices like dowry, women had low economic and social status (Sudha, 1999). This was also one of the reasons for preference of sons in the family.

The social organization in Haryana also resulted in the practice of preference for a son in the region. Jats were the single major dominant caste and the major landowning caste. The Jats shaped the customs and traditions of the society that was followed by others in rural areas. The British in 1931 survey identified Jats both Hindu and Sikhs, as the social groups who practiced female infanticide and also had lowest sex ratios (Miller, 1981). Since Jats were the landowning caste, preference for male heir to keep land in family was very strong (Miller, 1981 and Dasgupta, 1987).

Seclusion of women or protection from foreign invaders also resulted in confinement of women inside homes. This area has been frequently in contact with foreign invaders. The protection and security of women and girls from these invaders also made girls a burden and a liability and also led to customs and traditions like female infanticide and discrimination against and neglect of female child in terms of child care practices like food and nutrition etc. (Basu, 1992).

Cultural and religious practices, which give higher status to a son in Hindu religion further led to practices that discriminated against the girl child. Sons are considered as necessary to perform the last rites and *shraddh* of parents so that parents attain *moksha* (release from cycle of birth and death) after death. Sons are considered to be the heir and necessary for further continuation of the family lineage (*Vansh*) to next generation. Many popular local proverbs/sayings which are part of folk culture also point out to the son preference prevalent in the region since ancient time (Chaudhary, 1994). Some of the proverbs reflecting this are

- ♦ *meehn aur bettya te kaun dhappaya sai*
(who can have enough of rain or sons)
- ♦ *beti bhali na eek*
(to have even one daughter is not good)
- ♦ *beti ka dhan nimana hai,*
ate bhi rulae, jate bhi rulae
(daughters are like others property; it leads to pain both at time of birth as well as during their marriage).
- ♦ *mhare jann mei baje thekre, bhai ke mein thali*
budha bhi rowe, buddhiya bhi rowe, roven hali pali
(my birth is announced by sound of broken shards while my brothers birth with sound of brass plate. At my birth everybody weeps)

Economic development and status of women

State of Haryana presently is one of the economically most progressive states of the country. Since last two decades it has made tremendous progress in industrial and service sectors. The structural composition of the state economy has witnessed significant changes since the formation of Haryana state. Agriculture sector continues to occupy a significant position in state economy, although, the share of this sector in the gross state domestic product is continuously declining. The composition of Gross State Domestic Product reveals that the share of primary sector that includes agriculture and allied sectors has declined from 60.70 % during 1969-70 to 17.4 % during 2022-2023. The share of secondary sector, which also includes manufacturing sector, has increased from 17.6 % during 1969-70 to 33.2 % during 2022-2023 (Economic Survey of Haryana 2022-23). Tertiary Sector, a combination of different services like trade, transport, banking, public administration, education, and health etc. also witnessed significant increase in its share in Gross State Domestic Product from 21.7 % during 1969-70 to 49.4 % during 2022-2023.

Per capita income of Haryana has been estimated at Rs.2,96,685/- during 2022-23 at current prices **which is higher than the national average of Rs.1,70,620/- and is third highest in the country** (Economic Survey of Haryana Government of Haryana, 2023). Haryana ranks 5th in terms of financial infrastructure, 7th in terms of physical infrastructure and 14th in terms of social infrastructure among 18 major states (Timilsina, 2022).

Ironically, this economic development has not made desired impact on the social development of state especially on the status of women and girl child. Literacy level in the state, at 75.6 % in 2010-11, although ranks above the all India level of 74 % but is still very low. The differentials in male and female literacy level have remained high. The gap in 2010-11 (for males 84 % and females 65.9 %) is still as high as 18.1 % (in 1971 it was 23 % points). Female labor force participation rates are very low. Apart from this

sex ratio (879) is low as well as declining as compared to national average of 943 (GoI, 2016) Child sex ratio is among the lowest in country and is declining; sex differentials in infant and child mortality are also high. Health conditions in Haryana, measured in terms of death rate, infant mortality rate, child mortality rate and life expectancy at birth, have shown a slower improvement. Social sector in Haryana has not made progress in same manner as the economic development. This shows that social development does not always follow economic development.

Literature Review

As discussed in previous section, we can say that the present status of women and girl child in Haryana has been the result of interplay of various factors like the historical circumstances, ecological and environmental setting, social structure and cultural practices. In present time the low status, neglect and discrimination of female child manifests itself in terms of high preference for sons and extensive use of practices like female feticide in the society.

In age of new medical technology, people have found a convenient way to get rid of female child even before birth and have desired sex of the child. Some of the recent studies done on this subject substantiate our point.

Many studies like those done by NFHS – I & II have proved that preference for son is very high for the state of Haryana (PRC Chandigarh & IIPS Bombay 1995, IIPS and ORC Macro, 2001). Study by Arnold et al. on sex selective abortions in India based on NFHS- II data (IIPS and ORC Macro 2001) reveal that Haryana has highest sex ratio at birth (In this study sex ratio is taken as number of male children born per 100 female children born) in the country. Haryana along with other Group – A states of Punjab and Gujarat, also has highest sex ratio immediately after aborted pregnancy of 158 as compared to national average (106.5). Use of Ultrasound for detection of sex of fetus was also found to be highest for Haryana. Termination of female fetus after the test is also highest for Haryana, which is proved by high sex ratio at birth for mothers

who go for Ultrasound (186.3) and that 44 % women who go for the test get abortions done (Arnold et.al. 2002). These results clearly and strongly point out to the practice of son preference and use of ultrasound and other medical techniques for sex selective abortions in Haryana.

Similarly, study done by Krishnamoorthy based on NFHS – II data also shows that Haryana is among the first three states after Punjab and Arunachal Pradesh in terms of high sex selective abortion ratio (number of sex selective abortions per 1000 live births) of 40 (Krishnamoorthy, 2003)

In one of his articles in a newspaper, Ashish Bose (2001), the famous demographer coined the term DEMARU (according to him D stands for daughter, E stands for elimination, M for male, A for aspiring and U for rage for ultrasound, that is to say, daughter eliminating male aspiring rage for ultrasound) for the group of states, including Haryana (Punjab, Himachal Pradesh & Gujarat) with low and declining sex ratios (above 50 points) based on 2001, Census data. He also talks about use of amniocentesis and ultrasound for sex selection in Haryana and other states. In another study, he compares the achievements of Himachal Pradesh in demographic field with Punjab and Haryana, the two most economically developed states that have failed in demographic field with high birth rates, low sex ratios and low child sex ratios. He points out to the high preference for sons and use of medical technology for fewer numbers of women in the population (Bose, 1995).

George and Dahiya (1998) in their study on female feticide in the four villages of Rohtak district of Haryana also observe use of medical technology by couples for sex selection and abortion of female fetus. They infer that great demand for these technologies exist in rural areas, as preference for sons is very high. This has led to doctors fitting the machines in cars and vans and visiting the villages thus providing doorstep facilities to the villagers.

Agnihotri (2000) in his book points out to the fact that low sex ratios are more common in households with high economic status.

In north India including Haryana, households with larger land holdings of more than 7.5 acres have lowest sex ratio (less than 900). Similarly, Subrahmaniam in her article in a newspaper points out to the results of 55th round of NSSO. NSSO classified the population into four categories on the basis of average monthly per capita expenditure in Rupees: 0-425, 425 - 665, 665 - 1120, 1120 and above. The sex ratios for Haryana in these categories show that it was highest for first category (1567) and lowest for the last category (541) a difference of more than one thousand girls. These results point out the prevalence of sex discrimination and neglect of the girl child practices more in higher and affluent economic categories of households.

National Family Health Survey - I & II (PRC Chandigarh & IIPS Bombay 1995, IIPS and ORC Macro, 2001) reports on Haryana also give proof of high preference for sons in the state. The reports clearly reveal higher preference for boys in family composition as given by the women. Even women who want more children also give more preference to boys.

Devraj (2003) and Laxmi Murthy (2002) in their articles point out to the consequences of these practices. According to Devraj (2003) the region is now facing problem of bride shortage. And in some tehsils there are cases of "importing of wives" from other states. Early marriage or lowering of age of marriage and other practices related to suppression of women, increase in crime against women could be other consequences of this problem.

The paper by Laxmi Narayan (2016) focuses on overall status of women's work in Haryana and elucidate the rural-urban difference with respect to women's employment. The paper analyses the trends and patterns of female employment in urban and rural areas in Haryana. The paper also focuses on the gender gap in employment at State level as well as district level. It also highlights the type of work and quality of work taken up by females in Haryana. The paper also discusses the urban-rural female employment differences with respect to wages, education level and nature of employment. The results show that women's

participation in Haryana is significantly lower than national average. Average daily employment of women in factories in 2010 was 4.78 % in Haryana which is significantly lower than 15.76 % for All-India level. The gender gap in wages/salaries for directly employed women workers for the period 1999-2000 to 2009-10 was Rs. 231.90 which is 31.7 % lower than their male counterparts (Rs. 287.96). Although the share of rural women in the workforce is much higher than those in urban but most of the rural women are employed as casual workers and are engaged in low paying agricultural work. The level of female workforce participation rate and gender gap in WPR has shown significant variation across the districts of Haryana. The spatial pattern of female WPR indicated that the gender inequalities are more in southern part of the state and they are increasing whereas gender inequalities are less in northern Haryana. The existence of spatial differences in WPR reflect gender inequalities in terms of social, cultural and geographical factors.

The aim of study by Bora and Saikia (2018) is to analyze district-level disparities in the neonatal mortality rate (NMR) and under five mortality rate (U5MR) with special reference to Sustainable Development Goal 3 (SDG3) which is on preventable deaths among new-born and children under age of five. They have used NFHS data for 2015-16. The results of the study show that both NMR and U5MR vary across districts. The study analyses the status of districts with respect to achieving SDG target of NMR and U5MR. While NMR for India was 2.4 times higher the U5MR was double the target to be achieved. At district level 9% of the districts have already reached the NMR target for SDG3, nearly half (315 districts) are not likely to achieve the 2030 target. Similarly, less than one-third of the districts (177) of India are unlikely to achieve the SDG3 target on the U5MR by 2030. While the majority of high-risk districts for the NMR and U5MR are located in north-central and eastern India, a few high-risk districts for NMR fall in the rich and advanced states on north west India. The study shows that in Haryana 13 out of 21 districts are not likely to achieve SDG target by 2030 in terms of female U5MR whereas 2 districts will not be

able to achieve the target in terms of male U5MR, clearly reflecting a gender gap in terms of achieving the target.

A study by Timilsina et al (2022) analyzes economic, fiscal, demographic, social, institutional, and political factors to explain interstate infrastructure inequality for 18 states in India between 2004 and 2020. They have applied principal component analysis technique. Three separate infrastructure indices were developed for physical, social, and financial infrastructures. The results show that economic factors, including economic performance, financial development, investment, and economic structure influence physical infrastructure, whereas social infrastructure is impacted more by fiscal and demographic factors, in addition to economic factors. Economic and demographic factors directly influence the financial infrastructure. Financial development helps in creating physical infrastructure. One very striking conclusions of the study shows financial development has weak impact on social infrastructure development. The results show Haryana occupying very low rank in terms of social infrastructure though it has high rank in economic and physical infrastructure. This proves that economic and infrastructure development has not impacted the social development and improved the status of women in Haryana.

Aims and Objectives

Objectives of this research paper are:

1. To study district level spatial differences in terms of important demographic and socio-economic indicators reflecting status of the girl child and women.
2. To study sex-differentials of demographic indicators in terms of infant mortality rates (IMR) and child mortality rates (CMR) and spatial distribution of these differentials at district level through maps.
3. To study sex differentials of socio-economic indicators in terms workforce participation rates and literacy rates and

spatial distribution of these differentials at district level through maps.

4. To study district level status of women in Haryana with help of Weighted Index Method by ranking the districts

Research Methodology

This paper focuses on district level study of status of women and girl child in Haryana.

Source of Data: The study is based on secondary data. Secondary data for the indicators selected has been collected through

- a. Census of India both online and offline. Online data was procured through their website for the year 2001 and 2011.
- b. **National Health Systems Resource Centre** website for the data on Infant Mortality and Child Mortality.

Web links of both the sources have been given in the Annexure 1(e) at the end of the paper.

Data Analysis and Presentation: Focus of the paper is on spatial distributions so maps have been extensively used to present the analysis. Maps help in visual analysis of spatial distribution data. Simple statistical technique of Weighted Index Method has been used to calculate district level status of women. The districts were first ranked according to their values and then scores were calculated according to their ranks. Districts were then grouped into five categories on the basis of scores.

Software: Open source software QGIS 3.22 version was used to create the maps.

Dimensions of sex differentials in Haryana

Male - female differentials in various indicators reveal status of women. In this section we analyze the dimensions of sex

differentials in terms of various demographic, social and economic indicators related to the status of women in Haryana. Sex differentials in child mortality and infant mortality, female literacy rate, female workforce participation rate, sex ratios and child sex ratios are few of the demographic and social indicators, which we have selected to analyze in detail. Their status, trend and factors affecting the sex differentials and their correlation with each other are some of the aspects that we have studied. In the end Haryana has been categorized into regions based on indicators mentioned above in terms of status of women by applying Weighted Index method.

Sex differentials in infant mortality

Infant Mortality Rates (IMR) in Haryana have sharply declined from 126 in 1981 to 54 in 2011. It is less than the national average of 58 and but is high as compared to other major states. Kerala (26) has the lowest IMR and Haryana ranks 18th among all states and UT's (RGI, 1997 & NHSRC). District level distribution of infant mortality in Haryana reveals that it ranges from a high of 81 in Rewari to low of 41 in Gurgaon. Mewat with 78 is the other district where IMR are very high. The Districts of Haryana bordering Delhi like Faridabad, Rohtak, Sonapat and Jhajjar, Northern district of Ambala and Kurukshetra and the central district of Panipat are the other districts where IMR is below 50. Rest of the districts have very high IMR ranging from 50 to 81.

Female infant mortality rate (FIMR) in Haryana has also declined sharply during the last decade from 119 in 1981 to 55 in 2011. FIMR in Haryana is lower than the national average of 58. Haryana ranks 18th among the other states in terms of low IMR. District level distribution reveals Gurgaon has lowest FIMR of 42 and Mewat highest FIMR of 81. Northern districts of Ambala, Panchkula, and Kurukshetra have FIMR below 50 along with Sonipat, Rohtak, Jhajjar and Faridabad. Southern districts of Palwal and Rewari have FIMR above 60 (Fig.1 a & b).

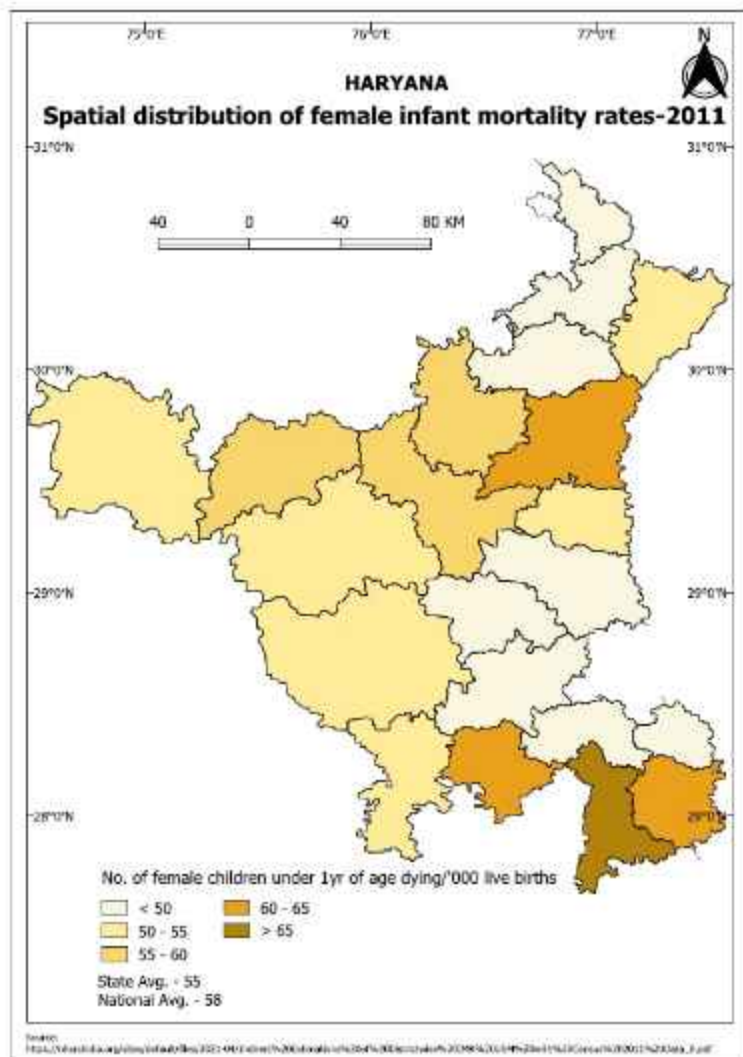


Fig. 1a: Female infant mortality rates - 2011
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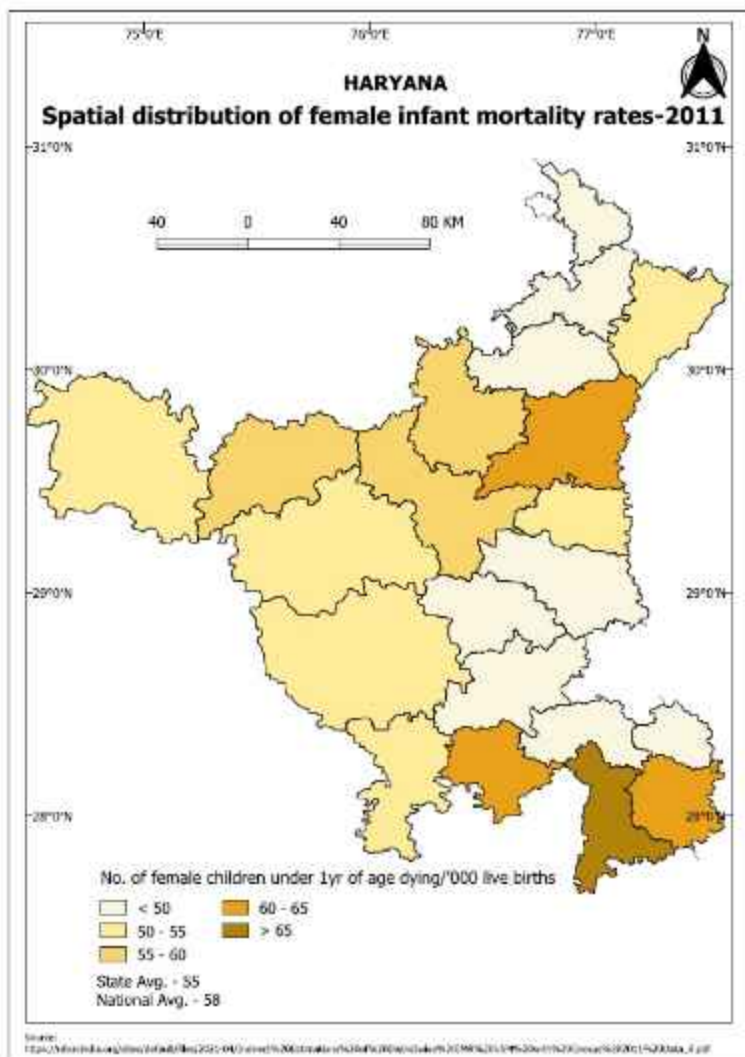


Fig. 1b: Male infant mortality rates - 2011.
For source of Data Check Annexure, I(e).

In Haryana both IMR and FIMR are low and even the sex differentials of IMR is low among the eight states in India where female IMR is higher than MIMR. At district level eight out of twenty-one districts have female infant mortality rates lower than or equal to male infant mortality rate. The sex differential in IMR ranges from a high of 19.2% in Palwal to low of 2.1 % for Rohtak. Sonapat is second district with very high differential of above 10 % (Fig.1 c).

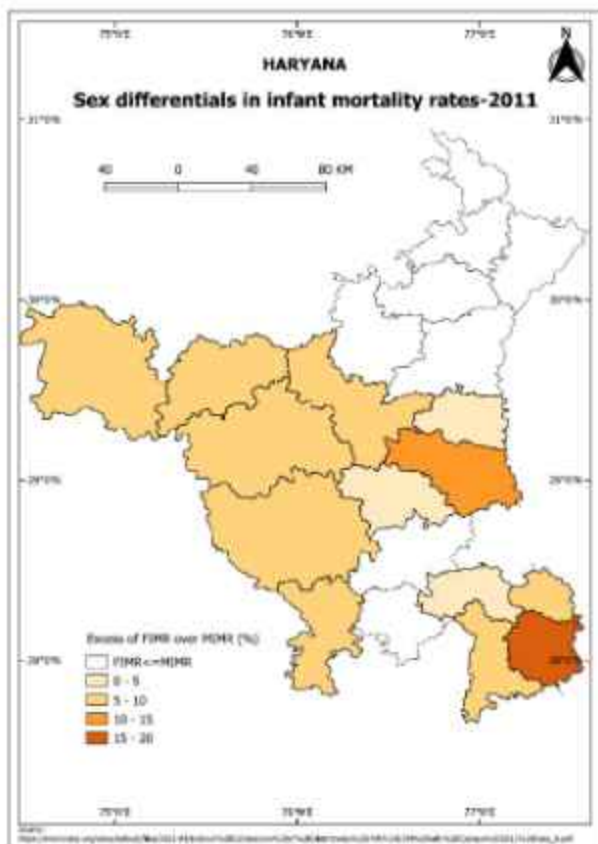


Fig. 1c: Excess of female infant mortality over male infant mortality 2011
For source of Data Check Annexure, I(e).

Sex differentials in child mortality

Child mortality rates in Haryana have declined sharply from 138 in 1981 to 74 in 2011. Kerala has lowest CMR of 33 and Meghalaya with 110 has highest CMR at national level.

District level distribution reveals that CMR in Haryana ranges from a high of 119 in Rewari to low of 54 in Gurgaon. Mewat with 113 and Karnal (92) and Kaithal (91) are the other two districts that have very high CMR. Ambala, Sonipat and Faridabad are the districts with low CMR (up to 60).

Female child mortality has declined from 153 in 1981 to 74 in 2011 in Haryana. Kerala has lowest FCMR of 29 and Meghalaya and Uttar Pradesh have highest FCMR above 100 at state level.

District level distribution of FCMR reveals that Mewat has highest CMR of 121 and Gurgaon lowest of 55. Ambala is the only other district with FCMR less than 60. Rewari with 90 and Karnal with 85, Jind and Fatehabad with 81 each are districts with high FCMR above 80 (Fig.2 a & b).

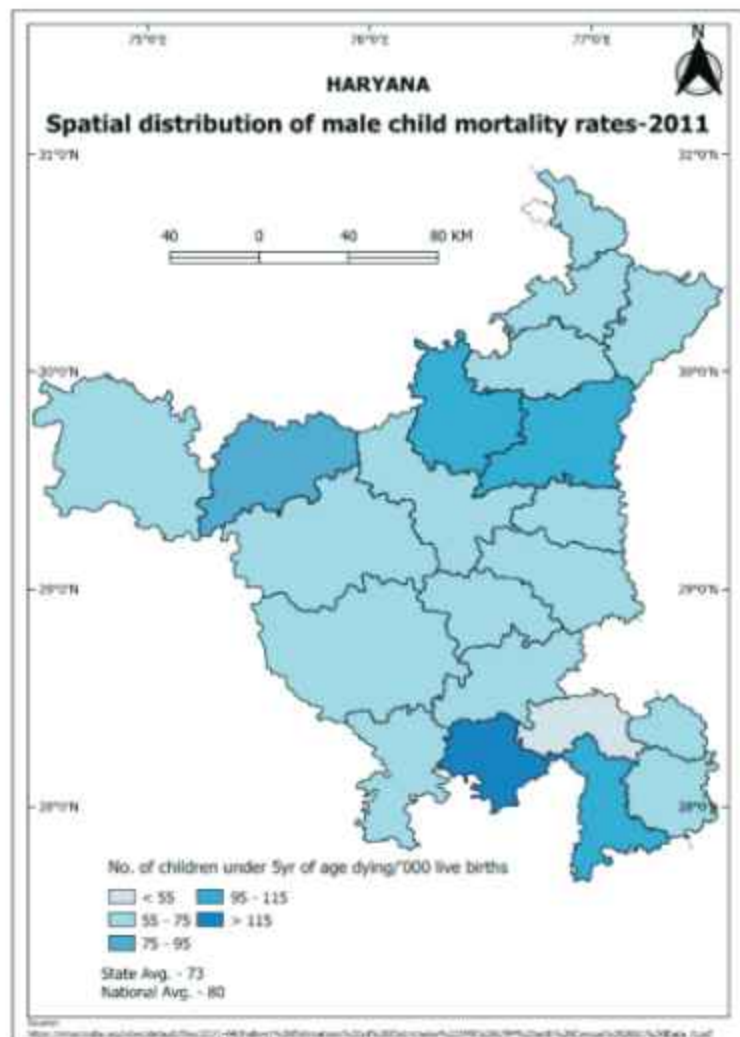


Fig. 2b: Male child mortality rates -2011

For source of Data Check Annexure, I(e).

State level distribution of sex differentials in child mortality reveals that Haryana is one among the eight states where the FCMR are higher than MCMR in 2011. (NHSRC, 2021).

At district level thirteen out of twenty-one districts have FCMR greater than MCMR. Northern districts of Panchkula, Ambala, Yamunanagar, Kurukshetra, Kaithal and Karnal and Southern districts of Jhajjar and Rewari have FCMR either equal to or less than MCMR. Spatial distribution of sex-differentials in child mortality in the state of Haryana reveal that in some districts the differential is very low for e.g. Panipat, Rohtak and Gurgaon (0-5%) and in some districts the differential is very high for e.g. Palwal (19.4%), Mewat (14.1%), Hisar (10.2%) and Sonapat (10.5 %) (Fig2c).

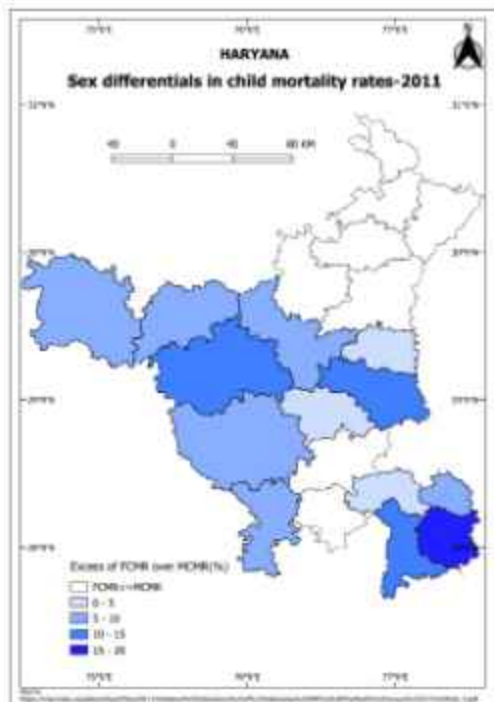


Fig. 2c: Excess of female child mortality over male child mortality 2011
For source of Data Check Annexure, I(e).

Spatial distribution of sex ratios

Sex ratio in Haryana has shown slight improvement since 2001 but still it is lowest among the major states of India. It has increased from 861 in 2001 to 879 in 2011 (Fig 3a and 3b). Southern states of Kerala (1084), Tamil Nadu (995) and Andhra Pradesh (992) recorded highest sex ratio in 2011.

District level spatial distribution of sex ratio in Haryana in 2011 shows that only two districts of Fatehabad and Mewat have sex ratio above 900. All other districts recorded very low sex ratio of less than 900. Gurgaon (854) and Sonapat (856) recorded lowest sex ratio of less than 860 in Haryana in 2011. Jhajjar, Panipat, Rohtak, Jind, Hisar, Panchkula and Faridabad are districts with sex ratios below 875 (Fig 3 a).

In 2011, out of twenty-one districts, three districts recorded sex ratios lower than 2001. Mahendragarh showed highest decline of 2.5% from 2001. Gurgaon with lowest sex ratio show a decline of 2.17% in sex ratio along with Rewari (0.1 %). Gurgaon and Rewari are the other two districts along with Mahendragarh that have shown decline of sex ratios (Fig.3 b). Rest eighteen districts show improvement in sex ratios from 2001. Panchkula (6%) has shown highest improvement along with Palwal (4.8%), Panipat (4.2%) and Faridabad (4%) (Fig 3c).

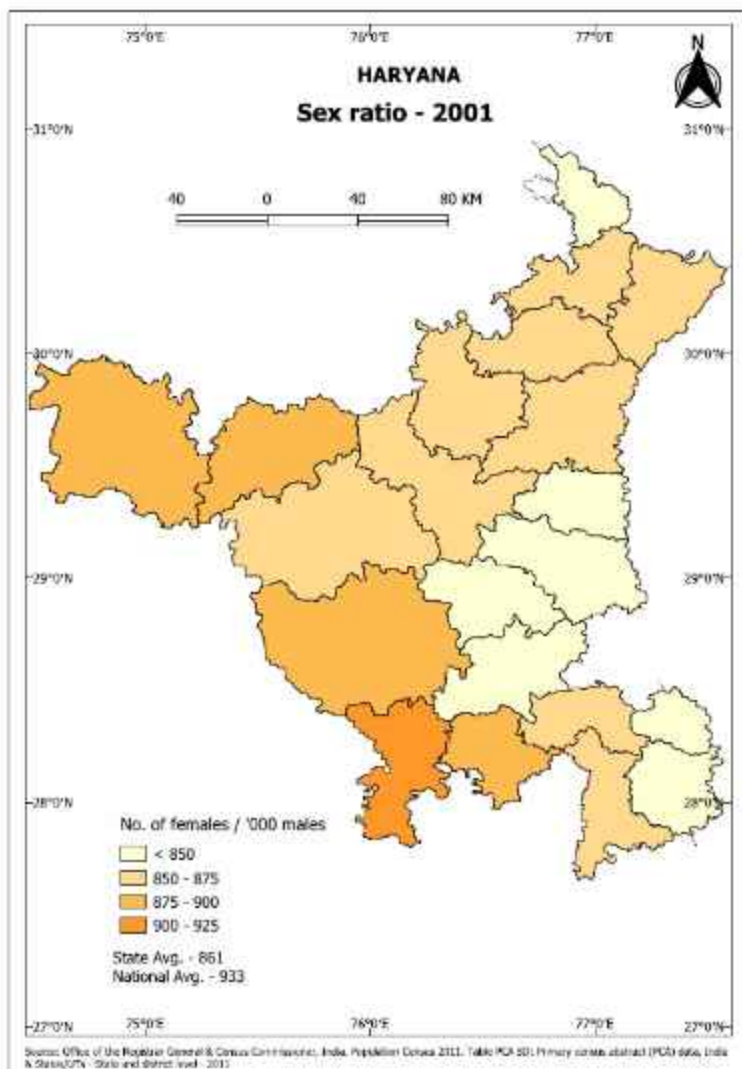


Fig. 3a: Sex ratio 2001

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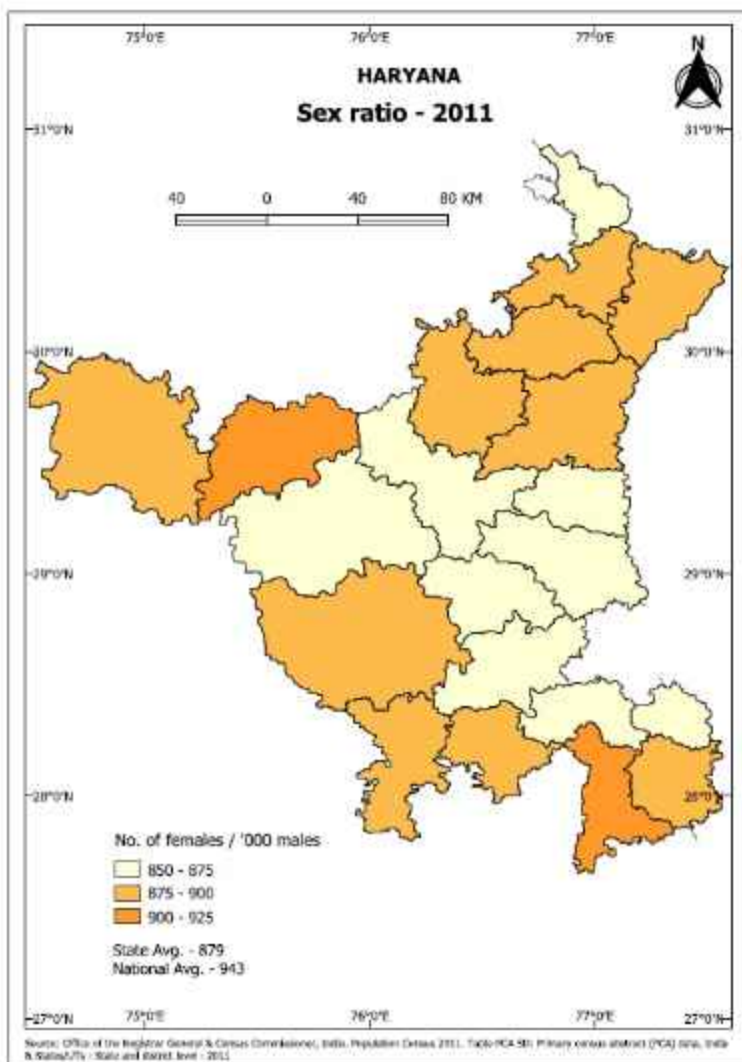


Fig. 3b: Sex ratio -2011

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Spatial correlation between districts with low sex ratio and FCMR higher than MCMR

Spatial correlation between districts with low sex ratios less than 880 (11 out of 21 districts) and high sex differentials in child mortality (Female Child Mortality Rate higher than Male Child Mortality Rate) of above 5% (10 out of 21 districts with) reveal that there are five districts which fall under both categories. These five districts are central districts of Sonapat, Jind, Hisar and southern Palwal and Faridabad of Haryana. (Fig.3d).

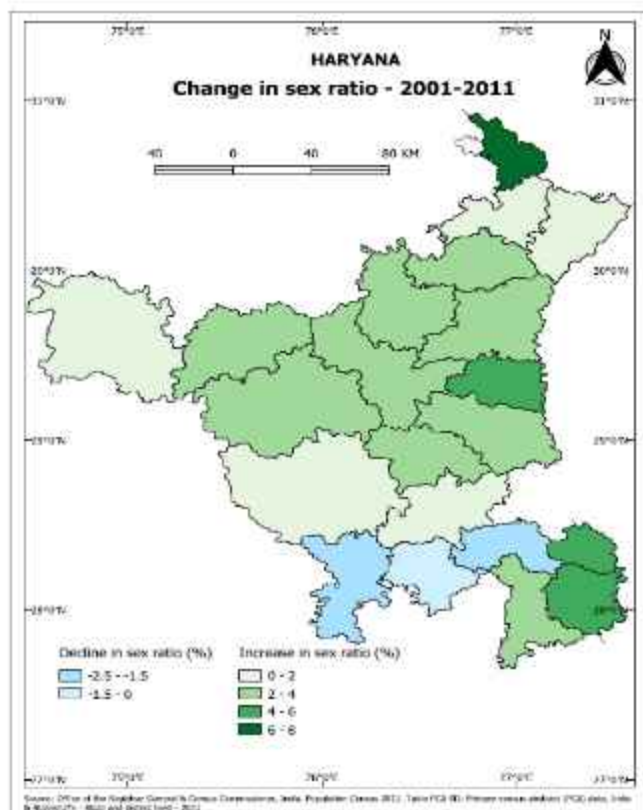


Fig. 3c: Change in sex ratio 2001-2011
(For source of Data Check Annexure, I(e)).

The correlation points to the fact that excess FCMR has impact on number of females in the population and it further has impact on the sex ratios of the region. Districts with high FCMR and high sex differentials in CMR also have low sex ratios.

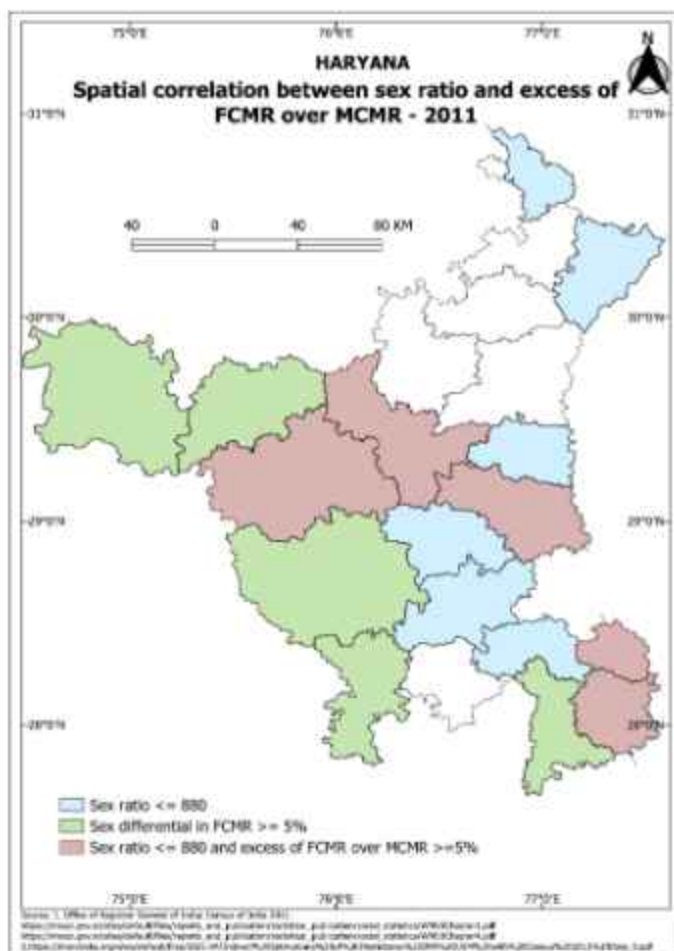


Fig. 3d: Spatial Correlation of SR & Excess of FCMR over MCMR
 (For source of Data Check Annexure, I(e)).

Spatial distribution of child sex ratios

Haryana recorded lowest child sex ratios for India at state level of 834 in 2011 along with Punjab and Jammu & Kashmir.

There has been a sharp decline in child sex ratios in Haryana from 879 in 1991 to 834 in 2011 (Fig 4a & b). There is some cause of relief as the child sex ratio in Haryana has improved from 820 in last decade to 834 in 2011. There were only six other states where the child sex ratios have improved from 2001.

District level distribution of child sex ratio shows that it is lowest for Mahendragarh at 775 and highest for Mewat at 906. Districts of Sonapat, Jhajjar and Rewari are other districts which have extremely low CSR of less than 800. District of Panchkula, Fatehabad, Sirsa, Hisar and Palwal have comparatively high CSR between 850 to 875. Rest of the 15 districts have CSR below 850. (Fig 4a & b)

Six out of twenty-one districts of Haryana experienced a decline in CSR. Mahendragarh experienced highest decline of above 5.25 % from 2001. Four out of five districts where CSR declined from 2001 are southern districts of Haryana except Bhiwani. Gurgaon (3.26%), Rewari (2.90%), Jhajjar (2.30%) Bhiwani (1.07%) and Faridabad (1%). Rest of the districts show an increase in CSR since 2001. Kurukshetra show maximum improvement of 6%. Mewat and Sirsa are other two districts which show improvement of more than 5%. Panchkula and Kaithal experienced increase between 4-5% from 2001. (Fig 4c).

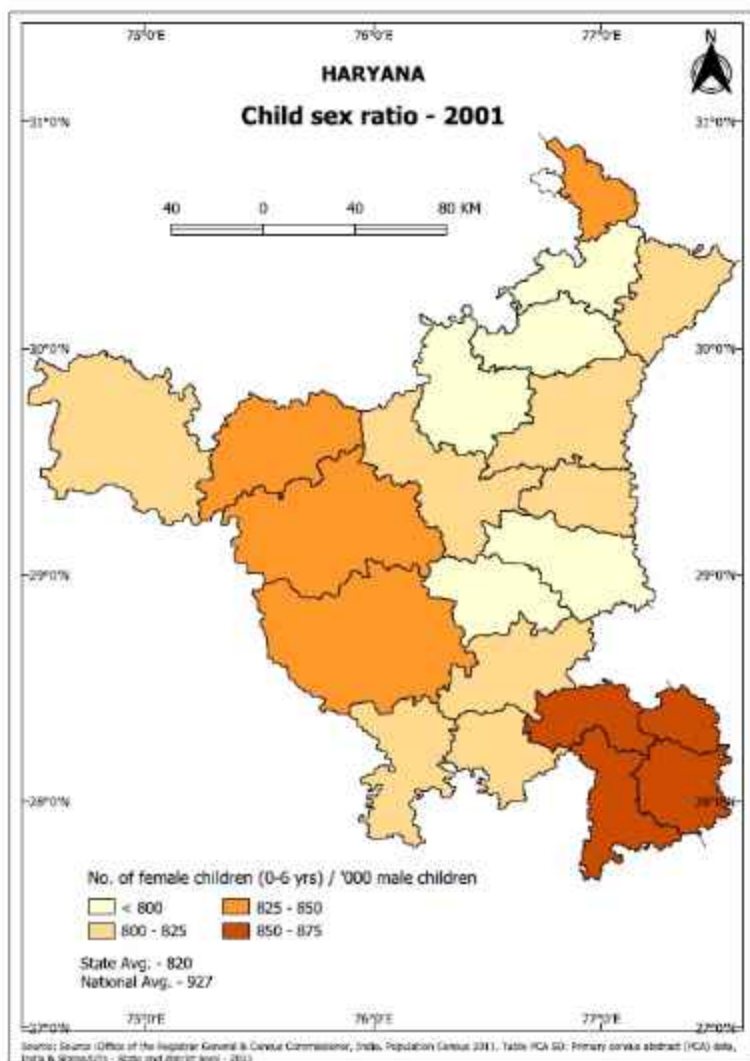


Fig. 4a: Child sex ratio 2001
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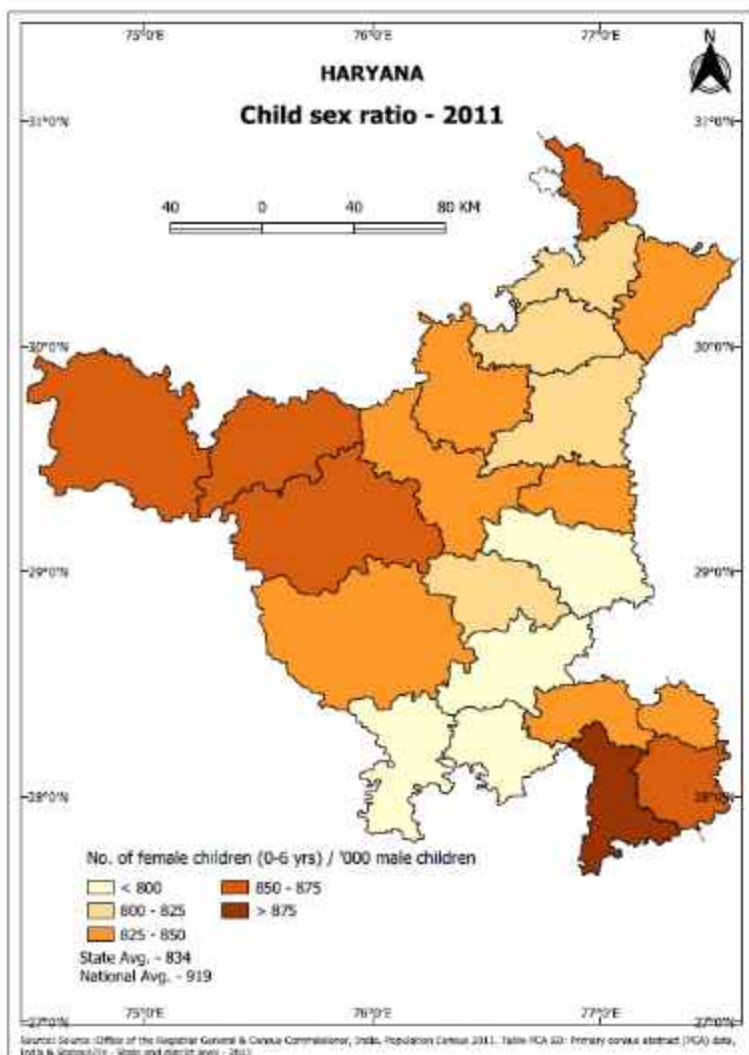


Fig. 4b: Child sex ratio -2011
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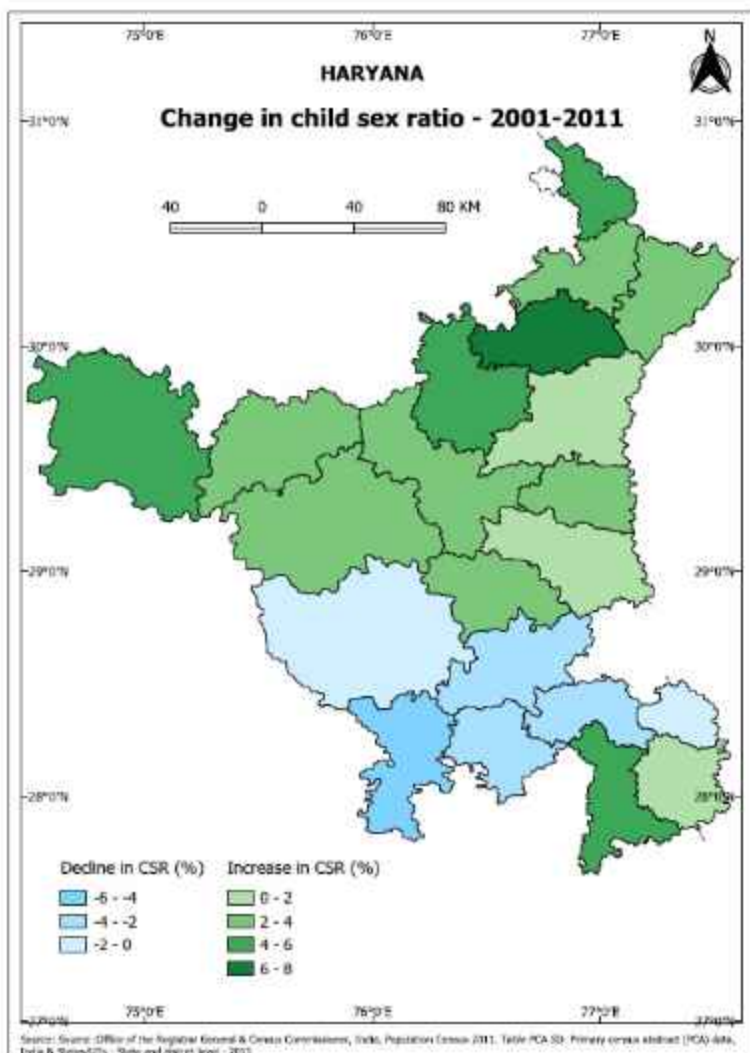


Fig. 4c: Change in child sex ratio 2001-2011
(For source of Data Check Annexure, I(e)).

Spatial correlation between districts with low CSR and FCMR higher than MCMR

Spatial correlation between low child sex ratio (CSR) and excess of FCMR over MCMR reveal that there are seventeen out of twenty-one districts with low CSR below 860 and ten districts with excess of FCMR over MCMR is more than 5 %t. Out of these districts seven districts of Jind, Fatehabad, Bhiwani, Mahendragarh, Faridabad, Sonipat and Hisar are common districts where CSR are low (below 860) as well as sex differential in CMR i.e. excess of FCMR over MCMR are more than 5%. (Fig 4d)

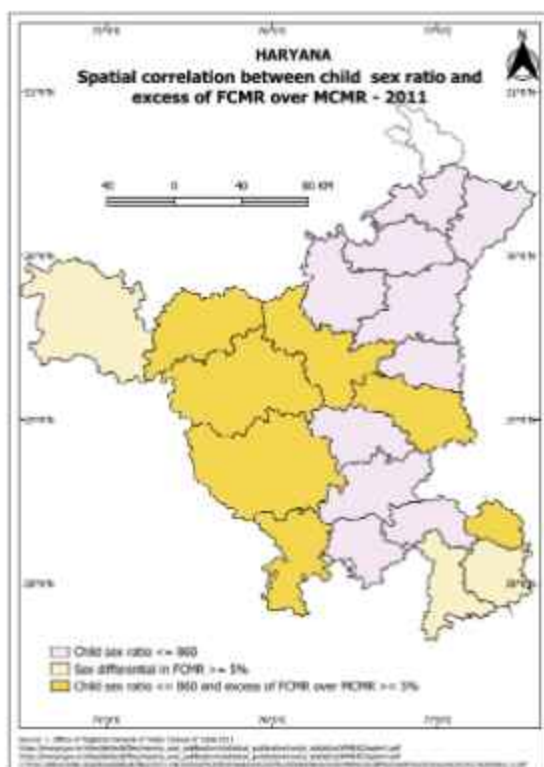


Fig. 4d: Correlation of CSR & Excess of FCMR over MCMR
(For source of Data Check Annexure, I(e)).

Sex Differentials in Literacy Rates

Haryana has female literacy rates of 65.9 % as compared to 84.1 % for males in 2011. The difference is of 18 points. Haryana is among the thirteen states and UT's in which male - female gap in literacy rates is higher than fifteen points. Haryana has witnessed sharp decline in gender gap from 32.8 per cent in 2001 18.1 per cent in 2011 in literacy rates. This difference has remained high since 1971 although the literacy rates have improved by 7.7 % overall for the state from 67.9 % in 2001 to 75.6 % in 2011 and from 45.7% in 2001 to 65.9 % for females in 2011. Haryana ranks twelfth among all states and UT's in terms of total literacy rates. (Government of India 2016).

Gurgaon (78), Panchkula (76) and Ambala (75.5) are the three districts with highest female literacy rates in Haryana. Mewat has the lowest female literacy of only 36.6%. Palwal is the other district with very low female literacy rate of only 54.2 %. Rest of the districts have female literacy between 55 - 65 % (Fig. 5a).

Sex ratio of literacy i.e. number of female literates per one thousand male literates is an indicator which tells about the status of male female differentials in literacy. In Haryana the sex ratio of literacy is very low. It has improved marginally from 617 in 2001 to 694 in 2011. The districts that have low sex ratio of literacy (less than 650) are Mewat and Palwal. Northern districts of Panchkula, Ambala and Yamunanagar are the only three districts with sex ratio of literacy higher than 750. (Figure 5b)

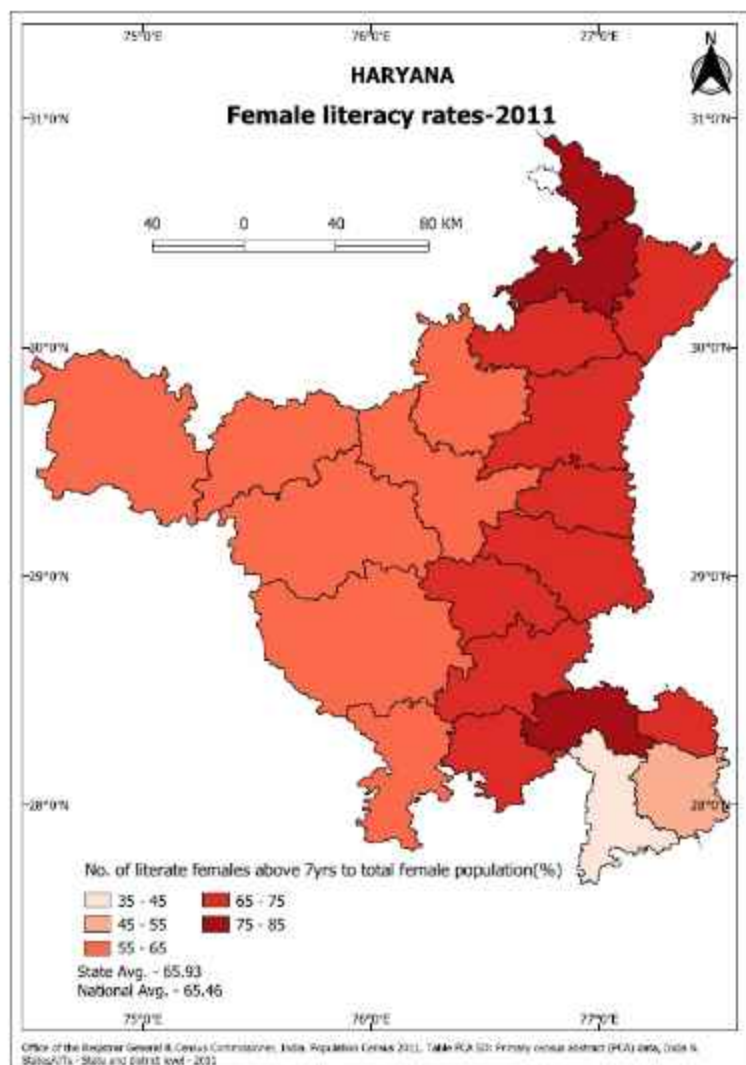


Fig. 5a: Female literacy
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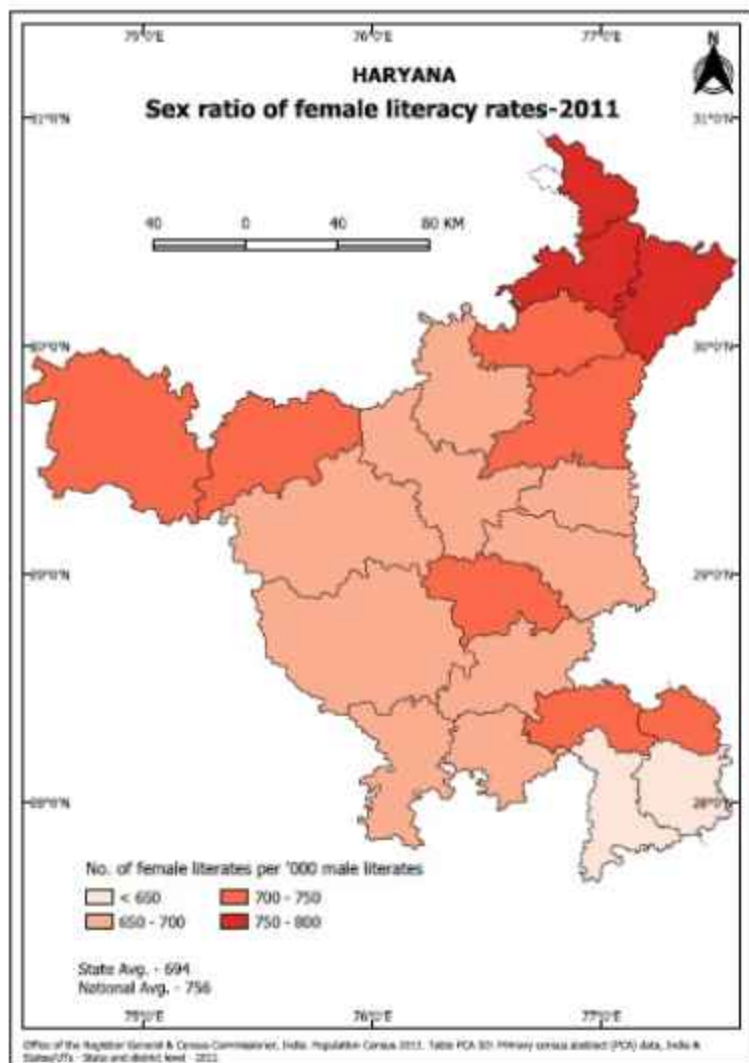


Fig. 5b: Sex Ratio of literacy
(For source of Data Check Annexure, I(e)).

Spatial correlation between child sex ratio (CSR) and female literacy and sex ratio of literacy

It has been studied and proved that literacy levels of women have direct impact on sex ratio and child sex ratio status of population. As female literacy levels improve women become more aware and so the sex discrimination reduces. Therefore, we mapped the spatial correlation between districts with low child sex ratio on one hand and female literacy and sex ratio of literacy as second variable for Haryana in 2011. Spatial correlation between child sex ratio and female literacy shows that there are eight common districts of

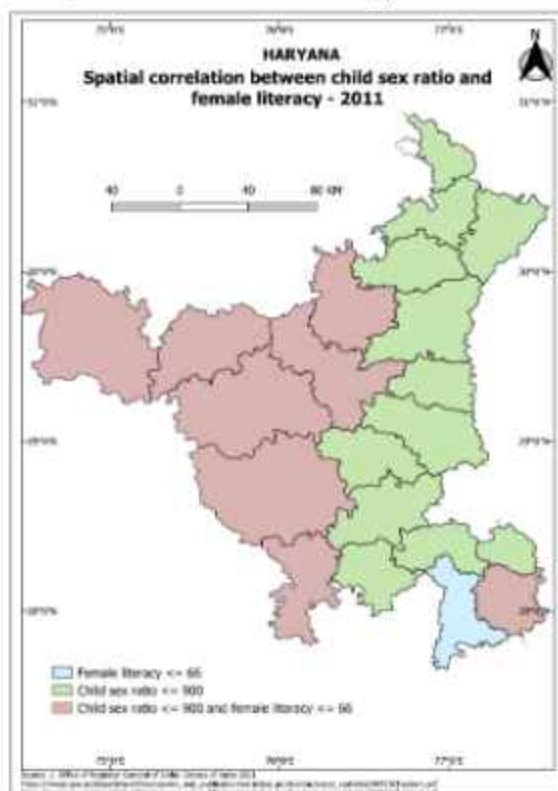


Fig. 6a: CSR & female literacy
(For source of Data Check Annexure, I(e)).

Haryana where the CSR is less than 900 and female literacy less than 66. Except for Palwal rest seven district are western border districts of Haryana.

Spatial correlation between child sex ratio and sex ratio of female literacy shows there are ten common districts which have child sex ratio less than 900 and sex ratio of female literacy rates less than 700. These districts are located in central Haryana except for Palwal. Out of total 21 districts almost fifty % districts show that wherever the sex ratio of literacy is low the child sex ratio is also low.

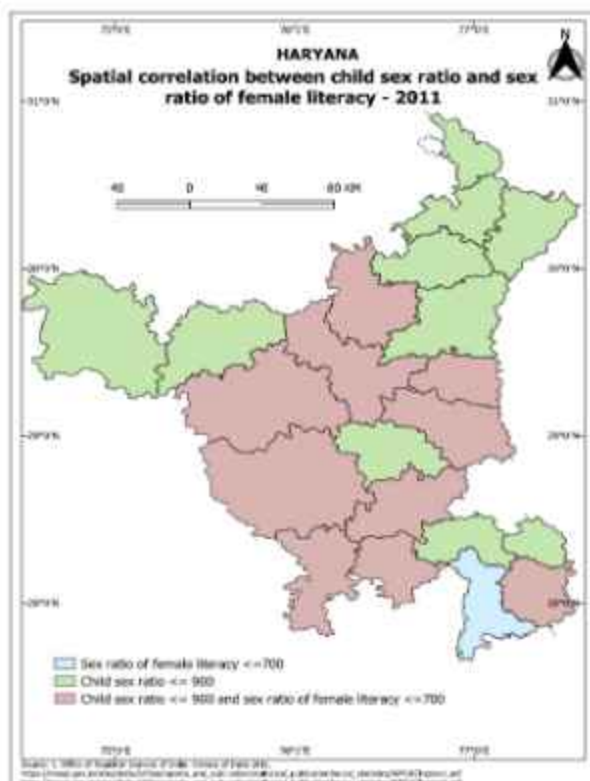


Fig. 6b: CSR & sex ratio of female literacy
 (For source of Data Check Annexure, I(e)).

Female workforce participation rates (FWPR)

In Haryana female labor force participation rates are very low. Percentage of female main workers to total female population is only 17.79 % in 2011, it has declined from 27 % (2001) for Haryana. Haryana ranks eighth among states in terms of low female participation rates (2011). Haryana has FWPR lower than the national average of 25.51 % (Government of India, 2016)

Proportion of female workers is highest for Bhiwani district at 25.1 %. Two northern districts of Haryana namely Ambala and Yamunanagar have very low proportion of female workers which is less than 10%. Mahendragarh, Rewari, Jind, Fatehabad Hisar and Sirsa have higher rates of female labor force participation between 20-25 % (Fig 7). South and Southwest districts Bhiwani,

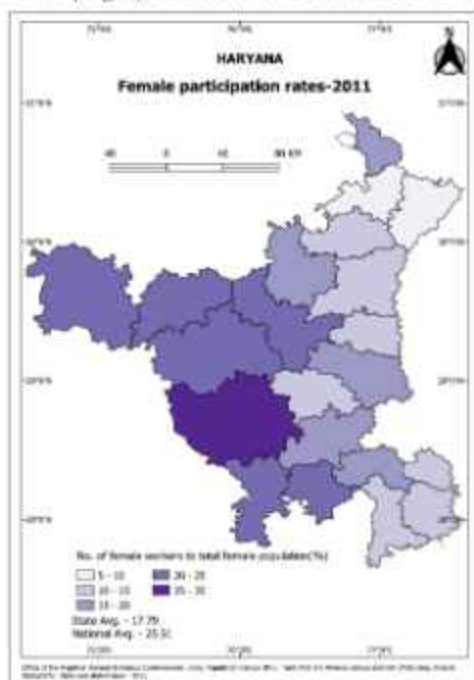


Fig. 7a: Female participation rates
(For source of Data Check Annexure, I(e)).

Sex Differentials in achievement of SDG target of Child Mortality rates (U5MR)

A Study by Bora and Saikia in 2018 analyses sex differential in achievement of SDG target of less than or equal to 25 for under five mortality rates for Haryana by 2030. The study shows that only four districts have been able to achieve the SDG target with respect to female child mortality till 2018, whereas for male child mortality six districts have already achieved the target. Based on this study only four other districts will be able to achieve target for female child mortality by 2030, whereas thirteen districts will be able to achieve target for male child mortality by 2030. Highest difference is observed for districts which will not be able to achieve target even by 2030. In case of female child mortality thirteen districts will not be able to achieve whereas for male child mortality only two districts will not be able to achieve target. (Table1)

Sex Differential in achievement of SDG target of U5MR						
Total number of Districts	Status of Female U5MR			Status of Male U5MR		
	Already achieved SDG target (less than or equal to 25 per thousand live births)	Likely to achieve by 2030	Not likely to achieve	Already achieved SDG target (less than or equal to 25 per thousand	Likely to achieve by 2030	Not likely to achieve
21	4	4	13	6	13	2
1	Panipat	Ambala	Sirsa	panchkula	Ambala	Bhiwani
2	Sonipat	Fatehabad	Hisar	Karnal	Yamunagar	Mewat
3	Jhajar	Rewari	Bhiwani	panipat	Kurukshetra	
4	Panchkula	Gurgaon	Mahendragarh	Sonipat	Kaithal	
5			Jind	Gurgaon	Sirsa	
6			Rohtak	Jind	Fatehabad	
7			Kaithal		Hisar	
8			Karnal		Mahendragarh	
9			Kurukshetra		Rewari	
10			Yamunagar		Faridabad	
11			Mewat		Palwal	
12			Palwal		Jhajar	
13			Faridabad		Rohtak	

Source: Bora JK, and Saikia N (2018) <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0201125>

Ranking of districts according to status of women

Districts of Haryana have been ranked on the basis of ten indicators discussed in previous sections by Weighted Index Method and the status of women has been calculated. All the districts have been ranked according to weightage assigned for each of the ten indicators referring to the status of women. The ranks have been added and districts classified according to the total value (Annexure - I).

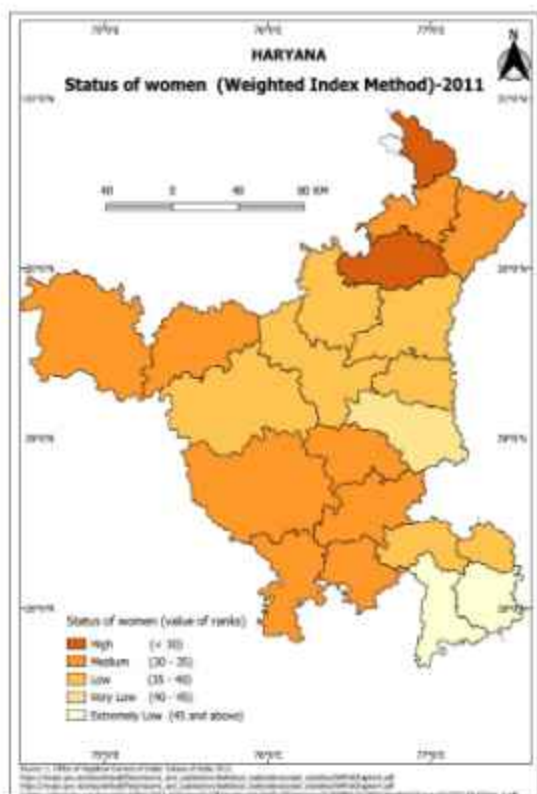


Fig. 8: Status of Women -2011
(For source of Data Check Annexure, I(e)).

Higher value indicates lower rank in terms of status of women. Palwal and Mewat districts has been ranked lowest with total value of 54 each. Sonipat (44) is the third district with very low status in terms of rank value. Central districts of Kaithal, Jind, Hisar, Panipat and southern districts of Gurgaon and Faridabad have values higher than 35 and so ranked low in terms of status of women. On the other hand, northern district of Panchkula is ranked highest with low value of 21. Kurukshetra is the second district ranked high with total value less than 30. (Fig.8). Rest of the nine districts come under medium category.

District level distribution of status of women based on ten indicators shows that northern and western Haryana has comparatively higher status of women This region coincides with the physiographic region of Shivalik and Foothill zone and Eco-Cultural zone of Nardak (Sharma and Bhatia, 1994). Status of women is medium to high in western Haryana districts bordering Rajasthan comprising of Bagar region.

Status of women is very low in the southern region comprising the districts of Mewat and Palwal. Physiographically, these districts are part of Aravalli outlier and culturally part of Mewat region. The status of women in central Haryana also known as Khadar region or heartland of Haryana is also low.

Conclusion

2011 census data on demographic and social indicators related to status of women reveals that Haryana ranks very low in terms of most of the social indicators at national level. Haryana ranks 24th out of 35 states in terms of female literacy, 31st in terms of sex ratio, 35th in terms of child sex ratio and 27th in terms of female work participation rates (Narayan,2016). Haryana also has lowest child sex ratio and highest sex differentials in child mortality rates. Within Haryana also there are wide spatial disparities at district level as seen in above section.

Study by Timilsina et al for World Bank policy research paper

in 2022 on state level differentials in infrastructure development shows that Haryana ranks very low i.e. 14th out of eighteen major states of India in terms of social infrastructure development, clearly showing low pace of social infrastructure development in Haryana. Whereas it ranks fifth in terms of financial infrastructure and seventh in terms of physical infrastructure. (Timilsina 2022).

This shows that in terms of social infrastructure Haryana has not matched the progress in economic development. The gap in terms of gender discrepancies exist specially in demographic and social indicators as revealed in our study. Government has initiated and launched many policies safeguarding the life of girl child but the status of women and the gender gap still exist. There is need for proper monitoring of policies launched by the government. Apart from policies launched by government there is need to create awareness among the people regarding equal status to be given to girl child and women.

Acknowledgement

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Web resources

- <https://esaharyana.gov.in/document/economic-survey-of-haryana-2022-23/>
- <https://revenueharyana.gov.in/haryana-state-gazetteer-volume-i/>
- <https://haryana.gov.in/geography/>
- https://nhsrcindia.org/sites/default/files/2021-04/Indirect%20Estimations%20of%20Districtwise%20IMR%20U5M%20with%20Census%202011%20Data_0.pdf

ANNEXURE - I

Regionalization of Haryana - Status of women Weighted Index Method

(a) Demographic and social indicators measuring status of women

S. No	District	2011									
		Sex ratio	Child Sex Ratio	Female Liter-	Sex ratio of literacy	% Female Workers	F Workers as % of M workers	IM R	FIM R	CM R	FCM R
1	Panchkula	873	863	76.0	763	17.8	-67.6	50	47	66	62
2	Ambala	885	810	75.5	773	9.8	-81.6	43	43	57	56
3	Yamunanagar	877	826	71.4	753	8.3	-83.6	51	51	69	69
4	Kurukshetra	888	818	68.8	744	15.0	-71.4	49	49	66	66
5	Kaithal	881	828	59.2	676	16.1	-68.6	64	58	91	80
6	Karnal	887	824	66.8	732	14.8	-71.3	65	61	92	85
7	Panipat	864	837	67.0	695	15.0	-70.4	49	51	67	67
8	Sonapat	856	798	69.8	692	19.8	-60.4	45	48	60	63
9	Jind	871	838	60.8	659	25.0	-51.6	56	59	77	81
10	Fatehabad	902	854	58.9	703	23.6	-55.6	57	59	78	81
11	Sirsa	897	862	60.4	713	21.6	-60.07	52	54	70	73
12	Hisar	872	851	62.3	663	25.0	-52.29	53	55	72	75
13	Bhiwani	886	832	63.5	663	25.1	-49.94	50	51	67	69
14	Rohtak	867	820	71.7	714	14.9	-68.9	46	47	62	62
15	Jhajjar	862	782	70.7	692	17.2	-64.6	47	47	63	62
16	Mahendragarh	895	775	64.6	657	24.3	-49.2	54	55	73	75
17	Rewari	898	787	69.6	696	24.0	-51.61	81	64	119	90
18	Gurgaon	854	830	78.0	740	16.1	-69.6	41	42	54	55
19	Mewat	907	906	36.6	475	12.6	-67.9	78	82	113	121
20	Faridabad	873	843	73.8	732	12.1	-75.5	45	47	60	62
21	Palwal	880	866	54.2	580	13.9	-68.04	57	47	77	62

(b) Weightage given to various indicators

Sex ratio (1)	Weightage	FCMR (2)	Weightage	Sex Diff. in CMR (3)	Weightage
850-860	8	55-65	1	0	1
860-870	6	65-75	2	0 - 5	2
870-880	4	75-85	4	5 - 10	4
880-900	2	85-95	6	10 - 15	6
900-910	1	> 95	8	15 - 20	8

Child sex ratio (4)	Weight -age	FIMR (5)	Weight -age	Sex Diff. in IMR (6)	Weigh -age
770-800	8	<50	1	0	1
800-830	6	50-55	2	0 -5	2
830-860	4	55-60	4	5 - 10	4
860-890	2	60-65	6	10 -15	6
890-930	1	> 65	8	15-20	8

Female Literacy (%) (7)	Weight -age	Sex Ratio of Literacy (8)	Weight -age	Female Workers (%) (9)	Weight -age	FWPR as % of MWPR (10)	Weight -age
35-45	8	500-550	8	5 - 10	8	< -50	1
45-55	6	550-600	6	10 - 15	6	-50 - -60	2
55-65	4	600-650	4	15-20	4	-60 - -70	4
65-75	2	650-700	2	20-25	2	-70 - -80	6
75-85	1	700-750	1	25-30	1	-80 - -90	8

(c) Status of women according to Weighted Index value - Haryana

Districts	Ranks of districts according to weightage assigned										Rank Total
	Sex ratio	Child sex ratio	F. literacy	Sex ratio of Literacy	F. workers	Female Workers as % of male workers	FIMR	Sex Diff. IMR	FCMR	Sex Diff. CMR	
Panchkula	4	2	1	2	4	4	1	1	1	1	21
Ambala	2	6	1	1	8	8	1	1	1	1	30
Yamunanagar	4	6	2	1	8	8	2	1	2	1	35
Kurukshetra	2	6	2	2	6	6	1	1	2	1	29
Kaithal	2	6	4	6	4	4	4	1	4	1	36
Karnal	2	6	2	2	6	6	6	1	4	1	36
Panipat	6	4	2	4	6	6	2	2	2	2	36
Sonapat	8	8	2	4	4	4	1	6	1	6	44
Jind	4	4	4	6	2	2	4	4	4	4	38
Fatehabad	1	4	4	4	2	2	4	4	4	4	33
Sirsa	2	2	4	4	2	4	2	4	2	4	30
Hisar	4	4	4	6	2	2	2	4	2	6	36
Bhiwani	2	4	4	6	1	1	2	4	2	4	30
Rohtak	6	6	2	4	6	4	1	2	1	2	34
Jhajjar	6	8	2	4	4	4	1	1	1	1	32
Mahendragarh	1	8	4	4	2	1	2	4	2	4	32
Rewari	1	8	2	4	2	2	6	1	6	1	33
Gurgaon	8	6	1	8	4	4	1	2	1	2	37
Mewat	1	1	8	8	6	4	8	4	8	6	54
Faridabad	4	4	2	6	6	6	1	4	1	4	38
Palwal	4	2	6	6	6	4	6	8	6	8	54

(d) Classification of districts according to total value

Status of Women (Based on Rank Values)		
High	< 30	Panchkula, Kurukshetra
Medium	30-35	Ambala, Yamunanagar, Fatehabad, Sirsa, Bhiwani, Rohtak, Jhajjar, Mahendragarh, Rewari
Low	35-40	Kaithal, Karnal, Panipat, Jind, Hisar, Gurgaon, Faridabad
Very Low	40-45	Sonapat
Extremely Low	45 and above	Palwal, Mewat

(e) Sources of data

1. https://nhsrcindia.org/sites/default/files/2021-04/Indirect%20Estimations%20of%20Districtwise%20IMR%20U5M%20with%20Census%202011%20Data_0.pdf
2. https://mospi.gov.in/sites/default/files/reports_and_publication/statistical_publication/social_statistics/WM16Chapter1.pdf
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External Aggression And Infrastructure Development in Ladakh: Issues And Challenges with Special Reference to Local Population

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Abstract

Located at the crossroads of India, China and Pakistan, Ladakh's strategic importance has rendered it a central element in geopolitical disputes, leading to militarization and increased security apprehensions. Simultaneously, expeditious infrastructure initiatives designed to improve connectivity and boost economic development present difficulties, including environmental harm and socio-cultural repercussion on native population. This research paper delves into the complex interplay between external aggression and infrastructure advancement in Ladakh, with a specific emphasis on their significant repercussions for the local community.

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Keywords: Ladakh, External Aggression, Infrastructure Development, Local Population.

Introduction

Ladakh, an isolated and geopolitically crucial region in the northern part of India, has historically served as a focal point for external hostilities and disputed territorial assertions. Positioned alongside the Line of Actual Control (LAC) separating India and China, Ladakh has been a witness to recurrent border disagreements and military clashes, presenting notable obstacles for the indigenous inhabitants. Recent occurrences, such as the Galwan crisis of 2020, have brought attention to escalated tensions and military clashes in the area. These events have resulted in an escalation of military presence, political animosity, and strategic complexities for India's rivalry with China. The deployment of troops, advancements in infrastructure, and disagreements over territory have all played a role in creating an unstable environment in Ladakh, which in turn has had implications for regional stability and security. (Tarapore, 2021)

Situated in the northern part of India, Ladakh is a high-altitude mountainous region that played a pivotal role as a trade route during the colonial era. Following India's independence, it became a disputed border area due to ongoing geopolitical tensions. The population of Ladakh comprises a mix of Buddhist Ladakhis and a significant Muslim community, reflecting its intricate cultural makeup. Over the years, Ladakh has undergone significant changes in politics, socio-economics, and the environment, all of which have influenced its developmental trajectory. (Nusser & dame, 2008) Simultaneously, the territory has experienced swift advancements in infrastructure, primarily motivated by strategic interests and the necessity for enhanced connectivity. The advancement of infrastructure is crucial for the economic expansion, societal progress, and interconnectivity within a specific area. It serves as a fundamental factor in bolstering various sectors, enhancing the availability of critical services such as

healthcare and education, and fortifying the capacity to withstand environmental catastrophes. Furthermore, meticulously designed infrastructure fosters tourism, commerce, and eco-friendly methodologies, thereby enriching the comprehensive progress and well-being in a given locality. (Dame, Schmidt, Muller, & Nusser, 2019)

The objective of this paper is to scrutinize the interaction between external hostilities and infrastructure progress in Ladakh, along with the resultant dilemmas and obstacles encountered by the local populace. The research paper will delve into the historical backdrop of the region's geopolitical importance, the border disputes, and the promotion of infrastructure initiatives like highways, structures, and military installations. Special attention will be devoted to comprehending the implications of



Figure <https://www.mapsofindia.com/maps/ladakh/>

these developments on the daily lives and sustenance of the Ladakhi residents, who possess a distinct cultural and environmental legacy.

Through an in-depth exploration of the intricate dynamics at play, this research paper endeavours to furnish a nuanced comprehension of the diverse challenges facing Ladakh, and to pinpoint potential approaches for harmonizing the region's security priorities, developmental requirements, and the welfare of its indigenous societies.

Methodology

The present study utilizes a qualitative approach grounded in secondary data analysis to investigate the interrelated problems of external aggression and infrastructural development in Ladakh, with a particular emphasis on the consequences for the local population. The approach entails a methodical examination and amalgamation of extant material, spanning academic journals, official reports, policy papers, and publications issued by global organizations. The region's infrastructure development and security strategies are shaped by important policies, initiatives, and frameworks that are further clarified by analysis of policy documents and strategic studies. Thematic data synthesis is carried out covering subjects including how China's aggression affects foreign policy, how infrastructure projects are analysed, and how local communities are affected economically and environmentally. The study's methodology is informed by ethical considerations, which guarantee appropriate citation and acknowledgment of sources while upholding intellectual property rights.

Historical Context

Due to its advantageous location, Ladakh has always been open to attacks and incursions by its strong neighbours. Whenever Ladakh had a weak king, it was frequently the target of assaults by the hill

states of Kulu, Chamba, Kinnaur, Kashmir, and Central Asia, all of which wanted to pillage the region. Ladakh lost large territory to both rivals in the 17th century when it was caught in the crossfire of a conflict between Tibet and the Mughal Empire. The Dogra armies from Jammu invaded and occupied Ladakh in the 19th century, bringing an end to the region's independence. Later, because of its location, Ladakh was the scene of the 'Great Game' conflict between China, Tsarist Russia, and British India, all of whom saw control of Ladakh as strategically essential to gaining access to Central Asia. Because of their repeated external invasions and acts of aggression motivated by long-standing regional power dynamics, Ladakh's neighbours remained a constant danger.

William Johnson, a boundary commissioner serving the British Empire, formulated a cartographic representation delineating the external borders of the princely state of Jammu and Kashmir in 1865, asserting the inclusion of Ladakh and the sparsely populated high-altitude plateau of Aksai Chin. These demarcated boundaries were subsequently posited as the organic demarcations between British India and the Chinese sphere of influence, encompassing Tibet. The Republican Chinese delegation opted to withdraw from the negotiations prior to the finalization of the Shimla Accord and adamantly rejected the validity of the Tibetan people in entering into international agreements. Both factions involved in the intermittent Chinese Civil War (1927-1949), namely the Nationalists and the Communists, disavowed the Shimla Accord and laid claim to all regions inhabited by Tibetans as integral parts of their respective territories (Brethouwer, et al., 2022)

The geopolitical tensions and territorial conflicts in Ladakh have sparked notable advancements in infrastructure within the region, propelled by military requirements and national security considerations. Post-independence in 1947-1949, the military clashes between India and Pakistan necessitated the establishment of Leh airport and various army facilities in Ladakh. In the 1950s, China initiated its expansionist aspirations in the locality by constructing a roadway in the Aksai Chin sector, which India

asserts as a component of Jammu and Kashmir. The 1962 Sino-Indian conflict, arising from border disputes with China, led India to make substantial investments in developing an extensive road network in this remote trans-Himalayan area to enhance accessibility and troop mobility. The subsequent deployment of military forces not only created new job opportunities for local residents but also laid the groundwork for infrastructural expansion to support the military presence.

In 1963, Pakistan transferred the Shaksgam Valley to China, further complicating the territorial disagreement. The contemporary confrontation between India and China in Ladakh was instigated in May 2020 at the shores of Pangong Tso lake, where China has been actively enhancing infrastructure and augmenting its military presence. This marks the inaugural instance of armed engagement between the two parties during a confrontation, resulting in casualties on both ends. The discourse posits that this impasse has persisted for long time, shedding light on China's objectives in the strategically significant Ladakh region. (Akhtar, 2020) Additionally, following the Kargil crisis in 1999, the army introduced civil society initiatives such as Operation Sadbhavana to establish educational and healthcare amenities, further driving infrastructure growth aligned with strategic defense priorities in this crucial border zone. (Nusser & dame, 2008)

Infrastructure Development In Ladakh

The focus of the Indian government is directed towards expediting the development of infrastructure in the strategically significant Union Territory of Ladakh. Considerable investments are currently being allocated towards the construction of crucial roads along the Line of Actual Control bordering China, as well as the development of tunnels such as the 4.1-km long Shinkun La tunnel on the Nimu-Padam-Darcharoad link to provide all-weather connectivity to the border areas of Ladakh to ensure seamless connectivity in all weather conditions. Additionally, there are

initiatives in place for grid connectivity projects, establishment of power infrastructure including renewable energy parks, and deliberations on a substantial Rs. 3,500 crore industrial development scheme aimed at creating a substantial number of private sector employment opportunities in Ladakh. Noteworthy agencies such as BRO and BSNL are actively engaged in efforts to improve road and telecommunication connectivity to the remote regions. Furthermore, the government has granted approval for hydropower projects along the Indus river basin and is in the process of setting up educational institutions like a medical college in Leh. These comprehensive endeavours are designed to enhance socio-economic progress and reinforce strategic capacities in this Himalayan border region.

Approximately 33% of the entire land in Ladakh is utilized for agricultural purposes, resulting in an annual production of around 100,000 quintals of food grains. These crops predominantly consist of wheat, barley, and rice cultivated in the Indus, Zaskar, and Shyok river basins. The tourism sector in Ladakh is a significant domain that contributes substantially to the economic revenue, employment opportunities, and overall development of the regions. In 2019, the total number of tourists visiting the Union Territory (UT) of Ladakh was recorded at 279,937. By the year 2021, the total tourist influx in the UT escalated to 304,077, with 303,023 being domestic tourists and 1,054 foreign tourists. In November 2020, Ladakh introduced its inaugural tourism incentive policy, aiming to promote fair and sustainable growth across all areas within the union territory. (Industrial Development and Economic Growth in Ladakh, 2022)

The Union Budget 2022-23 has introduced the inclusion of villages situated on the northern border within the newly established Vibrant Villages Programme. The proposed initiatives encompass the development of village infrastructure, housing facilities, tourist amenities, road connectivity, provision of decentralized renewable energy, access to Doordarshan and educational channels through direct to home services, as well as

assistance for livelihood generation. Provision of additional funding is guaranteed for these endeavours. Convergence of existing schemes is planned, with a focus on defining and monitoring their outcomes consistently. The primary objective of the programme is to improve infrastructure not only in the union territory of Ladakh but also in the Indian border regions adjacent to China, such as Himachal Pradesh, Uttarakhand, and Arunachal Pradesh. (Misitry of Information and Broadcasting, 2022)

Under the initiative known as 'Operation SADBHAVANA', the Indian Army is engaged in various philanthropic endeavours, including the operation of Army Goodwill Schools, the implementation of Infrastructure Development Projects, and the organization of Education Tours, among others, aimed at benefiting the youth residing in the remote regions of the Union Territory (UT) of Ladakh. In order to enhance the quality of education and furnish them with a superior academic experience, the Indian Army is currently managing seven (07) Army Goodwill Schools (AGS) within the Ladakh Region as part of 'Operation SADBHAVANA'. These schools cater to a student population exceeding 2,200 individuals. Although Operation Sadbhavna itself does not directly focus on large-scale road construction, it complements broader infrastructure efforts in Ladakh. For example, it supports the establishment of local access roads to connect villages to main highways, thus aiding broader connectivity and trade. Collaboration with the Border Roads Organisation (BRO) ensures that local needs are addressed, such as pathways to schools or healthcare centres established under the initiative. (Ministry of Defence, 2023)

The execution of infrastructure initiatives such as the UIDSSMT (urban infrastructure development scheme for small and medium town) in Leh, Ladakh encounters notable obstacles arising from spatial disparities in accessibility, insufficient incorporation of rapid urbanization factors such as population expansion and tourism, intricate organizational frameworks, and limited administrative capabilities of local governing bodies,

absence of civic engagement and local knowledge in urban planning, challenges in enforcing regulations, and lack of clarity on project specifics for the local populace. Surmounting these diverse challenges is essential for the promotion of sustainable urban growth in this delicate mountainous areas (Dame et al., 2019). The infrastructure projects in Ladakh face significant obstacles emanating from the region's severe climatic conditions, elevated altitude, minimal and dispersed populace in remote regions, security issues arising from territorial conflicts and incursions from neighbouring countries such as China and Pakistan, and its secluded position that remains disconnected from the Indian mainland for a substantial duration of the year due to road blockades triggered by heavy snowfall, rendering air transportation the sole dependable mode of connectivity. Conquering these geographical, demographic, and strategic challenges necessitates meticulous strategizing and implementation of infrastructure development schemes in this delicate Himalayan area. (Warikoo, 2020)

Impact on Local Polulation

The expeditious expansion of infrastructure in environmentally delicate regions such as Ladakh could yield substantial socio-economic impact on the local population. One plausible ramification involves the disturbance of conventional means of living dependent on the surroundings, encompassing agriculture, animal husbandry, and tourism. The commencement of building initiatives might result in the relocation of local societies or the devastation of their agricultural lands and pastures, precipitating financial adversity and cultural disarray. Moreover, the arrival of external labourers and visitors could strain scarce resources like water and prompt conflicts with the local populace regarding resource distribution. Additionally, the advantages of progress may not be equitably dispersed, resulting in an amplifying wealth chasm and social frictions within the indigenous communities. Nonetheless, if appropriately overseen, infrastructure

development has the potential to introduce economic prosperity through heightened tourism, job opportunities, and enhanced connectivity, which could be advantageous to the local inhabitants if their concerns and engagement are given precedence.

The recent advancements in infrastructure within border regions, such as the establishment of the highest airfield globally in Ladakh and various initiatives by the Border Roads Organisation (BRO), are poised to yield notable socio-economic consequences for nearby communities. These endeavours, carried out amid ongoing border tensions, are geared towards improving connectivity, strengthening defense capabilities, and fostering socio-economic progress in remote regions. For example, the Nyoma Airfield, located at an elevation of 13,400 feet, offers vital all-weather connectivity to eastern Ladakh, facilitating troop movements and logistical assistance during crises. Moreover, the infrastructure undertakings by the BRO (Border Road Organisation), encompassing roads, bridges, tunnels, and airstrips in bordering states and Union Territories, are anticipated to enhance accessibility, stimulate economic endeavours, and promote socio-cultural cohesion. Nevertheless, apprehensions endure regarding the potential displacement of local communities and environmental harm stemming from extensive construction activities in ecologically delicate zones. It is essential to address these concerns and ensure sustainable development in order to harmonize strategic goals with the welfare of the local inhabitants and the ecosystem. (First Post Explainers, 2023)

The fervent advocacy for the advancement of infrastructure, promotion of tourism, implementation of renewable energy initiatives, and promotion of industrial activities in Ladakh is anticipated to bring about significant socio-economic consequences for the local population. A considerable portion of the population continues to rely on age-old practices of farming and pastoralism, which may face disruption due to land procurement, diversion of resources, and cultural changes linked with urbanization and the arrival of external labour forces. Despite the potential emergence of fresh job prospects, there exist

apprehensions regarding skill mismatches and the uneven allocation of economic advantages that might exacerbate income inequalities. The swift urban growth propelled by economic prospects could incite the migration of individuals from rural settings to urban centres, placing stress on urban infrastructure. The delicate ecosystem, scarcity of water, and culturally significant heritage are under threat from uncontrolled environmental harm and the erosion of customary ways of life owing to widespread tourism and industrial activities. Consequently, comprehensive planning focused on sustainable growth, enhancement of skills among local communities, preservation of the environment, and safeguarding of cultural heritage is imperative to guarantee that the native population can equitably reap the rewards of Ladakh's economic metamorphosis without facing exclusion.

The establishment of the Zojila tunnel in Ladakh holds the potential for substantial socio-economic advantages, providing year-round connectivity to a historically isolated region due to the seasonal closure of the Zojila pass. This geographical seclusion impedes progress in various sectors such as education, healthcare, and overall development, further compounded by the expensive and unreliable nature of air transportation. The finalization of the tunnel is anticipated to enhance intra-state commerce, tourism, and intercultural interactions, thereby nurturing economic advancement and cohesion. Nonetheless, apprehensions regarding the possible displacement of local population and environmental harm necessitate attention to ensure sustainable progress and mitigate negative repercussions. (Shreshtha, Forsyth, Sihotang, Sihotang, & Walsh, 2022) Along with Zojila tunnel and Zaskar tunnel, the newly constructed Nimmu-Padum-Darcha road will provide an all-weather connectivity to the Leh city from Srinagar and Manali respectively which remains disconnected from rest of the country for six months in a year. Together, these projects contribute to the holistic development of Ladakh by improving connectivity and integrating it more deeply with national economic and social frameworks.

Nimmu-Padum-Darcha, Case Study

The project of constructing the Nimmu-Padum-Darcha (NPD) road, carried out by the Border Roads Organization (BRO), represents a crucial addition to the transportation network in the landlocked Ladakh region. This 298 km long road serves as a vital third axis of connectivity, complementing the existing Srinagar-Leh and Manali-Leh highways. Its strategic significance lies in not only bolstering defence readiness along the Northern borders with an alternate route but also in fostering economic progress in the remote Zaskar valley of Ladakh through improved accessibility. The endeavour involved surmounting significant obstacles presented by challenging terrain, harsh weather conditions, and the construction of a tunnel at the high-altitude Shinkun La pass to ensure uninterrupted connectivity to this sensitive Himalayan region.

Nimmu-Padum-Darcha Road



Figure 2 <https://currentaffairs.khanglobalstudies.com/bro-opens-strategic-nimmu-padum-darcha-road-in-ladakh/>

The impact of the Nimmu-Padum-Darcha road project on the local population, particularly those residing in the isolated Zaskar valley of Ladakh, is expected to be substantial. Proposed in 2002, and completed in 2024, it is poised to offer a more convenient and shorter transportation option, bridging the geographical gap between this remote area and the mainland. Consequently, this development will create fresh economic prospects for the residents by facilitating easier access to markets, healthcare services, and educational facilities. Furthermore, the all-weather road will streamline the flow of essential goods and resources, thereby improving the overall living standards of the Zaskar populace, who have long grappled with geographical isolation and limited avenues for development. (Discoverlehladakh, 2024)

Challenges And Solutions

Concerns related to tourism industry's explosive expansion, which puts a strain on the region's resources, deteriorates the environment, and exacerbates problems like uneven economic distribution and culture erosion (Dolma Y., 2019). Reduced precipitation, glacier recession, and erratic snowfall patterns are some of the effects of climate change that have increased water scarcity in the alpine region of Ladakh. Due to a seasonal mismatch between the peak water demand during spring sowing and the peak glacier melt supply in summer, this has had a significant negative impact on agriculture and the means of subsistence farming. Building on traditional knowledge and practices, community-based social innovations have evolved to solve this, such as the construction of fake glaciers, ice stupas, and ice-fall glaciers at lower altitudes to store excess glacial melt in summer for use in spring. Local people offer biological knowledge, actively take part in the design and upkeep of these ice reservoirs, and promote a sense of ownership. NGOs help with implementation by bringing partners together, providing technical advice, obtaining funding, and encouraging ongoing innovation via education (Kumar & Saizen, 2023). Restricted amount of land

suitable for cultivation, severe weather, and a strong dependency on outside assistance for supplies of goods, food, and development money. The distant location and low population density of the region present challenges to economic self-sufficiency and growth. (Jabeen & Dolma, 2023)

Promoting rural tourism is essential to addressing these issues because it can help distribute benefits more fairly, inspire young people in the area to seek careers in tourism, revitalize traditional practices to protect cultural identity, upgrade utilities and infrastructure like waste management and power supply, and adopt sustainable tourism strategies like identifying environmentally sensitive areas and supporting organic farming. Furthermore, enhanced collaboration among local people, government agencies, and tourist stakeholders is important to guarantee comprehensive growth while conserving Ladakh's distinct personality and surroundings (Dolma Y., 2019).

In order to support and mainstream these social innovations, institutional and financial support should be provided for scaling up initiatives, and encourage partnerships with communities, NGOs, and knowledge partners, the government must create laws and regulations. To contextually comprehend and implement these solutions, the acknowledgment of community-based initiatives, include indigenous knowledge into planning procedures, support them financially and legally, encourage stakeholder participation, and establish knowledge-sharing platforms (Kumar & Saizen, 2023). Proposals for remedies and suggestions include encouraging eco-friendly travel, making investments in regional businesses and farming, and building infrastructure to enable improved resource distribution and communication. The government can make a significant contribution by providing sufficient funding, carrying out development initiatives, and advocating for inclusive policies that cater to the interests of all social groups. This can be done at both the federal and union territory levels. In addition to working with local people, NGOs and other stakeholders can offer chances for skill development and training, as well as increase awareness

about the importance of protecting the region's distinctive socio-cultural history. For Ladakh to develop sustainably and to address the issues that the people are facing, all parties involved must work together. (Jabeen & Dolma, 2023)

The Indian Army provides vital emergency response resources, the government participates through disaster management plans, and non-governmental organizations like SECMOL (students' educational and cultural movement of Ladakh) are vital for localizing educational programs. Social and financial resilience is provided via cooperatives and community/religious networks. Building Ladakh's ability to manage socio-economic and environmental changes requires cooperation between government agencies, non-governmental organizations, community groups, and other stakeholders.

FUTURE OUTLOOK

The prospective advancement of infrastructural development in Ladakh shows promise, as the Indian government remains focused on enhancing connectivity, energy infrastructure, and overall progress in the region. The designation of Ladakh as a Union Territory in August 2019 has opened doors to substantial investments and endeavours targeting enduring developmental requirements.

Infrastructure undertakings like roads, tunnels, and bridges, exemplified by the Colonel Chewang Rinchen Bridge, have already improved connectivity in the area, thereby enabling easier reach to isolated villages. The finalization of the Alusteng-Drass-Kargil-Leh transmission system has established a dependable power provision, while ventures like the Dah hydroelectric project contribute to electrification endeavours, essential for the region's progress.

The substantial allotment of funds, around Rs 60 billion for the fiscal year 2020-21, signifies the government's dedication to hastening development in Ladakh. Through ventures like the grid

interconnecting the large-scale solar project and the establishment of a medical college in Leh district, there is a distinct emphasis on sustainable energy and enhanced healthcare infrastructure.

Moreover, the vision of Indian government to transform Ladakh into a carbon-neutral region highlights the government's environmental goals, aligning with global sustainability initiatives. Programs like the Ladakh Greenhouse project and the advancement of cultural tourism showcase a comprehensive approach to development, integrating environmental preservation and local livelihood improvement.

Projections indicate that forthcoming infrastructural progress in Ladakh will persist in prioritizing connectivity, renewable energy, healthcare, and sustainable tourism. Investments in these domains not only foster economic advancement but also safeguard the welfare and prosperity of Ladakh's populace. With continuous governmental backing and strategic scheming, Ladakh is positioned to emerge as a paradigm for equitable and comprehensive advancement in the Himalayan region.(Asian News International, 2021)

The prospective advancement of infrastructural development in Ladakh appears promising due to the emphasis of the Central Government on the construction of 500 kilometres of new roads in rural areas as part of the Pradhan Mantri Gram Sadak Yojna (PMGSY). This endeavour not only seeks to establish connections among rural communities but also pledges to create job opportunities and endorse eco-friendly practices such as utilizing plastic waste in road building. Enhanced road connectivity is expected to facilitate the accessibility of crucial services like markets, educational institutions, and healthcare facilities, thereby contributing to the holistic socio-economic progress of the area. Through persistent endeavours and a vision aimed at achieving a "carbon-neutral Ladakh," this infrastructural progress is positioned to revolutionize the landscape and the lives of the local inhabitants.(Daily Excelsior, 2022)

Infrastructure projects, especially those involving roads, bridges, and tunnels, have intensified in response to the current border dispute between China and India in an effort to improve connectivity and ease troop movement. However, the strong military presence in the area and the ensuing drop in tourism have had an adverse effect on local livelihoods, highlighting the necessity of well-rounded development initiatives. In the future, maintaining the welfare of border villages will require significant infrastructure investments in addition to persistent attempts to do so in order to promote Ladakh's long-term growth and stability. (Daily Excelsior, 2022)

The Chinese incursion in Ladakh has had a profound impact on the geopolitical landscape of the region, particularly concerning India-China relations and the broader dynamics of the Indo-Pacific. The Ladakh dispute, characterized by assertive Chinese military actions and the violent clash on June 15, has brought India-China relations to a historically low point. It has highlighted Beijing's increasingly aggressive foreign policy strategy, characterized by provocative behaviour not only along the Line of Actual Control (LAC) but also in other disputed areas such as the South China Sea and Hong Kong. Moreover, the crisis has emphasized the strategic alignment between the United States and India, as both nations harbour apprehensions regarding China's expanding influence and assertiveness. This escalation in Ladakh has led Washington to adopt a more vocal position, demonstrating its backing for India and emphasizing the potential for enhanced security cooperation between the two countries. Nonetheless, the crisis also reveals the constraints on India's capacity to counter China militarily, underscoring the necessity for cautious management of expectations and a nuanced approach in evolving the US-India relationship into a genuine strategic alliance. (Michael Kugelman, 2020)

External aggression could result in territorial loss, as seen in China's occupation of thousands of square kilometres of land claimed by India in Ladakh. This incursion poses a threat to India's sovereignty and security in the border regions. The current

military standoff raises the risk of evolving into armed conflict, potentially leading to casualties on both sides. These tensions disrupt the daily lives of local populations residing along the border, such as the nomadic communities mentioned, who are now unable to access their traditional grazing grounds. Border disputes like these, strain the diplomatic relations between the two nations and have a negative impact on trade and economic cooperation. The deployment of additional military forces and resources to secure the borders also carries economic implications. External aggression by China has the potential to undermine a nation's territorial integrity, national security, diplomatic relationships, and economic pursuits. (Ethirajan A., 2021)

External aggression or military incursions from neighbouring countries such as China or Pakistan have the potential to jeopardize the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Ladakh, resulting in territorial loss as seen in historical conflicts with Tibet or the Dogra forces. Tensions with neighbouring nations could have adverse effects on trade, cultural interactions, and interpersonal relationships that Ladakh has long maintained with regions like Central Asia, Tibet, and Kashmir. The necessity to strengthen borders and increase military presence would also incur economic costs. Allegations of externally supported demographic shifts or human rights abuses, similar to those reported in Tibet, have the potential to transform Ladakh's distinct cultural heritage and Buddhist principles, which draw influence from various sources in the Himalayan region.

The confrontations characterized by intense violence and fatalities among troops on both sides, exemplified by the brutal incident in the Galwan Valley in June 2020, represent a perilous escalation and a pivotal moment in the bilateral relations between India and China. This development has significantly eroded the mutual trust between the two nations, making a return to the pre-2020 border status quo exceedingly challenging. India now faces a situation where it cannot rely on the effectiveness of existing mechanisms designed to build confidence with China. The Chinese encroachment into territories contested by India poses a

direct threat to India's territorial integrity and sovereignty in the region of Ladakh

The ongoing militarization of the border and the deployment of additional military forces by both parties raise the risk of further armed confrontations and the potential for escalation into a more widespread conflict. In the Indian context, this necessitates a reassessment of the country's foreign policy, military strategies, defence budget priorities, and nuclear doctrine in order to bolster deterrence against potential acts of aggression by China along the Line of Actual Control. These tensions have a disruptive impact on the livelihoods of local communities, including nomadic groups who are now unable to access their traditional grazing grounds. On a broader scale, the aggressive behaviour displayed by China casts a lingering shadow over various aspects of India's international relations, economic partnerships, and national security vis-a-vis its formidable neighbour. (Ethirajan A., 2021)

Ladakh's sustainable development calls for a multifaceted strategy that takes into account responsible tourism, community well-being, and ecological preservation. To reduce resource use, strategies could involve supporting low-carbon energy sources like solar energy, putting effective water management techniques into place like creating artificial glaciers, and promoting traditional Ladakhi living practices. In addition, implementing ecotourism principles, capping visitor numbers, and enforcing stringent development guidelines will help lessen the negative environmental effects of tourism while bolstering local economies and safeguarding Ladakh's distinctive ecosystem for coming generations. (Aayesha, 2016)

Conclusion

The local population of Ladakh is situated at the intersection of border aggression and infrastructure advancements, contending with the simultaneous existence of financial prospects and the safeguarding of their distinctive cultural and environmental

legacy. Resolving these obstacles demands a well-rounded approach that takes into account both security requirements and the socio-economic ambitions of the local population. This calls for an integrative approach to policy formation that encompasses the viewpoints and ambitions of the local population. Throughout the course of this study, it has become apparent that the strategic significance of the area has rendered it a special focus for geopolitical disputes, resulting in the escalation of militarization and increased apprehensions regarding security. At the same time, the swift advancement of infrastructure, though essential for fostering economic progress and enhancing connectivity, gives rise to the environmental and socio-cultural issues, notably in terms of its impact on indigenous population and delicate ecosystems. In essence, Ladakh's strategic geographical positioning and the necessity for the enhancement of infrastructure are unquestionable. It is crucial that the welfare and entitlements of the local population are prioritised in all policy endeavours. Through a comprehensive and cooperative approach to tackle these challenges, decision makers can work towards a vision in which Ladakh's progress is not solely financially feasible but also ethically equitable and ecologically viable for future generations.

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Exploring Internship as a Tool in Social Work Teaching Pedagogy

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Abstract

The practice of social work is an integration of academic knowledge and practical abilities, with field education serving as a foundation. Concurrent fieldwork and Internships serves as an important part of this education because they allow students to apply what they have learned in the classroom to real-world circumstances. Despite their acknowledged relevance, internships in social work education face obstacles in India, such as limited possibilities, cultural and linguistic limitations, and ethical quandaries. This study aims to assess the internship experiences of 48 Master of Social Work (MSW) students of the batch 2022-2024 & 2023-2025 at Panjab University in Chandigarh. The data is collected immediately after completing their internships; the study

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highlights specific issues faced by students with the internship program, and recommends tentative solutions. The study identifies and assesses the work undertaken by these students, challenges faced, and makes recommendations to improve the efficiency of internships in preparing social work students for professional practice in varied cultural settings.

Keywords: Social Work Education, Internship, Social Work students.

Introduction

The career path of social work offers a combination of both theory and practice as compulsory criteria. Field work education in social work is crucial as it provides students with practical, hands-on experience essential for their professional development and the application of theoretical knowledge in real-world settings (Bogo, 2015; Wayne, Bogo, & Raskin, 2010). According to the University Grants Commission (UGC) guidelines of 2015 students in social work education programs are required to complete a minimum of 900 hours of field work in two years. This guideline is part of the National Skills Qualifications Framework (NSQF). This requirement is intended to ensure that students gain practical, hands-on experience necessary for their professional development in the field of social work (University Grants Commission, 2015).

Field work education is regarded as the signature pedagogy in social work (Council on Social Work Education, 2008), and it is the fundamental mode of instruction and learning through which a profession prepares students to perform as practitioners. Field education is an important aspect of social work education because it helps students to apply theoretical principles learned in the classroom to realistic problem solving in an agency setting (Rambally, 1999). Field education is intentionally developed, supervised, coordinated, and assessed using criteria that reflect

students' performance of program competencies. (Council on Social Work Education, 2008).

Fieldwork in social work education in India encompasses several structured components. These components include orientation visits, concurrent fieldwork, internship block placements and rural camps. Orientation visits help students understand their roles and responsibilities (Gupta, 2018). Concurrent Fieldwork involves students participating in field activities alongside their academic coursework, allowing for an immediate application of theoretical learning in practical settings. It enhances skill development and prepares students for professional practice (Deshpande & Shinde, 2020). Internship /Block Placements are extended periods of full-time immersion in social work agencies or organizations, and provide intensive practical training under the supervision of experienced practitioners. They are crucial for integrating knowledge and developing professional competence (Singh & Mathew, 2017). They are usually extended to a period of 4-6 weeks. Rural camps are also specialized fieldwork experiences focused on addressing rural community issues, providing services, and implementing development projects with a duration of 7-10 days. Rural camps offer students exposure to rural and/or tribal contexts, community dynamics, and specific challenges of rural social work (Pandey & Dixit, 2019).

In the 1960s, institutions of higher learning began to incorporate internships into other vocational-oriented disciplines such as engineering, social work, law, and education (Spradlin, 2009). Internships are vital components of field education. Internships are organized, directed, and pre-occupational programs that enable higher education students to use their skills and knowledge in actual-life situations (Sides and Mrvica, 2017).

They provide practical experience, bridging the gap between theoretical knowledge and practical application. Internships in social work help students develop valuable skills such as client engagement, assessment, intervention, and case management.

Internships allow you to build a network with people in your field, which can lead to career possibilities and progress. Working in a variety of diverse contexts or situations helps students develop cultural awareness and competency.

Real-world experience gives students confidence in their capacity to deal with the various circumstances and challenges that will arise in their careers. Internships teach students about workplace ethics and professionalism.

Furthermore, the evidence demonstrates that exposure during the training phase of social work education gave an increased dedication to the field of social work and a lifelong global perspective (Lindsey, 2005). Hence, understanding different cultures at the local, national, and international levels is an essential part for practicing social work around the world.

In India, some schools of social work have made internships an essential component of the degree program, ensuring that students graduate with the practical experience and abilities they need to thrive in their employment. Furthermore, India's New Education Policy (NEP) 2020 emphasizes experiential learning and practical training, including internships in a variety of fields of study.

The NEP 2020 states that "as part of a holistic education, students at all HELs will be provided with opportunities for internships with local industry, businesses, artists, crafts persons, etc. and, as a by-product, further improve their employability." Fieldwork practicum is a closely supervised educational internship, and more, in a social work setting that provides planned opportunities to apply theory taught in courses to actual situations, which, in turn, enhances classroom learning. Fieldwork practicum comprises two days/ 14-15 hours per week and one-third of the total credits (National Curriculum Resource Group, 2022).

However, internships in social work education in India present a number of problems that can have an impact on the quality and effectiveness of the practical training that students get.

Some of these problems include limited chances, a lack of competent and experienced supervisors, cultural and linguistic barriers, ethical quandaries, and so forth. A study identifies challenges such as inadequate supervision, heavy workload, and difficulties in integrating theory with practice (Sharma & Srivastava, 2016). It discusses how these factors can affect the quality of practical training and learning outcomes for social work students in India. Another research (Joseph & Rajan, 2017) highlights the impact of challenges such as resource constraints, lack of infrastructure, and cultural barriers on learning outcomes in social work internships.

Statement of the Problem

Internships, as a vital part of field education, enable students to apply theoretical knowledge to real-world scenarios, fostering essential skills such as client interaction, assessment, intervention, and case management. Despite the acknowledged importance of internships in social work education, several challenges impact their quality and effectiveness, particularly in India.

The goal is to provide actionable insights that can improve the practical training of social work students, ensuring they are well-prepared to address complex social issues in diverse cultural contexts especially in India.

Objectives

- To identify the challenges faced by students during the four-six weeks internship while pursuing masters in social work education.
- To assess the level of academic and field work learning through this internship.
- To propose tentative solutions to enhance the effectiveness of these internships

Methodology

Locale of the Study

The study was conducted in the Union Territory of Chandigarh. Panjab University was selected for study as a strategic decision, as it is the only university in the Union Territory (U.T) of Chandigarh offering a Master' Degree in Social Work. This makes the institution a crucial hub for social work education, addressing the needs of local students aiming to enhance their professional skills. Panjab University, established in 1882 at Lahore, stands out for its historical significance, academic excellence.

The curriculum is meticulously crafted to blend theoretical knowledge with practical experience. Students are encouraged to engage in fieldwork, internships, and community service projects, which provide them with hands-on experience and a deeper understanding of real-world social issues. This practical approach ensures that graduates are well-prepared to enter the professional world as competent and compassionate social workers.

Selection of Respondents

For the study, all the students of academic sessions 2022-2024 and 2023-2025 enrolled in the Master of Social Work (MSW) program at Panjab University were taken into consideration. This comprehensive approach ensured that the study encompassed a diverse group of participants, representing various backgrounds, experiences, and perspectives within the field of social work. By involving all students of the class, the study collected comprehensive data on multiple aspects of internship.

Sample Size and tools of data collection

The data for the study was collected through questionnaires administered and interactive sessions individually and in smaller groups to 48 students pursuing the Master of Social Work (MSW) at Panjab University, Chandigarh. These students had completed a

on-month internship, a mandatory component of the two-year MSW degree. These 48 students have done internships in more than 25 different organizations in different states like Himachal Pradesh, Uttarakhand, Uttar Pradesh, Gujarat, Rajasthan and Jharkhand etc.

Further, these students have done internships in various fields of social work including child welfare, women empowerment, disability welfare etc. The timing of the data collection, immediately following the internship, was strategic, as it allowed the researchers to capture fresh and relevant insights from the students' recent practical experiences. The questionnaires were designed to gather information on various aspects which are as follows:

- * Challenges faced by students' during internship including ethical challenges, cultural or language challenges and its effect on their practical skills, understanding of social work concepts, and overall professional development etc.
- ** The questionnaires sought feedback on the quality of supervision and support provided during the internship, the relevance of tasks assigned, and subsequently to increase the efficiency of internships.

Results And Discussion

Challenges faced by students during internships: Boarding, Lodging and Food

During their internship, interns faced major accommodation issues, including high costs, extensive distances between the working place and residence, and no assistance from the internship organization regarding stay. Availability of good quality food is another critical issue for some social work interns. Limited pocket money often forces interns to compromise on the quality and quantity of their food. Inadequate nutrition can affect their physical health and cognitive functioning, thereby hindering

their performance both in the field and academically. Access to affordable, nutritious meals is essential for maintaining the energy and focus required during demanding internships (Taylor, 2020).

These concerns had a significant influence on their capacity to perform their tasks properly, as well as their overall health. Many urban areas, where internships are located, have high living costs, making it a little difficult for interns to afford appropriate accommodation. (Smith & Brown, 2020).

This financial hardship may lead interns to end up in inferior housing with poor sanitation and a lack of basic facilities, which impacts morale and attention (Kumar, 2018). These conditions not only posed health risks but also created an environment that is not conducive to rest. Long commuting owing to distant lodging options diminish the time for work, study, and residence (Lee & Chen, 2017).

On the other hand, students living in hostels/ PGs often face unique challenges which help them to adjust during the internships. The transition from a structured hostel environment to an internship setting requires adaptability and resilience. Hostel/PG life typically involves communal living, which can help students develop interpersonal skills, patience, and cooperation. These qualities are advantageous when integrating into new internship environments. Hostel/PG life requires students to adapt to a shared space with varying rules and routines. These traits are valuable in internship settings that may involve working with diverse populations or in different geographic locations.

However, the degree of their adjustment depends on the support provided by the internship agencies, the nature of the internship environment, and the students' own adaptability and resilience. Ensuring that students have access to adequate resources and support systems can significantly enhance their internship experience.

Table I
Internship Placement: Rural, Urban, or Semi-Urban Areas

Geography	Number of Students	Percentage (per cent)
Rural	14	29.17
Semi Urban	13	27.08
Urban	21	43.75
Total	48	100

Table I presents data on the geographic distribution of internship placements for students in social work programs. The table shows that 14 students were placed in rural areas for their internships, 13 students were placed in semi-urban areas, 21 students were placed in urban areas for their internships. This indicates that a significant proportion of the students, 43.75 per cent, were placed in urban settings, which may reflect the availability of more diverse and numerous internship opportunities in urban areas and willingness of students to be in the urban parts.

The varied placement locations underscore the importance of ensuring that internship programs are equipped to offer support tailored to the unique needs and opportunities present in each type of setting. It reveals a predominant trend towards urban internship placements among social work students. Understanding where students are placed can provide insights into the types of experiences they gain (urban vs. rural social work), which can influence their professional development.

Table II
Accommodation provided by the
Internship agencies for Intern students

Agency Provided Accommodation for Interns	Number of Students	Percentage (per cent)
Yes	18	37.5
No	20	41.67
No Need of Accommodation	10	20.83
Total	48	100

Table II provides an overview of accommodation arrangements for social work students. Among the surveyed respondents, 18 students benefited from accommodation provided by their internship agencies, highlighting proactive support in this area. In contrast, 20 students did not receive agency-provided accommodation, possibly indicating varying levels of support across placements. Notably, 10 students reported that they did not need accommodation, accounting for approximately 20.83 per cent of the total cohort.

This distribution suggests that while a significant portion of agencies offer accommodation, there remains a considerable number that do not, potentially impacting the internship experience for those who require housing support. The data also reflect the diverse needs and circumstances of the intern population, emphasizing the importance of flexible and comprehensive support systems within internship programs.

Table III
Out of Pocket Expenses for Internship
(Including Food, Travel, etc.)

Out of Pocket Expenses (in Rupees)	Number of Students	Percentage (per cent)
0-3000	4	8.33
3001-6000	15	31.25
6001-10000	8	16.66
10001-15000	7	14.58
More than 15000	14	29.16
Total	48	100

Table-III shows the distribution of out-of-pocket expenses incurred by students during their internships. These expenses typically include costs for accommodation, food, travel, and other personal expenses.

From Table- I, II and III, it can be interpreted that the combination of high accommodation costs, lack of agency support, and varied geographic placements highlights the significant challenges interns face in social work programs. Addressing these challenges is crucial to ensuring interns' well-being and effectiveness in their roles, particularly in urban areas where costs and competition for suitable housing is the highest.

The significance of Stipends/Honorarium in Social Work Internships

The provision of stipends or allowances during internships is a critical factor that influences the overall internship experience for students, particularly in fields such as social work. Financial constraints are a substantial barrier for students pursuing internships, especially those from lower socioeconomic backgrounds (Neapolitan, 1992). The provision of stipends ensures that internships are available to a broader spectrum of students, including those who may lack the financial resources to undertake unpaid work experiences (Hora, Wolfgram, & Thompson, 2017). Stipends enable students to focus on study and professional development rather than financial survival (Thompson, 2011).

Table IV
Number of Students undertaking paid Internship

Payment for Internship	Number of Students	Percentage (per cent)
Yes	03	6.25
No	45	93.75
Total	48	100

Table-IV presents data on the number of students who were paid for their internships. The table shows that only 03 students received payment for their internship. This indicates that only 6.25 per cent of the students had internships that provided financial compensation. 45 students did not receive any payment for their internship.

The data from Table-IV highlights a significant disparity in financial compensation among students in social work internships. The majority of students are participating in unpaid internships. However, it has also been observed that several agencies charge fees for offering internships.

Table V
Number of Students Receiving Any Other Allowance

Allowance for Internship	Number of Students	Percentage (per cent)
Yes	10	20.83
No	38	79.17
Total	48	100

Table-V presents data on the number of students who received any other allowance (excluding stipend) for their internships in social work programs. The table shows that 10 students received some form of allowance during their internship. This indicates that approximately 20.83per cent of the students were provided with allowances to support their internship experiences. Allowances can include travel stipends, meal vouchers, housing support, or other forms of non-monetary compensation that help mitigate the costs associated with participating in an internship. 38 students did not receive any form of allowance during their internship. By increasing paid internship opportunities and providing financial support, social work programs may create a more inclusive and supportive environment for their students.

Academic Qualifications for the Supervisor and its Impact on Social Work Internships

The efficiency of internships is determined not only by how they are planned and overseen by faculty members at higher education institutions, but also by how students are guided, assisted, and evaluated by supervisors in the agency (Jackson et al., 2019). According to earlier research, MSW-prepared supervisors are better able to provide thorough supervision that is consistent with the National Association of Social Workers' (NASW) professional standards and ethical codes (Chernesky, 1986; NASW, 2021). MSW-trained supervisors are often better at creating such environments, fostering trust, and guiding students through complicated ethical and practical quandaries (Everett et al., 2011).

Table VI
Qualifications of Supervisor

Is Your Immediate Supervisor a Social Work Graduate/ Post Graduate	Number of Students	Percentage (per cent)
Yes	20	41.67
No	28	58.33
Total	48	100

Table-VI shows the number of students supervised by individuals based on whether or not those supervisors are social work graduates or postgraduates. 20 (41.67 per cent) students were supervised by individuals who have a background in social work education, while 28 students were supervised by individuals who do not have a background in social work discipline.

It has been observed that Supervisors with an MSW qualification are likely to have specialized knowledge and skills in social work, which can contribute to higher-quality supervision. Interns supervised by individuals without an MSW qualification might miss out on specific insights and guidance that are crucial for their professional development.

Table -VII

Satisfaction of students with Supervision during Internship

Satisfied with Supervision during Internship	Number of Students	Percentage (per cent)
Yes	33	68.75
No	15	31.25
Total	48	100

Table-VII shows that 33 students reported being satisfied with the supervision provided during their internship. On the other hand, 15 students reported not being satisfied with their supervision during their internship. The majority of students (68.75per cent) are satisfied with their supervision, indicating that most supervisors are meeting students' expectations and needs during their internships. However, a significant minority (31.25per cent) of students are not satisfied, highlighting areas where improvements are needed.

Interns supervised by non-MSW supervisors have experienced challenges in securing consistent and effective support, impacting their educational and professional outcomes. It is inferred that students supervised by MSW-qualified individuals report higher satisfaction due to the specialized knowledge and skills these supervisors bring.

The analysis of Tables VI and VII highlights the significant impact of supervisor qualifications on student satisfaction during internships. Increasing the number of MSW-qualified supervisors and providing additional training for non-MSW supervisors can enhance the overall quality of supervision, leading to better educational and professional outcomes for social work interns.

Ethical Challenges faced by students in Internship

Social workers encounter particular ethical issues due to differences in cultural norms, legal systems, and societal values. Internships provide valuable opportunities for students to apply academic knowledge in real-world contexts. However, the intricacies and ethical quandaries that they face might have a substantial impact on their mental health. The research indicates that the workload, supervisor expectations, and organizational culture during internships play crucial roles in shaping students' experiences and mental health outcomes (Duffy & Sedlacek, 2007; Baltes & Parker, 2000; McHugh & Filak, 2011; Knudsen & Ducharme, 2008; Bullock & Wilson, 2017; Gamble & Greenwood, 2009).

It was observed that during internship students encountered several situations that presented ethical dilemmas, particularly related to confidentiality, informed consent, and conflict of interest. For example a student trainee uncovers data falsification in a health mapping project, where staff members, students, and employees have under-reported figures. This misconduct threatens the effectiveness of the program drastically. Reporting the issue might halt the project and cause conflict, while remaining silent endangers public health. The trainee identifies inaccurate survey entries but faces challenges in obtaining authenticated data from the institutions involved. These experiences were both challenging and highlighted the complexities of ethical practice in real-world settings.

Table VIII

Students who have faced Ethical Dilemmas during Internship

Faced Ethical Dilemma	Number of Students	Percentage (per cent)
Yes	18	37.5
No	30	62.5
Total	48	100

Table VIII illustrates the number of students who encountered ethical dilemmas during their internships in social work programs. 18 students (approximately 37.5 per cent) reported that they faced ethical dilemmas during their internships. This indicates that a significant portion of students encountered situations where they had to navigate complex ethical issues, which could include conflicts between personal values and professional responsibilities, dilemmas involving client confidentiality, or issues related to informed consent. 30 students (approximately 62.5 per cent) reported that they did not face any ethical dilemmas during their internships.

This suggests that the majority of students were either not placed in situations where ethical conflicts arose or they were able to manage their professional responsibilities without encountering significant ethical challenges.

Understanding Stress Factors and Workload Impact in Internships: Insights from Emotional and Psychological Stress and Extra Work Assignments

Experiencing emotional and psychological stress during internships is a common concern among students and professionals alike. Internships often involve high expectations, a steep learning curve, and pressure to perform well, which can lead to stress. The factors such as role ambiguity, lack of mentorship, and difficulty balancing personal and professional life are significant stressors for interns.

Table -IX
Emotional and Psychological Stress during Internship

Emotional and Psychological Stress during Internship	Number of Students	Percentage (per cent)
Yes	23	47.92
No	25	52.08
Total	48	100

Table IX shows that 23 out of 48 students (approximately 48 per cent) reported experiencing emotional and psychological stress during their internship and 25 out of 48 students (approximately 52 per cent) did not report experiencing such stress. Almost half of the students surveyed experienced emotional and psychological stress during their internship. This suggests that internships can indeed have a substantial impact on students' mental well-being.

Table X
Assigned with Extra Work Which is Not a Part of internship

Assigned with Extra Work	Number of Students	Percentage (per cent)
Yes	13	27.08
No	35	72.92
Total	48	100

Table X shows that 13 (27per cent) students were given additional tasks beyond what was required for their internship. This extra work could include projects, administrative tasks, or other duties not directly related to their internship role. Further, 35 students did not receive any additional tasks beyond their internship duties. They likely only performed the tasks that were part of their internship program. This type of data is crucial in understanding the workload and experiences of students during their internships. It helps to identify how frequently interns are assigned extra responsibilities and how this might impact their overall internship experience, workload management, and potentially their mental well-being. Addressing these issues through effective support systems, clear communication of expectations and fostering a positive organizational culture can help mitigate stress and enhance the overall internship experience for students.

Navigating Cultural and Language Barriers During Internships

Internship students learn about culture, policy, practice, and community development from a global perspective (Lough 2009; Razack 2002). They learn about living and working in another culture, understanding cultural norms, becoming sensitive to cultural needs, and recognizing the value of cross-cultural social work (Engstrom & Jones, 2007; Pawar et al., 2004). Another appealing element for students is that they learn about their own culture while venturing outside of it (Engstrom & Jones, 2007).

However, many interns experience culture shock when placed in settings with a distinct cultural orientation, as well as linguistic barriers if the student is unfamiliar with the language of the placement setting (Razack, 2002; Yeom & Bae, 2010). This cultural sensitivity is essential for effective practice in diverse settings. Overcoming culture shock requires time, support, and resilience. Language issues are a significant challenge for interns who are not familiar with the language of their placement setting. Language limitations can impede communication, reduce practice

effectiveness, and increase feelings of loneliness and dissatisfaction (Yeom & Bae, 2010). For example: one of the interning students noticed several challenges and cultural nuances in the villages allotted to her, which are as follows:

- * Although the villagers understood Hindi, they were hesitant to use it with the intern for fear of judgment. Additionally, the intern could not understand Gujarati and had to rely on her field partner for translation, which introduced respondent bias as villagers often lied, viewing her as an outsider.
- * While villagers ate both vegetarian and non-vegetarian food but they were reluctant to admit consuming non-vegetarian food due to fear of being isolated within their own village.

Table- XI
A Cultural and Language Barriers

Faced Cultural and Language Barrier	Number of Students	Percentage (per cent)
Yes	13	27.08
No	35	72.92
Total	48	100

Table XI shows that 13 (approximately 27 per cent) experienced cultural and language barriers. This indicates that more than a quarter of interns encounter significant challenges related to culture and language during their internships. These students likely experienced cultural shock, struggling to adapt to different cultural norms, practices, and expectations. This can result in

feelings of disorientation and stress, impacting their overall internship experience. Conversely, 35 students (approximately 73 per cent) did not report facing these issues, suggesting that a majority of internships might be conducted in familiar cultural and linguistic settings or that these students were better prepared to navigate such challenges. Further, the lack of cultural and language barriers could mean fewer opportunities to develop skills in cultural competence and foreign languages, which are increasingly valuable in a globalized world.

Social Work Curriculum and Internship as its important component.

The differences in academic curriculum and the challenges faced in the field during internships can have significant implications for the emotional and psychological stress experienced by interns. The program emphasized theoretical knowledge, whereas the field demanded practical abilities that students had not fully developed, leaving them feeling unprepared for the practical demands of their internships (Smith et al., 2018).

Table XII

Gap Between Academic Curriculum and Internships

Gap Between Academic Curriculum and Internship	Number of Students	Percentage (per cent)
Yes	23	47.92
No	25	52.08
Total	48	100

Table-XII provides data on students' perceptions of the alignment between their academic curriculum and internship experiences. The table shows that 23 out of 48 students (47.92 per cent) believe there is a gap between their academic curriculum and their internship experience. This is a substantial proportion, nearly half of the respondents. Conversely, 25 students (52.08 per cent) feel there is no gap, indicating a nearly even split in perceptions. Students who perceive a gap often feel unprepared for practical tasks. This can include lacking specific technical skills, problem-solving abilities, or hands-on experience relevant to their field. Further, Interns may enter their roles with certain expectations based on their academic training, only to find that the workplace demands different skills, knowledge, or approaches.

The data underscores the need for educational institutions to review and potentially revise their curricula to better align with industry expectations and real-world applications. The presence of a perceived gap also suggests a need for stronger collaboration between academic institutions and industry partners. By working together, they can ensure that the curriculum is continuously updated to reflect current industry practices and requirements.

Recommendations

Fostering Ethical Development

The Code of Ethics in social work is essential for guiding professional conduct, protecting clients, ensuring accountability, building public trust, promoting professional development, and aligning practice with legal and policy standards. However, no consent verbal or written has been explicitly obtained to follow the Code of Ethics from students. Social work programs should incorporate more comprehensive training on ethics to prepare students for real-world challenges. This training could include detailed case studies that present complex ethical dilemmas, requiring students to analyze and discuss potential solutions. By engaging in these exercises, students can better understand the

implications of their decisions and the importance of adhering to ethical standards. Further, students can be put into more and more situations where they practice these skills. Enhanced ethical training also involves discussions on the latest ethical guidelines and standards in social work, ensuring students are well-versed in current best practices. Such comprehensive training helps build a strong ethical foundation, enabling future social workers to navigate the complexities of their profession with confidence and integrity. Establishing strong support systems, such as mentorship programs is crucial for helping students navigate ethical dilemmas more effectively. Research scholars in the department can be assigned the role of mentors to students. Mentorship programs can provide guidance, share insights from their professional experiences, and offer advice on handling difficult situations. By fostering a supportive environment, educational institutions can help students develop the skills and confidence needed to make ethically sound decisions in their future careers.

Regular Debriefings of the work done and to be undertaken

Regular debriefing sessions during internships provide students with the opportunity to discuss the challenges they face, reflect on their experiences, and receive guidance from experienced professionals. These sessions create a safe space for students to voice their concerns, share their challenges, and seek advice from their supervisors. By discussing this, students can gain new perspectives and learn how to approach similar situations in the future. Regular debriefings also allow supervisors to monitor students' progress, provide feedback, and address any issues that may arise during the internship. This ongoing support helps students build confidence in their decision-making abilities also.

To increase Paid Internship Opportunities

Providing paid internship opportunities is essential for several reasons, benefitting both interns and organizations:

Educational institutions should strive to increase the availability of paid internships. Universities can develop partnerships with local social service agencies, healthcare facilities, and nonprofit organizations to create funded internship programs. By collaborating, these institutions can secure funding through grants or mutual agreements, ensuring that interns receive stipends. Advocating for policies that mandate paid internships within social work programs can also make a significant impact. Accreditation bodies can enforce requirements for paid internships as part of their accreditation standards, encouraging institutions to prioritize securing funds for student stipends (Social Work Degrees, 2023). This financial support can come from endowments, alumni contributions, or targeted fundraising campaigns aimed at enhancing student practical experiences (Family Service League, 2023).

Interns receiving stipends tend to exhibit higher levels of engagement and motivation, primarily due to the perceived acknowledgment and reward for their work (NACE, 2018). According to the National Association of Colleges and Employers (NACE), stipends signify respect for interns' contributions, fostering a positive work environment conducive to learning and productivity. Beyond individual benefits, offering stipends plays a pivotal role in promoting equity and inclusion within internship programs. This practice ensures that students from diverse socioeconomic backgrounds, including those from underrepresented groups, can participate without financial barriers. In fields such as social work, where diversity and representation are critical (Salsberg et al., 2017), stipends enhance accessibility to valuable experiential learning opportunities.

In conclusion, stipends in internship programs not only boost interns' engagement and motivation but also foster a more inclusive environment by removing financial barriers and promoting diversity in fields like social work.

Enhance Supervisor Training at the university level

- Striving to match interns with supervisors who have the appropriate qualifications and experience to meet their specific learning needs is essential.
- Matching students with supervisors who have expertise in their area of interest can enhance the learning experience and provide more relevant guidance. This personalized approach ensures that interns receive the support and mentorship they need to achieve their professional goals and make the most of their internship experience.
- Providing training programs to improve the supervisory skills of all supervisors, particularly those without an MSW qualification, is essential. Training should focus on areas such as constructive feedback, and understanding the unique needs of social work interns.

The roles of seniors, fieldwork supervisors, and teachers are crucial in the internships of social work students, as they collectively provide a comprehensive support system that bridges theoretical knowledge with practical application.

Fieldwork supervisors are pivotal in the practical training of social work students. They provide direct supervision, ensuring that interns apply their classroom learning effectively in real-world scenarios. Supervisors offer feedback, conduct regular evaluations, and foster critical thinking and reflective practices. Their role extends to modeling professional behavior and ethical standards, thereby shaping the interns' professional identity (Bogo, 2015).

Teachers are responsible for the theoretical and academic support of interns. They ensure that students are well-prepared before entering the field and continue to support them through regular check-ins, seminars, and reflective sessions. Teachers bridge the gap between theory and practice by helping students integrate their field experiences with academic concepts, thus enhancing their overall learning experience (Wayne et al., 2010).

Role of Social Media and other Audio/Video Aids in Influencing Students for Internships in Social Work Education

Social media platforms have become crucial to how information is disseminated and received, particularly by students. Understanding the impact of social media video and audio aids on students' internship choices and preparedness might provide significant insights in social work education, where practical experience is essential through internships. Social media boosts engagement and awareness by employing movies and audio samples to attract students' attention. It highlights real-life experiences through internship blogs and success stories, making social work internships more relatable and encouraging. Educational content such as webinars and tutorials assist students in obtaining internships, preparing for interviews, and developing skills. Social media encourages internship opportunities by including firm profiles and promotional efforts, which reach a large audience.

Conclusion

Internships serve as a crucial bridge between theoretical learning and practical application in social work education. However, internships in social work education encounter challenges such as limited availability, high out of pocket expense, cultural and ethical complexities.

- * Internships often entail high expectations, steep learning curves, and pressures to perform, leading to emotional and psychological stress among students. The experience is compounded when interns are assigned extra tasks beyond their internship responsibilities, which can further increase workload and stress levels. Factors such as unclear role expectations, lack of mentorship, and challenges in balancing personal and professional life also contribute significantly to internship-related stress.

- * The study also highlights the cultural and language barriers that pose significant challenges, affecting communication, integration, and overall internship experiences. The study suggests a need for closer alignment between academic curricula and internship expectations, integrating more practical training, industry collaborations, and mentorship opportunities.

These findings highlight the need for improved support systems in social work internships, including enhanced ethical training, increased financial compensation, better accommodation options, and ensuring supervisors have appropriate qualifications to support student learning and development effectively. By effectively addressing these obstacles, social work education can more effectively prepare students to address the multifaceted needs of diverse communities, nurturing capable and empathetic social workers ready for impactful professional practice.

Hence, it is imperative to say that internships play a pivotal role in social work education, offering students supervised practice experiences that are integral to their professional development (CSWE, 2015). These practical engagements significantly enhance students' proficiency and expertise in social work practice (Chang et al., 2009). Furthermore, internships provide invaluable multicultural exposure, which benefits students by enriching their overall learning processes, intellectual capabilities, and academic methodologies (Carlson et al., 1990).

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Migration Patterns, National Security, and Changing Landscape in Ladakh: A Focus on Changthang Borderland

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Abstract

This research paper examines a critical yet overlooked aspect of India's border security discourse at the Indo-China border by exploring the migration patterns of people from the Changthang borderland to Leh city and its peripheries in India's Union Territory of Ladakh. While existing studies primarily focus on militaristic perspectives, this research aims to shed light on the pivotal roles played by borderland inhabitants in securing the nation's borders. Pastoral nomads, constituting a significant portion of the borderland population, serve as the 'first informers' of potential threats, as evidenced during the Indo-China war of 1962. The study emphasizes the need for a broader understanding of the relationship between borderland communities and national security.

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Keywords: Borderland, Migration, National Security, Community Engagement, Pastoralists.

Introduction

The Changthang region, situated in the trans-Himalayan area of the Union Territory of Ladakh, encompasses a vast expanse of land including the Tibetan Plateau, marking the national boundary between India and China. The total area of Changthang region is 22,000 square kilometers and according to the 2011 Census Report of Government of India the total population of the region was 12673 and the projected population growth for the region in year 2023 was estimated to be around 15000¹. Throughout its history, Changthang region have been an important political geo-space for precolonial, colonial, and post-colonial imagination of a frontier border province. Changthang region in Ladakh has undergone significant transformations, evolving from a bustling hub for Pashmina (Pashm or Cashmere) trade in the precolonial era to a profitable colony under British and Dogra rule, and today it serves as a wildlife sanctuary and a site of contestation among the two Asian Giants: India and China. This region has consistently faced encroachments by external pressures, framing it perpetually as a frontier zone.

Traditionally, frontiers were viewed as peripheral regions awaiting integration through settlement (Turner, 1994, pp. 31-60), in tune with the Westphalia concept of State, where, the State tends to prefer and rule subjects who are settled in comparison to the nomadic communities, who are isolated, independent and tends to be outside the purview of the modern system of Nation-State. However, recent scholarship has expanded this perspective, viewing frontiers as rich in capitalist resources and exploitable commodities (Tsing, 2004). In this context, the Changthang region

¹A detailed presentation on Changthang Development Package was presented to the Union Home Minister, Amit Shah by the Administration of UT Ladakh during the G-20 Summit.

isn't merely a passive borderland of cultural exchange but a contested space shaped by active historical agency and holds greater importance to the lived experiences of the people inhabiting the region. Governance in such contested borderlands often lacks comprehensive civil administration, relying instead on militarized control (Junaid, 2013, pp.158-190; Duschiski, 2020, pp. 650-678), and 'development-security complex' (Bhan, 2013). The decision-making prioritizes national security, sometimes contradicting official policies and blurring legal distinctions (Aggarwal and Bhan, 2009, pp. 519-542).

The Changthang region, historically part of the Silk Route, is inhabited by the indigenous Changpa people, who migrated from Tibet in the 8th century (Jina, 1995). Today, it hosts two major nomadic groups: the Changpa and Tibetan Refugees displaced after Tibet's annexation by China and the 1962 India-China war. The conflict significantly impacted the Changpa's traditional pastures (Rizvi, 1999). The Indo-China war of 1962 necessitated infrastructural development along the border to ensure security. Consequently, inhabitants of the Changthang region experienced changes in social, economic, and land tenure systems, with grazing pastures becoming fixed and demarcated.

The deadly confrontation in the Galwan Valley on June 15, 2020, marked a significant escalation in the long-standing India-China border dispute; it was the deadliest confrontation in over six decades, resulting in casualties on both sides (Brethouwer et al, 2022). This incident further culminated in growing tension and strategic rivalries at the border and the long unresolved border dispute have continued bear its burden on the borderland communities.



This map illustrates the divergent perception of Actual Line of control between China and India in Changthang Region. Source: Claude Arpi.²

The heavy militarization and establishment of military infrastructure opened up new economic opportunities for locals but inadvertently restricted the movements of nomads, impacting the traditional trans-human routes of Changthang. Another notable change was the internal migration of people from the borderland to urban centers like Leh.

² For detail work on the Changthang Region and in large on the Tibetan issue by Claude Arpi, is available on his blog post. <https://claudearpi.blogspot.com/>

The paper advocates for a departure from the traditional 'State-centric based Security concerns' and emphasizes the importance of investing in the socio-economic development and infrastructural advancement of areas inhabited by these nomadic communities. Recognizing the borderland people as the state's 'eyes and ears,' at the 'unfenced border area,' the findings highlight the potential benefits of integrating them into the national security apparatus. The paper concludes by urging the state to continue and foster positive relations through existing outreach programs to strengthen ties with these crucial stakeholders in border security.

Methodology

The paper constitutes a section of my Ph.D. thesis aimed at understanding sub-regional grievances in Ladakh. Therefore, for the present study qualitative methodology has been employed. To grasp the perspective of the Changpa community, the researcher conducted numerous interviews with individuals who have migrated, are in the process of migration, those who have not migrated, and representatives of the region in the Ladakh Autonomous Hill Development Councils, Leh. The interviews were unstructured in nature due to the fact that a structured based interview limits the free-flow of information and Changpa or in general Ladakhi people tends to stray from one topic to another within a sentence. Further, secondary sources have been utilized such as books, magazine (local and national) and newspaper.

Historical Background of the Changthang region

The Changpa people of Ladakh represent the sole community in the region that maintains a nomadic way of life. They belong to the Tibetan ethnic group and inhabit the high-altitude Changthang region, stretching from Nyoma and Durbook administrative blocks in southeastern Ladakh, India, to northwestern Tibet, China, at an average altitude of 4500 meters above sea level. Within the Nyoma block, the nomadic Changpa traverse pastures in the

Rupshu-Kharnak highlands, deriving their name from the region, which translates to "northern plains" from a Tibetan perspective.

Primarily adhering to Buddhism, the Changpa share cultural and linguistic ties with Tibet, speaking Changkyet/Chanskat, a Tibetan dialect (Jina 1995, 1999; Bhasin, 1996). Their physical features, characterized by a projecting chin, Mongoloid eyes, and a large, flat nose, along with their long hair ending in a pigtail, distinguish them from other prominent Ladakhi groups. Historically, they followed the animistic religion of Bon until defeated in battles and subsequently adopting Tibetan Buddhism of the Kargyud sect (Rizvi 1999). Legend has it that their origins and possessions trace back to mythical heroes and the mountains surrounding them.



Map of Changthang

Source: Namgyal et al 2010

The researcher while on the field witnessed the nomadic dwelling. Their portable dwellings, known as Rebo, are large cone-shaped tents made of yak wool spun into yarn by families. Serving as bedrooms, dining rooms, and kitchens equipped with local stoves, these tents are furnished with homemade carpets woven from yak and sheep wool in vibrant colors.

The origins of this semi-nomadic community and their migration to Ladakh remain uncertain, though they are believed to be among the earliest inhabitants (Francke, 1907). It is assumed that they migrated from Tibetan regions adjacent to Ladakh. Descriptions from historical figures like Mughal general Mirza Haider Dughlat distinguish between settled villagers (Yulpa) and nomadic Changpa. Observations by Dollfus indicate their consumption of raw meat and lack of cooking knowledge, relying on horses for transportation and sheep as pack animals (2013, p. 15).

In Ladakh, the Changpa way of life embodies nomadic pastoralism with seasonal mobility, where some groups migrate up to four times annually. This practice evolved over time, rooted in profound ecological knowledge acquired by the Changpas, and has become institutionalized as a core aspect of their ritual worldview (Chaudhari, 2000). Rizvi describes how each grazing ground holds unique significance for the Changpas, who meticulously navigate a structured system of transhumance, discerning subtleties that elude casual observers (1999).

Recently, however, the Changpas' traditional mobility has been constrained. Previously, they roamed freely across varied grazing lands, but now they are confined to a few specific areas during the summer months due to escalating border tensions and increased military presence, particularly from Chinese forces, which have occupied many traditional grazing grounds. This restriction has profoundly altered their centuries-old migratory patterns (Rizvi 1999).

Khazanov defines pastoral nomadism as a distinct economic system centered on extensive mobile livestock husbandry (1994, p.

17), precisely the livelihood that sustains the Changpas in the challenging ecological conditions of Changthang, where agriculture is impractical (Bhasin 2011, pp. 147-177). For the Changpas, their existence revolves around the care, consumption, and trade of their animals' products—milk, hair, and meat. Notably, they rear the prized Changra goats (*Capra Hircus*), renowned for producing pashmina, a rare and highly sought-after fiber used globally for its warmth and finesse (Chaudhari, 2000, p 54; Goodall 2004, pp. 191-199).

It's plausible that this pastoral nomadic community traversed the Silk Route, journeying over high passes and meandering rivers of the Tibetan Plateau's Changthang plains to settle in Ladakh's high-altitude lake regions (Fewkes, 2004). Scholars like Rizvi (1999), Goodall (2004), Fewkes (2004), Namgail et al (2010), and Wahid (2013) suggest their migration to valleys like Rupshu, Kharnak, and Tsomoriri possibly occurred around the eighth century, driven by the quest for better pastures, salt and butter trade, and markets for their prized pashmina wool.

The Changthang frontier was not devoid of sovereign influence; rather, it was propelled by the Ladakhi rulers' involvement in the profitable Pashm trade from Tibet, which was intrinsically linked to local labor obligations within the tax and tribute system of the Himalayan hill states. The Changpa pastoralists played a crucial role as the cordon sanitaire, guarding Ladakhi territory, and facilitating trade routes. The Treaty of Temisgang of 1684 between Ladakh and the Tibet mandated them to provide corvee labor, highlighting the intricate political and economic relationships in precolonial times.

During the colonial period, Changthang's status as a frontier of Pashm extraction expanded through treaties and commercial ventures. The Dogra rulers sought friendly administrative control while maintaining commercial ties with Tibet. The introduction of labor obligations like 'res' led to exploitation and resistance among the Changpa, challenging the notion of absolute colonial power. Despite attempts to civilize the Changpa, British administrators

viewed them as uncivilized, justifying their control over hunting practices leading to continued neglect and disdain for the Changpa communities within the colonial discourse (Chaudhari, 2000, p. 54).

Postcolonial developments saw the Indian state replacing monarchs and nobles, deploying military forces, and implementing development policies. The closure of borders with Tibet and unfriendly development led to out-migration of Changpa pastoralists, reshaping frontier dynamics. The state's nationalization efforts aimed to consolidate power and incorporate Changpa leadership but faced challenges in adapting to local traditions. Further, the nomadic communities in both the countries were looked as a fourth world, which did not have any affiliation to the State, thus, 'the question on nomads' citizenship between a paramount exercise in the eye of China and India. They started to map, supervise and account for nomad's communities and population to root out what they believe to be non-customary nomads within their borders.⁵

The state's development model prioritized economic growth through pashmina goat breeding, conflicting with conservation efforts and traditional practices. Government policies promoted nomadism while restricting access to pasturelands, leading to economic vulnerabilities and out-migration. The convergence of border security concerns and apprehensions about industrial encroachment upon traditional Changpa pasturelands served as a moment prompting Sonam Wangchuk⁶ to announce the 'Pashmina

⁵ For detailed discussion on the positions on nomads in the early 1950's and till late 1960's, see Sulmaan Wasif Khan *Muslim, trader, nomad, spy: China's Cold War and the people of the Tibetan borderlands*, UNC Press Books, 2015.

⁶ After the Abrogation of Article 370, Jammu and Kashmir State got divided into two territories; Ladakh and Jammu and Kashmir. Ladakhi populace argued for safeguarding Ladakh through its inclusion in the 6th Schedule of the Indian constitution along with statehood to the region. Sonam Wangchuk, Ramon Magsaysay Award winner and climate activist started a Climate Fast to bring to wider notice and audience the need for the fulfilment of Ladakhi demands of Safeguards. For detail, see, Ladakh's Protest Movement Is Challenging Narendra Modi (jacobin.com)

March'. This initiative was driven by dual objectives: firstly, to ascertain the extent of Chinese encroachment following the Galwan incident of 2020, and secondly, to safeguard pasturelands from being exploited for industrial purposes. The introduction of wildlife sanctuaries and the Ladakh Autonomous Hill Council signaled a shift towards reformist state agendas, challenging oppressive frontier politics.

Overall, Changthang's history reflects a complex interplay of extraction, control, and resistance across different historical periods. From precolonial mutuality to colonial exploitation and postcolonial state intervention, the frontier's dynamics have evolved in response to changing political and economic forces. The tensions between development, conservation, and traditional source of livelihoods continue to shape Changthang's identity as a frontier region.

Understanding the steady migration of people

Understanding the steady migration of people from the Changthang region has become increasingly crucial since the 1990s, driven by significant governmental initiatives and socio-economic changes. The local government's introduction of subsidized land for settlement to the Changpa in urban areas of Ladakh sparked a notable increase in migration from Changthang, particularly from the nomadic region of Kharnak-Rupshu. This policy shift prompted approximately half of the residents from the Kharnak-Rupshu area to relocate to Leh city, alongside individuals from villages closer to the border.

The resulting demographic shift has raised security concerns, as borderland residents are pivotal for monitoring potential threats and incursions in the Changthang region, adding complexity to border security efforts. Scholars have extensively analyzed this mass migration phenomenon from various perspectives. Chaudhuri delved into the multifaceted factors influencing the Changpa community's transformation. Chaudhari highlighted the

aftermath of the Indo-China war as a catalyst for migration, with Tibetan nomads from the Kharnak-Rupshu area resettling in Leh and other parts of India (2000, p. 55). Further, the Indo-China war led to end of barter trade system prevailing among the nomads from Changthang and Tibetan proper region. The war further diminished the freedom of movement of people who traversed Changthang region for pilgrimage to Buddhist religious sites in Tibet and trade among the two regions.

While Ladakh experienced infrastructural development and job creation post-war, the Changpas faced challenges due to the loss of their winter pasturelands, now under Chinese control in Aksai-Chin. Chaudhuri also underscored the role of government-subsidized land at Kharnakling in driving migration. Ahmed provided further insights through an ethnographic study focused on the Rupshu areas in Changthang. She examined the socio-economic fabric and historical background of the region, emphasizing the centrality of livestock to the community's sustenance (Ahmed, 2004). Activities like the Pashmina trade emerged as crucial economic drivers, but challenges such as diminishing pasturelands and overgrazing threatened the nomadic way of life, compelling some to seek alternative livelihoods in Leh.

Goodall expanded on migration dynamics among Changpa nomads, noting varying rates and motivations across different communities. Education emerged as a significant factor, with nomadic families increasingly valuing modern education opportunities in Leh for their children's future (2004, p. 196). The migration from Changthang has profound implications beyond socio-economic dynamics, intersecting with issues of border security, territorial integrity, and geopolitical strategies. Nomadic communities' presence complicates border management due to their movements across sensitive military zones and disputed territories. Moreover, the perceived impact of increased military presence on their traditional lifestyle adds another layer of complexity to this dynamic landscape.

Furthermore, climate-induced ecological concerns and the establishment of the Changthang Cold Desert Wildlife Sanctuary have compelled many nomadic families to abandon their traditional livelihoods altogether. The impact of climate change is evident in the recent observation of native vegetation species facing immense pressure from weeds like *Cirsium*, which are thorny and not palatable to the herds maintained by the Changpa (Raghuvanshi et al, 2020, p. 48). Similarly, the establishment of the Changthang Cold Desert Wildlife Sanctuary has had a negative impact on the residents of the borderlands. According to a report from the Wildlife Institute of India, Dehradun, the official records regarding the sanctuary's size significantly differ from actual practices. While officially marked as 4000 square kilometers, in reality, the area spans around 13000 square kilometers. This discrepancy has led to conflicts between the civil administration and the locals. In April 2019, the local administration demolished several structures built by locals for tourism services near Pangong Lake. This action prompted locals to march towards the Changthang border, symbolizing their rejection of the administration's authority (Zargar, 2022).

This study aims to untangle the interconnectedness between borderland migration and its implications for national security. It investigates the roles of state and central agencies in mitigating outward migration from border regions and supporting those who remain through targeted policies and programs aimed at sustainable development and security enhancement. Understanding these complexities is crucial for formulating effective strategies that balance socio-economic development with safeguarding national interests in border regions.

Outflow of Migration and National Security

The Changthang region is strategically significant, lying close to international borders with China. The migration and settlement patterns of the Changpa thus have direct implications for national security. The mass migration from Changthang took shape in the

1990's due to broader change in the economic activities in Ladakh. During this period, tourism became a major source of employment in Ladakh. This led to people from far flung Ladakh migrating from the rural (peripheral) to urban (center) in search for better chance of livelihood and future prospects for their family. Dorjay argues that the major "primary drivers of migration are the desire for better employment opportunities, income, education, healthcare, etc." (2023, p. 165).

Migration in Ladakh is driven by various factors. The concentration of essential infrastructural services like education, healthcare, administration, and tourism amenities within Leh town attracts people, while their absence in rural areas pushes them away. Climate change exacerbates challenges in farming and livestock rearing. Additionally, the allure of urban employment opportunities discourages younger generations from pursuing traditional agrarian and nomadic lifestyles, contributing to the decline of agro-pastoralism that sustained communities for centuries.

These dynamics heavily influence rural-to-urban migration decisions in Ladakh. Many individuals relocate to urban centers, especially Leh, seeking better educational prospects for their children, as reputable schools are predominantly situated there. An older nomad fume about the future of nomadic lifestyle.

Younger generation are not interested in our traditional way of life. They tend to shift and settle in Leh town and now we find less people interested in carrying the practices our forefather and rearing of sheep's and goats is difficult now as we are getting older and younger lots are not interested in the work.³

Why can't we be a nomad of 21st century? See, in Europe there are still people practicing their ancestor way of life (nomadic), why we can't we to be a nomad of 21st century.

³Personal communication with the Author.

The state must provide modern amenities for the nomadic community, so we too can continue our traditional form of livelihood.*

Furthermore, the uneven development of the Ladakh region, with a greater emphasis on the development of Leh, has made it difficult for the people of Changthang to reside in their own area. Instead, they are forced to migrate to Leh in search of greater opportunities. Even the development witnessed in the Changthang region began with a greater emphasis on addressing security concerns. This is further address through the pamphlet titled "*United and Genuine Demand: District Status for Changthang*", published in the name of 'By the people of Changthang'. In it they writes about the problem faced by the region as such

Changthang is connected to other parts of Leh mainly for strategic reasons. The road connecting Dubuk Block with Leh was built during the 1962 War purely for the sake of transporting military equipment and personnel. The roads were poorly maintained after that. Even today, Changla pass remains blocked for 2-3 days during winter seasons and for hours during summer due to avalanche and excessive water from melting glaciers. The major route connecting Chushul with Leh, passes through Changla with several pits and kuccha roads, it gives an impression that it is not fully macadamized. While the main road on the Rong area took about 7-8 years to be fully macadamized (constructed by the Border Road Organization, from Igoo village to Kairy village so far), the highway is yet to be constructed up until Loma village. This might take several more years.

Out of 42.10 kms of Black Topped surface road maintained by PWD, Changthang fared only 3.60 kms. And the roads maintained under Project Himank, all the major roads in Changthang are still in progress as per 2018-19 records of

* K. Stanzin, personal communication with the author.

LAHDC, Leh. A major connectivity issue is that of telecommunication and the internet. Pandemic like COVID-19 proved that without a Digitized India, life has come to a standstill, especially for the students. Most of the villages of Changthang are either unconnected or poorly connected to internet facilities. Recent skirmishes with China also burdened people with network disruption for months, when even a phone call became a matter of luxury.

Changthang is also poorly electrified. Major villages of subdivisions are still electrified for only for 4-5 hours a day, that too through diesel generators and rest of the villages only through solar lanterns (2020, pp. 14-15).⁷

Furthermore, the reorganization of Ladakh into a Union Territory has significantly undermined the Changpa's agency in shaping their own vision of development. They now have minimal, if any, influence on the government's development agenda for the Changthang region. A prime example of this is the allocation of large tracts of land in Pang and the Kharnak-Sumdo range for renewable energy projects. These areas, traditionally used by the Changpa nomads as summer pasture for their herds, are now at risk of being repurposed without their input or consent.⁸

Changpas themselves consider oneself as a 'soldiers without uniform' taming a strategic location for national security.

Changthang shares more than 600 kms long border with China and Changpas are the soldiers without uniform persisting on the border. The war with China in 1962, stands witness to the valor and sacrifice of the Changpa community. Not only once but Changpas continue to

⁷ By the People of Changthang, "District Status", 14-15.

⁸ The report includes the secrecy of the deal made by the government of India. There is no mention of the company or individual to whom this project is sanctioned to. For detail, read, <https://scroll.in/article/1073644/in-ladakh-a-massive-energy-project-is-shrouded-in-mystery>

guard the border through their settlements even in harsh environmental conditions. Winter seasons test their (especially of the nomads) capacity and persistence to survive and prove their patriotism by actually settling on the nation's periphery forming a human border. In extremely freezing temperatures, sometimes below -50 degree, with snow being the only water source, lack of administrative assistance like infrastructural facilities e.g. proper heating system, electricity, nutrition etc. Changpas continue to live without any benefits of modern development. Sometimes the temperature drops to such a level that animals die in the winter cold. Despite all troubles, the people of Changthang continue to maintain their culture, rear Pashmina goats among other livestock and represent India and make Indian presence feel at the border.

Resisting the temptations, benefits and comfort of a modern lifestyle that the rest of India and many parts of Ladakh enjoy, the Changpas believe that their mere existence guards the border. It is very well understood by these people that an empty land can be occupied anytime, but an inhabited land cannot be easily taken by the neighbors. Therefore, the local infrastructure in the form of animal pan, animal shed or local tents that Changpas construct and set up ultimately become the landmarks for border management. With nationalism and love for India at the core of every Changpa's heart, a very strong symbolic message is sent every time with hoisting of the Indian flag on the border on Independence and Republic Day. However, under-development at the border has been a major source of remorse and discontentment. China, on the other hand, has continuously lured us with their well-furnished roads and improved technology like radio and phone connectivity. But people of Changthang are proud Indians who have immense faith in India and patiently wait for the Indian government to develop and nourish

them and their region. They continue to reject Chinese illusions but sadly their patience is seemingly reaching its threshold with many moving towards Leh for better economic prospects. Thus, unwillingly leaving the border deserted. Current skirmishes on the border with hundreds of army trucks and tanks plying on the roads of Changthang has only made people's will to sacrifice for India stronger. However, poor roads, disrupted network connectivity, poor infrastructural development continue to shatter peoples' aspirations. A district status is the answer to peoples' aspirations and a well-guarded border (2020, pp.5-6).

The aspiration mentioned above for national safeguard is linked with people's perceptions of the borderland as volatile, strategically important, and a constantly contested region. This, coupled with the migration of Changpas from the borderland, poses a greater risk to national security and challenges policymakers to curtail the outflow of people from this region. Further, the migration of Changpas from borderland makes for loss of personnel who are sensitive to the dynamics of the region as they have lived all their life there and provides for disintegration of human knowledge of the border region. Below are the main points of reference through which migration and national security concerns are interlinked.

The traditional routes of the Changpa often run along sensitive border areas. Their movement and local knowledge have historically aided border security forces in surveillance and patrol duties. Changes in these patterns could create surveillance gaps that might be exploited for cross-border infiltration or smuggling. As Changpa communities settle permanently and lose their nomadic routes, there is a risk of losing valuable human intelligence about remote border areas, which has been crucial for the Indian security forces. Changpa thus are the 'eye and ear' at the border. Representatives of Changthang in the Ladakh Autonomous Hill Development Council, Leh have continuously emphasized on the need to have greater rights to the grazing

grounds for the nomads as available prior to Indo-China War on 1962. Tsering Samphel writes on the plight of the nomadic community which is echoed by all the councilors from Changthang region. Samphel writes:

The big blunder on our part has been to ignore persistent attempts by the Ladakhi nomads living in border areas to draw attention to their predicament that they are being stopped from grazing their cattle in their own pastures. This is something that has happened gradually. At times they sought permission to go ahead but were not allowed. We as their representatives often highlighted their plight and took matters right to the top largely without success. On the other hand, as mentioned above as well, the PLA pushed in their nomads with yaks, goats, sheep and ponies ahead of them in our areas to graze for weeks. The Chinese soldiers sheltered them, pitched tents and camped there almost permanently especially after 2013. There was hardly any resistance (2020, p.3).

Further, the interaction of the army with the nomads is seen to be hostile in nature. The rapid development on the other side of border in China is continuously used by the border politician in demanding the same level of development in the borderland. Many nomads tends to have negative respond when it comes to the army handling of the region. They argue that the Chinese authorizes their nomads to encroach on the traditional Changpa lands but Indian opposes any Changpa nomads to pass on the "line of Control".⁹

The 'Back to Village' initiative started by the Union Territory Administration of Ladakh was seen as a strategy to curb rural-to-urban migration by strengthening rural communities in the

⁹ Many Scholars on the Nomads interaction with the Border security forces of India have acknowledged the disparities and high level handedness of the Border security force on the nomads' communities. For detail, see, Wahid, Siddiq. "The Changthang Borderlands of Ladakh; A Preliminary Inquiry." *Research and information system for Developing Countries*, (February, 2014).

borderland region. The initiative involved government officials directly visiting areas with grievances to address disparities in health, economics, education, and infrastructure challenges faced by borderland communities.

Coupled with the uneven development and decrease in grazing pastures have compelled mass migration from Changthang region and have to an extent made nomadic way of life redundant in many areas of Changthang. Addressing the Challenges to navigate the complexities of Changpa migration and its implications for national security, State in collaboration with the military have several strategies considered. The foremost being the 'Operation Sadbhavna' (Operation Goodwill).

Operation Sadbhavna and the Development-Security Complex

Bhan states that the formulation of 'Sadbhavna' rested "on very specific constructions of Ladakhis as partial citizens, deformed products of India's partition whose fragmented histories and memories continued to threaten India's conceptual and cartographic unity (2013, p. 131). The formulation of the 'operation Sadbhavna' was primarily began with 'winning hearts and minds' of people from the border regions along the Line of Control. Operation Sadbhavna plays a crucial role in countering insurgency and terrorism by undermining the support base of militant groups. By engaging with the local communities and addressing their grievances, the Indian Army aims to create a conducive environment for peace and stability. Which, with time shifted to the Changthang region. Sadbhavna today functions primarily enhances engagement between the people residing in the region, local government and the military administration.

Operation Sadbhavna, as described by Bhan, operates as a 'development-security complex'. Here, the military collaborates with civil administration to undertake community development activities such as infrastructure development, healthcare

provisions, women's self-help initiatives, and educational programs in border regions. Additionally, the operation includes recruitment into the army, offering local job opportunities within military garrisons, and providing subsidized rations and oil to nomadic populations.

The local population tends to place more trust in the developmental efforts led by the military compared to those by the civil administration. This has occasionally caused misunderstandings between the civil administration and the army. India's democratic framework, where the government is elected through a 'first-past-the-post' system, makes it challenging to fully acknowledge the army's contributions to development in border regions compared to the civil administration. Below are images¹⁰ depicting 'Operation Sadbhavna', a joint initiative by the Indian Army and civil administration in the Changthang region of Ladakh.



¹⁰ All the images above were sourced from Mr. Konchok Stanzin's Twitter account. Mr. Stanzin serves as the Chushul Councilor in the Ladakh Autonomous Hill Development Council, Leh (LAHDC), Ladakh. The researcher have taken permission from Konchok Stanzin to include the images here. You can find more of his updates and insights here: <https://x.com/kstanzinladakh?s=08>

Image 1- Indian Army Personnel's helping in construction the pen (Stone enclosure) for grazing and herding of nomads.



Image 2- Medical Camp conducted by the Parashu Warriors of the Indian Army on the occasion of World Cancer Day.



Image 3- Tuition coaching initiative under 'Operation Sadbhavna' for Sainik School Manasbal exam. Aspirants were from Border villages from Phobrang to Chushul.

The other strategy is to ensure better coordination between the civil and military administration in development of the region. Indian government initiatives like the Border Development Authority (BDA) programme and the new concept of 'Vibrant Village' should take into account the local needs and suggestion. Instead of top-down approach of development, the state and the central policy makers need to provide for a down-up approach to developmental activities in the region, which will see participation from the local populace in their vision of development and further strengthen national security. Ensuring that the Changpa community is engaged in border security strategies, possibly through regular consultations and inclusion in surveillance activities. Promoting sustainable economic development that respects traditional lifestyles while offering viable alternatives that can coexist with nomadic herding. Supporting cultural preservation initiatives to maintain the identity and practices of the Changpa, thereby encouraging younger generations to continue their traditions.

Conclusion

The migration of the Changpa from the Changthang region embodies a complex interplay of cultural, economic, and environmental forces with profound implications for national security. Effectively addressing these dynamics demands a nuanced approach that preserves the Changpa's rich heritage while actively involving them in safeguarding India's strategic interests. Pressing issues such as military tensions at the border, ecological vulnerabilities, and the imperative for sustainable livelihoods threaten the traditional occupations of the Changpa tribe.

As the region contends with modernization and climate challenges, the role of the Changpa must evolve, necessitating ongoing adaptation and informed policymaking to ensure their survival alongside national security priorities. It is crucial to foster a symbiotic relationship not just between nomadic communities

and civil administration, but also with the military establishment. A human-centric security framework should guide efforts to address grievances within borderland communities and for enhancing national security from the borderland community perspective.

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"I Just Want to Pass on What I Got": Qualitative Exploration of the Generational Shifts and Continuities in Parenting Among Indian Mothers

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Abstract

Parenting practices and their transmission have been studied since the 20th century, with the understanding that the parenting practices of one generation influence that of the other. This study explored the transmission of parenting practices across two generations of Indian mothers and similarities and differences within generations, thereby addressing intergenerational transmission and intragenerational patterns of parenting. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with five pairs of mothers and daughters. Using thematic analysis, overarching themes were identified for both research questions. We identified continuities in

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parenting practices in the support for academic and career choices, preference for verbal discipline over physical discipline, and trust in the relationship, whereas discontinuities were observed in a shifting focus on socioemotional well-being, greater emphasis on open and friendly communication, and transition to openly expressing affection. Key themes pertaining to the parenting practices of mothers included surface-level communication and addressing children's physical well-being. Daughters emphasized open communication in parenting and the socioemotional well-being of their children. Our findings add to the literature on intergenerational transmission of parenting practices within an Indian sociocultural context. In particular, insights have been offered into the use of technology in parenting and how continuities and discontinuities in parenting practices influence each generation's children.

Keywords: parenting practices; parent-child relationship; intergenerational transmission; mother-child bonding; maternal parenting

Introduction

Parenting or child rearing is a natural process that is practiced by all species. The first parenting practice in humans dates back to 30 million years ago and research within the field has continued since (Sharma, 2023). From the 1930s, research has sought to understand parenting practices, values, and attitudes (Power, 2013). In 1966, a framework of three parenting styles (authoritarian, authoritative, and permissive) was developed by Diana Baumrind, later modified with the addition of a fourth style - neglectful parenting style (Maccoby & Martin, 1983). These parenting styles were developed based on the dimensions that categorized them. For example, the dimensions of authority (control) and affection (warmth) have been examined – the authoritarian parenting style is associated with high control-low warmth, authoritative with high control-high warmth, permissive with low control-high

warmth, and neglectful with low control-low warmth. Parenting styles have a significant effect on the social and cognitive development of children, including associations with self-esteem, academic achievement, disorders, and phobias, contributing to a growing body of research within the field.

Based on the substantial impact an individual's parenting style has on their child, an important question may be whether the parenting experienced by an individual influences their parenting style, that is, whether parenting styles may be transferred from generation to generation. Intergenerational transmission of parenting refers to the process through which an earlier generation psychologically influences the next generation's parenting attitudes and behaviors, intentionally or unintentionally (Van Ijzendoorn, 1992). Studies have examined this transmission through defined models by including the three generations of grandparents, parents, and children within families (Radin et al., 1989). While research supporting intergenerational transmission provides empirical evidence, there are several factors besides the parenting style that affect this process, such as cultural and gender differences. The overall understanding of whether parenting styles can be transmitted across generations continues to be researched mostly owing to methodological limitations and varied findings.

Research has examined differences in the transmission of parenting styles between fathers and mothers. Previous literature has also investigated the observed shifts in parenting trends and patterns of specific parenting characteristics being transmitted. Thornberry et al. (2003) suggested that this intergenerational transmission may be gender specific, with the father's parenting style influencing that of the son and the mother's parenting style influencing that of the daughter. Furthermore, continuities have been found in the transmission of parenting styles with the same gender (mother-daughter and father-son), although there were similarities in cross-gender parenting styles as well (Campbell & Gilmore, 2007). Additionally, there are gender differences in the style of parenting used – mothers are said to be associated with the

authoritative style, whereas fathers are more authoritarian (Zervides and Knowles, 2007)

Olsen et al. (1999) reported significant associations between the nurturing and restrictive parenting techniques of mothers and grandmothers. Moreover, Covell et al. (1995) observed similarities in the use of punishments and reinforcements by mothers and grandmothers. A longitudinal study by Belsky et al. (2005) found associations between mothers and their parenting styles, stating that mothers who experienced more support in their childhood provided more care to their children. They also described the intergenerational transmission of dysfunctional parenting and harsh discipline.

Intergenerational transmission of parenting styles also has cultural differences. Pasternak (2014) found that young Jewish and Muslim mothers replicated their parent's parenting style. An Indian study reported that while the two generations of mothers preferred an authoritative parenting style, the new generation mothers were more responsive, supportive, and allowed more autonomy for their children, whereas the older generation mothers frequently used punishment and were stricter, less responsive, and more demanding (Faraz et al., 2015). Zervides and Knowles (2007) examined this process in Greek-Australians and found results that aligned with existing literature, indicating that individualistic cultures are more authoritative and collectivistic cultures are more authoritarian. Additionally, first-generation immigrants moving from a collectivistic to individualistic culture generally maintain their authoritarian style of parenting. Among Indians, while the older generation's parenting practices fit into the collectivistic cultural framework, there has been a shift in parenting styles, with the incorporation of both collectivistic and individualistic cultural frameworks of parenting styles—authoritarian and authoritative dimensions (Sekaran et al., 2021).

Across generations, sociocultural shifts have influenced the trends of parenting styles. Littlewood (2009) suggested that

changing societal views can facilitate the discontinuity of parenting practices. Campbell and Gilmore (2007), when referring to parenting perceptions and recollection of the parenting participants had experienced in their childhood, observed that parents perceived themselves to be more authoritative and permissive, not authoritarian—a moderation due to a sociocultural shift from authoritarian to more democratic parenting practices. Furthermore, there has been an increase in the tendency toward parental warmth and decrease in parental strictness across generations (Garcia et al., 2020). A survey-based study reported a discontinuity of parenting styles from one generation to another, with the current generation preferring the authoritative parenting style (Dey et al., 2024). Additionally, in the last 20 years, there has been a trend of parenting styles moving from authoritarian to authoritative to permissive styles (Littlewood, 2009).

The current study explores the intergenerational transmission of parenting styles, specifically tapping into the domains of warmth and affection, discipline and strictness, trust, communication practices, level of autonomy, well-being, and reliance on technology. Using semi-structured interviews, we aimed to contribute to existing research on the continuity and discontinuity of specific parenting styles across two generations of mothers in the Indian sociocultural context. The study will provide insights into how meaningful the process of intergenerational transmission may be and what specific parenting characteristics can be traced across generations. A novel factor of this study is the exploration of the reliance on technology for child-rearing practices within the new generation of mothers and an understanding of how this may have affected the parenting and generational transmission processes.

Method

Design

The present study aimed to understand the contrasts in parenting

within and across pairs of mothers and daughters of two generations. We adopted a qualitative approach to delve into the dimensions of parenting and capture the experiences of these mothers. The method of thematic analysis was employed to identify common patterns of parenting practices across generations.

Research Questions

We addressed the following research questions in the study:

RQ1: What are the generational shifts in the parenting practices of mothers and their daughters?

RQ2: How are intragenerational parenting practices reflected among mothers and their daughters in the contemporary era?

Sampling

Purposive sampling was used to recruit participants for the study. The sample consisted of ten participants—five pairs of mothers and daughters. The inclusion criteria required the daughters to also have children to allow us to observe the similarities and differences between the parenting styles of the mothers and daughters. The mean age of mothers was 64.8 years and that of the daughters was 41 years. Each mother-daughter pair was given a pseudonym:

1. Uja and Reha
2. Ajeya and Mani
3. Neha and Sona
4. Judy and Hina
5. Tanya and Zara

The participants were either residents of Bengaluru, Karnataka or lived elsewhere but were originally from the city. While the daughters' interviews were conducted primarily in English, the

interviews of the mothers were in Kannada, English, and both Hindi and English.

Method of Data Collection

Within a qualitative design, semi-structured interviews were conducted to collect data. We used an interview schedule containing eight questions, which addressed different parenting domains, such as discipline and strictness, warmth and affection, autonomy and control, communication practices, trust, technological reliance, well-being, and gender differences. Participants were requested to go through and sign informed consent forms, which detailed the purpose and implications of the study, their role as participants, and how their data may be used.

For each participant, individual interviews were conducted either in person or via online video conferencing. With the participants' consent, the interviews were audio-recorded. After each interview, notes were made about relevant highlights and subtle behaviors of participants. Finally, most audio recordings were transcribed using a software, apart from the audio recording in Kannada, which was first transcribed and translated using a software and rechecked manually. We ensured that the translations were as close to the intended, original meaning as possible with respect to the context in which the responses were given.

Method of Analysis

To analyze the data, we used the method of thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Thematic analysis includes six phases. To familiarize ourselves with the data, we transcribed the interviews, read and reread the transcripts, and took initial notes. We collated and organized key data points throughout the dataset to generate specific codes based on the interviews. For themes, we searched for specific similar codes across the transcripts and integrated these

into potential themes. The themes were then reviewed with respect to the codes representing the entire dataset. Following this, we generated a thematic map of the reviewed themes. We refined themes based on our understanding of the data. After selecting compelling extracts from the transcripts, we produced our findings particularly with reference to our research question and the existing literature. Thematic analysis as a method of data analysis was advantageous in highlighting similarities and differences between each mother-daughter pair and between both generations of mothers and daughters. Furthermore, the method allowed for the identification of key features within the large dataset generated through interviews.

Ethical Considerations

Because the study made use of the participants' personal data, each participant was reassured that the anonymity and confidentiality of their data would be maintained. This was done via the use of pseudonyms to safeguard their identities. Participants were clearly briefed about their rights before the interview and in the consent form. They were informed of their right to withdraw at any point during the study, including after having consented to participate. Furthermore, participants were informed about the sole academic purpose of the study and the implications of the use of their data. The participants were given the option to speak in a language that they were comfortable with. It was ensured that we knew the language as well. Translating a local language to English can lead to errors. To reduce the possibility of this, we rechecked our translations after a translation tool had been used. Specific phrases and idioms were translated into their nearest meanings in English, so as to maintain the essence of the participants' statements.

Findings

Generational Shifts in the Parenting Practices of Mothers and Their Daughters

The presence of generational shifts or continuity in the parenting practices of the two generations was identified via five themes: (i) continuity of support for academic and career choices, (ii) shift to a focus on socioemotional well-being, (iii) more emphasis on open and friendly communication, (iv) transition to openly expressing affection, (v) continuity of trust in relationship, and (vi) preference for verbal discipline over physical discipline (Table 1).

Theme 1: Continuity of support for academic and career choices

This theme explores the freedom both mothers and daughters gave their children in choosing an academic or career path. Among the five pairs of mothers and daughters, four pairs gave their children the freedom of choice, showing continuity in the support offered to children across the two generations. While continuity was identified in this freedom of choice, there were differences in the extent to which both generations were involved in their children's academic choices. The daughters were more involved in their children's academic choices, with two daughters stating that they would give their children full freedom but wished to moderate their choices and guide them.

Two daughters asserted that they were willing to make choices that would support their children's academic choices. The mothers showed slightly different responses. Uja was not very involved in her children's choices, stating "They studied by themselves and joined work. They studied what they wanted. We (Uja and her husband) did not tell them anything. At that time, we had little knowledge about these things." Another mother Neha had limitations for what she and her husband wanted their children to do, and the children did not go beyond these. Four mothers stated that their children's decisions were given first priority. However, the extent of the mothers' involvement in supporting the choice

was different from that of their daughters'. The mothers did not state how they supported their children's academic choices; the daughters were more vocal about this. For example, Sona stated that she was willing to send her child to an open school, even giving her child the option to quit school.

The relatively lesser expressed involvement of mothers in their children's academic choices can be explained with the mothers mentioning that their children were "self-responsible" and always followed rules. They were therefore able to trust their children's choices. The daughters also used numerical terms to illustrate the freedom they would give to their children, with Reha asserting the ratio to be 75:25, that is, the daughter would have a 25per cent say in the decision and the child would have a 75per cent say. Two daughters used the phrase '100per cent flexibility' in expressing their thoughts.

However, one pair, Tanya and Zara, showed continuity in their children's academic and career choices being controlled by the parents. Tanya stated that her children followed the career paths determined by her husband and her, and Zara said that her child too followed a path determined by her husband and her. This pattern can be associated with the pair's age being on the older end of each generation's age spectrum. Therefore, this finding could be attributed to their ages within the generation.

Theme 2: Shift to a focus on socioemotional well-being

This theme explores a discontinuity in parenting practices regarding the focus given to children's well-being. Among mothers, the question on well-being had to be supplied with examples during the interview, reflecting a limited understanding of the concept. Among daughters, only one requested an example. Three mothers made reference to physical well-being, stating that they ensured their children were well-fed. When asked about emotional or mental well-being, the mothers responded by saying that their children had no problems with

mental well-being, possibly implying that the concept was not addressed altogether.

Conversely, the daughters seemed to have an understanding of well-being or valued the importance of meeting their child's emotional needs. They did not require probing to talk about emotional well-being. When asked about well-being, two daughters stated that their child was their priority, with Sona stressing the importance of spending time with her child to maintain emotional well-being. Similarly, two other daughters immediately related the concept of well-being to spending time with their child and the changes they had made to their lifestyle to do so. For example, Reha stated that she and her husband always ensured that someone was present with their child and had a dedicated parent with her at all times. Two daughters also related this concept to academics, with Sona stating that she did not put pressure on her child for academics, and supporting her child irrespective of how they performed academically.

Another aspect of socioemotional well-being was discussed in the form of whether mothers and daughters assisted their children when they were upset. All daughters stated that they did so, using phrases such as "encouraged my child," "guided my child," "help my child understand the situation better, comparing reality with what is happening with (her) my child," "long counseling sessions," and "open talks." This is in contrast to the mothers' generation – only three mothers stated that they had assisted their children emotionally.

Four mothers expressed having supported their child by encouraging and giving advice, with Neha stating that she found it difficult to talk to her daughter about emotions but was comfortable doing so with her son. Ajeya also stated that her children were always "cool," suggesting that they had no issues that required her to approach them and tend to their emotional needs. She mentioned having assisted her children if they were upset by giving them advice, but she said "*illailla, aa tharthyenuilla*" (no no, there was nothing like that) for the question of mental well-

being. Tanya said that she would beat her children if they were upset. Thus, while there is a shift in the focus toward socioemotional well-being, socioemotional well-being, to a great extent, was maintained in both generations in the form of verbal communication through advice and encouragement.

Theme 3: More emphasis on open and friendly communication

This theme reflects the shift in communication patterns with children, from limited conversations about regular activities to more open discussions about a variety of topics. All daughters encouraged open and regular conversations, whereas four mothers communicated little with their children.

In the daughters' generation, phrases used to describe the type of communication between daughters and children were "open communication," "talking about anything and everything," "We talk. My child's also open. I'm also open," "We generally try to communicate everything," and "We have like hours of conversation." This pattern of open communication was seen with all daughters, irrespective of their child's age. In contrast, four mothers had less communication from the beginning of their relationship with their children. Three mothers expressed that conversations with their children consisted of only day-to-day conversations, such as what food was prepared for the day, how their studies were going, and how their day at school was. Two mothers, however, expressed that they would talk about other topics too—Judy a single parent, stated that she spoke to her child about everyday topics, sensitive topics, and boys and movies, and Neha, whose family discussed common topics of interest including literature and politics, said that the entire family would have deep, intuitive conversations.

Daughters made an active effort to maintain communication with their children—something that was not made evident by the mothers. While both mothers and daughters were asked about the system of communication they had with their child, daughters were more open to illustrate what their conversations were about

and how they tried to support their children by having such conversations. Daughters expressed the efforts they made to have their children vocalize their thoughts. Daughters spoke to their children about their interests, academics, relationships and friendships. This pattern was seen irrespective of the child's age: Hina and her husband, with a young child, made efforts to ensure that their child is able to communicate her thoughts and feelings to them.

Further, Mani used both "face-to-face and digital communication," that is, she also used social media platforms like Instagram and started conversations by sending reels. Zara would drink with her child and watch Marvel movies, which became a common interest for both of them. Reha said communication was an everyday thing and that she must ask the same repeated questions about how her child was doing to ensure that her child was engaged. Sona spoke about how her conversations with her child have improved in quality as her child grew older, given that her child was forming and voicing opinions. Hina, with her young child, made efforts in talking to her child about her friendships, cooking, dancing, homework, and television. Another aspect mentioned by all daughters was that they had a friendly relationship with their children. The daughters had explicitly stated to their children that they were friends and could talk about anything, facilitating the mentioned open-system of communication.

Theme 4: Transition to openly expressing affection

This theme reflects a shift from the mothers' generation to the daughters' generation regarding the medium of displaying affection to children. All participants believed it was important to show affection to children, although their methods of showing affection differed. In the mothers' generation, two mothers expressed affection by providing food and ensuring their children's physical health. Neha's children were given a lot of affection in terms of freedom and the ability to voice their opinions.

Two mothers stated that they did not have a method of affection, with Judy buying gifts for her child during special occasions and Ajeya saying that she did not have a clear method of affection and that her children grew up "typically". The term 'typically' can be interpreted in different ways. From our understanding of the translation and the context, the term refers to how her children were brought up like other children in that era.

In contrast, four daughters expressed affection physically, with two of them saying that it is important to show physical affection up to a certain age. Other means of displaying affection were identified in verbal cues, words of encouragement, spending time and bonding, and spending money for children. Three daughters would take their children outside and buy them gifts as a medium of showing their love for their children. Zara wanted to provide her child with everything that she believed she lacked as a child, illustrating how her experiences shaped her thoughts toward parenting. Sona was not a physically affectionate person but believed in giving children physical affection till the age of around eight years. One mother-daughter pair, Hina and Judy, expressed regret and the feeling of not doing enough or not having done enough for their child in terms of displaying affection. Judy expressed that she was a single parent but tried to ensure that her daughter was always loved and cared for and Hina expressed her efforts in providing affection for her daughter while being a working mother.

Theme 5: Continuity of trust in relationship

This theme illustrates the continuity of trust in the mother-child relationship, seeing how trust has been maintained in both generations of mothers. The pattern of continuity was found in three pairs of mothers and daughters, with one daughter Sona stating that there was trust in her relationship with her child, but it was not stable. All mothers trusted their child completely and always had stable trust levels. The mothers explained how their children always followed rules, using the term 'self-responsible'.

This was a key factor in determining the trust levels between the mothers and their children. While mothers stated that their children were self-responsible, they did not share how this responsibility developed.

In the daughters' generation, only two out of the five daughters stated that they trusted their child completely, and Mani said that the trust levels wavered. One potential explanation for this is that the daughters' children were either teenagers or younger, a phase that one mother described as "an age wherein there are some issues which they don't want to open up easily." Zara with the oldest child in the group trusted her child completely, whereas the Hina with the youngest child said that her child was too "mischievous" to be trusted completely at present.

Theme 6: Preference for verbal discipline over physical discipline

This theme discusses the type of disciplinary action taken by mothers and daughters for their children. There was a continuity in the preference for verbal discipline over physical discipline in three pairs of mothers and daughters. With the remaining two pairs, Judy did not use verbal discipline at all, but Hina did (by slightly hitting her child's back to maintain her focus), and Tanya relied solely on physical discipline while Zara used both physical and verbal discipline. In the pairs that showed the continuity of verbal discipline, the mothers expressed that their children always followed rules and were disciplined but sometimes needed to be mildly rebuked. Two daughters expressed that children are more sensitive now, negatively affected by physical discipline, and more responsive to verbal instructions. Given this, Hina also stated that her method of verbal discipline was via negotiating with her child, mentioning that even without scolding her child, she was able to maintain discipline.

Neha's husband used physical discipline with her son, but she did not use any physical measures; furthermore, her daughter Sona did not experience any physical discipline growing up. In the pair that showed continuity of physical discipline over verbal, Tanya and Zara both expressed regret in using physical discipline

but also touched upon its effectiveness. The pair stated that their children were more disciplined and doing well for themselves as adults, given their strict upbringing.

Intragenerational Parenting Practices Among Mothers and Their Daughters

To address our second research question, we analyzed the intragenerational parenting practices within the classified groups of mothers and daughters. Seven themes were identified for both mothers and daughters. The themes found for the mothers' generation were as follows: (i) trust in the relationship, (ii) freedom of choice in academics and career, (iii) belief in the importance of affection, (iv) identifying and tending to child's emotions, (v) verbal forms of discipline, (vi) surface-level conversations and less communication, and (vii) emphasis given to physical well-being.

Theme 1: Trust in the relationship

All mothers expressed that they trusted their children. They indicated that trust levels were relatively stable during the course of their children growing up. All mothers stated that their children always followed rules, representing the sub theme of self-responsibility. For example, Ajeya explained that she had no reason to use disciplinary measures because her children always followed rules and "did not go anywhere (outside)." Two mothers related self-responsibility to academics, stating that their children were academically focused and did not need to be reminded to study. Uja and Neha also highlighted how their children did not require time-limits as their children always followed them, remained safe, and did not need to be compelled by the parents. However, Tanya used physical discipline with her children but mentioned that she had 100 per cent trust in them.

The children being self-responsible and honest provides one reason for the mothers trusting them. Other explanations include the lack of technology in their era and the fixed routines that

children were expected to follow, which blend into the idea of self-responsibility, as children were described to be 'self-responsible' in households that mothers did not describe as 'strict' or those in which rules were not required for children to be responsible. This illustrates another underlying factor of perceived expectations from parent that may have driven the children to be responsible. Technology at present provides children with a sense of privacy. In the past, however, parents had a clearer view of their children's routines.

Theme 2: Freedom of choice in academics and career

This theme discusses the extent of the freedom children were given by mothers for their academic and career choices. In the mothers' generation, four mothers stated that they gave their children complete freedom of choosing what they wanted to pursue. Ajeya said that she was unaware of the different academic choices that were available, being less involved in her children's academics. Neha stated that she wanted her children to follow a career path that she had intended for them but seeing that they were not interested in doing so, she let them choose their own path. Two mothers stated that they did not force their children to follow any career path in specific, allowing their children to choose for themselves.

However, among the children of these four mothers, only Neha's children took an "unconventional" path, choosing literature. This can be explained as the parents had studied humanities as well, perhaps allowing their children to do so too. The children of the other mothers, however, took the "conventional" paths such as science and commerce. Given that these paths were "conventional", some societal or familial pressures could have shaped their decisions. Tanya stated that her children's career streams were fixed: her sons chose science and her daughter chose commerce. The mother did not give reasons for this but expressed that her children were doing well for themselves now, which seemed to be a justification for her decisions.

Theme 3: Belief in the importance of affection

This theme reflects the mothers' views on displaying affection to children. All mothers believed that showing affection to children is important, irrespective of whether they did so or not. The mothers explained why showing affection was important: Ajeya said that showing affection to children was imperative, stating that it was compulsory for parents to do and for children to reciprocate. Two mothers stated that a lack of affection would lead to further problems, with children seeking affection outside the house. Ajeya also said that not showing affection would lead to suppressed emotions in children. All mothers seemed to need an explanation (probe) as to what the term 'affection' meant. This suggested that while some forms of affection may have been displayed by the mothers, there was difficulty in labeling such acts of love as "affection." This can be attributed to the relative lack of access to information regarding parenting and affection during that time.

Theme 4: Identifying and tending to child's emotions

This theme discusses the role of mothers supporting their children with their emotions. Uja, Judy, and Ajeya mentioned giving their children verbal encouragement when they were upset, by telling their children to let it go, reassuring them that everything would be alright, helping them solve their problems, and spending time with their children. Neha, on the other hand, explained that there were emotional boundaries in her family, stating that "We didn't tell our problems to the kids. They didn't share." She also gave one instance of when she was able to cheer her son up after he performed poorly on an exam but was unable to communicate with Sona when she had been upset, expressing that they did not share emotions in the household despite being emotional individuals themselves. Further, Tanya stated that if her children were upset, she would beat them. She regretted having done so, stating that some of her beatings were also a result of her own suppressed emotions. A possible factor of distinction between three mothers that supported their children's emotions (Uja, Judy,

and Ajeya) and the two mothers that did not do so explicitly (Neha and Tanya) may be their children's genders. Neha and Tanya both had at least one son and a daughter, whereas the three mothers had daughters. This distinction could illustrate the presence of relatively greater emotional sensitivity between mothers and daughters than between mothers and sons. However, Neha did express that she was unable to communicate with her daughter, not her son. Thus, the difference in emotional sensitivity between mothers and their sons versus their daughters may be debated as well.

Theme 5: Verbal forms of discipline

This theme discusses the form of discipline used by mothers towards their children. All mothers admitted to having used verbal disciplinary methods, such as scolding, to discipline their children. However, two mothers rarely required any disciplinary measures because their children always followed rules and were on par with their tasks, having a verbal understanding of being disciplined. For instance, Judy did not admit to having used any form of discipline toward her only daughter. When asked about physical discipline, two mothers had no opinions or say regarding this because they had never used it themselves. Judy said that it depended from child to child, mentioning that children are more sensitive at present, making physical discipline ineffective. Ajeya assumed the effectiveness of physical discipline by stating that "We don't have any problem personally." Lastly, Tanya, who used physical discipline, expressed that the measures were effective as her children were doing well as adults. However, she also expressed regret for having used such measures. The lack of physical discipline was found in mothers with only daughters or a single daughter, reinforcing the potential factor of gender differences in emotional sensitivity and responsiveness to children.

Theme 6: Surface-level conversations and less communication

This theme discusses the nature of conversations mothers would have with their children - general, day-to-day conversations. All mothers expressed that their conversations with their children revolved around general topics such as studying, school, and food. However, Neha stated having insightful family conversations, but also expressed that communication with her children had been less intimate since the beginning. She stated that while she had seen other daughters share their feelings with their mothers, her daughter never did so. The mothers also explained that communication either decreased or remained stable as their children grew up. Tanya explained the reason for a decrease in communication was because her children got busier as they grew up. Ajeya referred to communication as smooth, indicating that communication was never a problem in their household. There was a distinction in communication with children based on how many children the mother had; mothers with more than one child had less intimate communication as compared to the mother with one child.

Theme 7: Emphasis given to physical well-being

This theme explores the well-being that mothers have largely focused on: physical well-being. When asked about the concept of well-being, the mothers asked for a further explanation for which the word 'health' was also referred to, before probing about 'mental health.' The mothers ensured well-being by providing home-cooked meals for children and warmth during winters, prohibiting food from outside, and ensuring that children ate food packed by them for school. This theme was consistent among three mothers who expressed food (physical well-being) being their priority. When probed about other forms of well-being, such as emotional well-being, two mothers stated that their children had no such 'problems', indicating that mental well-being was not a major focus. One exception to this was Judy, who expressed that she

aimed to maintain emotional well-being by communicating with her daughter.

For the parenting practices of the daughters, intragenerational similarities were reflected in the emergence of the following seven themes: (i) ensuring the fulfillment of basic needs, (ii) efforts to maintain an open channel of communication, (iii) addressing socioemotional well-being, (iv) freedom of choice in academics and career, (v) verbal forms of discipline, (vi) use of technology in parenting, and (vii) "friendship" in parenting.

Theme 1: Ensuring the fulfillment of basic needs

This theme explores how daughters' parenting toward their children involved fulfilling basic needs. Two sub themes were drawn from this theme – showing affection and the importance of spending time with the child. All daughters expressed that it was important to display affection toward their children, particularly physical affection. They showed physical affection toward their children, spent time bonding, listened to them, provided for, and guided them. For example, Mani said, "I think I was more inclined towards buying her stuff to please her. Maybe a little bit of kisses, hugs here and there. Other than that, I don't think so." Further:

Any kind of physical love or even any kind of ... whenever I talk to her, probably even in terms of materialistic things as well. So, in different approaches is where I would say, I mean, whenever she likes something to eat or probably she wants to talk, just generally talk about what she's going through or share about her friends or stories, whatever it could be is where we just connect.
(Mani)

Hina stated, "So basically, she needs a hug. In the night, she wants me. She's too small, right? So, she needs that hug or I should be around."

Zara explained, "See, until that age, you know, when the boys are till the teenage, I used to treat him like a baby. I had to hold him to sleep next to me. It was that kind of affection."

Sona stated that after around six to eight years, children should be let "free." This possibly refers to reducing the amount of physical affection shown to children. Zara reduced the physical affection she showed her child in order to enforce discipline and strictness for academics. Four daughters believed in the importance of spending time with children, making time or adjustments to their own schedules to ensure that their children were either not alone. Two daughters tried to spend time with their children during their travel to and from school. Drawing from this, we understood that mothers aimed to build a close rapport with their children.

Theme 2: Efforts to maintain an open channel of communication

This theme explores the daughters' efforts in maintaining an open channel of communication. All daughters wished to increase communication with their children and maintain an open system of communication, wherein their children could speak freely with them. They would follow up on their children's day-to-day activities and hobbies to maintain communication. All daughters would support their children through any issues and problems they were facing while also talking to their children about topics of their interest, including dance, security and safety, academics, friendships, and relationships.

Theme 3: Addressing socioemotional well-being

This theme discusses the daughters' role in addressing their children's socioemotional well-being. The daughters related the concept of socioemotional well-being to their experiences of raising their children. They expressed their efforts to maintain well-being in the following ways: ensuring that the child was not alone; giving the child the freedom to spend time with friends and

choose hobbies; actively listening to the child's thoughts; spending time with the child; and emphasizing social gatherings to involve the child within their community. The daughters also supported their children's emotions via verbal encouragement and conversations. This was seen with respect to academics; Reha, Mani, and Sona, who had daughters (children) of around the same age, expressed that they needed to support their children especially because losing a few marks emotionally affected their children. The other two daughters, Hina and Zara, explained that they needed to be stricter for academics in order to instill discipline.

Theme 4: Freedom of choice in academics and career

This theme discusses the role of daughters in the extent of freedom they gave their children in their academic and career choices. Four daughters stated that they would only guide their children in the path they would choose, with their children having the freedom of choice. Zara did not give her child a say in choosing his career path. She stated that her son took engineering as his course of study and career field. She also stated that her son still blames her for forcing him to take engineering, although her son also expressed gratitude for having a stable job at present.

Theme 5: Verbal forms of discipline

This theme discusses the form of discipline used by daughters toward their children. All daughters stated that they used verbal forms of discipline – scoldings or strict warnings – for their children. Four daughters had never used physical discipline toward their children. However, Zara expressed having used physical discipline. The overall consensus among daughters was that verbal discipline is effective, but three daughters suggested that physical discipline is also effective and may be necessary at times.

Theme 6: Use of technology in parenting

This theme explores how daughters used technology in parenting. Three daughters used technology to support their parenting. Two daughters with children of similar age used technology to support their children with their school assignments and entertainment. Mani also used technology to ensure communication with her child. Hina used technology for parenting support, stating that she was part of a Facebook support group that guided her through her pregnancy and early years of raising her child. The differences in the use of technology and the type of technology used can be associated with the differences in the ages of the daughters and their children, although they belonged to the same generation. The younger daughters used more technology than the relatively older daughters.

Theme 7: "Friendship" in parenting

This theme explores the nature of the relationship between daughters and children. Three daughters maintained a friendly relationship with their children, ensuring that their child felt free to share their emotions. This was also a medium of maintaining trust between daughters and their children. Four mothers also stated that they trusted their children and had relatively stable trust levels. However, they mentioned questioning said trust due to an incident or so. Reha stated that trust levels had fallen as her child grew up, mentioning that there were "some aspects that have changed" in terms of trust when she was growing up versus her child growing up. Zara stated that she trusted her son blindly; a trust that came to be as he grew older. She also stated that while she had a friendly relationship with her son at present, she was stricter when he was younger.

Overall, the results of the study have addressed both the research questions, finding continuities and discontinuities in parenting practices between mothers and daughters, along with intragenerational similarities and differences.

Discussion

This study explored our two research questions and identified both continuity and discontinuity in certain aspects of parenting from one generation to another. We also observed strong intragenerational similarities in parenting for both generations. Our study relied on conducting semi-structured interviews and the use of thematic data analysis to address the two research questions. We identified several relationships between these themes and illustrated them through thematic maps. To explore the intergenerational patterns in parenting, themes were created for mother-daughter pairs. The relationships among these themes have been illustrated in Figure 1.

The theme of continuity of support for academic and career choices was formed on the basis of understanding parental involvement and attribution of freedom to children, especially in education – something that is deeply rooted in Indian culture and society. Belsky et al. (2005) found that mothers who had received more support in their childhood provided more care to their children – The theme may be associated with the continuity of trust in relationships, as both mothers and daughters displayed having trust in their children. This trust could be related to giving their children the freedom of choice for their academic and career endeavors. Moreover, the continuity of trust was supported by a study that analyzed the Chinese Family Panel Studies (2012–2016) and found that a mother's trust has a significant impact on the trust of her daughter (Wu et al., 2022).

Furthermore, this support of academic choices was related to the shift to socioemotional well-being. The latter highlighted the daughters' greater focus on socioemotional well-being compared with their mothers. An Indian study identified a shift from an authoritarian to authoritative parenting style from one generation of mothers to another (Sekaran et al., 2021). This finding can be attributed to the increasing focus on socioemotional well-being, indicating greater warmth in the relationship, associated with an

authoritarian parenting style. This shift can also be attributed to a sociocultural shift in parenting from an authoritarian style to more democratic parenting practices (Campbell & Gilmore, 2007).

This shift to a focus on socioemotional well-being could be a factor reinforcing the continuity of freedom of academic and career choices for the children of the daughters. This theme was also linked to the transition to openly expressing affection. The daughters reflected on being more affectionate toward their children using different methods, which facilitated supporting their children's emotional needs. This finding is also supported by the shift from a less responsive parenting practice to a more authoritative one. However, this contrasts with previous research suggesting that care is continued from grandmothers to mothers (Sekaran et al., 2021; Tanaka et al., 2009). This difference in findings can be understood as a discrepancy in the definition of affection as being solely explicit. Both mothers and daughters in the study may not have shared or reflected on their medium of affection toward their children, thereby illustrating a discontinuity. Nonetheless, a discontinuity was observed between explicit and physical means of affection.

Furthermore, the daughters discussed having more open conversations with their children. These linkages represented a shift in parenting patterns and how a discontinuity in particular parenting domains may be related to other parenting domains. The daughters' increased communication with their children can be an indicator of greater parental involvement, which is positively correlated with authoritative parenting (Lin et al., 2023). This is supported by a study that has shown discontinuity in parenting styles, with a preference for an authoritative parenting style (Dey et al., 2024). It has also been suggested that parenting practices have shifted from being authoritarian to permissive (Bee et al, 2017), which supports the argument regarding a discontinuity. The shift to socioemotional well-being also has associations with the continuity of trust between mothers and daughters and their

children. This potential association can be drawn as a greater focus on socioemotional needs via communication and understanding may have supported the trust levels between daughters and their children.

The theme of preference for verbal discipline over physical discipline was observed in the mothers' and daughters' generations. This theme can be understood from previous research that suggest that warmth is transmitted intergenerationally (Sekaran et al., 2021; Tanaka et al., 2009). This was related with the theme of more emphasis on open and friendly communication to underline that communication has become a base for both discipline and communication between daughters and children. As such, open and friendly communication may have contributed to daughters supporting their children's socioemotional well-being. The theme of preference of verbal discipline is also related to the shift to focus on socioemotional well-being and a continuity of trust in mother-child relationships. It is plausible that a greater focus on socioemotional well-being allows daughters to verbally establish discipline without the use of physical discipline, given that a focus on socioemotional well-being can create strong bonds between daughters and their children and is associated with affection, as suggested by the Institute of Early Childhood Development (2023). Furthermore, both mothers and daughters prefer verbal discipline – perhaps an influence of the trust they have in their children, not giving them the rationale to use physical means of discipline.

To explore and identify intragenerational parenting practices, themes were created for the two groups of daughters and mothers. The relationships among the themes and subthemes of the mothers' generation are demonstrated in Figure 2.

The theme of trust in relationship contains the sub themes of mothers having complete trust in their children and children being self-responsible. The theme of verbal discipline tied in with mothers having trust in their children, given that a few mothers

specified that they mostly used verbal discipline in the form of guidance or instructions. The mothers' trust in their children was also related to the freedom of choice given to children for their career and academic paths, as there was a certain level of trust mothers had in their children's choices.

On a different note, mothers being able to identify and support their children in navigating their emotions was related with mothers believing in the importance of affection. The idea of affection, for mothers, was expressed via providing children with food and buying gifts. This added to the notion of mothers tending to their children's emotions in different ways, even through mediums such as food. Providing food to children also led into the theme of mothers focusing on their children's physical well-being.

Finally, the theme of mothers having surface-level conversations or limited communication with their children may be related to their greater focus on physical well-being. This can be explained by understanding that socioemotional well-being is supported or addressed through communication and greater bonding. Thus, the lack of it suggests, as evinced by the interviews, that mothers focused on a different aspect of well-being – physical well-being.

The relationships among the themes and subthemes of the daughters' generation are illustrated in Figure 3.

The daughters aimed to ensure that their children's basic needs were met by providing them with affection via physical touch, bonding, and spending time—dimensions associated with authoritative parenting practices. Ensuring their children's basic needs was related to the daughters' efforts to maintain an open channel of communication with their children. Such a channel of communication provided daughters with a medium to ensure the fulfillment of their children's basic needs, addressing and assisting their children via conversations. This theme also ties in with the use

of technology in parenting, given that technology provided a means of communication as well.

The theme of friendship in parenting was related to the daughters' efforts to maintain children's socioemotional well-being by identifying and tending to their emotions. This would be possible by having an open and friendly relationship with their children. This theme aligns with the notion that daughters practiced a more authoritative parenting style. The daughters also maintained the socioemotional well-being of their children by opting for verbal forms of discipline, such as scolding, over physical disciplinary measures and gave their children the freedom to express their interests for their career path. This can be supported by the notion that an increased focus on socioemotional well-being potentially gives voice to children's needs and wishes.

Thus, it can be observed that the themes and subthemes drawn to support both the research questions are associated with one another in the Indian context and supported by existing literature on similar themes. With respect to the intergenerational themes, shifts in parenting can be observed for specific dimensions, such as a shift from an authoritarian to authoritative parenting style. However, the continuities illustrate that this shift in parenting styles is not absolute.

Implications and Limitations

Our study provides rich insights into the intergenerational transmission of parenting practices and the generational similarities in parenting, thereby adding to the vast literature in the field of parenting styles. Our study presents details into this process of transmission within an Indian sociocultural setting, specifically in that of Bengaluru in South India. Further research can cover more parenting dimensions, possibly with a larger sample size from different regions of India and other cultural

backgrounds, which would allow for broader comparisons to be drawn. Additionally, future work could study this transmission process from fathers to sons, fathers to daughters, and mothers to sons. Nonetheless, our study provides a stepping stone for research on the transmission of parenting practices.

We identified the role of technology in assisting parenting. Given the increasing access to technology for current and future parents, it is possible that technology will continue to influence parenting and assume a greater role going forward. This study, therefore, sets a platform for further research to build on the use of technology in parenting. We also observed that, with each passing generation, there may be further shifts in what aspects of well-being are emphasized and to what extent. Our finding suggests that mothers may increasingly dedicate more time to ensuring that their children are taken care of emotionally by supporting them through difficult times and maintaining strong communication. This shift fuels the question of whether the focus on socioemotional well-being will continue with subsequent generations of mothers.

Conclusion

Our study explored the intergenerational transmission of parenting practices across two generations of mothers while also revealing patterns of parenting within each generation (intragenerational patterns). Through thematic analysis, several themes illustrated the discontinuities and continuities in different aspects of parenting, along with similarities within the generations of mothers and daughters. Despite its limitations, our study reflects persistence and changes in parenting, touching upon societal influences on parenting. Overall, our study offers a foundation for further research into the transmission of parenting practices and an exploration of what influences them.

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Table 1.
Operational definitions for themes derived for the generational shifts in parenting

S. No.	Themes	Operational Definitions
1.	Continuity of support for academic and career choices	This theme reflects the continuity among mothers and daughters being supportive of their children's academic choices.
2.	Shift to a focus on socioemotional well-being	This theme discusses the shift across generations with greater emphasis being given to socioemotional well-being in the younger generation.
3.	More emphasis on open and friendly communication	This theme discusses the focus given to increased, open, and friendly communication in the younger generation compared with the older generation.
4.	Transition to openly expressing affection	This theme reflects the shift in the medium of displaying affection toward children.
5.	Continuity of trust in relationship	This theme reflects the continuity in the trust that both mothers and daughters have in their children.
6.	Preference for verbal discipline over physical discipline	This theme reflects the continuity in preferring to use verbal means of discipline over physical means in both generations.

Table 2.
Operational definitions for the themes representing the mothers' parenting practices.

S. No.	Themes	Operational Definitions
1.	Trust in the relationship	This theme discusses the complete trust mothers had in their children, which aided in the children being self-responsible.
2.	Freedom of choice in academics and career	This theme reflects the academic freedom of choice given by mothers to their children in choosing their preferred field of study
3.	Belief in the importance of affection	This theme reflects the belief held by mothers that showing affection to children is important, regardless of whether they actually displayed affection or not.
4.	Identifying and tending to child's emotions	This theme discusses the role of the mothers in assisting their child in identifying and navigating their emotions.
5.	Verbal forms of discipline	This theme discusses the verbal form of discipline used by mothers, such as scolding or rebuking their children.
6.	Surface-level conversations and less communication	This theme reflects the nature of conversations mothers had with their children, which consisted of general conversations and less communication from the beginning.
7.	Emphasis given to physical well-being	This theme discusses the mothers' primary focus being the physical well-being of their children.

Table 3.
Operational definitions for the themes representing the daughters' parenting practices.

S. No.	Themes	Operational Definitions
1.	Ensuring the fulfillment of basic needs	This theme discusses the daughters' method of displaying affection via fulfilling basic needs such as physical affection and spending time with children.
2.	Efforts to maintain an open channel of communication	This theme reflects the open communication in the daughters' relationships with their children, suggesting that they had conversations about several topics and were able to put in the effort to do so.
3.	Addressing socioemotional well-being	This theme reflects the role of daughters in identifying their child's emotional situation and assisting them, either via encouraging them or providing them with solutions.
4.	Freedom of choice in academics and career	This theme reflects the academic freedom given by daughters to their children in choosing their preferred field of study.
5.	Verbal forms of discipline	This theme discusses the verbal form of discipline used by daughters via scolding or rebuking children.
6.	Use of technology in parenting	This theme reflects how daughters have used technology in their parenting.
7.	"Friendship" in parenting	This theme discusses the type of daughter-child relationship maintained, which relied on trust and friendship between the daughter and the child.

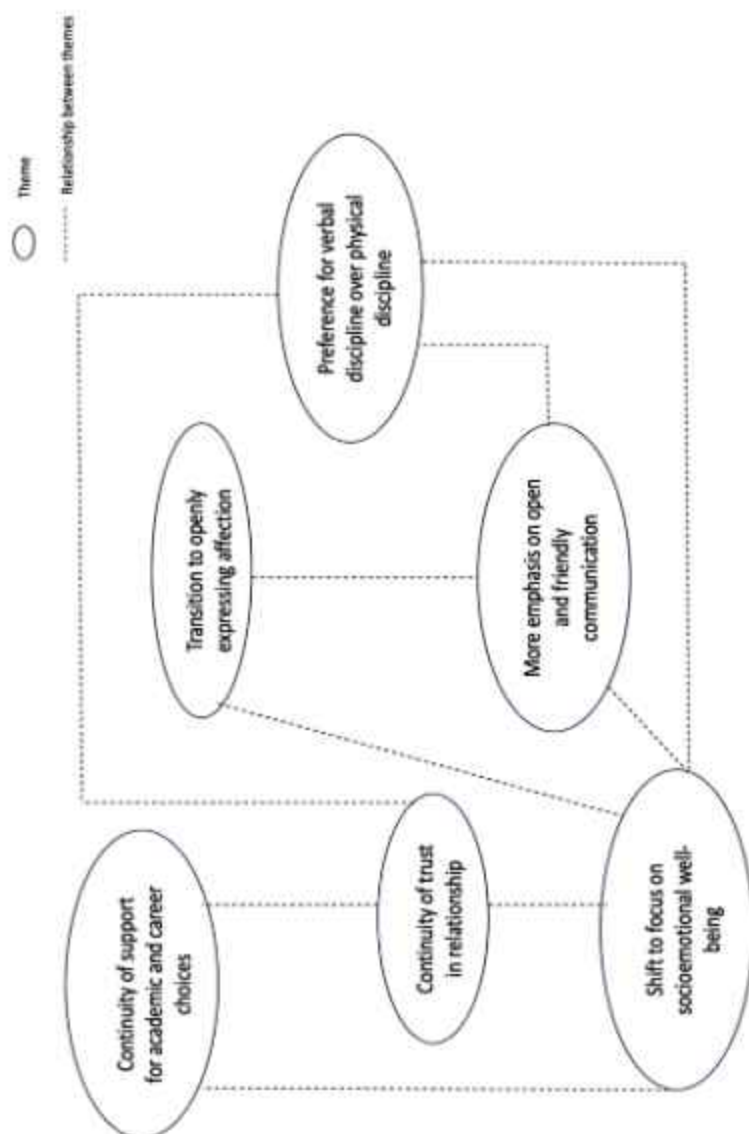


Fig. 1. Thematic Map Representing the Generational Shifts in Parenting for the Mother-Daughter Pairs.

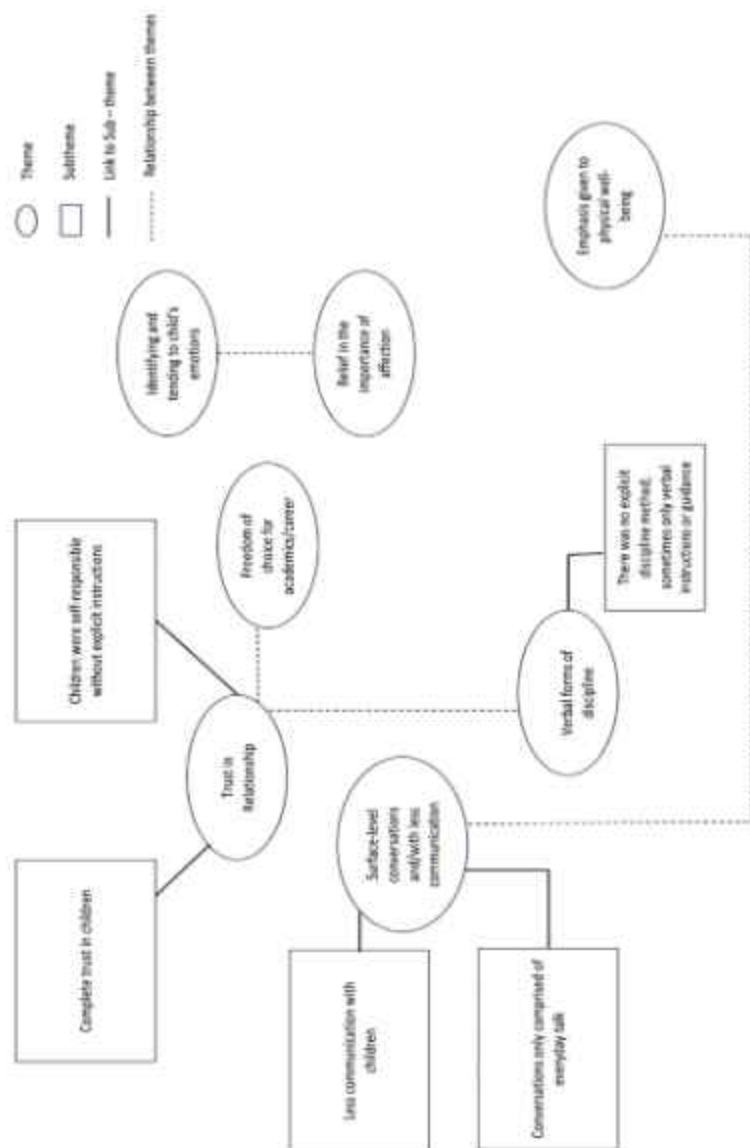


Fig. 2. Thematic Map Representing the Mothers' Parenting Practices

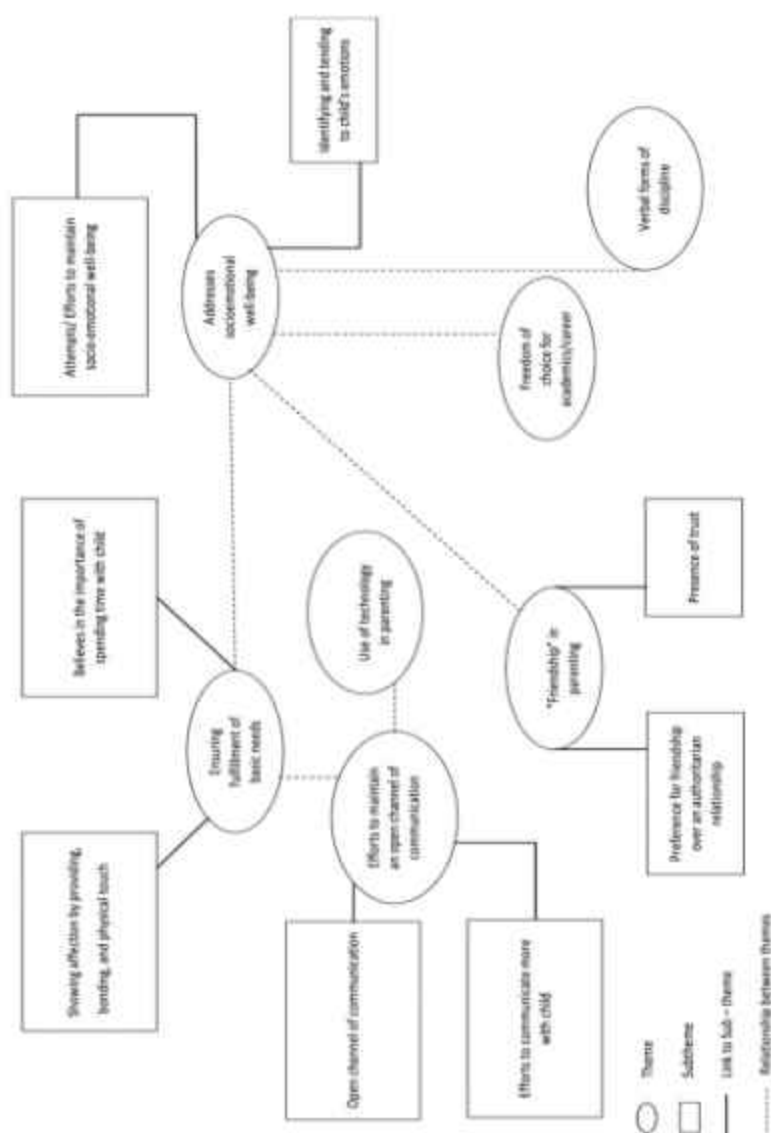


Fig. 3. Thematic Map Representing the Daughters' Parenting Practices

The Formation of Jamshedpur Labour Association and the first General Strike in Tata Iron and Steel Company (1920-1921)

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In many ways the 1920s was a time for change. It was a change brought about by the force of circumstances, national and international, and it affected every section of society and every sector of economy in fundamental ways. The war time had generated considerable benefit for Indian industries and the Tata Iron and Steel Company was exceptionally lucky. The profits accruing to the Tatas through opium trade in the nineteenth century and from the textile mills in Bombay and Nagpur was further supplemented by the shares worth 23 million rupees subscribed by the investors within weeks of being floated in August 1907. The patriotic sentiment aroused by the Swadeshi Movement of Bengal helped. Production started in 1911 and the labour drawn from diverse background and from different parts of the country grew to around 30,000 by 1923-4.

The jungles of Singhbhum which saw the crystallisation of the dream of Jamshedji Nusserwanji Tata of making steel was not a sleepy, unremarkable corner of India. By the turn of the twentieth century it, of course, was a loose cluster of villages in the midst of

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thick forest but less than a century ago the Kols had risen in rebellion in 1831 and a year later in Manbhum the Bhumijis rebelled against the British authority. The area could be kept under control through an administrative unit set up in Singhbhum and by the military force of Ramgarh Battalion.

The number of workers at Tata Steel industry which stood at 9507 in 1913 rose to 23,760 at the time of Census of India 1921 out of which 9204 and 14,556 belonged to skilled and unskilled categories respectively (Census of India, 1921, Bihar and Orissa, Vol VII, Para II, table xxii, part II).

The regional variation of the workforce too can be obtained from the 1921 census where the percentage share in the unskilled category is given as follows: Singhum 47.07, contiguous Bihar and Orissa districts - 16.47, Central Provinces - 27.84, Bengal - 1.2, United Provinces - 1.69, Madras - 2.83, Punjab - 0.19 and the rest of India - 0.89 (Vol VII, Part I, Subsidiary Table XVII). The figure in the skilled category is, however, different where the United Provinces provided 14.22%, Bengal 10.30%, Bombay 7.41%, Madras 6.89%, the Punjab 4.63%, the whole of Bihar and Orissa 44.53% and the Central Provinces 4.76%.

The working condition in an iron industry was hazardous and the wages not sufficient for leading a dignified life. There was no corresponding increase in wages as compared to the rise in the cost of living (Behl, 1982, 35; Singh, 1979, 112). The recruitment of unskilled labour was done through labour contractors who took bribes for getting them a job.

Thus, despite being a flagship project of the Tatas and riding on the crest of nationalist fervour, the actual living and working conditions in the steel city was quite dismal.

In 1920, more than a decade after the works in Tata began, the industry experienced its first general strike. It was a strike which certainly no one in the management had expected, and before it happened, surprisingly, not even all the workers knew what it was and how it came about. Yet, as if drawn by some invisible forces of

destiny they all downed their tools and shouted slogans which were never heard before in Jamshedpur. The air was laden with excitement and anger and ill-defined hopes. The movement was so sudden that it appeared to be a conspiracy; it was so total that it appeared to be premeditated. Actually, it was a spontaneous, yet tentative, expression of a growing feeling among the workers that they were being cheated and oppressed, that they were not getting as much wages as they ought to, that the working conditions were dangerous and they were not being suitably compensated for the injuries they suffered at the hands of machine. More importantly, however, it was an expression of the new Identity that they had come to acquire after taking up a job in the industry which had placed them on the other side of the dividing line where the woes of a *Bihari* were similar to the woes of a *Chattisgarhia*, or of a *Punjabi* or of an *Adibasi*. This realisation could not have been sudden and the nuances of belonging to the category of workers was probably not fully understood. They did not completely disentangle themselves from the complex web of social-regional-linguistic identities. Rather the gamut of their consciousness was enlarged to accommodate a new perception which helped them to visualise the commonality of their interests and the universality of their sufferings. Religious idioms and regional-linguistic cohesiveness at times contributed positively in sharpening their class consciousness and bringing about solidarity but at times their perception of class got lost in the maze of primordial loyalties. The movements that they waged frequently betrayed this fluidity of consciousness.

There was no organisational structure that preceded the 1920 strike; its leaders in the initial days were skilled and semi-skilled workmen of the Blacksmith Shop and Machine Shop, the upcountry labourers of Punjab and the United Provinces, who had previously worked in the Kharagpur Railway Workshop and had seen the workers there uniting in their fight for a more decent living. Dissatisfaction with the management was general, but there were not many who thought of creating a movement out of growing discontent. Those men, scared as they were of the heavy

hand of the management, planned out their strategy after sundown hiding themselves behind the bushes or at a forlorn place near the river (Ghosh, 1973, 2). Their plan was known only to a chosen few of different departments but they were sure, and rightly so, that once the strike was declared no one would remain in the works.

The war years had seen the prices soaring high and the meagre monthly income of the workers, the majority of whom received much less than Rs.50 per month, was pitifully less to enable them to meet the rising cost of living. The years following the war had seen the entire nation gripped by a strike hysteria triggered by a variety of reasons ranging from the rising prices to the Impact of Bolshevism and the nation wide political upsurge. The Congress had still not learned to use socialist idioms; the All India Trade Union Congress (AITUC) was organised, of course, in 1920 and various trade union combinations sprung up all over the country. The labour was fast realising the benefits of organisation and united struggle; the Congress was also beginning to realise the potentials of labour combinations. The Ahmedabad strike of 1917, conducted and concluded by Gandhi, had shown his predilection for organising the labour the way he thought appropriate for the Congress and for the country. This probably explains the eagerness of the Congress leaders to rush to the trouble-spots after the spark had been provided by the labourers themselves, and Jamshedpur was no exception.

The Jamshedpur workers were not only ill-paid but also ill-treated. Jamshedji Tata was long dead and the management was so full of Europeans and so arrogant in its attitude towards the labour that the workers suspected it to be a foreign company. Abuse of the workers by foremen and others of the supervisory staff, who also held the power of recruitment and dismissal, further added up to their resentment. Acceptance of bribe in giving jobs was not uncommon. The workers were frequently assaulted, molested, their religious sentiments were hurt and their future remained uncertain. The compensation they got for accident in the works was far from liberal and there was no provision for leave,

provident fund, pension etc. These precisely were the issues for which they fought in 1920 and these were reasons enough to make them feel agitated.

The workers had made their dissatisfaction known to the management and had put before them their demands like 50 per cent increase in wages, a more liberal compensation in case of accidents in works, a speedier reimbursement of the dues of deceased workmen and so on. Initially the General Manager did not realise the seriousness of the matter and dilly-dallied for about a week on the pretext of collecting statistics and making recommendations to the Director. It was after a week that he came to know about the growing restlessness among the workers. It was after his second meeting with the leaders that he thought it expedient to explain matters to the Directors and accordingly left for Bombay.

The strike occurred on 24th February, 1920 in his absence. It started from the Blacksmith Shop and Machine Shop and immediately workers in all other branches came out, and though the strike plan and its timing were known only to a few of different departments till the last moment, It was an indication of widespread discontent that in less than an hour all the Indian workers, including the *Adibasis*, had stopped their work.

However, between declaring a strike and conducting it effectively there was a gap and none of the strike leaders – Ranjob Pandey, Badri, Abdul Kader, Provash Mitra, Butta Singh, Sadhu Singh, etc. – knew how to bridge it. Realising the Importance of an able hand to guide the movement, some of them rushed to Calcutta to contact and persuade the Congress leaders to come to Jamshedpur and provide leadership. Byomkesh Chakravorty, a noted Congress leader, could not come at once and, therefore, sent Surendra Nath Halder, Padmaraj Jain and Nirmal Chatterjee 'to interest themselves in the cause of the strikers.'

The leaders of the strike, in the meanwhile, faced what they had feared. Though all the workers suffered exactly similarly, some of them were more determined to fight than others, more

determined to hold together a desperate group of workers with fluctuating levels of consciousness some of whom appear to be fluttering at the periphery of the movement and were weak and indecisive in their commitment. When the strike entered its third day, a considerable number of workers collected at the factory gates and were willing to resume work. It was chiefly the up-country men who explained to them the need of the hour, the unity of their purpose and the benefits of holding on and fighting. They succeeded in their dissuasion but not without coming to realise that in their struggle not everyone thought the way they did (Bihar State Archives, Political Deptt., Special Section, File No. 115/1920. B.5).

The management, of course, was trying to assuage the worker and the Deputy Commissioner of Singhbhum, Mr. Scott, arrived at Jamshedpur to gauge the mood of the strikers. Even before his arrival a posse of armed and military police were positioned at strategic points in the city who were further joined by 100 British Infantry called at the request of the Local Government. The demands that were put before Mr. Scott by the workers Included, apart from an increase in wages and a quicker and more substantial compensation to the victims of Industrial accidents, 'a definite set of rules for the Company's service ... corresponding to those in force on railways and in government service'.

On the 26th Halder and others arrived from Calcutta and the day after they, together with six of the strike leaders, had a meeting with the Company's officials and the Government officers in which they agreed upon the following points which was to be placed before the strikers in a meeting for ratification.

- (1) That the men should resume work voluntarily as they left it.
- (2) That no action would be taken or ill-will borne by the Company against the strikers.
- (3) That the Company would make no reduction from the men's pay on account of the days during which the strike lasted.

- (4) That the Manager would have his statistics ready by the 1st May and that he would consult the leaders of the men in each department before forwarding his report and recommendations to the Directors.
- (5) That the strike would be treated as if it never existed, and that as a guarantee of restored good relations a mass meeting of the strikers should be called that evening, at which the General Manager for the Company, the Deputy Commissioner for Government, and the four Calcutta gentlemen for the strikers, should address the men and set the seal on the agreement.

It was certainly puerile on the part of the framers of the agreement to expect a ratification of a flimsy piece of paper containing vague and peripheral issues and holding out promises nebulous and ill-defined. It stemmed out of a basic misreading of the temper of the strikers. The issues at stake for those who had struck work were the issues of survival and a more honourable and acceptable work environment and not of restoring good relations with the management. At the meeting of the strikers, their leaders openly called upon the workers to denounce the terms of the proposed agreement, whereas Halder and others tried to address the meeting and advise the strikers to ratify it. Halder was not allowed to speak and the workers expressed themselves in favour of the continuation of the strike.

The workers were determined to fight and the management was unrelenting. The movement entered a more decisive phase. A workers' organisation by the name of Jamshedpur Labour Association had already been formed with the help of Calcutta gentlemen's efforts. Halder was made its President whereas the posts of secretary and treasurer were held by two of the strike leaders, Jogesh Ghosh and V.J. Sathaye respectively. There was nothing in the conduct of the strikers to alarm either the company or the local administration, yet they were armed to the teeth. The strikers were confident of the efficacy of their strike weapon and thought that the Company would not be able to bear the heavy

financial losses and would finally give in. But they were determined to maintain their unity at any cost and any act of betrayal by any section of the workers was sure to vex them. Their right to stop work was their only answer to the intransigence and highhandedness of the management and they could not be expected to throw it away so easily. From the very beginning they had been picketting to stop the workers from going to the factory and when rhetorics failed they at times took recourse to intimidation and violence. At their meetings inflammatory speeches were made and violence was advocated with a view probably to raise their passions and, thus, bind them together. But even the government records endorse the fact that till the last moment the strikers remained, on the whole, peaceful and disciplined.

Tension, however, was to mount in the city in the days to come. The coolie labourers of Singhbhum were willing to return to the works from the beginning and they were being held back only by the *Punjabis* and other up-country men. The furnaces and the power house which were being run by the Europeans since the day strike was declared saw the return of Indian workers and by the 7th of March all the Europeans had been relieved. However, the majority of workers were still keeping their fingers crossed. On the 8th March the management again made an offer of taking back the strike leaders on their job without ill-will, of paying their wages minus that of the strike period and of considering the question of wage increase - an offer spurned by the strikers initially, but they did not want to express their reaction till the return of their adviser, Mr. Byomkesh Chakravarti. In the meanwhile, the Company stopped selling grains at concessional rates to the workers. It found it difficult to wear the mask of benevolence for too long in the face of united peaceful agitation of the workers. Halder, on behalf of the workers, complained to the local administration about the Company's refusal to sell grains and the Deputy Commissioner, in a meeting of the strikers, cleverly explained the appropriateness of such a policy and communicated the Company's willingness to pay the workers' dues and provide them with railway tickets for

their homeward Journey.

The workers, however, were made of a firmer mettle. On Friday, the 12th March, Byomkesh Chakravarty, I.B. Sen and S.N. Halder attended the meeting of the strikers in which it was resolved that the workers would resume work at once if they were given an increase in wages of 15 per cent in addition to the 10 per cent bonus they were getting already and that the following demands of theirs should be considered sympathetically by a committee comprising representatives of the management and of the workers: (1) Increment - 35 per cent and 50 per cent (2) Provision against accidents - (a) Temporary, (b) Permanent, (c) Death, (3) Production bonus, general and labouring staff, (4) Annual Leave, (5) Holidays, (6) Sick leave, (7) Casual leave, (8) Medical treatment, (9) Nurses and midwives, (10) Cattle dispensary and veterinary treatment, (11) Codification of service rules and gradations, (12) Number of working hours, (13) Treatment of Indian subordinates, (14) Town management (15) Guest House, (16) Temple and *Musjid* (17) Railway facilities, (18) The Department of Greater Extensions to be included, (19) Strike Wages.

The presentation of these demands to the General Manager who promised to place them before the Directors marked a definite change in the mood of the strikers: it raised their hopes and excited their imagination. They had taken a positive step and were expectant of a positive response. A leading national daily also hinted at the 'prospects of an early settlement'. The strikers had till then conducted themselves with considerably dignity and restraint and there was no unreasonableness in their expectation of a reasonable reply from the Directors.

The Directors, however, thought otherwise and their thinking was communicated to the Government even before it was made known to the strikers. Consequently, an additional reinforcement of armed and military police came to Jamshedpur Instead of a reply from the Directors. Uneasiness among the workers increased as hours passed by. Till now they had seen some of their fellow-

workers - the *Adibasis* - falling out of the movement, and had watched the Company taking lorry-full of workers inside the factory. They could watch it no more in mute silence. To obstruct the Indian recruits from going to the works strong pickets were thought necessary and resorted to. To work up the passions of the people more rousing speeches were made in the strike meetings. They tried to prevent the *Adibasis* from going to the works for the night shift on the 13th, threats were made to the errant workers, and the motor lorry carrying men inside the works was watched with considerable indignation (Bihar State Archives, Political Deptt., Special Section, F. No. 115/1920, B.9). In the night *lathi* - wielding mob patrolled the town to intimidate the renegades. The following morning a large crowd collected outside the main gate to prevent the workers from going in, the lorry was heavily stoned and so were the military police and before the third trip of the lorry barricades were erected at two places. Mr. Byomkesh Chakravarty arrived along with the Deputy Commissioner and tried to pacify the strikers but without success. They were not prepared to give up the company's job, not prepared to resume work unless given a 50 per cent wage increase, not prepared to allow Indians to go inside the works and demanded that those taken in should be brought out. They dispersed only after an assurance given by the company authorities that they would not transport men inside the works on motor lorries and the workers, in turn, promised to abstain from using violence in preventing men from going to work. The meeting at Juguselai, attended also by the General Manager, was attended by a large crowd armed with *lathis*, where the talks could not go beyond the reiteration of the previously held positions of the strikers and the management.

The Directors were happily sitting in Bombay hoping that the strike would collapse somehow. Halder had wired to Dorab Tata asking him to come to Jamshedpur. He had warned that any delay in negotiation was likely to be dangerous. But all this warning was of no avail. The directors thought they had done their duty to the public and the strikers by giving direction to the general manager to send code messages over wire from one end of India to the other.

This is reprehensible indifference to the best interests of society' (Amrita Bazar Patrika, 17 March, 1920).

The day that followed is still remembered in Jamshedpur with a tinge of sadness and anguish. Halder had left for Calcutta last night, though, it is said, Halder did not want to leave (Ghosh, 1973, 4). The workers were agitated not as much about the intransigence of the management as about their policy of taking men to the workshops in lorries and other such ways. It appeared as if someone was not only denying them what they thought they deserved but also taking away their right to protest peacefully. They were prepared to defend to death the efficacy of their strike weapon. The management and the local administration were determined to defend what they described as the free passage of willing workers. In the morning of the 15th the news reached the police headquarter that men were creating obstructions on the railway line to prevent the Company from taking coolie-labourers in railway wagons to the workshop. Inspector Pearson, with two troops of mounted police was sent to the spot and Mr. Ashby, the Deputy Superintendent, in charge of 8 Gurkha military police and 2 British soldiers was rushed along the line in railway carriage. Mr. Sowday, an employee of the Company and an Honorary Magistrate moved towards the spot with the second party of mounted police. The workers, 'chiefly Punjabis', were found to be completing the work of obstruction with the help of 'sign posts, pig iron and boulders'. A large number of them were armed with *lathis*. They were fired upon. Mr. Sawday and Mr. Ashby separately gave the order to open fire. And while firing they retreated. The mob, angry and uncontrollable, chased them with shouts that they would kill the sahibs even if it cost them their lives. Their advance could be checked only after the arrival of the Deputy Commissioner, Mr. Scott, and two of the strike leaders, Gopi and Buta who tried to pacify them.

The Government put the death toll at five while a national daily reported that ten were killed and about twenty-five severely injured (Statesman, 17 March, 1920). The Amrita Bazar Patrika angrily asked, 'How was it that within 19 days of the most

admirably conducted strike not one director could come to Jamshedpur with plenary powers to settle the dispute? Sir Dorab Tata and his colleagues owe an explanation to the public why none of them came to Jamshedpur to avoid the delay of negotiation from a distance of 1100 miles when the circumstances were known to be such as might at any moment become full of risk to public tranquillity' (Amrita Bazar Patrika, 17 March, 1920).

Three days after the firing Dorab Tata arrived in Jamshedpur. On 19th he attended a meeting of the strikers and requested them to go back to works to save the prestige of the General Manager! If men returned to the works, it was promised, the Committee would announce the following day 'the decision at which they have arrived as regards the concessions demanded by the men' (Ghosh, 1973, 5). After being told to do so by their leaders, nearly all the strikers resumed work on the 20th and the same day the Committee granted the following concessions: a wage increase of 25 per cent for the men drawing Rs.50 and less in lieu of 10 per cent bonus and an increase of 20 per cent for those drawing over Rs.50 in lieu of bonus. Other concessions made later on were: (1) Provident Fund with Company's contribution of one month's salary per year. Full amount to be paid after twelve years, (2) Production bonus to be paid to the Indian employees also when holding the posts of covenanted hands, (3) Gratuity to be paid on retirement after 12 years' continuous service out of the lapsed Provident Fund, (4) Two weeks' leave annually to the dally-rated staff, (5) Consideration of the question of recognition of the Labour Association if found that the Association is a genuine body which desires to work in cooperation with the Management'.

Conclusion

The strike of 1920 was the first in the series of movements that were to convulse Jamshedpur in the coming years. In fact, for the whole of India, the 1920s was a time of heightened labour militancy. The preceding period has generally been described in official reports as one of quietude (Royal Commission on Labour in India (RCLI),

Report, p. 333). Things begin to change from 1919 onwards (Home Political Department, No. 52, Feb. 1920). Strikes in this period were reported from Bombay, Calcutta, Madras and Cawnpore.

Though there is no clear link between the strikes in Jamshedpur and in other parts of the country, it is indicative of a general upswing of militancy across the country (Mathur and Mathur, 1957; Sharma, 1963; Karnik, 1967; Sen, 1975; Joshi, 2006). The strike movement of 1920 in Jamshedpur, as in other parts of the country, presents a complex picture. It is not of a linear progression towards the formation of a homogenous class identity but had to grapple with fissures along the lines drawn by caste, religion and even the continent. This gives credence to the belief that culture too plays an important role in workers' organisation along with the fact that to understand the working class movement one should take also beyond the shopfloor and see the other forms of associations and the ties of kinship that bind the workers (Chakraborty, 1989; Chandavarkar, 1994). The presence of Calcutta Congress leaders in Jamshedpur in the formative years of the movement created an atmosphere of ambivalence that the workers eventually had to deal with.

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Women, Agriculture and Environment: Tracing the Relationship Through Folk Wisdom of Punjab

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Abstract

Historically, women have been the primary stewards of agricultural land, passing down ecologically sound practices through generations. Prior to the green revolution, the environment was the major concern in the traditional model of agriculture followed in Punjab. The important factor contributing to this concern was the active participation of women in the agricultural process. This is evident in the songs like "*teri kanak di rakhi mundeya ve hun mai naio behndi*".¹ Folk wisdom in the form of songs, idioms, sayings, etc. by women acknowledges their relationship with agriculture, land and crops. However, the green

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¹ A recorded song from Punjabi movie *Do Lachyan*.

revolution and the advent of technology in agriculture have displaced women from this sector. The talk of land and crops gradually disappears from women's compositions and farms become a masculine space in popular music. This gendered practice of agriculture rendered women invisible to the entire process. The present study aims to examine the relationship of women with the land, agriculture and environment by analysing the folk songs of women of Punjab. The content analysis method was incorporated to analyse the songs.

Keywords: Folklore, Women, Environment, Punjab, Agriculture

Introduction

The traditional model of agriculture in Punjab has predominantly been male-centric, with men taking on the primary roles in farming activities. However, women have always played a crucial but often overlooked role in agriculture, particularly in the context of Punjab. Traditionally, women in Punjab have participated in labor-intensive agricultural tasks. They actively participated in activities such as planting seeds, transplanting seedlings, weeding, harvesting commodities, and post-harvest tasks such as threshing and winnowing. They were also responsible for milking, feeding, and maintaining the overall health of milch livestock, such as cows and buffaloes. However, the Green Revolution displaced women from the agricultural practice. Women after the Green Revolution participated in agricultural practices as agricultural labourers. These agricultural labourers are associated with a marginalised section of society (Gill, 2001).

Ecofeminist perspectives highlight the intrinsic connection between women and nature, as nature is often symbolised as feminine. While women share a profound bond with nature, their roles and contributions are frequently overlooked by society (Kennedy & Dzialo, 2015). However, they have expressed and articulated this connection through their folklore, giving voice to

their deep relationship with the environment. Different genres of folklore like folk songs, proverbs, and sayings frequently emphasise the agricultural experiences of women. These celebrate the perseverance, dedication, and tenacity of women farmers. Their connection to the land, their struggles, and their expectations for a bountiful harvest are expressed in the lyrics.

Folk songs are therefore categorised as 'soft evidence' in contrast to archaeological or inscriptional evidence which can be located reasonably accurately in space and time and therefore constitute 'hard evidence'. Nonetheless, anthropologists and historians are increasingly using such sources to construct a social history of neglected social categories such as women, artisans, and peasants, with women present in the latter two categories (Ramaswamy, 1993). The folklore of Punjab, particularly folk songs of women preserved the narratives and perspectives of women in agriculture. The below-mentioned proverb reflects the participation of women in different tasks.

*"Eh gal mashoor hai saare
Jatti saare hi thok swardi hai
Godi baal khede nake unn tumbhe
Chidiyan haakdi te lele chaardi hai"*

It is popular everywhere, a woman is always multitasking; a child in her lap, she knits wool, as well as protects crops from birds and oversees the grazing lambs.

It is clear from these lines that women play a significant role in agricultural labour alongside their male counterparts. She can oversee multiple tasks simultaneously. She supervises children while spinning the wheel. In addition to protecting crops from sparrows, she also raises cattle. Along with the household work, a farmer's wife used to assist him in agricultural duties beyond the farm and within the farm. In this context, *jatti* refers to every

woman in the agricultural class or a woman participating in agricultural activities. (Kaur, 2021).

Research objectives

- To examine the women's exclusion from agricultural practices in the Green Revolution era.
- To explore women's relationship with agriculture and the environment through folk songs.

Research Methodology

This study employs the content analysis method to examine Punjabi folk songs, aiming to explore the interconnected relationship between women, agriculture, and the environment in the context of Punjab.

The discussion will be under the following themes:

- Women's Involvement in the Cycle of Crop Production
- Claiming the space in the Agricultural Sphere through Folk Songs
- Mentions of Trees, Birds, Seasons, and Crops of Punjab in Folk songs

Women's Involvement in the Whole of Crop Production

In Punjab, women have traditionally participated in food processing and preservation (modern terms) activities. They were responsible for cleaning, sorting, and drying cereals and vegetables. In addition, women played a vital role in the refining of food products, such as the preparation and preservation of pickles, etc. The participation of women in agricultural tasks used to start from the time the harvest arrived at the house to the time of making the final product *roti*. They were not only physically involved in

the process but also were connected aesthetically to the whole journey of production. After the arrival of the harvest or final crop at the house, they had to clean it, grind (*Ukhli*) it to make flour, and store it (for seed preservation) for future months. The women were the creators of the entire process, from the raw cotton to the spinning wheel to the creation of carpets and linens, while also imbuing the process with the emotions tied to preparing their dowry. They were responsible for the transition of raw materials to the final product with cultural significance.

Talking of the physical tasks in farming, she equally used to participate in tasks like picking cotton, sowing, harvesting, grinding, etc. Women had indigenous knowledge about herbs with nutritional values like *saag*, *chibbad*, etc. However, the relationship of women with agriculture and the environment has always been undermined and under represented. As discussed above women were actively engaged in that whole cycle of crop production. Agriculture has traditionally been regarded as a masculine profession; however, women have equally contributed to it through physical labour in the fields and by engaging in related activities within the household. However, women's contributions have rarely been acknowledged in mainstream discussions about agriculture. Women themselves recognised their relationship with farming, crops, birds, seasons, and other aspects of rural life through songs and sayings. Folk literature is rich with references to women's relationship with agriculture and the environment.

Claiming the Space in the Agricultural Sphere through Folk Songs:

In the folklore of Punjab, a woman claims her space in the whole process through her songs. She acknowledges her relationship with agriculture through her songs:

*"Huarhi vaddungi barobar tere,
Ve daati nu laaa de ghunghroo"*

In the fields, I will harvest equally with you but firstly put bells on my scythe.

In this boli², a woman tells her husband that she will share the harvesting responsibilities with him, but he must adorn the scythe with tiny bells. There is evidence of women's equal participation in agricultural practices. Here a woman is consciously claiming her space in the agricultural sphere, but this song also reflects women's aesthetic ways of doing the work.

"Tere bajre di rakhi, ve hun mai nahio behndi ve"

Now, I am not going to sit to guard your Bajra (Millets)

In this song, this can be seen how women were involved in the task of protecting the crops from birds, animals, etc. There is also a very popular song talking of the same thing *"teri kanak di raakhi mundeya hun mai nahio behndi"*. Here, the woman is asserting her will through these lines. However, a woman in her songs is aware of her limited space in agriculture ownership. In Punjab, land ownership and control are predominantly held by males, women often being overlooked and denied their rightful share of land. Independent ownership of such resources, particularly land, can play a crucial role in promoting the empowerment and well-being of women (Agarwal, 1991). In one of the songs, a woman says *"kanka nisriyan dheeyan kyon visriyan ni maaye"* (Wheat crop has been ripened, but why the daughters have been forgotten?). This is political thought coming from the mind of women that when the wheat or the crops turned into yield they are forgotten from the share of profit. This issue was always been prevalent in Punjab,

² "Boli (boliyan) is sung by an individual, each verse at an increasing pace, and the boli's culminating line is rapidly repeated by the collective. (Singh, 2011).

where the daughters' share in the land is often compensated by the amount of money spent on their marriages or dowries. Another song related to this thought is "*hari hari kanak, utte ghumman bhameeriyā, devo veero ve bhaina mangan janzeeriyā*". This *boli* also conveys the same sentiment that the ultimate control over the land and the money rests with male heirs, women or daughters are merely compensated just by giving them the ornaments or material possessions.

Mention of Trees, Birds, Seasons, and Crops of Punjab in Folk songs

Women of Punjab through their songs express their deep connection with the environment. Their songs frequently mention crops, trees, birds, and seasons reflecting their intrinsic knowledge about the environment.

Trees: There are mentions of many trees in the folk songs and sayings, like Kikkar, Tahli

Kikkar, Tahli (A tree native to South Asia)

*"Urle khet di kikkar vechti Prle khet di taahli,
Ghar ayea tn Kanak vechti, Krti bukhari khali,
Bhaur bimaar peya, udd gyi mathe di laali"*

From one side of the field kikkar tree is sold, from the other one talhi tree is sold, Wheat sold from the earthen bin, Yet my husband fell sick, and my worries within, Glow faded from my forehead

In this particular *boli* a woman expresses concern not only about her husband's illness but also about the *kikkar* and *tahli* trees that have been cut down and sold by her husband. It recognises the issue of cutting down trees, symbolising the link between environmental degradation and individual health. This expression

captures the interplay between the depletion of natural resources and its perceived association with bad luck. This reflects the deep-rooted cultural belief in the interconnectedness of nature, health, and well-being.

*"Kikkran nu lggan tukke
Ni ranjha door khara dukh puche"*

The fruit (a sort of bean) hangs on the Kikkar. Oh Ranjha (the lover) sighs in the distance asking about the pain

In this song, there is a mention of a *kikkar* tree. Drawing from the broader literary context of Punjabi love tales in folklore, the analysis expresses the recurrent motif of trees as pivotal symbols encapsulating the essence of romantic relationships. In this song also the *kikkar* tree becomes a poignant expression of emotional connectedness despite the physical separation of a lover. The cultural implications draw the integral role of trees as witnesses to the complexities of romantic relationships."

*Othe kikkran nu Laggan plaase
Jitho di mera veer langhya"*

The *kikkar* trees are growing patasas (sugary product of white colour) on the route taken by my brother.

Here, it can be seen that the trees symbolically represent the bond between brother and sister. It is said in this song that the bitter fruit of the tree turns sweet when the brother passes beneath it. The song additionally portrays a woman's comprehensive affection, for everything including the trees reflects the deep connection of women with the trees.

Amb, toot (Mango tree, Mulberry)

*"Amba te tootan di thandi shaan'
Shaan' ni Koi pardesi jogi aaa, lathe ni..."*

Under the Mango and Mulberry's cool embrace, jogis have arrived.

In this folk song, the female intricately details her acquaintance with mango and mulberry trees, emphasizing her familiarity with the refreshing and cool shade they provide. Concurrently, her discourse extends beyond the literal realm, subtly symbolising the tranquil nature inherent in individuals, specifically *jogis* (Hermits). Through this symbolic association, the song conveys a profound thematic alignment between the calming ambience of the trees' shade and the peaceful disposition characterising enlightened beings, thereby offering a nuanced reflection on the interplay between nature and human spirituality.

Nimbu (Lemon plant)

"*Lipya swaray chaurtra*
Boote nimbu'an de laaye
Veeran varge chaudhri,
Nimbu torhi aaye"

Early morning, I daubed my open cooking space with mud and cow dung, planted lemon trees; my brothers (who are called *chaudhri* - an honorific title) came to pluck lemons

Here, the heightened awareness of women of planting different plants like lemon in their open culinary spaces is demonstrated through this folk song. Furthermore, again the verse employs symbolism to represent the profound bond between siblings, specifically brother and sister, encapsulating it through the symbolic journey of a lemon tree. The brother referred to *chaudhri* (person of high dignity) comes to pluck the lemon. Here the sister's praise for their brother is also evident, reflecting her admiration and respect for him.

"Rasiya nimbu liaade ve

Mere uthi kleje peerh"

Bring me lemons, juicy and sweet, In my heart, there is pain

This particular *boli* encapsulates the pregnant woman's craving for juicy lemons, reflective of her physiological condition characterised by taste swings. In the expressive dialogue between the expectant woman and her husband, the demand for lemons serves as a poignant illustration of human reliance on natural elements to fulfill inherent needs during the significant phases of their lives.

Khajoor (Date tree)

"Lammiye ni ras bhariye Khajooro

Kihne ditte eddi door ni?

Hey, you tall and juicy date, who has given you away so far from home?

In this song, a *khajur* tree, symbolically representing an unmarried daughter, is metaphorically linked to a *khajur* tree. The question in the song depicts the distress experienced by a woman due to geographical remoteness from her parental house. This metaphorical framework not only captures the cultural nuances surrounding marriage but also underscores the profound transformation and relocation of the unmarried daughter, drawing upon the imagery of the *khajur* tree as a poignant emblem of familial ties and societal expectations. The mention of fruits and trees reflects the strong connection between women and nature.

Jaman (Jamun)

"Apni mami nu smjha lai ve kharhunasti kr di aa,

Saade vehde de vich jaamn ve jaamn te chrdi aah"

Warn your playful aunt, She is playing tricks, Climbing our *jamun* tree in the courtyard.

The *boli* notably exhibits a discernible tendency to incorporate satirical references to trees during moments of joy. In folklore trees also serve as a vehicle for humour or commentary during celebratory contexts. Additionally, it reflects the landscape of rural households, where trees are not only integral to the environment but also part of the cultural and social fabric of daily life.

Pippal and Bohar (Ficus religiosa, Banyan tree)

*"Pippal'an nu laggan papeeseyya'n ve haniya
Bohar'an nu laggdia gohla'n zaalma,
Ve Mai russi kde na bola zaalma..."*

Flowers (Papeesiyan) bloom on pippal's tree, flowers
(Golan) grace bohar tree, I know not how, In anger's grasp,
silence I vow.

This *boli* references the pippal and bohar trees, both of which are giant trees, with which women shares a special connection. These trees were central to the *tej* festival where women used to gather under the cool shade of these trees to perform *giddha* and to sing the songs. Additionally, women used to prepare their dowries under their dowries collectively in *Trinjan*. Their familiarity in this song with the fruits of these trees further deepens this connection. The cultural and social nexus between women and the Pippal and Bohar trees highlights the profound cultural and social dimensions of rural life. This *boli* also paints a vivid picture of the rural landscape, rich with the presence of these iconic trees.

Vegetables: (Sponge gourd, Leafy vegetable)

*"Kaddu lai gyi nkaude vali
Kaddu vala Sacch bolda"*

Gourd seller is telling the truth

The woman with a long nose has taken the gourd.

In this *boli*, there is a satirical reference to a woman with a long nose. Such mentions were common in women's folk songs, often used humorously or to poke fun at certain physical traits, reflecting the playful and expressive nature of folk traditions.

*"kehri ae tu saag tordi
hath soch k gandal nu paayi"*

Hey lady plucking the mustard leaves, who are you?
How dare you to do so without permission?

This *boli* comes from the mouth of the landowner (male) or it can be the wife of a landowner who is enquiring about a woman as she is plucking the saag from their fields. The woman engaged in the task can also be assumed as a Dalit labourer who generally has no control over the resources of the village. This reflects the possession of natural resources by the land-owning class. Such a communicative scenario encapsulates and illuminates the intricate interplay of caste, class and gender dynamics prevalent in the rural Punjab. This contextualises the broader sociocultural framework, underscoring the nexus between agrarian practices and the stratified societal structures perpetuating disparities among the marginalised communities.

"Ehna ne Ki nachna jinha channe khadhe saag de?"

How can they dance when they have devoured bowls full of saag.

In this *boli*, there is again a satirical mention of *saag* on a joyous occasion, reflecting the community's deep familiarity and harmony with the natural herbs of their environment. This playful reference highlights the cultural significance of locally grown

herbs and their integration into daily life, even in celebratory contexts.

In the context of folk songs, trees hold significant cultural and emotional relevance, particularly among women of the era. These songs often depict a profound connection between individuals, especially women, and the trees in their surroundings. This connection is exemplified in the folk songs that frequently refer to trees, illustrating a deep-rooted bond between the people and nature. The celebration of *Teej* festival under the cooling shade of prominent tree species such as *pippal* and *bolhar* further underscores the integral role of trees in their lives. The presence of trees within their courtyards serves as a tangible and constant reminder of this profound connection, shaping their experiences and cultural expressions.

Women in their songs also talk of birds such as **Crows, Sparrows, Dove, Parrots etc.**

"Vagdi nadi de vich ghuggiya da jorha

Ik ghuggi udd gyi te pai geya vichora"

River flows, where doves once played, One took flight,
and the twosome broke up.

This song centers around two birds, metaphorically representing either sisters or girlfriends. When one enters marriage, the two are separated. This separation can also be interpreted in the current context of environmental degradation and its impact on bird populations, as they are increasingly disappearing. The song, therefore, explores the interconnected relationship between the environment, women, and birds, symbolising how changes in the natural world reflect shifts in personal and societal dynamics.

"Moran ne paila' n paa lyia

Babul chham chham rove"

Peacocks dance with colours bright, Father weeps softly.

This song delineates the profound emotional connection between a father and his daughter, particularly highlighting the father's emotions as his daughter prepares for marriage. Noteworthy is the cultural and folkloric context embedded in the composition, where the peacock, used as a symbolic motif. In Punjabi folklore, the peacock is a symbol of the male gender. The nuanced interpretation of this symbolism lies in the metaphorical transfer of a woman's control from one male figure, her father, to another, her husband, thus encapsulating the socio-cultural dynamics intrinsic to the institution of marriage.

"Udd da taan jaavin ve kaavan

Javin mere pekeyan de des ve

Khabar liyavi koi amri di"

Crow, take flight to my kin's abode, Fetch news of my mother, the tale untold

Of particular note in Punjabi folklore is the prominent role attributed to crows. It is said that if the crow is cawing on the roof, there is a possibility of guests at the home. In numerous songs, women invoke the crow as a messenger, employing it as a medium through which they seek connection with their parental home. This poignant representation underscores the profound longing and nostalgia experienced by these women when separated from their families. The act of beseeching the crow for news of their parent's house becomes a powerful metaphorical gesture, illustrating the women's emotional attachment and the bird's cultural significance.

In the realm of traditional folk songs, the pervasive presence of birds, especially in the oral expressions of women, emerges as a distinctive motif. Within these songs, women engage in a symbolic discourse with birds, using them as conduits to articulate their

deepest emotions and sorrows. Through these folk songs, the intersection of human sentiment, nature, and cultural symbolism is vividly portrayed, offering a nuanced glimpse into the complex tapestry of emotions and traditions prevalent in the cultural landscape of Punjab.

Seasons: There is also a mention of seasons in their songs like *saun* or the month of rains is one of their favourite months during the whole year. They also talk of *Jeth*, *Haarh*, *Bhaadon* (names of traditional months in Punjab).

*"Saun mahcena meeh peya painda
Golan payian verhe vich ve
Kalli da lagda na chitt ve"*

Rain falls in the monsoon's grace,
Flowers carpet the floor of the courtyard,
Alone, without him, my heart finds no place

Within the cultural milieu a specific emphasis is placed on the monsoon month of *saun*. Particularly during the rainy season, these songs depict the yearning of a woman to reunite with her lover. The monsoons, often associated with fertility and abundance, become a backdrop against which the woman's desires and emotions are articulated.

*"Saun veer kathiyan kare
Bhaadon chandri vichode paave"*

Saun (name of a month) a brother makes us meet but
Bhaadon's wrath, it parts our kind.

In this *boli* (*saun*) month is personified as a brother embodying both familial and emotional bonds. This month called the month of rains assumes the paramount significance in the lives of women.

These songs underscore the profound connection between natural cycles and human experiences.

In the rich tradition of folk songs sung by women, explicit references to seasons and months emerge as thematic elements intricately intertwined with the female life cycle and agricultural practices. These songs not only chronicle the passage of time but also underscore the profound connection between natural cycles and human experiences. This portrayal not only highlights the intimate relationship between human emotions and the natural environment but also sheds light on the cultural nuances, where the changing seasons and months serve as metaphors to convey the intricate interplay of love, longing, and agricultural rhythms within the context of these folk songs.

Women in their folk songs also talk about crops like **wheat, Cotton (Narma), Millet etc.**

*"Aidhar kankan odhr kankan
 Gabhe khada gaaara
 Vich gavaare boti chardi
 Gal vich ohle maala
 Chand vangu chamkdiye tere mahi da rang kaala
 Wheat crops here and wheat crops there,
 In between lies fields of Guara, adorned
 Camel grazes in the Guaara fields ,
 Oh, girl, radiant as the moon so bright,
 Your husband's hue, a deep, dark night*

The *boli* vividly portrays a harmonious coexistence between agrarian elements, emblematic of an era wherein societal livelihoods were intricately interwoven with the natural landscape. Talking about wheat cultivation, the gaaara, and the pastoral presence of a grazing camel, this narrative reflects a profound symbiosis, wherein human existence is characterized by a synchronous relationship with the rhythms of nature.

*"Tere bote nu guaare diya fliya'n
Tainu veera dudh da channa"*

For your camel, Guaar plants standing tall, For you
brother, a bowl, brimming with milk.

In the above-mentioned *boli*, the woman is portrayed as an active participant in agricultural activities, reflected by her offerings of milk to her brother and her care for his cattle. The song reflects the sensitivity of the women towards animals for their treatment. Here it can also be seen that the women in the household have a strong hold over the milk because of their special connection with the animals.

*"Urle khet vich moth bajra parle khet vich ganne,
Ve mai nacheen haaniyan khetan de banne banne"*

Millets on this side, and sugarcane on that side. Dear, I
dance by the edges of the fields happily.

The song depicts women participating in celebratory events upon seeing the ripened crops, dancing at the edges of the fields. While this can be interpreted as a celebration of the crop's ripening, it also highlights the irony that, despite their involvement in the agricultural process, women do not receive any monetary profit from the sale of the crops. This reflects the gendered dynamics of labour and reward in rural agricultural societies.

Through a nuanced analysis of these folk songs, it becomes evident that women of the era maintained a profound connection with their natural environment. The folk songs illuminate the intricate web of relationships that women cultivated, not only with fellow human beings but also with animals and crops. Additionally, the songs depict women engaging in celebratory events and traditional dances set within the backdrop of their agricultural fields. This holistic representation underscores the integral role of women in various stages of agricultural processes,

emphasizing their contribution to activities such as planting and harvesting of crops, including millets, cotton yields. The recurrent mentions of crops and agricultural elements in these songs reflect the active involvement of women in the cultivation and nurturing of these vital resources. These narratives serve as a testament to the deep intertwining of individual emotions with the natural world, highlighting the symbiotic relationship between human communities and their surrounding environment.

Contemporary Women's Relationship with Agriculture

These days women's active participation in agricultural processes has been significantly limited to domestic sphere where they just continue to prepare food for their families and labourers. The folk songs with the mention of surrounding fields, crops, and millets have markedly diminished in contemporary literature, particularly after the advent of the green revolution. Previously, these agricultural elements were integral components of folk songs and cultural heritage, reflective of their deep-rooted connection to farming practices.

Contemporary music narratives, primarily highlighting the land-owning community of 'jatts' occasionally mention agricultural terms such as "*jhona*" (rice), yet these references seldom emanate from the voices of women. Here, it is important to note that *jhona* or rice was a profit-oriented product of green revolution in Punjab. The evolution towards a market-oriented rural society further sidelines women's roles, diminishing their active engagement in agricultural activities. This shift resulted in their exclusion from agricultural profits and decision-making processes. Moreover, despite the enactment of the Hindu Succession Act of 2005, granting women legal rights to property and land ownership, Punjab continues to deny its daughters these privileges. Consequently, the current agricultural paradigm not only fails to provide women with equitable opportunities but also exacerbates their economic and social vulnerabilities, undermining their agency and reinforcing gender disparities within the agricultural domain.

There is an urgent need to reevaluate traditional folk practices in Punjab, particularly in the context of agriculture, is critical, especially in light of the environmental consciousness expressed in the folk songs of women. These songs act as invaluable repositories of knowledge, underscoring sustainable farming practices and the inherent symbiosis between communities and their natural surroundings. To harness this wisdom, it is essential to disseminate folk knowledge about sustainable agriculture across society. Moreover, it is vital to rekindle the forgotten bond between women, the environment, and agriculture. Empowering women to reclaim their connection with the land, including securing their land rights, is fundamental. Government intervention is essential in transforming the agricultural sector into a more inclusive space, requiring the formulation and implementation of policies and programs that promote women's active participation as farmers. Additionally, efforts must focus on improving the working conditions of women engaged in agricultural labor, fostering an environment where gender equity and sustainable agricultural practices converge to create a more harmonious and just society.

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Women's Employment in the Renewable Energy Industry

-Occupational patterns and barriers to progress

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Abstract

Compared to the carbon-based fossil fuel industry, the renewable energy(RE) industry is an emerging sector as the economy is shifting towards cleaner, greener energy sources. This shift in the economy to renewable energy is the key solution for climate change as it results in fewer emissions than fossil fuels. This paper is primarily based on secondary data available from International Renewable Energy Agency (IRENA) reports and primary data collected from visits to two industries; India One Solar Thermal Power Plant in Rajasthan and Alpex Solar Industry in Noida. The main data sources include Reports by the Ministry of New and Renewable Energy and the International Renewable Energy Agency (IRENA). The overall objective of this paper is to examine the occupational share of women in the renewable energy industry

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and explore the probable reasons behind the absence of women in this industry. A notable imbalance exists in the gender distribution among leaders in renewable power companies, with a low presence of women in high-ranking roles in executive and management positions. Information on women-operated solar energy businesses in rural or peri-urban locations has been scarce, but the impact of these energy start-ups led by women is significant at individual, societal, and communal levels. Thus, enhancing the presence of women in the RE sector can create opportunities for additional women to join, benefiting both themselves and addressing climate change.

Keywords: Renewable Energy Industry, Climate Change, International Renewable Energy Agency, STEM, Glass Ceiling, Wage Disparity.

Introduction

The climate crisis is now a worldwide threat and has escalated to an emergency because of its destructive impact. Increasing temperatures, severe weather, melting ice, wildfires, higher sea levels, intense rainfall, floods, hurricanes, and droughts have had negative impact not only on the economy, but on life in general. These instances of extreme weather frequently result in terrifying ordeals for the impacted individuals, leaving them feeling unsafe, and in danger for their lives. The effect of climate change can be seen on overall human development through its impact on food security, agricultural production, increased exposure to climate disasters, rising sea levels, water insecurity, scarcity of biodiversity, natural ecosystems, and public health. Hence it requires an attitudinal shift for creating a better environment for future generations to come. Herein lies the significance of renewable energy for mitigating the impact of climate change.

Compared to the carbon-based fossil fuel industry, the renewable energy industry is an emerging sector, as the economy

is shifting towards cleaner, greener energy sources. The renewable energy industry comprises solar, bio-fuel, hydropower, wind, solid biomass, biogas, geothermal energy, and tidal energy industry. This shift in the economy to renewable energy is the key solution for climate change as it results in fewer emissions than fossil fuels. Moreover, as the name suggests, renewable energy sources such as sunlight, water and wind are natural, and therefore, they take less time to replenish when compared with non-renewable energy sources. Hence, the renewable energy industry plays a central role in climate change mitigation and clean energy transition. The efficiency in end-use plays a positive role in the reduction of harmful greenhouse gas emissions, which accounts for the highest share in emissions. The implementation of renewable energy (RE) continues to expand sustainably and is becoming an increasingly cost-effective alternative to traditional energy sources in emerging economies and developing nations. There is growing acknowledgement of the beneficial socio-economic effects of renewable energy implementation.

When it comes to India specifically, the renewable energy sector holds great potential for creating jobs and reducing the effects of climate change. Solar photovoltaic is the leading renewable energy industry in India with 41.4 per cent of the installed capacity, followed by hydropower at 26.9 per cent and onshore wind energy at 25.4 per cent, as well as solid biofuels, biogas, and municipal waste among others (IRENA, 2023). When looking at the top ten countries in terms of solar energy industry electricity capacity, India appears fifth following China, the USA, Japan, and Germany. In 2022, there was a rise of 191.4 GW in global solar PV capacity, exceeding the 141.2 GW increase from the year before. China accounted for 45 per cent of these additions, amounting to 86 GW, followed by the United States, India, and Brazil (IRENA, 2023).

Hydropower also remains at the forefront of the renewable energy industry, having a global capacity surpassing 1,255 GW by 2022 (IRENA, 2019). When looking at the top ten countries in hydro energy industry electricity capacity, India ranks sixth after China,

Brazil, the USA, Canada, and the Russian Federation (IRENA, 2023). In 2021, the worldwide output of liquid biofuels hit 162 billion litres, bouncing back to 2019 levels after a drop in 2020. According to IRENA (2023), 106 billion litres were represented by bio-ethanol, approximately 46 billion litres by biodiesel, and almost 10 billion litres by hydro-treated vegetable oil (renewable diesel). The USDA-FAS's initial estimates show a small rise in production for the leading biofuel producers globally in 2022. The leading biofuel producers were European Union countries, with Indonesia, Brazil, and the United States coming in close behind.

When it comes to job creation, China accounted for roughly 56 per cent of worldwide PV employment, amounting to about 2.76 million jobs. By 2022, the number of employment opportunities tied to PV in the United States hit 264,000 (IRENA, 2023). India has about 281,400 solar jobs, placing it as the second largest in the world, just behind China. It is believed that there are 201,400 jobs in on-grid solar and 80,600 jobs in off-grid settings. China made up roughly 35.3 per cent of global Hydropower employment, with India following closely behind at approximately 18.8 per cent of direct hydropower industry jobs. Due to the evident growth in the renewable energy sector in terms of employment opportunities and growing demand for greener sources of energy; it becomes crucial to understand the position of women in this sector through a gender lens. This paper attempts to look at the employment prospects of women in the renewable energy sector and also identify the probable reasons for the lower number of women in the renewable energy industry.

Methodological Approach

This paper is primarily based on secondary data available from International Renewable Energy Agency (IRENA) reports and primary data collected from visits to two industries; India One Solar Thermal Power Plant in Rajasthan and Alpex Solar Industry in Noida. The main sources of data include Reports by the Ministry of New and Renewable Energy and the International Renewable

Energy Agency (IRENA) reports. The overall objective of this paper is to examine the occupational share of women in renewable energy industry and explore the probable reason behind missing women in renewable energy industry.

Share of women in the renewable energy workforce

The employment impacts of renewable energy investment are becoming more significant in the worldwide renewable energy discussion; however, detailed analyses and empirical data on this crucial issue are still quite scarce. In many contexts, even basic employment information on RE is either lacking or not trustworthy. Data on employment in this field, broken down by sex, is especially inconsistent globally. This complicates the analysis of trends and the ability to make comparisons. Estimates of women's employment in renewable energy can vary significantly based on whether the analysis incorporates or omits large hydropower and informal jobs in renewable energy, especially in traditional biomass and fuel crop production in developing nations and emerging economies (IRENA, 2013). Yet available statistics reveal interesting results.

Approximately 10.3 million individuals globally were working in the renewable energy sector in 2017, whether through direct employment or indirectly. According to the IRENA (2018) online gender survey, in the renewable energy industry, 45 per cent of females are in administrative roles, 35 per cent in non-STEM technical positions, and 28 per cent in STEM roles. The solar PV industry generates more jobs per unit of electricity generated than any other renewable energy technology. Furthermore, as per the IRENA (2018) data, after examining the mentioned data, it is evident that women are more represented in the solar photovoltaic industry than in other RE sectors, with 58 per cent of administration roles being filled by women.

According to a study conducted by Kolb et al. (2022), a greater percentage of women worked full-time (37 percent) in small-scale,

decentralized renewable energy systems (off-grid, standalone systems, and mini-grids) compared to those in large-scale, on-grid centralized systems (large hydro, geothermal, and wind)(22 percent). The recent IRENA study supports this finding, revealing that women made up 32 percent of the renewable energy workforce and 22 percent in the oil and gas sector (IRENA 2019).

Under-representation of women in technical or specialized occupations

The involvement of women in the formal labour market has been influenced by a mix of social norms, cultural beliefs, societal values, and economic needs. In numerous regions globally, women's roles and responsibilities are primarily associated with domestic tasks and unpaid work. Women engage in economic activities even within the private domain, but they are also opting to join the formal workforce out of choice and necessity, in record numbers (Runyan and Peterson, 2013). However, it is often reflected in current statistics that women are deterred from pursuing careers in RE and, more generally, in engineering and technology due to misconceptions about the nature of the work in these areas (Baruah, 2017). Due to the focus on the technological elements of these jobs, women frequently come to think they are not suitable for such jobs. On the one hand, where socio-cultural beliefs have altered how society perceives women, and on the other hand, it has also affected how women perceive themselves for such a nature of work.

Misperceptions in the energy sector are particularly noticeable within technical positions. One prevailing idea is that most women lack the necessary physical strength for these roles. However, the importance of bodily strength has greatly decreased because of the automation and mechanization of many tasks. Certain misconceptions arise due to not being sure about women's skills in technology. There is an inherent bias that women are perceived as less competent in technical roles when compared to men. Many times, women do not possess the necessary training and skills for

various occupations. This is mostly because these professions were traditionally designed without taking women into account, resulting in lower interest and a limited pool of potential candidates. Furthermore, when it comes to selecting leaders, men are mainly hesitant to consider women as suitable candidates due to the socio-cultural beliefs about capabilities of women.

Men dominate the workforce in the energy industry on a global scale. When it comes to women's employment in the fossil fuel industry, only 6 per cent are in technical roles, 4 per cent have decision-making positions, and just 1 per cent are in top management (UN Women, 2012). Data from the OECD (2015), shows that the renewable energy sector has a workforce comprising mainly men, with women making up only 20-25 per cent of employees, mainly in non-technical and lower-paid roles such as administration and public relations. Additionally, the data indicates that women are predominantly hired for non-technical roles, with the majority employed in sales, followed by administrative positions, and lastly as engineers or technicians (IRENA, 2013). In IRENA's (2013) report, solar photovoltaics (PV), solar heating/cooling, wind power, biofuels, and biomass were identified as the main sources of renewable energy jobs for women (Baruah, 2017).

A study conducted by Kolb et al. (2022) revealed that the majority of female staff members were found in corporate support roles. The three areas with the greatest percentage of female workers were administration (38 percent), communications (public relations) (34 percent), and sales (31 percent). Women occupied 13 percent of STEM roles (engineering/technical) and 16 percent of technical non-STEM roles (environmental, health and safety, legal, regulatory, and standards specialists) (Kolb et al., 2022). This form of occupational segregation is prevalent worldwide in the male-dominated private sector, particularly in the conventional energy sector, where most of the senior women hold administrative positions rather than central business roles (Moodley et al. 2019).

Based on census statistics, total job growth in engineering and technology fields increased by 45 per cent from 1997 to 2008, in contrast to a 24 per cent growth rate for all other job categories. Although there has been a substantial rise in the availability of new jobs in engineering and technology, the overwhelming majority are still occupied by men (Calnan and Valiquette, 2010). In industrialized nations, it is clear that a smaller number of women complete engineering degrees, leading to their under-representation in the RE field. The data indicates a notable rise in engineering and technology jobs, with the unfortunate truth being that the majority of these positions are filled exclusively by men. By receiving training and being offered chances to cross-mentor local entrepreneurs, women can help bridge the employment gaps in both STEM and non-STEM fields. Nevertheless, women in many countries continue to experience different types of workplace discrimination and come up against the glass ceiling (Calnan and Valiquette, 2010). These records highlight the need for greater involvement of female employees in this industry.

Barriers to employment

In the previous two sections, we discussed the share of women in the renewable energy workforce and the under-representation of women in technical or specialized occupations. In this section, we will discuss the probable reasons behind the same and barriers to employment. An examination of existing literature identifies several factors that can either hinder or promote women's significant involvement in the RE sector in developed nations and developing markets which includes: societal and personal misconceptions regarding women's technical skills; the advantages and challenges related to self-employment and entrepreneurship; the benefits and drawbacks of part-time employment and job-sharing arrangements; the challenges and opportunities women encounter in handling work-related travel; skill gaps within the RE sector; and the role of the public sector in shaping policies that support employment equity in RE.

One such way to assess the gap or barrier to women's employment in RE is through Global Gender Gap Report or Gender Gap Index. World Economic Forum annually releases the Global Gender Gap Report and Gender Gap Index since its launching in 2006, to highlight the global situation of differences between men and women. According to the Global Gender Gap Report 2024 for 146 countries, the gap closed at 68.5 per cent which means it will take 134 years more to achieve gender equality (World Economic Forum, 2024). Gender Gap refers to the unequal outcomes between sexes in various economic contexts. These unequal outcomes result in inequality or differences between men and women in terms of the following aspects:

- ♦ **Economic Participation and Opportunity:** Difference in wages and salaries between men and women, number of leaders and participation at the workplace.
- ♦ **Educational Attainment:** Difference in access to basic and higher levels of education between men and women.
- ♦ **Health and Survival:** Difference in life expectancy and access to health between men and women
- ♦ **Political Empowerment:** Differences between how men and women are represented within decision-making organisations.

The existing studies indicate that bridging gender gaps enhances business performance. With the expansion of the RE sector and its workforce, women can significantly contribute to enhancing the competitiveness of companies. There is substantial proof that companies with gender diversity outperform those lacking it. A significant study conducted by the International Labour Organization (ILO) examined African firms and discovered that gender-diverse companies saw impressive profits, with 30 percent of firms monitoring gender diversity indicating a profit boost of 10 to 15 percent (ILO 2019).

Gender inequalities in the workforce primarily stem from the fact that men still have a dominant influence over educational

opportunities and hiring procedures. There is an argument that women are inclined to show a significant enthusiasm for environmental concerns and have high levels of education. They have different positions in the renewable energy sector and possess a strong knowledge of gender dynamics. The problem arises in part from women's self-perception and in part from men's beliefs about women's ability to succeed. However, the main factor causing changes in female employment can be found in low-tech manufacturing sectors. As the industry transitions from employing relatively unskilled labour to utilizing more sophisticated technology in production, the proportion of women employed in manufacturing usually declines. The decrease in the number of women in the field of electronics can be attributed to the increased level of automation and advancement in technology. Moreover, obstacles that primarily affect women's progression in renewable energy careers include the **glass ceiling, mobility challenges, and wage disparities**. The concept of 'glass ceiling' was first coined by Marilyn Loden at a 1978 Women's Exposition in New York. It refers to an invisible social barrier that prevents women or other minorities from being promoted to higher managerial positions within any organisation or industry. This can result from the denial of equal opportunities for women due to differences in perceptions and stereotypes associated with the roles women can occupy.

Regarding **wage disparities**, while part-time male workers may earn less than full-time male employees, they still receive higher pay than part-time female workers. It is clear worldwide that women in poverty usually favour stable jobs over entrepreneurship due to the risks involved (Baruah, 2015). A major concern is the unequal ratio of women in part-time positions and the disparities in gender pay gaps. Moreover, recent research indicates that renewable energy (RE) companies usually provide higher wages when compared to firms outside the RE industry (Baruah, 2015). Nonetheless, female employees in the RE industry still make lower salaries on average compared to their male counterparts (Baruah, 2015). Women with advanced

education receive lower pay compared to men in comparable roles due to gender-based occupational segregation and wage disparities between the genders (Baruah, 2015). Small-scale industries take advantage of women more because minimum wages are not enforced. These factories do not provide any amenities for female workers as they are employed on a daily wage system under labour regulations. Women are kept on standby as a backup workforce, only being called upon for employment when there is a shortage of labour and being sent home when there is enough labour (Baruah, 2015). The energy value chain often overlooks women's contributions, failing to fully recognize their role (Pearl-Martinez, 2014). Moreover, sex-disaggregated data for part-time jobs in the renewable energy sector is scarce, particularly in comparison to other industries. Finding data specific to one gender is extremely challenging.

Another barrier to the employment of women is the **"sticky floor"**. The concept of a 'sticky floor' was given by Catherine White Berheide in the year 1992. The term refers to the phenomenon of women being restricted to low-paying, low-mobility, low-prestige jobs that are primarily held by women, such as lowest-paying female-dominated occupations such as administration support. The prevalence of sticky floors results in limited opportunities for promotion, and such occupations lack job ladders for moving women up vertically. The sticky floor symbolizes what women working at the bottom of the hierarchy may face which keeps them struggling at the lowest levels of occupations. Women are limited to working as employees on assembly lines and in production roles with no opportunity for advancement (Baruah, 2015). Therefore, for women to fully reap the benefits of working in renewable energy, they require socially progressive policies and shifts in societal perspectives on gender roles.

Further, the positioning of renewable energy projects or industries is dependent on the availability of natural resources such as sunlight or wind, often resulting in being located in isolated areas without housing for employees' families, causing difficulties in commuting to work and creating a hindrance

(IRENA, 2013). In emerging countries and growing economies, women face restrictions in **mobility** due to social responsibilities, safety issues, and traditional household roles, but many women are finding creative solutions to navigate these obstacles. Women's participation in designing and implementing sustainable renewable energy systems is essential because of their important role as the main energy users in households. Similar to positions in the traditional fossil fuel sector, jobs in the renewable energy field may involve considerable travel and time spent away from home. Though this can be difficult for men as well, women with caregiving duties, particularly for young children, find it especially tough. The sites for major RE construction projects are often influenced by the geography of natural resources and are frequently found in remote regions, lacking facilities for workers' families (IRENA, 2013). Furthermore, the renewable energy sector demands a larger workforce in contrast to fossil fuels, as noted by Wei et al. (2010), with the shift anticipated to lead to an increase in employment opportunities (Wei et al., 2010). It is essential to highlight that the division between opportunity and constraint is not clear-cut and with suitable policy measures only certain constraints could be transformed into opportunities but that would require changes in societal perspectives (Baruah, 2017).

Missing women in the renewable energy industry

This section draws insights from first-hand primary field experience through visits to two industries, India One Solar Thermal Power Plant in Rajasthan and Alpex Solar Industry in Noida.

India One Solar Thermal Power Plant

"India One" is a 1 MW solar thermal power facility featuring 16 hours of thermal energy storage, enabling continuous operation throughout the day. This captive power facility provides electricity to the Brahma Kumaris headquarters in Abu Road, Rajasthan, which has a total housing capacity for 25,000

individuals. "India One" has received partial funding from the German government's Ministry for the Environment, Nature Conservation, Building and Nuclear Safety (BMUB) as part of the bilateral "ComSolar" initiative, implemented through the German development agency GIZ (Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit) and the Ministry of New and Renewable Energy, Government of India, under an R&D scheme.

The main accomplishments of the India One Solar Power Plant are as follows:

- ♦ It has 770 units of 60-square-meter parabolic reflectors featuring a distinctive static focus design, utilising specialised solar-grade mirrors with 93 per cent reflectivity and incorporating a fully automatic dual-axis tracking system to daily and seasonally align with the Sun's position.
- ♦ The 770 units of locally designed cast iron cavity receivers produce superheated steam directly, reaching temperatures of 450 degrees Celsius and pressures of 42 bar. Because of the fixed design, receivers are economical and have a prolonged lifespan with minimal necessary upkeep.
- ♦ The 60m² parabolic reflector, by following the sun, focuses solar rays into the stationary cast iron receiver. Each receiver consisting of 3 tons of cast iron serves as thermal energy storage during the night or under partially cloudy conditions. The steam coil encircles the cast iron core, functioning as a steam generator by transferring heat from the iron core to the water. The steam at high temperature flows through a turbine linked to a generator that generates electricity. "India One" is a self-sufficient, off-grid power facility supplying electricity to the Shantivan complex located at Abu Road.
- ♦ The technology has been created internally and serves as a strong illustration of the "Make in India" initiative.

- ♦ The India One Solar Thermal Power Plant was successfully commissioned at the start of 2017. It serves as an excellent example of solar thermal power facilities with storage globally.

While the accomplishments of India One Solar Power Plant are highly recommendable, the barriers highlighted by the existing studies could also be witnessed in reality on the field where no woman could be seen working on the field or operating machines. When asked by a male worker, he claimed that in an industry that requires technical skills, you will not see a woman working. The present researcher went ahead to the office, where she met the CEO



of the industry, Mr Rakesh (name changed), who also confirmed that women are not working in a field that requires technical skills and qualifications and, therefore, only men were spotted in the industry. While checking the reports of the industry available on the website, a woman's name could be seen who was the R&D coordinator. This reveals similar results as visible in the global IRENA survey where women were restricted to few jobs.

Alpex Solar Industry

Alpex Solar Ltd., a prominent solar panel producer listed as an SME since 1993, is based in Greater Noida, India. The cutting-edge, vertically integrated facility features a fully automated production line managed by a group of 250 committed professionals. They are leading the renewable energy movement, providing an extensive selection of premium solar solutions tailored to satisfy the varied demands of our clients. This encompasses advanced bifacial panels that absorb sunlight from either side, leading to higher energy output. Furthermore, Alpex Solar produces its premium aluminium frames, guaranteeing total quality management and enhanced compatibility with our solar panels.

The visit to Alpex Solar Industry in Noida revealed an opposite view as the manager claimed to hire an equal number of male and female workers. They provided training to both males



and females, thereby providing equal job opportunities. However, due to paucity of time and privacy concerns, they didn't allow the present researcher to interact with any of the workers. Upon checking the website, among the team members, the name of Ms Monica Sehgal could be seen, she has been the whole time director in Industry. An interesting thing to note is that her multifaceted role spans marketing, communications, administration, and HR policy development, again reflecting another side of the story that confirms the findings of the IRENA reports about women being primarily occupied in the non-technical field.

The observations of both industries were contradictory as one industry claimed no woman was working in the renewable energy industry while the other claimed women were involved in every activity of the industry. This shows contrasting viewpoints in both industries which requires further investigation by future researchers as to what are the probable reasons behind variations in employment conditions in the renewable energy industry.

Conclusion: Women as agents of climate change mitigation

Previous research suggested that in countries with a higher dependence on extractive industries, women were less likely to have leadership roles and be employed compared to countries with a lower reliance on such industries. Females in control of their own companies and leading team-based tasks consistently surpassed males in charge of both individual and team-based projects. Findings also show that women are more likely to do better than men in group settings than when working individually. Renewable energy companies that have a greater number of female employees experience increased efficiency in their use of labour and capital. Bigger renewable energy firms tend to have a higher number of female employees, but these females mostly work in non-technical positions. Women's participation decreases in positions that require higher education. A notable imbalance exists in the gender distribution among leaders in renewable

power companies, with a low presence of women in high-ranking roles in executive and management positions.

According to the study conducted by Lucas et al. (2018), women show a stronger inclination towards renewable energy compared to the traditional energy industry. The Women's Forum (2021) Barometer revealed that in G-20 nations, women are addressing climate change more than men (Westendarp, 2021). Women were more inclined than men to act to lower their carbon dioxide emissions for the sake of the planet's sustainability and to mitigate the effects of climate change on coming generations (Women's Forum 2021). Women can save about 100 hours annually by having energy access, giving them more flexibility in organizing their tasks. When women take part in creating energy solutions, they frequently contribute actively to the development of their communities and, consequently, contribute to transforming social and cultural norms that have limited their empowerment. Obstacles and possibilities for women in energy access can be tackled through Off-grid renewable energy, resulting in improvements in women's well-being by decreasing indoor air pollution, enhancing lighting for girls' education, and generating more income-generating chances in rural economies thanks to modern energy jobs.

The renewable energy industry plays a central role in climate change mitigation and clean energy transition. There exists a significant disparity between women in scientific and non-scientific fields. Men dominate the workforce in the energy industry on a global scale. When it comes to women's employment in the fossil fuel industry, only 6 per cent are in technical roles, 4 per cent have decision-making positions, and just 1 per cent are in top management (UN Women, 2012). Obstacles that affect women's progression in renewable energy careers include the glass ceiling, mobility challenges, and wage disparities. Women's participation decreases in positions that require higher education. A notable imbalance exists in the gender distribution among leaders in renewable power companies, with a notably low presence of

women in high-ranking roles in executive and management positions. Thus, enhancing the presence of women in the RE sector can create opportunities for additional women to join which will not only be beneficial for them as well as help in addressing the climate change.

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**Peter Singer 'Animal Liberation Now:
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In his novel, 'The Unbearable Lightness of Being' (1984), Milan Kundera writes:

True human goodness, in all its purity and freedom, can come to the fore only when its recipient has no power. Mankind's true moral test, its fundamental test (which lies deeply buried from view), consists of an attitude towards those who are at its mercy; animals. And in this respect mankind has suffered a fundamental debacle, a debacle so fundamental all others stem from it.

This is a powerful sentiment and one that Peter Singer would agree with. However, he doesn't like to confine himself to an appeal to emotion. He prefers an appeal to reason – which he *thinks* convinces more people. He would also argue that we should be nice to animals because their interests carry value, and not because of the '*debacles*' that might otherwise arise for humans.

In 'Animal Liberation Now', Singer's 1975 classic gets a 2023 update. Professor Singer revisits his well-reasoned arguments against unequal and unfair treatment of other species and finds them still standing on solid grounds. He details the examples of animal suffering brought on by humans. That actually does invoke

a lot of emotion, making it an uncomfortable read, especially, for empathaths and animal lovers. With simple but impactful prose, the book invites an introspection of our attitudes towards animals and the aspects of our lives we don't usually question, e.g. our diet. It also lists actionable steps for change that people can take as per their abilities and circumstances. The most impactful step, of course, is to become a vegan or a vegetarian.

Prefaced by Yuval Noah Harari, the book is divided into six chapters. First, Prof. Singer outlines his ethical principle for 'equal moral consideration' to animals. Then, he devotes two chapters on the horrifying and painful realities of animal experimentation and factory farms, exposing the pinnacles of human disregard for animal suffering. Subsequently, he shows how giving up on eating meat is the best decision one can take to tackle climate change and how it also benefits human health. Then, he traces the speciesist attitudes of the West in Judeo-Christian pantheon and the ancient Greek philosophy. Lastly, he responds to objections, offers actional pieces of advice for animal-welfare, and shows the progress made for animal rights since the book first came out.

Central to this book is the strong opposition to 'speciesism', a term that was first coined by Richard Ryder and then, popularised by Singer. Speciesism refers to the discriminatory idea that a living being is superior and more valuable solely because they belong to a certain species. It is so ingrained that we aren't even aware of the idea but act in its ways. Speciesism occurs at two levels in the human mind. First, it is the belief that humans are superior to all the other species. Second, it is the preferential attitude that the lives of certain animals like cats or dogs are more important than other animals.

For Singer, speciesism is wrong and at odds with our current ethical principle of human equality. Currently, our finest rational and secular justifications base human equality on the principle of equal moral consideration. Humans are unequal in many ways but what unites them is that they're sentient beings. They have a capacity to suffer and experience joy, and hence, a deliberate,

unjust harm to any human is considered immoral. All humans are thus granted 'equal moral consideration' regardless of gender, religion, race, caste, etc. As a utilitarian, Singer's position states that there is no logical basis to keep other organisms with a capacity to suffer, out of this 'equal moral consideration.'

In so many ways animals are like us, they desire their own well-being, show sympathy, feel hurt when harmed, and behave socially. Strength doesn't justify exploitation or killing of animals, like it doesn't justify exploitation or killing of humans. Otherwise, one might as well support imperialism, racism, patriarchy, and bring back slavery. To treat animals like property and to eat them is hence immoral and speciesist. If anything, evolution reminds us that humans are animals themselves.

Some may argue that humans have a capacity to reason and reflect. Even though it is still insufficient to justify unnecessary harm to other sentient beings, it is not universally true either! Infants, people with brain-damage, genetic disease, and many other kinds of disorders lack the capacity to reason or reflect. Yet, we don't cut up and eat human infants or physically/cognitively impaired human beings. Nor do we conduct harmful experiments on them or grow humans just to harvest their organs. We find such ideas appalling and yet, in our normalised speciesism we do similar or worse things to animals without much thought.

From hunting to animal sports, speciesist attitudes pervade human behaviour and actions. But most atrocious are the domains of a) Animal Experimentation and b) Factory Farms. The scale of animal suffering in these two domains is beyond the imagination of an average human being. The staggering stats, processes, and their justifications would alarm most people. It is also hard to overlook the additional role of capitalism in all this by incentivising people to overlook moral considerations and providing them with the means to do it.

One basic economic incentive is to get paid and advance your career. This drives a lot of animal experimentation — majority of which anyway, doesn't yield any useful results. Book shows that

for the purpose of academic research and product safety tests, animals like monkeys, dogs, rats, rabbits, and more are/have been isolated, starved, electrocuted, mentally tortured in other ways, and gotten harmful chemicals poured into their eyes, and so on. A lot of this academic research in medical and behavioural sciences is based on weak premises, faces a replication crisis (a study on monkeys is unlikely to apply to dogs or humans), and is often taken up just to advance careers through publications and grants. Similarly, many product safety tests overlook possible non-animal alternatives.

Singer doesn't advocate a blanket ban on experiments though. He cannot reason against the morality of providing health benefits to a large number of people by experimenting on much smaller number of animals. He does try to draw a line. For him such use of animals should only be allowed if there are no alternatives, the chances of success are high, it benefits a large number of people, the animals are treated ethically, and harmed as minimally as possible. Many in the animal rights movement disagree with this take which even Singer makes hesitatingly.

For factory farms, consider the classic image of a poultry farm with chickens freely roaming around or cows grazing freely in green pastures with their calves and other cattle. Such perceptions are highly deceptive now as most of our eggs, meat, and dairy products are not produced in such environments. With advancement in technology and capitalism, they are produced intensively by big corporations or large producers in the most harrowing conditions at the factory farms. Higher meat consumption and capital makes the situation worse in the developed countries. Consider the U.S., where each year, 34 million cows, 128 million pigs, 2 million sheep, 23 million ducks, 216 million turkeys and 9.3 billion chickens are killed for food. For the farmed fishes, the rough global estimate is around 124 billion per year and this excludes crustaceans, octopuses, and even the larger number of wild-caught fishes required to make feed for farmed fishes.

The mistreatment of cows, chickens, pigs, fishes, and similar organisms in industrial farming has considerable overlaps. Almost all of these organisms are selectively bred for traits that make them grow rapidly and then, these beings are force-fed and fattened for more profits. They spend almost all their lives indoors, confined to very limited spaces in very large numbers, and often without enough room to even turn around or move properly. Therefore, these creatures exhibit unnaturally distressful and aggressive behavior. To save labour costs, their litter is not cleared regularly either and they constantly live in a massive stink of ammonia. For meat products, animals are killed way sooner than their average natural lifespans; contrast, for example, a chicken's lifespan of 5 to 7 weeks in factory farms with its natural lifespan of around 7 years. All these animals go through painful processes along the way, including forced starvations and gruesome transportations before slaughter, early separation from their progeny, and cutting up of beaks/horns/tails (often without anesthesia or pain relief to save costs) to prevent them from harming each other in distressful confinements. Economic expediency prevails at every step of the way and their lives from birth till death consist only of suffering.

In case of birds, if avian influenza or the "bird flu" is detected, entire shed or batches are killed to stop the chances of spread. Most common method is to shut the ventilation off and add heaters, so that the birds die of heatstroke. Due to a big outbreak in 2014-15, fifty million chickens and turkeys died or had to be killed in the United States.

All these details point to how little we value the lives of animals. But how did we land in a situation like this? In the West, Singer traces it in large part to the influence of religious and philosophical thought. Judeo-Christian pantheon preaches that dominion of animals has been granted to man by God and it is not immoral to kill them. In philosophy, the influence is traced to Aristotle, who infamously defended even human slavery, and held animals to be inferior to humans. Everyone later just followed the great philosopher. Due to lack of enough familiarity, Singer

doesn't comment on other cultures. This also makes the book a bit western-centric.

Importantly, there is now a scientific consensus that links meat consumption to climate change. Previously absent, this updated book talks about it in detail. Meat and dairy diets are responsible for close to 15% of the global greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions. Partly, it's the direct emissions generated from animal waste, but essentially, raising billions of confined animals requires food. Naturally, a very high proportion of agricultural produce therefore goes to factory farm animals. Humans are cutting forests, including the Amazon rainforest, to get more agricultural land for factory farm feed, destroying ecosystems along the way. Dr. Singer puts it aptly, "we are quite literally, gambling with the future of our planet for the sake of hamburgers" (p. 166).

Becoming vegan reduces one's carbon footprint massively and actually requires less agricultural land. Singer mentions a research that finds, "if everyone in the world ate like people in India, 55% percent less land would be required to feed them" (p.156). Since 1975, vegan and vegetarian diets have fortunately found more global acceptance. Many celebrities and sports stars are now vegan. Animal welfare organisations and their support base has also grown overtime.

Small-wins and regulations have also been pushed successfully through governments to reduce animal suffering. For example, in the last two decades, harmful experiments on great apes like chimpanzees and orangutans have been banned in the U.K., European Union (EU), and even in the United States – the global face of capitalism that otherwise lags behind the developed countries in standards of animal-sensitive regulations. Individual confinements for some of the animals also have been gradually banned in Europe. EU has even agreed upon a ban on cages for all factory farm animals which would take effect by 2027. Political parties for animal justice have also cropped up to exert more policy pressure and their members have made it to the parliaments in Netherlands, EU, Australia, and some other european countries.

This updated classic from Peter Singer has the potential to propel more awareness and progress. It can inspire new generations into action. Singer's ethical principle is now accepted in academic philosophy and most philosophers now agree that exploiting animals is immoral. However, people continue to eat animals. If you try to remind them of this immorality and mention factory farms, a common response is, "please don't tell me, you'll spoil my dinner". Maybe, it's easier to ignore *reason* as compared to emotions. In the absence of a satisfactory refutation, Singer's reasoned position remains strong but perhaps, it is the horrors of animal-suffering that evoke the necessary emotion to think about animal welfare. That's what this book does. And that's why more people should read it!

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Reviewed By

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Ishita Choudhary, Zakheera -E-Junoon

Indian Society of Professional Social Work (ISPSW),
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The title of the book Zakheera -E-Junoon in Urdu language meaning the "Treasure of Passion," reflects an emotional depth with its harmonious interplay of the linguistic tradition in the title. The name, design and all the photographs used in the book powerfully underscore India's cultural ethos as a nation of diverse languages, scripts, and traditions bound together. It encapsulates a geographical exploration alongwith a philosophical journey yet the purpose of social work education is also kept intact. It somehow reflects the hard efforts put in by this young, promising budding social worker through her extensive field work exposure in the selected villages from the state of Rajasthan during June, 2019. It is important to mention that, this book is an added outcome of the field work carried out during a mandatory part of the MSW curriculum titled as Internship/Block placement in a well renowned internationally acclaimed NGO - Centre For Community Economics and Development Consultants Society (CECOEDECON) with its headquarters based at Jaipur, Rajasthan.

The jacket of the book, front and back covers speak volumes about the engagement of the social worker with the community. The front cover portrays how joyfully the author herself is holding

a child against the backdrop of modest rural house and evokes a deep sense of connection, warmth, and genuineness. The candid nature of the shot aligns seamlessly with the book's theme of unveiling raw, unembellished realities. It would have been better if the book has been designed horizontally with a hard bound cover for enjoying the photographs in a much better manner. It might have helped the viewer to feel the essence of every photograph with ease and comfort along with a cup of coffee.

Delving into the book, one finds that it is not merely a photographic journey but an introspection into the human spirit and heritage as reflected in the daily lives of the people residing in those villages. The visuals are not just aesthetically captivating; they are laden with narratives. Each photograph tells a story of fortitude, tradition, and perseverance against the unforgiving realities of desert life.

The book has been thoughtfully divided into various sections, allowing readers to immerse themselves in the visuals without the need for explicit labels or headings. The subsections are as follows:

- **Epitome of Wisdom: Local residents** - Their faces are maps etched with the lines of experience with each wrinkle narrating the journey of laughter, endurance and exposure which have been captured beautifully. These lively speaking photographs reveal an unyielding spirit, where hardships are not lamented but embraced as part of existence. It teaches us that in a world chasing superficial achievements, these living beings stand as testaments to the strength that lies in simplicity to the highest. There are certain photographs of the elders which bring into focus the twilight of their lives, as they sit with the patience of trees, rooted yet expansive. Their stories are not just histories; they are reminders of what we stand to lose in our relentless march toward modernity.
- **Lifeline of every family: Children** - There is certain poetry in the way children in these villages carry their burdens -

in the heads and hands, but never in their hearts. In one of the pictures, a young girl, barely taller than her bucket of water, walks with a grace born of necessity. Her laughter, unburdened by the weight of her reality, reminds us that joy is not a privilege of the fortunate but a choice of being resilient.

- **Women: Silent Trailblazers** - They wear their traditions like armour and their struggles like a second skin. From intricate tattoos that chronicle love stories to hands stained with henna that tell of celebrations, these women embody a delicate balance between heritage, progress and self esteem.
- **The Land and its architecture: Beauty in Barrenness** - The cracked earth speaks of a thirst that is never quenched, yet life flourishes in defiance of despair. Rajasthan' landscape is a metaphor for human resilience—arsh, relentless, yet breathtaking in its ability to sustain life. The weathered doors of Rajasthan, with their peeling paint and rusting locks, stand as monuments to time Is the desert a symbol of scarcity, or does it teach us to find abundance in the bae essentials?
- **Food: The Flavour of Love**- In every kitchen, there is a symphony of simplicity - a melody of hands that knead, grind, and stir with care. Meals here are not mere sustenance they are acts of devotion, binding families and traditions together and teach us that in a world of fast food and fleeting moments, do we still recognize the sanctity of food as an offering of love?
- **Animals: A Contradiction of Reverence**- A striking photograph in this section was that of the sacred cow whom we worship is seen scavenging from the garbage. If animals are symbols of divinity, why does our devotion not extend to their well-being. It also overs the essence of rearing animals which help a family to survive happily.

Hence, we can say that this book can be considered as a mirror reflecting what we often overlook in our own lives. It urges us to pause, to listen to the silent stories of a world where life is not measured by material wealth but by the richness of spirit.

The field work is considered as the soul of social work discipline and this book has originated from the grassroots level. Every photograph in this book narrates a complete story about that person, place, architecture or whatever is depicted in it. This book exemplifies how social workers can understand the person, place and to some extent the problems faced the communities living in these areas through photographs. This could have been better if it could have been supplemented by some narratives or experience sharing etc describing the realities in words. The author could also make few brief write-ups about all subsections for a better clarity. For budding social workers it could be a good resource to understand a new community setting through photographs taken from ground zero. The present book could be an asset if more and more schools of Social work start using photography as a tool to understand the various social problems. The aspect of visual sociology clearly helps the students or learners to understand the depth of an issue. A famous proverb rightly states that "A picture is worth a thousand words" and it is apt for this book, as it covers lakhs of words encompassed in these numerous photographs. Moreover, this book serves as an invaluable lesson for the Social work students as it highlights the importance of documentation and keen observation in the field. The students should recognize that stepping outside their comfort zone is the key to comprehend the complexities of the real world. Through this immersion, one's own struggles and the understanding of humanity expands. The author has set a high bar for future generations, showcasing that the true work lies in the details of life that many overlook. It is a reminder that social work is far deeper and more transformative than one might initially think.

We may say that through the cracks of weathered walls and the calloused hands of labourers, this book invites you to witness the stories that remain unwritten yet profoundly felt. Here, the

social worker could also have taken up the technique of photo voice, whereby involving the localities to capture, what they feel as important. It is a book which can serve as a delight for the tourism industry and even the foreigners can engage with the state beyond the stereotypical lens of poverty or pity, where its lessons of unity, resilience, and humanity can inspire generations.

While concluding, we can say that as you turn each page, may you find yourself questioning not just what you see, but who you are? For in the desert's stillness, there is a quiet voice that asks: What truly sustains us?

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**Kuldip Singh, Punjab River Waters Dispute in
South Asia: Historical Legacies, Political
Competition, and Peasant Interest,
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Kuldip Singh's book provides an in-depth political, historical, and legal analysis of the ongoing river water dispute, particularly the contentious issue between Punjab and Haryana. While the primary focus of the book is Punjab's case for its "rightful" share of river water, Singh explores a broad range of factors that have contributed to the complexity of the Sutlej-Yamuna Link (SYL) canal issue. These include political pressures, regional dynamics, and the interests of the farming community, all of which have transformed the dispute into a deeply polarized issue in post-colonial Punjab. The author skillfully delves into the intricate, multi-dimensional interactions that transcend the simple question of water rights, offering a comprehensive understanding of the problem. Singh traces the origins of the dispute back to the

¹The study predicts that excessive water loss in the Amu Darya by 119% and Indus Basin by 79% due to glacier retreat, lake expansion, and sub-surface water loss in the Tibetan Plateau.

²Charles Wald, General, U.S. Air Force, retired; Director and Senior Advisor to the aerospace and defense industry for Deloitte LP, states that the US military thinks water scarcity as a threat to the US dominance.

partition of British India, with the conflict intensifying after the Punjab Reorganization Act of 1966. This division of resources following the bifurcation of the erstwhile Punjab (PEPSU) set the stage for decades of conflict.

As you read the book, it reminds you of two different works. First, the study¹ of the Indus River terrestrial storage water over the Tibetan plateau, which projected that water volume could decrease by 79% by 2050, and second, a statement from the Isaac Asimov Memorial Debate, where one of the participant² claims that Pentagon views that World War III would be fought over water scarcity. In this broader context, Singh's book serves as a timely reminder of the increasing importance of water amid the challenges posed by climate change. The work transcends being merely a monograph on the river water dispute in Punjab—it could be considered a “crossover” book, which a layman having an ounce of interest on water dispute can study/read.

Singh highlights three major contentions of Punjab regarding river water sharing. First, the issue of the rights of riparian versus non-riparian regions; second, the claim that not a 'single drop' of water is available to share; and third, the assertion that all previous water-sharing accords were imposed under duress by the central government. These positions are deeply rooted in Punjab's culture and ethnic identity, with an emphasis on the state's “rightful” ownership of the river water, as well as the political dynamics in the state driven by competition for the peasant vote.

The book opens with a thorough examination of the legal frameworks surrounding the redressal for river water disputes in India. The partition of British India heightened the urgency of water-sharing arrangements between India and Pakistan, leading to a skewed resolution of river water rights. Singh notes that the key bone of contention between Punjab and Haryana lies in the distribution of water from the Beas and Ravi rivers. The initial agreements on water distribution were made under duress, with the central government imposing forceful measures. Singh explains that the first agreement between Punjab and other states

secured India's exclusive rights over the Sutlej, Ravi, and Beas rivers. However, this became a point of contention after the Punjab Reorganization Act of 1966, which mandated a 60:40 division of resources between the newly created states of Punjab and Haryana. Consequently, successive Punjab governments maintained that the state held superior rights over water from the Beas and Ravi rivers compared to non-riparian Haryana.

The non-implementation of the 60:40 water resource division, along with the pressures exerted by the Eradi Tribunal (1986), the Supreme Court's 2004 verdict on the SYL canal, and the 2016 Supreme Court ruling nullifying the Punjab Termination Act of 2004, have made Punjab increasingly wary of compromising its position on the river water dispute. The state government, under the leadership of Chief Ministers like Captain Amrinder Singh and Parkash Singh Badal, has sought to protect its interests by passing laws like the Termination Act of 2004, which ended all previous water-sharing agreements between the state and any other parties, and the 2016 Transfer of Property Bill, which returned land annexed for the canal to its original owners.

The book also examines the volatile nature of Punjab's political history, where political actors must navigate their ambitions for both personal gain and the broader aspirations of the state. This dual role as both a champion of Punjab's cause and a figure of suspicion among voters highlights the complex dynamics of Punjab's political landscape. Singh explores how this dichotomy is tied to the state's history as a religious community that has faced persecution, violence, and political marginalization. These factors have contributed to a sense of injustice and resistance to external authority. Additionally, the author delves into the role of Punjabi cultural ethos, such as "*chardi kala*" (the buoyant spirit) and "*raji karega khalsa*" (the Khalsa will rule), in shaping the state's political identity, which is often intertwined with religious and regional sentiments.

While Singh does not directly critique the anti-federal nature of Punjab's political stance on the river water dispute, he

effectively illustrates how state interests complicate the federal structure of the Indian constitution. Punjab's resistance to federal authority, particularly regarding the river water dispute, remains a significant factor in the ongoing deadlock and resolution of the said river water dispute.

Although the focus of the book is primarily on the political and legal aspects of the dispute, the author could have further explored the implications of climate change on the river water crisis. Finally, Singh's work provides a comprehensive and insightful analysis of the Punjab-Haryana water dispute, offering valuable perspectives on its legal, political, and cultural dimensions. The book serves as a valuable addition in the understanding of the position "taken" by the Punjab state on the river water sharing and the (de)construction of the Sutlej-Yamuna Link Canal.

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Abhinav Chandarchud, These Seats Are Reserved: Caste, Quotas and The Constitution of India.

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Dilpreet Singh

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Reservation, as a policy measure by the state, whenever discussed in the public and political domain often triggers various emotive responses either in support or against the same. The emotional load associated with the reservation usually inhibits any sagacious and apolitical discussion. The book, 'These Seats Are Reserved: Caste, Quotas and The Constitution of India' by Abhinav Chandarchud tries to fill the gap with very comprehensive and authoritative text on evolution and historical moorings of reservation as policy, debates in Constituent Assembly, constitutional position, legal contestations and judicial pronouncements, different concepts and terms associated with reservation as a policy. Most importantly the books deal with the current issues and challenges concerning the policy.

In the book, the author observes that despite the significantly borrowed nature of India's Constitution, the provisions relating to the reservation are uniquely derived from India's history and experiences. The book, very true to the author's observation, traces the evolution of reservation policy in pre-independence and post-independence India. The first chapters discuss the origin of the term Depressed Classes and Backward classes, from 19th century England, where they had exclusively economic connotations, but

when imported to India, these terms acquired meanings that were synonymous with caste. The colonial constitutional reforms mandated representation to 'depressed classes' in the legislative councils through nominations. This prompted the government to identify depressed classes. The newly found political significance of Depressed classes brought them into the focus of the Indian National Congress, which otherwise considered their condition as a social problem to be dealt with later after political reforms. The various committees constituted by the colonial government and 1931 census commissioner J.H. Hutton identified untouchability as a defining attribute of depressed classes. Concerning tribes, the census used backwardness and their exploitation as defining measures for protection to be provided.

The evolution of the term Class and Other Backward Classes is discussed in the second chapter, the author refers to the non-Brahmin movements in peninsular India, where society was considered to be divided into Brahmin, Non-Brahmins and Outcastes as against the four-fold division into north India. The author discusses that Jyotiba Phule cited the Aryan invasion theory and claimed that all Brahmins were foreigners, demanding an increase in the number of non-Brahmins in the colonial administration. Shahu Chhatrapati Maharaj in Kohlapur and the Justice Party in Madras took steps to reduce Brahmin representation in jobs and supported non-Brahmin classes. The Bombay government appointed the Starte committee in 1928, with Dr B.R. Ambedkar as its member, the committee in its report recommended that 'backward classes' shall denote three communities: 'depressed classes' (Untouchable communities); aboriginal and hill tribes (residing in forests); 'other backward classes'. The Bombay government adopted the 'rough working' principle that the 'Other Backward Classes' would 'comprise classes which are approximately at the same stage of social and educational advancement as' the depressed classes and aboriginal and hill tribes. Later, the Government of India Act, of 1935, referred to the 'depressed classes' as 'Scheduled Castes, and aboriginal and hill tribes as "Scheduled Tribes"'. The constitution of India under

articles 15 and 16 used the term backward class of citizen along with SC/ST.

The key themes concerning reservations, as discussed in the Constituent Assembly and its subcommittees, are the subject matter of the third chapter. The questions, which are still pertinent and contested, like: Who all are eligible?; How many seats should be reserved?; What should be the time limit, if any?; To which institutions the policy should be extended?; Will there be any impacts on the efficiency of administration? Who would decide the eligibility of any caste to be beneficiary of the policy? There were demands for reservation in the state's legislature, executive and judicial branches. The Constitution provided for proportionate reservation in the Legislature. The Constitution did not prescribe the quantum of the seats to be reserved in government jobs to keep it flexible in terms of general directive rather than of rigid character. Thus, adopting proportional representation in legislative bodies and adequate representation in government jobs. To substantiate the constitutional position author refers to Ambedkar's speech, mentioning that Reservation is an exception to the principle of equality of opportunity and should be restricted to a minority of seats, which essentially gave birth to the 50 percent rule. Under Article 16(4), by underlining backward classes, the constitution allowed reservation for other backward classes but without defining OBCs. The question of the adequacy of representation is kept outside the pale of judicial review, the decision of government is considered to be final. The constitution also decoupled being a minority as an essential prerequisite for reservation, the majority community can be beneficiary of the policy. The Constitution also provide for the sunset clause for reservations in legislative bodies, which was not favoured by Dr B.R Ambedkar. The book also explores Dr B.R Ambedkar and H.J. Khandekar's defence of reservation policy against inefficiency argument. The author discusses Ambedkar's questioning of the effectiveness of educational merit in terms of efficiency, supporting the inclusivity in the administration and challenging the notion that efficient government is inevitably good

governance. The chapter ends with a discussion on Ambedkar's demand for separate electorates for depressed classes and adequate representation jobs, which was opposed by Mahatma Gandhi. This led to the signing of the Poona Pact where seats would be reserved for Depressed class candidates in legislative bodies.

Chapter 4 of the book starts with post-independence legal and judicial developments regarding the reservation of seats in Educational Institutions, which was pronounced unconstitutional by the Supreme Court in *Champak Dorairajan* for violating Article 29(2), prompting the first constitutional amendment adding Article 15(4) among others. Newly added provisions empowered the government to make special provisions for advancing educationally and socially backward sections or for SC/ST. Challenges regarding the exclusion of economic backwards were countered by citing Article 340 of the constitution. Another significant question dealt with in the chapter is Who is Backward? In the quest for the answer, the author writes, the President appointed a commission headed by Kaka Kalelkar. The task at hand was arduous; the commission decided that the 'backward classes were nothing but castes', but in a forwarding letter to the President, the commission called caste identities repugnant to the spirit of democracy, which will be strengthened if caste is employed for recognizing backwardness. Thus, the commission came up with a long list of rough non-caste criteria to identify backwardness. It excluded dominant communities among backward classes while extending reservations to 'some' Muslims and Christians who still practice caste thus the commission recommended social position; education and representation in government services and commerce as parameters for backwardness with a cap on the quotas in jobs while allowing 70% quotas in educational institutions for equality of opportunity. But "the report disappointed the President". As far as Prime Minister J.L.Nehru was concerned, the author divulged that he seemed to be against the reservations for the reason that it may compromise efficiency and perpetuate divisions. The author reinforces that

Nehru's aversion to reservation does not imply his apathy to conditions of backward classes as the author cites various instances where Nehru was deeply concerned about the challenges faced by them. Thus, this part of the book touched upon the most contentious questions relating to reservation policy i.e. How to identify OBCs and does reservation impacts efficiency. These questions are explored at length in the next chapters.

The highly contested question of how the 'other backward classes' will be identified, the status of well-off families from backward classes, and the upper limit on the quotas are discussed at length in Chapter 5. The author examines the deliberations that were undertaken among the judges of the Supreme Court in light of the aforementioned questions. While dealing with the issue of 'upper cap' on reservations, in the M.R. Balaji case, Justice Gajendragadkar said that reservations should be lower than half of the total seats while quantum can be decided as per circumstances, being in line with Ambedkar's belief that reservations should be for a minority of seats. The judgment dealing with the carry-forward rule, which was upheld as unconstitutional by the Supreme Court for violating the 50 per cent rule, further tries to answer the contested questions where Justice Subba Rao in T. Devadasan's case dissented while supporting the carry-forward rule. Marking a historical moment, Justice Subba Rao refused to consider Article 16 (4) as an exception to 16(1). "Justice Krishna Iyer, in *State of Kerala v. NM Thomas*," used the words 'Creamy layer' for the first time, believing that the well-off, affluent members of the backward classes were the ones who were getting to 'consume the whole cake', while those genuinely in need, the 'weakest among the weak', were left with nothing." In the following years, the author observed that the Supreme Court started diluting the principles laid in the M.R. Balaji case i.e., using caste as the primary criteria for identifying backwardness, the 50 per cent rule became flexible, questioning the notion that reservation compromises excellence in colleges. The author cites numerous instances in support of his observation. Then, the chapter moves to the primary question of identifying OBCs, with

Prime Minister Morarji Desai appointing a commission headed by a former Chief Minister of Bihar, Bindhyeshwari Prasad Mandal, to objectively identify OBCs, the commission came up with 11 criteria for the same. It recommended 27 per cent reservation for Other Backward Classes, calculated to avoid violating the 50 per cent limit. Observation of the Supreme Court in Indra Sawhney's judgement is also discussed, especially regarding caste being the only factor and 50 per cent limit. The bench observed that the rule is sacrosanct and could only be violated in certain extraordinary conditions "provide for backward communities in far-flung or remote areas of the country". The most significant pronouncement was that the creamy layer would be mandatorily excluded from OBCs. It rejected to allow 10 per cent reservation for economically backward communities along with reservations in promotions. The author ends the chapter with a discussion of conservative (J.L. Nehru & B.R Ambedkar), centrist (Justice Gajendragadkar) and liberal (Justice Subba Rao) points of view on reservations and how Indra Sawhney attempted to balance these points of view.

In the 6th chapter, as the title of the chapter, 'An Era of Constitutional Amendments', the author discussed a series of constitutional amendments passed to 'wipe out' the Indra Sawhney judgement and tugoff a war between Parliament and Judiciary. The amendments were aimed at the dilution of the 50 per cent limit, reservation for SC/ST in promotions, reservations in private colleges and reservation of poor upper caste individuals. The author observes that the parliament passed the amendments unanimously with many Members of the Parliament criticising the upper-caste judges for insensitivity towards backward classes. "The Supreme Court acted as the opposition" while endorsing the Parliament's powers to undo the judgements, but it limited the power via instruments like the creamy layer test, the 50 percent rule, and 'quantifiable data' requirements. Another example of Parliament's revert is the legislative step to include Tamil Nadu's law, which allows 69 percent reservation in the ninth schedule. Later, the Court diluted the 50 per cent limit, in 'S.V. Joshi v. State of Karnataka, it said that "if a State wants to exceed fifty per cent

reservation, then it is required to base its decision on the quantifiable data". But in the Maratha Quota case, the Supreme Court pronounced that 50 per cent could be breached in extraordinary situations following the Indra Sawhney judgment. In *Chebrolu Leela Prasad Rao v. State of AP*, the Court employed the qualification of extreme caution while breaching the rule. For a better understanding of the readers, the author explains the roster system, the application of the 50 per cent rule and the court's pronouncement on the same, along with the developments regarding the application of the same in the central universities. The next part ponders upon the carry-forward rule, the passing of the 81st constitutional amendment for obliterating the cap in case of the 'carry-forwarding rule' where the vacant reserved seats from past years will be carried forward to the present recruitment cycle. The author also ponders upon another outcome of Indra sawhney judgement i.e. ban on a reservation in promotion for SC/ST, which was overruled by the 77th constitutional amendment in 1995, but OBCs were not included in the amendment. Supreme Court then employed the 'Catch-up rule' in *Union of India v. Virpal Singh Chauhan*, where the general category employee will regain the seniority on reaching the level same as SC/ST employee who got accelerated promotion over the same employee, to who he/she was otherwise junior at the previous level. This judgement was countered by the Parliament with 'consequential seniority rule' via the 85th amendment to the Constitution, enacted in 2001. The next part deals with the Supreme Court's response to the 77th, 82nd and 85th constitution amendments in *M. Nagaraj v. Union of India*. Then, the author shifts to the 93rd Constitutional Amendment called Mandal II by media, which for the first time, brought the private (non-minority colleges) sector into the ambit of reservation. The chapter further deliberates on the opinion of Judges of the Supreme Court on different issues related to reservation policy and its impact on the merit and efficiency in various judgements, ending with *B.K Pavitra v. Union of India*. In the end, the chapter refers to the recent development regarding the 103rd Amendment enabling reservation for economically weaker

sections in 2018 and its significance for economic conditions being the only criteria for benefits, increasing the limit beyond 50 per cent and identifying the beneficiaries being easier than doing same for SC/ST and OBCs.

The impact of marriage, conversion and migration on the caste status of the individual and its consequent application of reservation policy are discussed in the last chapter. The questions relating to the aforementioned issues are discussed in the light of Supreme Court judgements and deliberations. The onus is left on the adherence to culture, rituals and traditions; if the person is still following the rituals and traditions of the original caste, his/her caste status will remain. Supreme court also qualified the conversion of STs without loss of privilege by saying that the convert will be considered ST only if he/she remains part of the original tribe while following the customs and rituals and still suffering from a social disability. The author delves into the situation of reconversions back to Hinduism and its impact on caste status. The impact of marriage on caste status and constitutional status is discussed focusing on the Rohith Vemula case. The impact of migration on caste status is dependent on whether the reservation is sought in a State or Central institution as in the latter case the migration would not have any impact, while in the former migration leads to loss of status. The author further elaborates on the complications related to the inclusion and exclusion of sub-caste from the lists issued by Presidents. The issues related to false claims of being a member of SC/ST and OBC and its impact on the students and employees are also part of the chapter. The chapter ends with an analysis of the complicated body of law laid down by the Supreme Court in various judgements. The author observes that the additional burden that has been imposed by the Supreme Court on the Scheduled Tribe convert, therefore, hurts their liberty of conscience thus violative of Article 25. The differential impact of migration on state and central government institutions is claimed to be artificial by the author. Further, the author observes that "the law on the impact of marriage impairs a woman's freedom to choose whether she wants

to retain the caste of the family she was born into or to adopt the caste of her husband's family". The objection of the author to the non-recognition of differences within SC/STs by Supreme Court judgement was rectified recently. The book holds more significance amidst recent developments relating to the Supreme Court's judgement in *State of Punjab v Davinder Singh*, 2024, where the apex court ruled that sub-categorization within the Scheduled Castes (SC) and Scheduled Tribes (ST) categories is permissible, allowing states to create separate quotas for the more backward communities within these categories, effectively overturning a previous ruling that considered SCs as a homogenous group; this decision was made by a seven-judge Constitution Bench with a 6:1 majority.

The book is a crucial text, in the context of prevalent perceptions and contestation regarding reservation policy, for academic and common readers. The author sagaciously tries to objectively present the various views on different issues while sticking to the ethos of social justice. Thus, providing pertinent resources for more objective and informed discussion on the issues related to reservation policy. The relevance of such an objective text on the sensitive topic is paramount amid the tsunami of misinformation being paddled on mainstream and social media by vested interests.

Reviewed by

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