

TABLE OF CONTENT

Content	Page No.
From the Editor in Chief's Desk	4
Expert Speak - Perspectives in Research	
Dr Meetu Khosla	6-10
Higher Education of Dalit Women and Degree Completion in India	
Sangeeta Mastkar and Kalindi Sharma	11-23
Analysis of Labor Migration in Gurugram: A Study of Construction Workers	
Vishal Vishwakarma, Tasleem Khanam and Rimple Manchanda	24-44
Politics of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization	
Himani Kaushik	45-58
The Unpredictable 'Oikos': Agency, Memory and Migration in Contemporary Indian Poetry	
Debashree Sinha.....	59-65
An Assessment of Humanitarian Crisis Created by Boko Haram Insurgency in Yobe State, Nigeria	
Ibrahim Alkali and Kalindi Sharma	66-80
About the Journal	81
Call for Papers	82
Guidelines for Authors	84

Expert Speak - Perspectives in Research

M. Khosla¹

¹Professor, Department of Psychology, Daulat Ram College, University of Delhi

Introduction:

Research is a powerful way to understand what is known and delve in to explore the unknown. The source of inspiration comes from a genuine concern for the wellbeing of the society and how one can use one's knowledge to enhance it. The point is that one has to break the confidence heuristic, and base the research initiatives on scientific knowledge embedded in theoretical and empirical evidence. There are a variety of methods and approaches available to inquire about the research problem in question such as conflict or interpersonal interaction or feminism or community resilience. The social scientists try to understand the social phenomena through various methods of inquiry best suitable to investigate the problem. Efforts are devoted to explore the domain of interest and social significance as accurately and precisely as possible, by recording the data objectively so that it can be verified by another researcher as well. Research is a scientific approach to collect information and develop theories based on facts. It's like a pandora's box, as we keep opening up new pieces of information, more keep surfacing up. The most integral component of pursuing research in social sciences and humanities is the genuine concern for humanity, a sense of sensitivity for the common man and empathy for those suffering and a need to contribute to the wellbeing of the society in creating a common good.

Qualitative vs quantitative approaches:

The quantitative research approaches focus to gain an understanding of the various concerns in the social world by using techniques as experiments, surveys, correlational and descriptive methods. These methods provide an objective assessment of the behavior in quest in a quick and easy way. The data can be gathered via questionnaires, or scales or standardized psychological tests or through carefully designed experiments. There is an impressive growth in the adoption of experimental procedures in social sciences research. Different kinds of experimental designs systematically help to study phenomenon in laboratory or field settings controlling for extraneous sources of variation. The data through experimental method and surveys help to determine the cause and effect relationships with more confidence and making conclusive predictions about the observed modes of behavior, emotions and cognition. Various tools of analysis as

ANOVA, Regressions, MANOVA, Correlation etc. help the social scientists to make objective assessments of the data under observation. Though there are certain limitations while using experimental techniques for examining certain social issues, yet their importance cannot be undetermined.

While the qualitative and mixed methods involve different kinds of challenges. The qualitative methods are very flexible in their approach unlike the quantitative methods where explicit criteria for data collection and analysis is laid down (Levitt, Bamberg, Creswell, Frost, Josselson and Suarez-Orozco, 2018). Qualitative methods evaluate the subject of interest with a broadened perspective, using narratives (e.g., Bamberg, 2012), case study (e.g., Fishman & Messer, 2013), critical (e.g., Fine, 2013), phenomenological (e.g., Giorgi, 2009), grounded theory (e.g., Charmaz, 2014), ethnographic (e.g., Suzuki, Ahluwalia, Mattis, & Quizon, 2005), thematic analysis (e.g., Braun & Clarke, 2006) or other techniques to describe the subject matter in detail and search for an explanation within the cultural context. The qualitative methods are considered as non-scientific or systematic as the data is viewed from the subjective description of the experiences. The researcher draws inferences based upon the patterns of the observed phenomenon which informs their recommendations. The resources for drawing meaning are few yet detailed examinations of the contextualized descriptions which provide in-depth information about the characteristic in question. Unlike the quantitative approach where the researcher follows a structured design with the intention of verifying the hypotheses, the qualitative data is exposed to intense analysis in an attempt to explore the specificity with open mindedness and reflexivity. Since in qualitative approach the focus is on the context in which the behavior or social processes are examined, the positionality of the investigator with respect to time, place, relation and situation is quintessential. The context in which the investigator is situated is an important factor to be considered while interpreting the data.

Mixed methods integrate the data from qualitative inquiry and transforms it into numerical data for quantitative analysis. In fact it incorporates both quantitative and qualitative approaches to generate new perspective to research data with novel insights into the processes. There are many studies who have used mixed method designs in researches (Creswell & Clark, 2011) as convergent designs, exploratory sequential design or explanatory sequential designs. The research design aims to facilitate the goal of the research and mediates the selection of the research method for investigation.

Ethics in research:

The goal of research is to explore the phenomenon, understand the context and develop a theoretical basis of explanation of the behavior as interpersonal communication, social discourse, social injustice,

discrimination etc and facilitate an understanding of the psychological implications of the conduct. In this endeavor it is imperative that the researcher is sensitive to the psycho-social environment and the participants of the research. The designing and implementation of the research should be focused on ethical principles in various steps of planning, executing, data collection, analysis and sharing the findings. Researchers not only respect the members of the society or the population under investigation but also indulge in ethical practices to uphold their safety, confidentiality and respect to the core. Apart from informed consent, debriefing is an integral part of the research process. The methodological integrity can be gauged by the appropriateness of the procedures used in research and the significance of approach for enhancing the applicability of research goal. The onus of the reliability and validity of the research findings are based on the credibility of the researcher. Following ethical guidelines for pursuing research, as data collection, evaluation and dissemination of the findings plays an integral role in providing authentic information that is beneficial for the cognitive science in the psycho -social domain. The reviewers of the journal face a great deal of challenge while reviewing the content of the manuscripts, the way the information is reported, and analysis is appropriate to the goal of the research study. Their recommendations help to standardize the presentation of the research ideas in a constructive manner, following APA standardization in publication of the research findings in an organized manner.

This journal provides a scientific platform to feature scholarly works of current research in social issues and humanities. Its a great initiative to improve access to the research endeavors across disciplines in India as well as globally. The publication will highlight the relevance of psychological research in a variety of issues in the social, psychological, cultural domain, such as gender diversity, social wellbeing, discrimination, health, social justice, adjustment, group behavior, social cohesion to name a few. The journal will cover a broad range of areas pertaining to social science research. There will be ample opportunity for research ideas in progress, research summaries, complete empirical papers about the status of research so far. Further the journal will feature articles using qualitative, quantitative and mixed methods so that the reader can gain as much as possible from various perspectives in pursuing research.

Future of Research in Social Sciences and Humanities:

Pursuing research in social sciences and humanities is a very sensitive matter and utmost precautions are to be taken to carefully design the research study, decide on the procedures, selection of tools and sample under investigation. Reflecting on the appropriateness of the research methods and critical appraisal of the procedure will help to overcome any systematic deficiencies that malign the research practices. For a researcher

it is important to evaluate the research progress and look for gaps that need to be focused upon. Instead of randomly adopting methods because they are popular or easy, the approach should be to develop novel paradigms of approaching the research subject. Applying knowledge from the previous researches, adequately introspecting the way ahead with a multidisciplinary approach and encouraging interaction with policy makers would enable in solving the major problems that ail our society today. Apart from conducting research authentically, it is also important to publish it so that the knowledge can reach out globally for the benefit of mankind.

I must congratulate the efforts of G D Goenka University in bringing out this Journal on Perspectives in Social Science and Humanities Research online bi-annually. It is a wonderful opportunity for young researchers to share their findings with the other academicians and scholars and reaching out to make a difference.

References

Bamberg, M. (2012). Narrative analysis. In H. Cooper, P. M. Camic, D. L. Long, A. T. Panter, D. Rindskopf, & K. Sher (Eds.), *APA handbook of research methods in psychology* (Vol. 2, pp. 85–102). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3, 77–101. <https://doi.org/10.1191/1478088706qp063oa>

Charmaz, K. (2014). *Constructing grounded theory* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Creswell, J. W., & Plano Clark, V. L. (2011). *Designing and conducting mixed methods research* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Fishman, D. B., & Messer, S. B. (2013). Pragmatic case studies as a source of unity in applied psychology. *Review of General Psychology*, 17, 156–161.

Giorgi, A. (2009). *The descriptive phenomenological method in psychology: A modified Husserlian approach*. Pittsburgh, PA: Duquesne University Press.

Levitt, H. M., Bamberg, M., Creswell, J. W., Frost, D. M., Josselson, R., & Suárez-Orozco, C. (2018). Journal article reporting standards for qualitative primary, qualitative meta-analytic, and mixed methods research in

psychology: The APA Publications and Communications Board task force report. *American Psychologist*, 73(1), 26.

Suzuki, L. A., Ahluwalia, M. K., Mattis, J. S., & Quizon, C. A. (2005). Ethnography in counseling psychology research: Possibilities for application. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 52, 206–214.

Higher Education of Dalit Women and Degree Completion in India

S. Mastkar¹ and K. Sharma²

¹Department of Humanities and Social Sciences, GD Goenka University, Sohna-122103, Gurgaon (Haryana) and ²Department of Humanities and Social Sciences, GD Goenka University, Sohna-122103, Gurgaon (Haryana)

Author's corresponding email address: sangeetasanghpal@gmail.com, kalindi.sharma@gdgu.org

Received: June 25, 2022

Accepted: September 22, 2022

ABSTRACT: This paper reviews diverse literature on Dalit women and higher education. Dalit women's inequality in terms of caste, class, and gender is more pronounced in some aspects of the higher education systems than in others. The analysis makes distinctions, the experiences of under graduate/Postgraduate Dalit women students in Indian universities/colleges, the status of enrolment and dropouts, hurdles in completing the degree successfully, and outcomes of the teaching-learning process. Fortunately, while the sociology discipline pays significant attention to caste-based violence in Indian contexts, Dalit women-related issues are a topic under-studied in the field. This article reviews the multidimensional literature on Dalit women and higher education, typically coming from Sociology, education, cultural studies, and feminist studies, and focuses on the phenomena's link to notions of caste and education. To bring out the major cause of concern researchers studied more than 20 articles/research papers. The paper concludes by pointing out gaps in the body of information and making recommendations for further research.

Keywords: Dalit women, Higher education, Discrimination, Enrolment, Dropouts, Degree completion

Introduction:

Caste discrimination, which negatively impacts more than 260 million people worldwide, is one of the most significant human rights concerns facing the world today. Sirswal, D. R. (2011). Dalits, often known as "outcasts," are the majority of caste discrimination victims in South Asia. Based on underlying ideas of purity and pollution, the caste system is a rigid hierarchical social structure. People who identify as Dalits are subjected to discrimination that affects all aspects of life and violates a variety of fundamental human rights, including civil, political, social, economic, and cultural rights. In terms of India, according to the 2011 census, India's most disadvantaged group is the scheduled caste population, which accounts for 201 million people, or

16.63 percent of the country's overall population. (Source, NSSO). Undoubtedly education systems are not free from biases; several studies claim that, on the one hand, overall educational attainment has been increasing among women, however, on the other hand, the gap between different socioeconomic strata has widened (Desai & Kulkarni, 2008). Education can help disadvantaged individuals boost their earnings. On the one hand, education contributes to ensuring that all people benefit from development, on the other hand, India devotes around 10.5% of its total government expenditure to education. But it's not evenly spread out. According to Oxfam, 78% of out-of-school children are girls. (OXFAME, 2018). Although Dalit women do not have a competitive edge, their status in higher education is steadily deteriorating. For the academic year 2017-18, the gross enrolment ratio (GER) in higher education was 21.2 percent (for both Dalit males and females), with just 9.3 percent of Dalit women enrolled (source: NSSO), and dropouts on the rise. The caste system and social class mobility are said to be linked (Thorat & Newman, 2012), which means that in most circumstances, lower-caste individuals have a lower social standing and their social class mobility occurs through different pathways than higher caste people, recent evidence suggest that, higher education develops "general and transferable abilities" rather than the specialized competences required for a first job, according to the distinction between the two levels of education (Brennan, 2014). Higher education, sometimes known as "third-level education," is provided by specialized organizations such as universities, academies, colleges, seminaries, and institutes of technology. By 2030, ensuring that all women and men have equitable access to affordable, high-quality technical, vocational, and tertiary education, including higher education, according to SDG 414. The author of this review article discusses Dalit-related concerns in the context of education, recording the main obstacles to accessing senior secondary and higher education (all levels of education), which will provide a future area of inquiry.

Dalit:

The term "Dalits", traces itself back to a Sanskrit word, dal, that implies being broken, cut, torn asunder, scattered, crushed or destroyed. Omvedt, G. (1979). The word "Dalit woman" refers to the women in South Asia who suffer prejudice because of their occupation, origin, or caste. Individuals who suffer from caste-based oppression go by several labels, including Dalits, Harijan, and SC. Dalit women experience discrimination on many different levels. South Asian study (2020). They endure gender discrimination as women, caste prejudice as Dalits, class discrimination as the poor, and in certain countries, religious/ethnic discrimination as a result of their faith and ethnicity. Although the definition of the notion varies from country to country, the bargaining ground for their socioeconomic existence is the same across South Asia. A Dalit

woman has to face gender discrimination being a woman. And economic and caste exploitation being a Dalit and at the same time, she is oppressed by the patriarchy from which the Dalit communities are not free. Rege (1998). Hinduism as we know it now is the consequence of the Indian subcontinent's diversity being consolidated via the adoption of local customs. This was often accomplished via violent struggle, but it resulted in socio-political and economic control over the populace and area (Omvedt 2011, 2)⁴. Here are a few things to consider in relation to intersectional and solitary consciousness studies. First of all, these ideas have their roots in the context of interactions between various groups that have a similar identity (e.g., gender). Therefore, both intragroup and intergroup comparisons may benefit from intersectional awareness. For instance, it enables us to analyze relationships among a group of women (e.g., Greenwood, 2008), additionally relationships between women from various origins (e.g., Greenwood & Christian, 2008; see also McCall, 2005). The common identity is the single consciousness' next main emphasis. The operationalization of singular consciousness appears to capture perceived sameness in the experience of all women while ignoring intersectional differences, despite the definition of singular consciousness being perceived "similarity" arising from this shared identity (which in theory allows for also perceiving intersectional differences in power and privilege). Finally, among White women, acknowledging White privilege is a crucial component of intersectional consciousness (Case, 2012; Greenwood & Christian, 2008).

Dalit women and education:

Dalits saw secular education as a key instrument for modernity and emancipation, especially after the end of the nineteenth century. They took education away from the British and Brahman Raj and used it to form their own resistance in colonial India. Dalit Women's Education in Contemporary India is a social and cultural history that examines the social, economic, political, and historical factors that both opened and closed doors for many Dalits, challenging the triumphal narrative of modern secular education. Dalit Women's Education in Modern India is a notable resource for students of history, caste politics, women's and gender studies, education, urban studies, and Asian studies. (Paik, 2014). Dalit women of India have been living in a culture of silence throughout the century. Gail Omvedt a feminist sociologist has called Indian Dalit women "Dalit among Dalit". Dalit women have been experiencing multifaceted discrimination for ages, apparently, Dalit women are triply vulnerable in terms of their gender, caste, and discreet patriarchy from their own community. In the Indian state, caste is an unavoidable factor in education, as it is in many other sectors of public life. Although educational standards have improved throughout the course of Indian history, enslaved Dalits, particularly female children from this caste, continue to experience caste prejudice in society and in the

educational system. Despite the introduction of state education plans, the breadth and scope of these measures have not resulted in a greater number of Dalit women enrolling in higher education. Harinath, S. (2014). To get into college, you need a certain amount of money, supplies, and freedom to work. You also need a certain amount of social resources, and information). Contacts, self-assurance, assistance, counsel, etc. Both of these resources are mutually beneficial. They support each other. Differences in access to both economic and social resources. The variations in enrolment in higher education across castes are explained by social capital. Scaria, S. (2014).

There was a widespread attitude in the community that females should not continue their education since they would marry and move in with their in-laws. Another major macro-societal barrier was the worry of a girl's reputation and family's honor being harmed as a result of concerns about perceived or genuine 'love relationships' with other pupils. There were further hurdles to girls attending schools, such as low educational quality, violent instructors, and male harassment, Bhagavatheeswaran, L., Nair, S., Stone, H., Isac, S., Hiremath, T., Raghavendra, T., ... & Beattie, T. S. (2016). Gender disparity levels in the scheduled groupings. Women in these categories have considerably less access to educational and employment resources than males, according to the findings, Dunn, D. (1993). Education has numerous benefits for an adolescent girl. However, there are several challenges to staying in school for an SC/ ST adolescent girl in these two districts, which need to be addressed. Focusing on adolescent girls, especially in rural Northern Karnataka, where they face a wide variety of issues is crucial to allowing them to reach their full potential, Bhagavatheeswaran, L., Nair, S., Stone, H., Isac, S., Hiremath, T., Raghavendra, T., ... & Beattie, T. S. (2016).

It illustrates that, even at the conceptual level, the educational policy fails to unify these functions, which remain sectoral goals. Gender, caste, class, and geography are also important factors in deciding access to higher education in India's multi-cultural and multi-ethnic culture. Gender is once again the all-encompassing negative dimension that confers cumulative and conflicting disadvantages on women. Finally, educational policies and programs are unable to capture the complex social reality inside a single framework, and hence fail to bridge the policy-practice divide, Chanana, K. (1993). Academic disciplines are not objective; rather, they are cultures, each with its own unique lens through which they see and make sense of the world (as cited by Thomas, 1990: 7). There are still sociocultural issues that need to be addressed in rural areas, such as untouchability and restrictions on access to public spaces. On the other hand, the majority of respondents ranked economic woes as the most significant concern, trailed by educational challenges, Asrani, S., & Kaushik, S. (2011).

In spite of India's significant expenditures on primary education, there are still disparities in the amount of time spent in school by gender and caste, with girls from scheduled castes being at a significant disadvantage. It's possible that if there were more women from SCs groups in state legislatures, this disadvantage might be lessened. Specifically, an SCs woman legislator may retain a strong feeling of solidarity, especially with other SCs girls and women, as a result of the intersecting gender and caste/tribe identities that she carries, and she may support legislative legislation that is beneficial to SCs girls. As a result of this, and for this reason, we anticipate that the likelihood of SC/ST girls completing primary school, progressing through the grades, and doing well may improve if they live in a district with a larger number of SCs women serving in state legislatures. We put this theory to the test by using district-level data from the Indian Election Commission between the years 2000 and 2004, as well as data from the 2004/5 India Human Development Survey and the Indian Census from 2001. The presence of SC/ST women in state legislatures was shown to have a favorable association with SC/ST girls' grade completion and age-appropriate grade advancement. However, this association did not seem to have any effect on SC/ST girls' performance in elementary school. It is possible that the gender and caste discrepancies in primary education completion rates in India may be reduced if more women from SC/ST communities served in state legislatures. Our research confirms that gender inequality remains strong in these communities in North Karnataka and gender roles for girls are socially constructed and maintained in this context. This is amplified in the case of SC/ST girls, given their perceived lower status and worth, Scaria, S. (2014).

Higher education and Dalit women:

Since 1991, several things in India have undergone transformations. The stance of the government has been the subject of the most significant shift. which is reflected in a reduction of state funding to higher education, the entry of private players, an increase in the individual cost of higher education (i.e. the self-financing of higher education), the entry of foreign institutions, a large number of Indian students who go abroad on a self-financing basis, changes in the academic environment of higher educational institutions, the impact on teachers' conditions, and so on. All of these factors have contributed to everything that has to be looked at from a feminist point of view, Bhagavatheeswaran, L., Nair, S., Stone, H., Isac, S., Hiremath, T., Raghavendra, T., ... & Beattie, T. S. (2016). There are increasing higher education institutions, but their quality is questionable, effectively making islands of excellence amidst the sea of mediocrity. Increased accessibility to low-quality higher education systems has democratized mediocrity. There is an issue with both the quantity and the quality of the work. According to the gross enrolment ratio (GER), only 24.5 percent of people are

enrolled full-time in higher education, according to the gross enrolment ratio (GER). Despite the fact that education policy has an elitist tilt in favour of higher education, the situation of higher education is far worse than the state of elementary and secondary education. There has never been a comprehensive study conducted on the level of education received by college students at the national level. Apparently vulnerable caste-like Dalit women or Scheduled caste are more deprived in terms of enrolment and dropouts and their mobility is also hindered due to expenses of higher education.

Students from socially disadvantaged groups, such as Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, and Other Backward Castes, as well as women who lack social capital and cultural capital, face significant challenges in gaining entrance to top higher education institutions and high-value academic courses. Furthermore, geographical, socioeconomic, and pre-college educational route disadvantages, including regional language as a medium of instruction, have a detrimental influence on students from socially disadvantaged groups' academic performance and learning outcomes, Bhagavatheeswaran, L., Nair, S., Stone, H., Isac, S., Hiremath, T., Raghavendra, T., ... & Beattie, T. S. (2016). Higher education may be a catalyst for the establishment of more equitable societies if progressive and inclusive governmental policies and higher education practices are implemented, Sabharwal, N. S. (2021).

Enrolment, dropouts, and degree completion:

This age group has a very low enrolment rate. At this level, there is a significant gap in digital literacy. At this level, the quality is likewise consistently poor. In addition to this, there is a significant degree of absenteeism. According to Educational Statistics at a Glance (ESAG) 2018, the focus on delivering elementary education has reportedly increased the Gross Enrolment Rate across all socioeconomic and gender groups (GER).

In terms of female involvement up through the secondary level, advancements have been achieved, and the Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER) for girls has surpassed that of males. However, the percentage of girls who enroll in higher education is far lower than the percentage of guys who do so. There is a discernible divide, in terms of enrolment rate at the level of higher education, between different socioeconomic groups. The 71st round of the National Survey of Student Outcomes (NSSO) was conducted in 2014 and found that dropout rates for secondary school males were very high. The same can be said about the reasons behind this, which include economic activity, a lack of interest in education, and financial restraints. There is a very low proportion of students who continue their education through the secondary school level and enroll in colleges and

universities. According to an overview of educational statistics published in 2018 by Educational Statistics at a Glance (ESAG), the focus on ensuring access to elementary education has At the level of education, children from low-income families are overwhelmingly represented in public schools. Because of this, these children are disproportionately affected by the low quality of government schools, which in turn creates a vicious cycle of illiteracy.

The situation is worse for those who are enrolled in higher levels of school. One of the motivations for the development of the National Medical Commission Bill is the need to put a stop to the outrageous tuition costs that are levied by medical schools.

Caste-wise enrolment amongst different age groups:

In addition, there are significant gender differences in access to higher education. Girls have less access than boys, with a GER of 12.42 percent for males and 9.11 percent for females. It is important to note that, although female enrolment rates are often lower than male enrolment rates, Males from lower castes, girls from lower castes, and various religious groups have more difficulties in gaining access to resources. Females with a greater level of education. In 2004-05, for example, compared to the global average of 9.11 percent, The ST, the SC, and the GER among females were 4.76 percent, 4.43 percent, 6.60 percent, and 19.53 percent, respectively, for the ST, the SC, and the GER. OBC women, as well as other females. As a result, the ST/SC girls' GER was around five times that of the ST/SC men. In comparison to upper caste ladies, OBC females earn around three times less. University Grants Commission. (2008).

SC and ST children had a higher rate of dropout than children in the OBC and general groups. According to the report, children in rural regions (13.7 percent) are more likely to drop out of school than children in urban areas (11.9 percent). The main reasons for dropout given by the families were that "children were not interested in studies," "cost was too high," and "children were expected for domestic duties as well as outside jobs to contribute to family income." When they were married, about 6% of the females dropped out of school. In this research, an effort was made to classify the most common reasons offered by families for their children's dropout. Nearly 46 percent of dropouts were attributed to home circumstances, according to this classification. School-related concerns such as insufficient infrastructure, a shortage of instructors, and other causes contributed to 15 percent of females dropping out and 4% of boys dropping out. It's vital to note that increasing school infrastructure, education quality, and massive investment in school education can only

go so far in reducing dropout rates. Unless and until there is a significant increase in family economic position and a shift in societal views, Gouda, S., & Sekher, T. V. (2014).

Degree completion:

Degree completion programmes are typically designed to enable students to complete the credits necessary to earn a bachelor's degree (B.A.) and Master Degree at an accelerated pace or on a flexible schedule despite having already completed a significant portion of the requirements for an undergraduate/postgraduate degree but having been away from the university environment for some time to finish the credits necessary to achieve a bachelor's degree (B.A.)/Postgraduate on fixed period of time. Wikipedia contributors. (2020, December 7). However, not every group in society can make the same level of advancement. And complete their degree, even though degree completion become more challenger for them, Rakesh Kumar Maurya study revealed that, On January 17, 2016, Rohit Vemula, a Dalit research assistant at Hyderabad Central University, hung himself in the dormitory of a friend. "My birth is my deadly accident," the author of the suicide letter stated. I was usually in a hurry, eager to begin a life... Not at all. I'm simply empty. I'm not worried about myself. That is pitiful. At BYL Nair Hospital, on the top of that other Dalit women, Payal Salim Tadvi, 26, was a second-year resident physician earning her master's in obstetrics and gynecology. She belongs to the Maharashtra-based Tadvi Bhil tribe, a scheduled Muslim group. After finishing her undergraduate education at a medical college in Jalgaon, she relocated to Mumbai and enrolled in the BYL Nair Hospital. She was perhaps the first person from her community to obtain a degree in the medical sciences. On May 22, 2019, Payal reportedly killed herself after being harassed by three of her superiors at the BYL Nair Hospital and Topiwala National Medical College. Three of her former co-workers have already been named in a lawsuit for allegedly harassing Payal because of her caste. Not only these two cases are in Indian educational institutions there are several study explored the detrimental situation of Dalit community one of another study was done by Dr. Rakesh Kumar who's study says that, Dalit students whose identity of caste always been matter for other students, they said that, in the beginning of the semester, when caste identities are concealed, the majority of participants said that students act normally and get along well with Dalit students. Kids begin to disregard Dalit students as time goes on and their caste identities are revealed. Maurya. R.K (2018). Not only are caste prejudices a problem, but linguistic barriers are also a problem for the Dalit community's ability to finish their degrees. Dalit students lack English language proficiency due to their educationally underprivileged socioeconomic background, further alienating them from their peers. Sukumar (2013).

According to Asian research, Dalit women's access to higher education is a concern. The community brought up the need several times. Evaluations of the train, as well as the stipends, should be carried out. This will be the responsibility of the entity that represents the local government. Nevertheless, the local government does not have any.

The Dalits are not a secret, and the government is aware of all there is to know about them. In addition, no paperwork is given to Dalits that would allow them to be recognized. It is quite difficult to get work [after completing skill training]. Training that is completely unconnected to the job market is being provided by the government. It would be wonderful if they did some kind of study on the market.

Conclusion:

The present studies show how Dalit women are facing challenges to access higher education. Two major concerns were significantly highlighted concerning increased dropout rates among Dalit women in higher education. These were poverty and caste, and class barriers. Both these factors hurt the higher education of Dalit women. In addition to the obstacles that have been described above, it is difficult for Dalit women to get entrance to higher education. As Simon Chauchard (2014) pointed out in his discussion, the Dalit community experiences prejudiced comments about SCs, their own beliefs about inter-caste relations, or how they have behaved with Scheduled caste (Dalit) villagers. Caste stigma also plays a vital role in the lack behind them. Dalit girls are forced to make sacrifices in their education at the request of their parents because they are reduced to a low social status as a result of a long-standing gender bias. This causes the girls to be condemned to a poor social status. Even the findings of older studies have been called into doubt. The results of the present study are supported by research, which also highlights the significance of the fact that the socialization process has a considerable impact on the educational process. The formation of a female's identity might be affected by parenting styles that are considered to be regressive. Girls who do not get enough emotional care from their parents are more likely to experience mental stress and despair (Froerer, 2012, p. 347). According to one of the conclusions of the research, when parents do not provide their children with emotional support, such youngsters are more likely to suffer from psychological unease and poor academic performance (Astone & McLanahan, 1991; Hunt, 2008). For children, especially female children, to realize their full potential, there is a pressing need to strengthen the relationships that exist within their families between their parents and themselves. In addition, research has found that Dalit women make up just 19 percent of students enrolled in higher education, but they make up 58 percent of students enrolled in senior secondary school. Because of these circumstances, they were compelled to give up working in the formal labour sector. As a direct

consequence of this, an effective institutional approach, such as the training, the acquisition of practical knowledge, and the provision of free education.

References:

- Abdul Salim, A., & Gopinathan Nair, P.R. (2002). *Educational development in India: The Kerala experience since 1800*. New Delhi: Anmol.
- Arya, S., & Rathore, A. S. (Eds.). (2019). *Dalit feminist theory: A reader*. Taylor & Francis.
- Asrani, S., & Kaushik, S. (2011). Problems perceived by scheduled caste women in Haryana. *Studies of Tribes and Tribals*, 9(1), 29-36.
- Bhagavatheeswaran, L., Nair, S., Stone, H., Isac, S., Hiremath, T., Raghavendra, T., ... & Beattie, T. S. (2016). The barriers and enablers to education among scheduled caste and scheduled tribe adolescent girls in northern Karnataka, South India: A qualitative study. *International journal of educational development*, 49, 262-270.
- Chanana, K. (1993). Accessing higher education: the dilemma of schooling women, minorities, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in contemporary India. *Higher Education*, 26(1), 69-92.
- Das, M., & Desai, S. (2003). *Why are educated women less likely to be employed in India?: Testing competing hypotheses*. Washington, DC: Social Protection, World Bank.
- Deshpande, A., & Newman, K. (2007). Where the path leads: The role of caste in post-university employment expectations. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 42(41), 4133-4140.
- Deshpande, S. (2006). Exclusive inequalities: Merit, caste and discrimination in Indian higher education today. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 41(24), 2438-2444.
- Dunn, D. (1993). Gender inequality in education and employment in the scheduled castes and tribes of India. *Population Research and Policy Review*, 12(1), 53-70.
- Filmer, D., & Pritchett, L. (1998b). *Educational enrollment and attainment in India: Household wealth, gender, village, and state effects*. Mimeo. Washington, DC: World Bank. Franke, R.W., & C.
- Gouda, S., & Sekher, T. V. (2014). Factors leading to school dropouts in India: An analysis of national family health survey-3 data. *IOSR Journal of Research & Method in Education*, 4(6), 75-83.

- Harinath, S. (2014). *Dalit women and dropout rates in collegiate education: A study of the Warangal district of Andhra Pradesh*. Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Hatekar, N. (2009). Changing higher education scenario in India. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 44(38), 22–23.
- Jeffrey, C., Jeffrey, R., & Jeffrey, P. (2004). Degrees without freedom: The impact of formal education on Dalit young men in north India. *Development and Change*, 35(5), 963–986.
- Jodhka, S.S., & Newman, K. (2007). In the name of globalisation: Meritocracy, productivity and the hidden language of caste. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 42(41), 4125–4132.
- Madan, A. (2020). Caste and class in higher education enrolments: challenges in conceptualizing social inequality. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 55(30), 40-47.
- Raj, R. (2013). Dalit women as political agents: A Kerala experience. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 56-63.
- Rajan, R. S. (2013). Theory in the Mirror of Caste. *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, 33(3), 391-397.
- Sabharwal, N. S. (2021). Nature of access to higher education in India: emerging pattern of social and spatial inequalities in educational opportunities. In *Reflections on 21st Century Human Habitats in India* (pp. 345-369). Springer, Singapore.
- Saith, Ashwani, 2005, 'Poverty lines versus the Poor: Method versus Meaning', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 40 (43), October 22 – 28.
- Scaria, S. (2009). *Looking Beyond Literacy: Disparities in Levels of and Access to Education in a Kerala Village*. Gujarat Institute of Development Research.
- Scaria, S. (2014). Do caste and class define inequality? Revisiting education in a Kerala village. *Contemporary Education Dialogue*, 11(2), 153-177.
- Pushpalatha, N., & Dr Ramesh, B. (2020). *International Journal of Multidisciplinary and Current Educational Research (IJMCER)* ISSN: 2581-7027 Volume 2 Issue 5, Pages 113-119, 2020.
- Scaria, S. (2014). Do caste and class define inequality? Revisiting education in a Kerala village. *Contemporary Education Dialogue*, 11(2), 153-177.

- Scaria, S. (2014). Do caste and class define inequality? Revisiting education in a Kerala village. *Contemporary Education Dialogue*, 11(2), 153-177.
- Sen, Amartya, 2000, *Development as Freedom*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Sharma, R. N., & Sharma, R. K. (2004). *Problems of education in India*. Atlantic Publishers & Dist.
- Sicilia, V. (2017). *From the Inside Out: Discussing Women's Empowerment with the Women's Studies Department at the University of Calicut* (Doctoral dissertation).
- Sinha, G. S., & Sinha, R. C. (1967). Exploration in caste stereotypes. *Social Forces*, 46(1), 42-47.
- Thorat, S., & Attewell, P. (2007). The legacy of social exclusion: A correspondence study of job discrimination in India. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 42(41), 4141–4145.
- Tilak, J.B.G. (2005). Higher education in ‘Trishanku’: Hanging between state and market. *Economic and Political Weekly* 40(37), 4029–4037.
- Tilak, J.B.G. (2010). Neither vision nor policy for education. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 45(13), 60–64.
- University Grants Commission. (2008). Higher education in India. Issues related to expansion, inclusiveness, quality, and finance.
- University Grants Commission. (2008). Higher education in India. Issues related to expansion, inclusiveness, quality and finance.
- Velaskar, P. (2010). Quality and inequality in Indian education: Some critical policy concerns. *Contemporary Education Dialogue* 7(1), 58–93. Retrieved 3 February 2014, from [http://edudialogue.in/UserFiles/File/articles/7_1/07%20ARTICLE%20\(Padma%20Velaskar\)-pdf](http://edudialogue.in/UserFiles/File/articles/7_1/07%20ARTICLE%20(Padma%20Velaskar)-pdf).
- Wikipedia contributors. (2022, August 9). Higher education in India. In Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia. Retrieved 07:23, August 18, 2022, from https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Higher_education_in_India&oldid=1103268911.
- Wikipedia contributors. (2022, August 3). Suicide of Payal Tadvi. In Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia. Retrieved 17:10, August 20, 2022, from https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Suicide_of_Payal_Tadvi&oldid=1102037597.

Wikipedia contributors. (2020, December 7). Degree completion program. In Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia. Retrieved 18:21, August 20, 2022, from https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Degree_completion_program&oldid=992868725.

Sirswal, D. R. (2011). SOCIAL EVILS RELATED TO CASTE DISCRIMINATION AND HUMAN RIGHTS CONCERNS.

JODHKA, S. S. & SHAH, G. 2010. Comparative Contexts of Discrimination: Caste and Untouchability in South Asia. New Delhi: Indian Institute of Dalit Studies.

Omvedt, G. (1979). The downtrodden among the downtrodden: An interview with a Dalit agricultural laborer. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 4(4), 763-774.

Analysis of Labor Migration in Gurugram: A Study of Construction Workers

V. Vishwakarma¹ Kaushik¹ T. Khanam¹ and R. Manchanda²

¹Department of Humanities and Social Sciences, GD Goenka University, Sohna-122103, Gurgaon (Haryana),

²Department of Humanities and Social Sciences, GD Goenka University, Sohna-122103, Gurgaon (Haryana),

³Department of Humanities and Social Sciences, GD Goenka University, Sohna-122103, Gurgaon (Haryana)

Author's corresponding email address: vvishwakarma2006@gmail.com, rimple.manchanda@gdgu.org, tasleem@gdgu.org

Received: March 25, 2022

Accepted: August 10, 2022

Abstract: This paper aims to study the stipulation of inter-state labor immigrants in the construction sector. The location of the study is Gurgaon, Haryana. The construction sector in urban agglomerations like Gurgaon is largely dependent on the immigrant workers that migrate from BIMARU states in search of work and livelihood. The qualitative and quantitative data analysis was done on the information and data collected through interview method and a questionnaire survey. The data was collected from 150 construction laborers migrated from Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh and presently living in Gurgaon. It was found that, though registered under government schemes like NREGA/NREGA, the residents of BIMARU states have to migrate to other states to earn subsistence living for themselves and their families back in their villages. Although most of them are hired through contractors, no specific arrangements are made for their living and they end up living in hazardous and unhealthy conditions on construction sites.

This investigation concludes that government policies and schemes for rural development are failing to keep people satisfied in rural areas. It is recommended that state governments should intervene for the social and economic development of daily wage workers. Further state governments must strictly maintain the demographic balance by regulating the emigrant workers.

Keywords: *Labor Migration, Construction Labor, Inter-State Labor Migration, Gurgaon Construction Workers.*

Introduction:

Labor migration is a general phenomenon which occurs all over the world. Migration is the shift from a place of residence to another place for some length of time or permanently, including different types of voluntary movements. It has a great impact on the economic, social, cultural and psychological life of people, both at the place of emigration as well as of migration (Kaur, 2003; 2010). In India, social structure and uneven

pattern of development are main reasons to influence internal migration. Factors like poverty, low wage rate, lack of opportunities, large family size, and natural calamities push people of rural areas to migrate towards Gurgaon, Delhi, and many other developing cities. Better employment and better income speed up the migration towards cities. People migrate in search of a good life and many more reasons. Migrant labor increases the supply of labor in the host country (Borjas, 1989; Friedberg & Hunt, 1995). Over the time period, migration to Gurgaon has been increasing because of increasing job availability and easy access to reach Gurgaon via different means of transport.

Gurgaon has gone through three phases of industrial development which lead to extensive infrastructural construction (Kasarda, 2008). The first began in the 1980s when Maruti Udyog Limited was established in Gurgaon in collaboration with Suzuki Motors. This was followed by Hero Honda, Honda Motors, Suzuki MotorCycles, and several ancillary units supplying parts for these automobile companies. The second phase began in the 1990s with the commencement of the Central Government's economic liberalization policies. The exclusive zone of high fashion readymade garments and home furnishing production units were developed at Udyog Vihar, Khandsa and Manesar. These units export clothes to several multinational brands in Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) countries such as GAP, NEXT, H&M, American Eagles, etc. The third phase began in 2003 with further liberalization of the FDI policy and the enactment of the Special Economic Act by the Central Government in 2005. In this phase, the state government of Haryana initiated a policy to create "social infrastructure" such as education hubs and Medicity. This has boosted realty developers' business in Gurgaon manifold. Industrial development requires hardworking skilled and unskilled workers. This demand has been fulfilled by migrants from other states. During industrial development in Gurgaon the demand for rented houses shot up, which again generated more demand of labor for construction of buildings and houses. Basically Gurgaon from 1980 has been a good place for migrants from other states (Chatterji, 2013).

The construction sector in urban agglomerations like Gurgaon is largely dependent on the immigrant workers that migrate from BIMARU states in search of work and livelihood. In India, there are around 501 million workers working in different occupations, out of which 60 million workers are inter-state labor migrants. It is assumed that around 10% of India's GDP is contributed by these workers. There are studies that have investigate labor migration extensively (Manjeet, & Kumar, 2017; Nayyar, & Kim, 2018; Jindal, 2020; Hembram, & Garai, 2021) but none of the research has studied the conditions of migrant workers from BIMARU states in urban agglomerations like Gurgaon. Thus the present research is an attempt to fill this gap.

The current study intends to investigate the stipulation of inter-state labor immigrants in the construction sector in Gurgaon, Haryana. It would examine the labor migration effect on the laborers themselves and the underlying cause of the migration. Thus the current study aims to study the socio-economic profile of the migrated laborers from BIMARU states, examine the reason for migration, to study whether they create competition or become a helping hand in the host country and finally preliminary analysis of psychological impact on the respondents.

Literature Review:

Migrants make significant and essential contributions to the economic, social, and cultural development of their host countries and their communities back home. But too often these contributions go unrecognized. – Guy Ryder, ILO Director-General (Adonia Dalli, University of Malta)

Under the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families, adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in resolution 45/158 on 18 December 1990, the term “migrant worker” applies to a person who does not hold citizenship of the state where he/she will be engaged, is engaged or was engaged in a remunerated activity (UN, 1997: 33) (Antoine Pecoud, United Nations Migrant worker’s convention). Labor Migration is a temporary emigration to another country in search of a job and to earn money, with the goal of returning to the country of origin. There are various categories of labor migrants including seasonal migrants, migrants under an employment contract, temporary migrants, shuttle migrants, settled migrant workers and illegal migrant workers.

Migrant workers are recognized as an unrecognized sector in our country as we have seen various incidents during the pandemic- nobody takes them into account, neither the central government nor the state government. It shows that these governments need to bring this strata of workers within the semi-organized/organized sector and keep proper account of their inflow and outflow. The studies have shown the analysis of Bangladesh-India migration corridor (Joseph, & Narendran, 2013). It revealed the major cause for cross-border migration, from Bangladesh as India shares its 5 states with Bangladesh as a border. There are several push factors that trigger people to migrate from their original place to the host country. In the historical context of Bangladesh as well and its relation with India over the years the migration and immigration links have always been there. The study talks about the direction of Bangladeshi women’s migration; that for women in Bangladesh India is the primary destination country-wise and Middle East the first destination region-wise. 35% of the women migrated to India against 11% of the men in 2011. The studies have revealed that these are

various cases which lead to and support illegal migration that takes place (Thieme, & Wyss, 2005; Deb, Mahato, Miah, & Chakraborty, 2015). Many studies have analyzed labor migration in the small villages within India. These studies investigated village economies and their challenges, generating employment, causing migration, and their struggle which migrated from the village to urban cities. It has also been analyzed that there are various categories of migrants (Gidwani, & Sivaramakrishnan, 2003; Picherit, 2012). The migrants have a negative impact on the village economy. Labor migration brings lots of changes in socio-economic, political effects of the labor market. Some studies also talk about the expenditure of migrants and how they save their income (Fakiolas, 1999; Hatziprokopiou, 2006).

Various studies have analyzed the influx of migrant labor, particularly in the agriculture sector. Punjab agriculture is mainly dependent on migrant laborers. In order to find the cause and impact of labor migration in Punjab they studied the push and pull factors of migration (Oberai & Singh, 1980; Kainth, 2009; Kaur, Singh, Garg, Singh, & Singh, 2011). Respondents are basically from Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Jharkhand, U.P, and Nepal. The results have revealed that better income and employment opportunities were the major factors for migration. It also finds the remittances sent back to their native places from their income. On the other hand, the flip side of the influx of migrants in the study area increased the drug menace and social tension. Punjab deals with the monoculture in the cropping pattern and hence it increases the demand of labor in the market.

Another study of labor migration from Tajikistan studies the operation and organization for Migration. It talks about the “brawn drain” and “brain drain” that is the emigration of highly skilled specialists (Olimova, & Bosc, 2003). Also, Tajikistan migrants are often seen as shuttle and replacement migrants. The paper talks about labor migration before 1990 and post getting independence from the Soviet Union in 1991 (Olimova, 2010). The highlighted reasons for migration were many, like declining public sector, rising unemployment and social protection and many more. The above reasons help people to move from their native land. The paper highlights the opportunities migrants got in the receiving country and also the challenges they faced regularly in the foreign land (Danzer, & Ivaschenko, 2010).

In the recent research on the mobility of labor during COVID-19 the studies have highlighted the impact of the pandemic on migration (Irudaya Rajan, Sivakumar, & Srinivasan, 2020; Mishra, 2021; Martin, & Bergmann, 2021). The rapid spread of pandemic caught countries across the world off-guard, resulting in widespread lockdown that clamped down on mobility, commercial activities, and social interaction. The study of internal labor migration during lockdown revealed that migrant laborers faced lots of trouble in returning

back to their respective lands. The studies have talked about the policy relief as well as the analyses of the limitation of public policy in addressing migrants and give recommendations as well (Mishra, Singh, Hembram, & Garai, 2020; Khanna, 2020; Jesline, Romate, Rajkumar, & George, 2021).

After thorough literature review, it has been realized that there were no studies done so far on the effect of migration on the economies and development of the state through remittance sent by the migrant as well as there was no research done on different rules and laws affecting the labor force of an economy. None of the research has studied the stipulation of migrant workers from BIMARU states in urban agglomerations like Gurgaon. The current study proposes to examine the condition of inter-state labor immigrants in the construction sector in Gurgaon, Haryana.

Thus the current research intends to study the relationship between the labor migration and the development of labor sending states (defined through HDI income). It will investigate the labor migration policies and different schemes related to labor and its effect on migrants. It also studies how various government policies failed to create employment in the rural sector, which triggered people to migrate towards cities like Gurgaon.

Research Methodology:

The study is exploratory and preliminary in nature. To achieve the objective of the study so as to investigate the effects of the pull and push factor of migration towards the migrant construction worker, especially the remittance sent by the migrant bringing a structural development in the migrant family, the study uses correlational and causal design. Taking remittance as a dependent variable and migration as an independent variable. The study tries to capture the before and after study design i.e., pre migration and post-migration. The difference in between these phases will show the development of migrant family and individual development.

The qualitative and quantitative data analysis was done on the information and data collected through interview method and a questionnaire survey. Primary data was collected from 150 construction laborers migrated from Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh and presently living in Gurgaon. The purposive sampling was used and the inclusion criteria for the sample was that the individual must be a migrant from BIMARU state of India and he/she must be working in the construction sector. The data was collected from 5 different construction sites in Gurgaon where labor/workers had migrated for the construction work from BIMARU states.

Interview method was used to collect qualitative data from various migrants and also a questionnaire was used to collect quantitative and demographic information. Most of the workers were illiterate and very few could read, write and understand, thus, the data was collected from each and every worker one by one by explaining the questions in the Hindi language.

The responses to the interview questions were analyzed and statistical software was used to analyze the quantitative data. Descriptive statistics were used and the data was analyzed using tabulations.

Results and discussion:

The demographic information was collected from respondents to understand the characteristics of the sample. Table 1 shows the demographic details of the sample in terms of gender, age and educational qualification.

Table1: Distribution of worker by gender, age and educational qualification

N:150		Gender				Total
		Male	Percentage	Female	Percentage	
Gender		130	86.67%	20	13.33%	150
Age	Below 20 years	19	12.67%	0	0	19
	20 years to below 30 Years	41	27.33%	8	5.33%	49
	30 years to below 40 years	33	22%	7	4.66%	39
	40 years to below 50 years	26	17.33%	5	3.33%	30
	50 years to below 60 years	11	7.33%	0	0	13
	60 years and above	0	0	0	0	0
	Total	130	86.67%	20	13.33%	150
Education	Never attended school	67	44.67%	19	12.67%	86
	Primary Education	36	24%	1	0.67%	37
	Middle School	18	12%	0	0	18
	Secondary Education	7	4.67%	0	0	7
	Graduate	2	1.33%	0	0	2

Marital Status	Married	71	47.33%	20	13.33%	91
	Not married	59	39.33%	0	0	59
	Separate	0	0	0	0	0
	Divorced	0	0	0	0	0
Native Place	Bihar	35	23.33%	1	0.67%	36
	Madhya Pradesh	36	24%	7	4.67%	43
	Rajasthan	25	16.67%	4	2.67%	29
	Uttar Pradesh	34	22.67%	8	5.33%	42

The data was collected from 150 migrant workers. All the respondents were migrants from BIMARU states. The location of the study is Gurgaon, Haryana. It was found that 87% of respondents were male and 13% of respondents were females working in the construction sector. This reveals that the sector majorly employs males. The number of females engaged in this occupation is very limited. As construction work is more laborious and time consuming, females basically don't prefer to be in the construction sector. The study revealed that these people usually migrate in large scale from their native places preferably to a city close to their native place. Thus, 29% migrant respondents were from Madhya Pradesh, 28% from Uttar Pradesh, 24% were from Bihar and 19% from Rajasthan. Most of the workers were between 20 to 40 years old. Around 33% of the workers were of 20-30 years of age and 26% workers were between 30-40 years. Basically, the age group of 20-40 years comprised around 59% which indicates that the workers who migrate from the rural to urban are mostly young. All the females were between 20 to 50 years of age. We found that around 70% of respondents were married and the other 30% were unmarried. None of the respondents was divorced or separated. All the female respondents were married and on deliberation they revealed that they accompany their husbands to the work and work with them only.

When we examined the population regarding educational qualification, we found that 37% of respondents went to school but never completed 10th board examination because of various reasons and 57% of respondents never went to school and the rest of the 6% respondents completed their 12th and graduation.

The respondents were interviewed to understand the main reason for migration from native place to Gurgaon. Figure 2 reveals the causes of migration as pointed out by the respondents. The analysis shows that 83% of males and 90 % female migrants were registered with MGNREGA.

Table 2: Causes of migration

Cause of Migration	Males		Females		Total			
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	%	No	%
Registered with MGNREGA	108	22	18	2	126	84%	24	16%
Curiosity for city life	11	119	4	16	15	10%	135	90%
Family Trend	112	18	14	6	126	84%	24	16%
Lack of opportunities at native place	130	0	20	0	150	100%	0	0
Low wage rate in the native place	130	0	20	0	150	100%	0	0
Financial contribution and for family subsistence	124	6	20	0	144	96%	6	4%

All the respondents expressed that they have migrated due to lack of opportunities at their native place and also the wage rate is low and is not sufficient for their subsistence. Only 10% respondents revealed that they have migrated because they were curious about life in cities. 84% respondents expressed that their families have been into the same occupation thus they chose to be construction workers in urban areas. 96% of respondents revealed that they contribute and repatriate the money they earn from the construction work. For most of the construction workers were hired by the contractor in their native places and then were brought to the work destination. Most of them were secured with a job either before the arrival or within the first week of arrival to the city.

There are different types of migration which occur all around the whole world. One type of migration is calculated in terms of time period like short-time period migration and long-term migration. A person who moves and resides for a period of at least 3 months but less than a year is known as a short-term migrant and if a person stays for more than 1 year then he is considered a long-term migrant. In Gurgaon both types of migration occur in construction sectors. Table 3 shows the duration of stay of the respondents as migrant workers. 50% of migrants have been staying in Gurgaon for more than 1 year. Thus, during this study, it was

found that 50% of the migrant workers are long term migrants and 50% of the migrants are short term migrants. Only 5% of migrants said that they have migrated within the last three months.

Table 3: Duration of stay as migrant worker (in months)

Duration	Males	%	Females	%	Total
Less than 3 months	7	4.66%	1	0.67%	8
3 to 6 months	25	16.66%	3	2%	28
6 months to 1 year	32	21.33%	7	4.66%	39
More than 1 year	66	44%	9	6%	75
Total	130	86.66%	20	13.34%	150

Table 4: Number of hours of work per day (in hours)

Working Hours	Males	Females	Total	Percentage
6-9 hours per day	12	14	26	17.33%
9-12 hours per day	56	6	62	41.33%
12 - 15 hours per day	40	0	40	26.67%
More than 15 hours per day	22	0	22	14.67%
Total	130	20	150	100%

Table 4 shows the number of hours these migrant workers work per day. 41% workers work for 9-12 hours and 27% respondents said that they work for 12 to 15 hours per day. All the female respondents said that they do not spend more than 12 hours in a day. All these migrant workers work 6 days a week and most of the migrants even work on holidays to earn extra money. Some of the workers also work for more than 15 hours per day, while performing security work in construction sites. After interviewing respondents, we found that workers didn't get any extra money for any kind of recreational activity which led to loneliness and depression.

Wage rate in Gurgaon in the construction sector usually starts from Rs.8000 and goes up to rupees 30,000. Since one of the major reasons for inter-state migration is wage rate, corresponding to the number of

hours of work done per day, the data on wages earned per month were collected. Table 5 reveals the wages earned per month by these migrant workers. 38% of migrant male workers earn between Rs. 15, 000 to Rs. 20, 000 per month. 80% of female migrant workers earn between Rs. 8, 000 to Rs. 10, 000 per month and the rest 20% earn between Rs. 10, 000 to Rs. 12, 000 per month. The wages earned by female workers commensurate with their number of hours in work.

Table 5: Wages earned per month (in Rs.)

Wage per month	Males	Females	Total	Percentage
Less than 8, 000	0	0	0	0
8000- 10,000	18	16	34	22.67%
10,000 - 15,000	48	4	52	34.67%
15,000 - 20,000	56	0	56	37.33%
20,000 - 25,000	4	0	4	2.67%
25,000 - 30,000	4	0	4	2.66%
Above 30, 000	0	0	0	0
Total	130	20	150	100%

Migrant workers get attracted towards extra money. 35% of workers earn Rs.10,000- Rs.15,000 per month and 37% of the workers with good experience get a better wage rate, comparable with the fresher one earning 15,000 to 20,000 per month. It was revealed by the migrants during the interview that they are able to earn double of the amount they earn by working at their native place.

Table 6: Amount and medium and use of remittance to the native place (in Rs.)

Amount of Remittance				
Amount	Male	Female	Total	Percentage
Nil	2	2	4	2.67%
Up to 2, 000	18	6	24	16%
From 2, 000 to below 5, 000	45	10	55	36.67%

From 5, 000 to below 8, 000	36	2	38	25.33%
From 8, 000 to below 10, 000	27	0	27	18%
From 10, 000 to below 12, 000	2	0	2	1.33%
12, 000 and above	0	0	0	0
Total	130	20	150	100%
Medium of Remittance				
Self	17	1	18	12%
Post Office	6	0	6	4%
Bank Accounts	61	5	66	44%
Through family, friends and relatives	46	14	60	40%
Total	130	20	150	100%
Use of Remittance				
Uses/Purpose	Males	Females	Total	
Monthly Needs	58	14	72	48%
Education	17	1	18	12%
Repayment of Loans	26	3	29	19.33%
Construction of House	27	0	27	18%
No remittance send	2	2	4	2.67%

Out of 30 respondents, 24 respondents send remittance to their family from Rs.2000 to Rs. 10,000 every month for various needs. Workers usually send more than 50% of their earnings to support their family. Workers use various mediums to send remittance like via bank account, post office deposit and even personally visit their home regularly to give remittance to their family. It was found that 73% migrant workers use Bank A/C transfers to send money back to the village. Post offices and self-visits are the other ways to send remittances used by migrant workers. Remittance is divided into various accounts, mostly being used for monthly needs which consist of grocery, cooking fuel, vegetables and fruits etc. Educational expenses are also incurred by many migrant families for their children to get better education to overcome poverty and a low standard of living. Some migrants use remittance money to rebuild their homes and some use it for repayment

of loans, and few migrant workers didn't send any money to their village because they already moved with their family in cities with low wage rate and high expenses, finding it difficult to fit themselves in the metro city like Gurgaon.

Table 7: Occupation and income before migration

Occupation Before Migration				
Occupation	Male	Female	Total	Percentage
Farming	86	15	101	67.33%
Construction	39	2	41	27.33%
Nothing	5	3	8	5.33%
Total	130	20	150	100%
Income before migration (in Rs.)				
Income	Male	Female	Total	
Nil	5	3	8	5.33%
Upto 5, 000	105	17	122	81.33%
5, 001 to 8, 000	18	0	21	14%
8001 - 10,000	2	0	2	1.33%
10,001 - 15,000	0	0	0	0
15,001 - 20,000	0	0	0	0
20,001 - 25,000	0	0	0	0
25,001 - 30,000	0	0	0	0
Above 30, 000	0	0	0	0
Total	130	20	150	100%

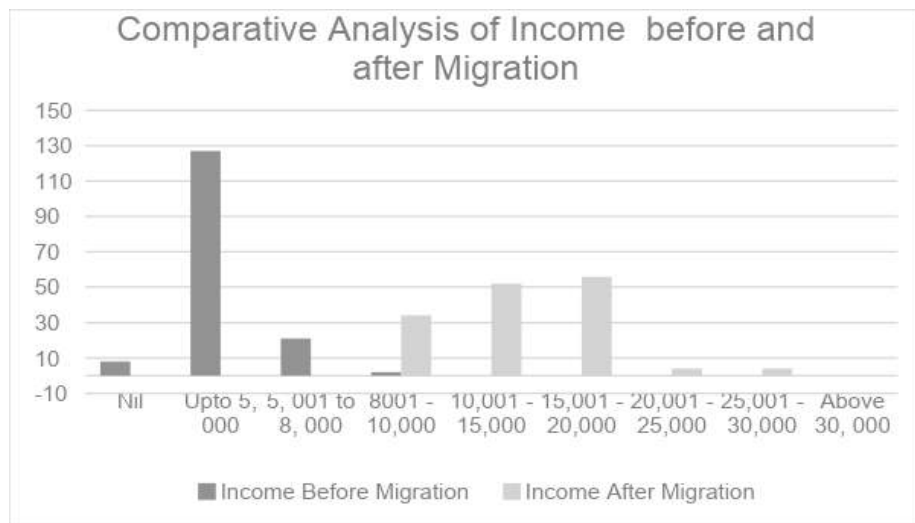
Table 7 shows the occupation and income of migrant worker pre-migration. In villages migrant workers respond that they usually work in the field i.e., farming. 67% of respondents work as a farmer in a village, some have their own land and others work on a neighbor's land and get paid on a daily basis. Construction is another source of employment for a short time period with a low wage rate. 33% of respondents work in the

construction sector, as they don't have their own land to perform farming. Migrant workers while working in their own village or nearby usually get paid around Rs.4000 to Rs.7000. The amount is so low that their family's monthly expenses only get paid and sometimes they need to take short term loans for their family's monthly expenses and during emergencies most migrants go broke. One migrant during the interview quoted, "we live daily, we die daily" as they don't have any security of their own life. The wages are so low in villages that they only have to live in the present, they don't have so much strength that they can think of the future. Savings of the migrant workers are most time nil. Due to this they get trapped in the vicious circle of poverty.

Figure 1 compares the income of labor, pre-migration and post-migration. Income in village indicates (pre-migration) with blue color and income in Gurgaon (post-migration). As we can see before migration, workers are only able to earn max Rs.7000 and when they migrate, they earn double most of the time. After migration they get more money to spend on different accounts like education for children, purchasing various assets like mobile, TV, Bike.

After getting experience their occupation changes and their income increases over the time period. As we can see, the monthly income of the respondent in the village is low, which constitutes the major reason for migration. After migration, the high wage rate as compared to villages gives migrants aspiration to live and achieve something more in life. Every individual needs financial independence here. In this case we found that income after migration brings more opportunities and opens doors financially. In the village (before migration) we found that respondents have limited job opportunities and restricted income.

Figure 1: Comparative Analysis of Income before and after Migration



After getting experience their occupation changes and their income increases over the time period. As we can see, the monthly income of the respondent in the village is low, which constitutes the major reason for migration. After migration, the high wage rate as compared to villages gives migrants aspiration to live and achieve something more in life. Every individual need financial independence here. In this case we found that income after migration brings more opportunities and opens doors financially. In the village (before migration) we found that respondents have limited job opportunities and restricted income.

Table 8: Satisfaction at workplace

N = 150	Male		Female		Total
	Yes	No	Yes	No	
Satisfied with working condition	76	54	12	8	150
Risk at work	89	41	19	1	150
Forced to do work	29	101	16	4	150
Conflict at workplace	37	93	3	17	150

In table 8, we discuss the satisfaction level of migrant workers in different aspects like working conditions, risk to perform work; we will check whether they are forced to do work and if they face any conflict during working. From their response we found that in working conditions it was a mixed response from the migrants' workers with 53% saying yes and 47% saying no. About risk at work, the majority said yes, around 70% of workers face risk at work. Laborers in the construction sector are given less gadgets to wear, while working in the sight which increases the level of risk physically.

When we asked them if they are forced to do extra work, 80% of laborers said no and 20% said yes that they are forced to do extra work which exceeds the 8 hours per day limit. When we ask them about conflict, the majority of laborers said there is no conflict involved during work. Around 62% said this and 48% said yes. Sometimes conflict happens with the co-worker and constructor as well.

Figure 2: Satisfaction at workplace

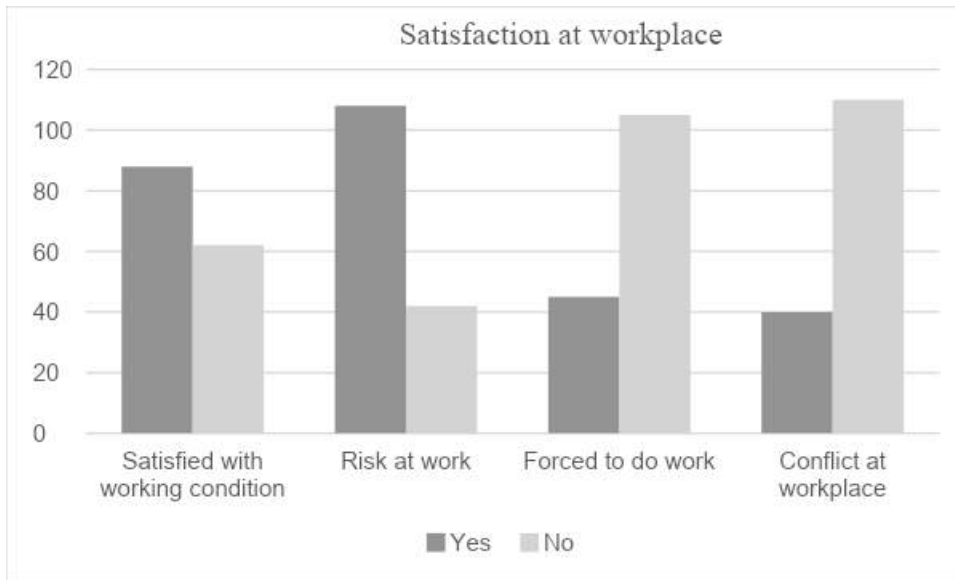


Table 9: Awareness about government policies for rural development (MGNREGA)

	New law for inter-state migrants	Do you know what MGNREGA is?	Have you registered yourself in MGNREGA?	Have you heard about the 100 days' work scheme?	MGNREGA provide Rs.289 per
Yes	36	83	43	33	11
No	114	67	107	117	139

In table 9 and figure 3, we found the awareness level of different rules and schemes provided by the government of India for migrant workers. We have checked whether they are aware of the new norms and

policies provided by the Central Government of India. The new rules were implemented by the government in last December 2020, after covid-19 epidemic lock down stating that employers will now have to provide a lump sum amount every year to each inter-state migrant employee. When we asked them the same question, the major answer was no, 87% of respondents being unaware of the rule. When we asked them regarding the government scheme MGNREGA, about 55% of the sample knew about it and about 45% didn't know. It was also seen that only 29% of the population has registered themselves in MGNREGA but due to low wage, they flee away from their respective village into various metro cities in search of higher wage rate. They also wanted to live in their village with their family and friends but due to low job opportunities and income they are forced to leave their family and village in search of a high-income job.

Figure 3: Awareness about government policies for rural development (MGNREGA)

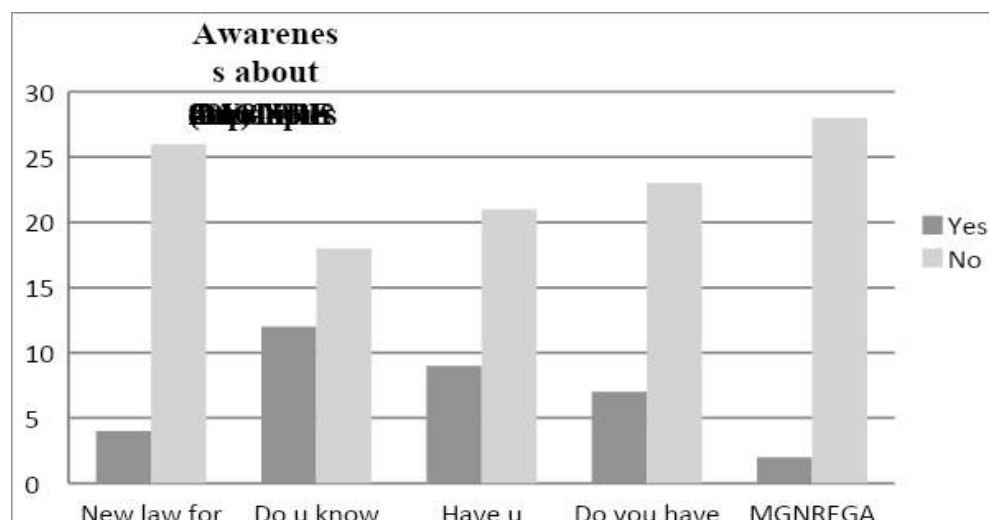


Table 10: Assets purchased after migration

N = 150	Assets purchased after migration
Mobile Phone	105
Bike	20
TV	14
Washing Machine	2
Plot	1
Nothing Purchased	8

In this table we try to analyze their spending and it is seen that migrant workers have more purchasing power when they are in Gurgaon as compared to when they worked in a village. We have collected data of assets which were purchased post-migration. Smartphones are the most common asset; about 105 laborers purchase the same. Other assets such as bikes, TV, washing machines, and plots are also purchased by the migrants, mostly in their own village; these assets are used by the migrant family. They don't purchase any product in cash because they don't have a large amount in hand so they choose a monthly installment method for payment. It was also seen that few migrants find difficulty in purchasing any kind of assets. They use normal mobile phones instead of smartphones. In this survey we also found that few migrants didn't like to purchase any asset. They believe unnecessary purchases often lead them to financial crises and in difficult times they will not have money so they keep their status low and life simple. They often save money in their post office or bank.

Push and pull factors for migration:

Migrations happen because of either push or pull factors. These factors can be defined into 4 perspectives: Economic, Social, Politics and Environment. In this study we have done socio-economic factors associated with labor migration interstate. Push factor of migration means when migrators unwilling to travel when their native conditions push them to leave their homes in search of job opportunities, primitive conditions, famine/drought, political fear/persecution, low medical facilities and natural disasters. Pull factors of migration mean when people willing travel to foreign land. It is totally opposite of the push factor in that it attracts people to settle themselves in desired locations because of better job opportunities, better standard of living, religious freedom, good educational facilities, better medical care and security.

Implications:

In this study, we have seen that migrant laborers work for more than 8 hours, which is still unnoticeable to our government. Almost the entire worker populace didn't receive any kind of rehabilitation from the government which makes their stay even worse in the city area. Few workers take rented houses and live with their co-workers and many construction workers stay in the construction site only and when the work is done, they move to different construction sites and the same pattern goes on. It not only hampers their living standard but also can create various complications in their health. In this research it was also seen that workers are very less aware of the rules and schemes provided by the government. The major government schemes like

MGNREGA have failed in the rural sector of our country. It shows the inadequacies of government policies and their limitations.

Conclusion:

There is a universal phenomenon regarding migration in various species like the migratory birds that travel all across from Siberia to India just to fulfill their needs and demands which are not being fulfilled in their native place, and same goes for human kind.

After studying primary data on migrant laborers residing in Gurgaon, I must say that human needs and demands make people migrate. Very few choose to migrate to the city for work willingly but rest of them are forced to migrate without their will, just to fulfill either their personal or family requirement. We have seen both factors i.e. push and pull factors play an important role for migration. Most migrants have seen that just because of more income they have to migrate, with the government scheme failing to provide adequate employment at their doorstep being another reason for migration. I would like to conclude by saying that state governments should make this unorganized sector more organized and keep in check the inflow and outflow of their people and people coming from different states. In our table no.1 it was seen that most of the laborers are uneducated and married, during the interview laborers claim that after marriage their responsibility increases hence, they decide to migrate in search for high income. Basically, the push factor of migration plays an important role during emigration in this study. In table 2 we discussed the cause of migration, mainly lack of opportunities in their village, low wage rate and financial contribution for family subsistence is the major root for emigration of unorganized laborers. In our table 3 we noticed that most of the laborers are seasonal migrants, within a year they go back to their home and again they come back to work. In table 4 we discuss the working hours. In this case we found that laborers do extra hours work to earn more, on an average most of the laborers work more than 9 hours per day. In table 5 we discussed wages earned per month after migration. Rs.10,000 to 20,000 is averagely earned by workers in the Gurgaon Construction sector. In table 6 we discuss the use of remittance and the medium used to transfer money. Most workers send more than 50% of their income to their family. Laborers spent less money in the host state as compared to their village. In table 7 we have done comparative analysis about income earned before and after migration, Push factor of migration plays a huge role in this study. Less income in the village pushes laborers to move and grab opportunities in their nearest cities. In table 8 we discuss risk involve and satisfaction at workplace, in construction sector risk factor is more and necessary cloth and wearable gadget should be provided by the contractor but in this study we found constructor are reckless in term of safety and security in during the work and we also concluded after

this study that laborers are partly satisfied by the working condition. In table 9 we asked all laborers who took part in research regarding MGNREGA and various new schemes for migrant workers. Most laborers were unaware of the schemes and benefits provided by our government. In our last table 10 we discuss utilization of their income in purchasing any assets we concluded that only small assets they had purchased while staying in Gurgaon and when they had taken risk of purchasing any medium or big assets, they always choose loan or monthly installment for payment and for paying debt they choose to do extra work for earn more money to clear they debt. Further there are certain limitations for the study as the study was conducted during COVID-19 period, the limited number of data could be collected. Further studies can be conducted on construction laborers in different cities where the migration of labor is large.

References:

- Borjas, G. J. (1989). Economic theory and international migration. *International migration review*, 23(3), 457-485.
- Chatterji, T. (2013). The micro-politics of urban transformation in the context of globalisation: A case study of Gurgaon, India. *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies*, 36(2), 273-287.
- Danzer, A. M., & Ivaschenko, O. (2010). Migration patterns in a remittances dependent economy: Evidence from Tajikistan during the global financial crisis. *Migration Letters*, 7(2), 190-202.
- Dalli, A. (2020). *An analysis of the determinants influencing labour migration: a gravity model approach: Malta's case* (Master's thesis, University of Malta).
- Sookrajowa, S., Pécouud, A., & Ratuva, S. (2019). United Nations Migrant Workers Convention.
- Deb, R., Mahato, A., Miah, J., & Chakraborty, S. (2015). Border Fencing and Saving-Spending Pattern: Evidence from Agartala. *Indore Management Journal*.
- Fakiolas, R. (1999). Socio-economic effects of immigration in Greece. *Journal of European Social Policy*, 9(3), 211-229.
- Friedberg, R. M., & Hunt, J. (1995). The impact of immigrants on host country wages, employment and growth. *Journal of Economic perspectives*, 9(2), 23-44.

- Gidwani, V., & Sivaramakrishnan, K. (2003). Circular migration and rural cosmopolitanism in India. *Contributions to Indian sociology*, 37(1-2), 339-367.
- Hatziprokopiou, P. A. (2006). *Globalisation, migration and socio-economic change in contemporary Greece: Processes of social incorporation of Balkan immigrants in Thessaloniki* (p. 340). Amsterdam University Press.
- Hembram, R., & Garai, U. (2021). Inter-state Labor Migration in India: The Normal and Reverse Phase. In *COVID-19 Pandemic Trajectory in the Developing World* (pp. 257-274). Springer, Singapore.
- Irudaya Rajan, S., Sivakumar, P., & Srinivasan, A. (2020). The COVID-19 pandemic and internal labour migration in India: A 'crisis of mobility'. *The Indian Journal of Labour Economics*, 63(4), 1021-1039.
- Jesline, J., Romate, J., Rajkumar, E., & George, A. J. (2021). The plight of migrants during COVID-19 and the impact of circular migration in India: a systematic review. *Humanities and Social Sciences Communications*, 8(1), 1-12.
- Jindal, Y. (2020). Quantifying Demographic Dividend in India and its Impact on Economic Growth: A State-Level Study. *Arthshastra Indian Journal of Economics & Research*, 9(1), 7-24.
- Joseph, J., & Narendran, V. (2013). Neither Here nor There. *An Overview of South-South Migration from both sides of the Bangladesh-India Migration Corridor*.
- Kainth, G. S. (2009). Push and pull factors of migration: a case of brick kiln industry of Punjab State. *Asia-Pacific Journal of Social Sciences*, 1(1), 82-116.
- Kasarda, J. D. (2008). The evolution of airport cities and the aerotropolis. *Dalam JD Kasarda, Airport Cities, The Evolution. London: Insight Media*.
- Kaur, A. (2003). Trade liberalisation as development strategy in Bangladesh: Are labour standards part of the equation?. *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies*, 26(3), 255-268.
- Kaur, A. (2010). Labour migration trends and policy challenges in Southeast Asia. *Policy and Society*, 29(4), 385-397.
- Kaur, B., Singh, J. M., Garg, B. R., Singh, J., & Singh, S. (2011). Causes and impact of labour migration: A case study of Punjab agriculture. *Agricultural Economics Research Review*, 24(347-2016-16993), 459-466.

- Khanna, A. (2020). Impact of migration of labour force due to global COVID-19 pandemic with reference to India. *Journal of Health Management*, 22(2), 181-191.
- Manjeet, V., & Kumar, S. (2017). Spatial and Temporal Pattern of Migration in India between first two censuses of 21 st century.
- Martin, S., & Bergmann, J. (2021). (Im) mobility in the age of COVID-19. *International Migration Review*, 55(3), 660-687.
- Mishra, D. K. (2021). Migrant Labour during the Pandemic: A Political Economy Perspective. *The Indian Economic Journal*, 69(3), 410-424.
- Mishra, M., Singh, R., Hembram, R., & Garai, U. (2020). Inter-state Labor Migration in India: The Normal and Reverse Phase. *COVID-19 Pandemic Trajectory in the Developing Worldexploring the Changing Environmental and Economic Milieus in India*, 257-274.
- Nayyar, G., & Kim, K. Y. (2018). India's internal labor migration paradox: the statistical and the real. *World Bank Policy Research Working Paper*, (8356).
- Oberai, A. S., & Singh, H. K. (1980). Migration, remittances and rural development: Findings of a case study in the Indian Punjab. *Int'l Lab. Rev.*, 119, 229.
- Olimova, S. (2010). The impact of labour migration on human capital: the case of Tajikistan. *Revue européenne des migrations internationales*, 26(3), 181-197.
- Olimova, S., & Bosc, I. (2003). *Labour migration from Tajikistan*. Mission of the Internat. Organization for Migration.
- Picherit, D. (2012). " Migrant Labourers' Struggles Between Village and Urban Migration Sites: Labour Standards, Rural Development and Politics in South India. *Global Labour Journal*, 3(1), 143-162.
- Thieme, S., & Wyss, S. (2005). Migration patterns and remittance transfer in Nepal: A case study of Sainik Basti in western Nepal. *International Migration*, 43(5), 59-98.

Politics of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization

H. Kaushik¹

¹Department of Humanities and Social Sciences, GD Goenka University, Sohna-122103, Gurgaon (Haryana)

Author's corresponding email address: Himani.kaushik@gdgu.org

Received: March 25, 2022

Accepted: August 29, 2022

ABSTRACT: Established in 2001, the SCO remained one of the slightest acknowledged and analyzed multilateral groups. The analytical aspect of the SCO deals with the issues which matter for its members and the rest of the world. The SCO has developed self-descriptive dynamics and the impact on bordering states that certainly indicates the winning regional initiatives. It has shown the remarkable speed of growth considering its informal precursor in "shanghai five", established in 1996. Today the SCO steers the fascinating aspects and themes of Asian security. It sheds light on Chinese and Russian vision about Central Asia and how the engagement of the U.S in the particular region is happening. The SCO like other contemporary multilateral organizations focuses on direct impact on security and had to choose its interest over widely extended other issues. The SCO has implemented a typically 21st century agenda with shared struggle against non-state perils with the strong significance of security of infrastructure, communication and equilibrium of economic power.

Keywords: SCO, Russia, China, CIS, Regional organization

Introduction:

The choices of SCO reveal the negotiations with other regional organizations, providing for debates on how the modes of cooperation between multilateral organizations cater or cannot cater to the requirements of modern-day multidimensional security. The SCO has marked a fair progress from its beginning to become a relatively important regional player, with the widely held global discussions about its significance. Since its establishment in 2001, the SCO model has unified a normative structure based on the theory of combating three evils. After five years of the formation, it has outlined a new norm of international relations centered on ensuring equal rights for all countries. The new norm, that came in the form of a proposal "*a new global security architecture*" is based on *Shanghai Spirit*" acknowledging equality, pursuing the common development, mutual trust, respect for multi-civilizations and consultation. The norm is critical to the international community's quest for a new and better position of international relations. According to the SCO's

declaration this recent model gives away the cold war mentality and transcends the ideological differences and aspires for the democratization of international relations.

Background of Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO):

The SCO's beginning goes back to the long tension between the People's Republic of China and the Former Soviet Union over their shared borders. This shared security regime led to the formation of "shanghai five", the first multilateral bond. Bilateral agreements have normalized the relation among SCO countries. The SCO countries and Uzbekistan further combined their relation by establishing the "shanghai cooperation organization" as an institution, with its charter explaining the objectives.

These arguments can be summarized as an avoidance of conflict; SCO and its forerunner have managed to decrease the risk of open conflict among six participants. The continuation of the SCO as an institution has consolidated and shaped channels for addressing or for reduction in intra-regional state to state tensions through dialogue. The doctrine of non-interference suggests that the military role of the SCO was not liked by its leaders in Afghanistan. The work of the SCO has primarily been to enlarge the activities to combat "new threats" i.e. from separatism, terrorism and extremism to drug trafficking, WMD proliferation and cyber sabotage. The uncertainty prevails about militarized approach to combat these new threats as projected by the SCO members through their anti-terrorist exercises using military forces.

Economic Cooperation:

The SCO's economic agenda is budding more than its security cooperation. The linkage between bilateral economic relations and economic cooperation among its members is also gaining the regional multilateral dimension. Trade ties are getting strong, and generation of funds for investment in development projects like roads and railways is being facilitated. Simple procedures amongst members for banking operations were also set in motion. In 2003, trade connecting the members of the SCO was \$20 billion. But it has grown rapidly in 2006, Chinese-Russian trade alone was \$25 billion and few economists suppose it to reach \$80 billion by 2010. Each year, the economies have grown at more than 6 percent with Kazakhstan and China performing very well.

The SCO has also set up a working group on energy and information and communication technology so that development of joint investment projects can be realized. Economic cooperation has developed gradually within the SCO in 2003; it adopted a program of economic cooperation and trade. The objectives set

within this program are to be realized by 2020 and include creating the trade ties which allows free movements of goods, capital, technology and services. Herein, greater emphasis is laid on road and railway as well as communication.

The SCO places equivalent significance on traditional hard power economic security. In 2003, the SCO established a program of economic cooperation and multilateral trade with 120 projects including energy and transportation cooperation. For this, the organization created an organizational structure to link banks and business. The SCO acts as an umbrella under which the member states can work to have deeper economic relations. Economic cooperation is important for the SCO because it ensures concrete benefits to the participants. Economic cooperation ensures a strong foundation for the organization whereby the economic motives of the member states are also created. The trade ties have been exchanged, different trade routes, projects etc have been agreed to be implemented. Such projects will enhance transit, trade and tourism. The economic collaboration among the member states has helped in the gradual growth of the organization. The SCO's members are aware of the importance of economic factors for security. Pragmatic cooperation has reached a new level among the member states, categorized by the following features:

- Firstly, gradually the trade connections among members have enhanced the growth of foreign trade; for instance, the trade between China and Russia and other SCO members has increased by 9.1 percent.
- Secondly, since 2003, the program on economic cooperation and mutual trade of the SCO members has expanded. Direct investments and long-term goals, external support and equity are also growing.
- Thirdly, in the context of the economic zone, it has renewed in the form of economic cooperation followed by Russia and China. In December 2011, Kazakhstan and China recognized the Horgos international border cooperation center, which was the earliest cross border cooperation with the SCO. Even agricultural cooperation demonstration zones will be formed in Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan.
- Fourthly, in financial sectors, cooperation has been strengthened, playing a significant role in promoting economic and trade cooperation. For instance, China has signed a currency settlement agreement with Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan and Russia.

Over the period of the last ten years, economic cooperation has grown among the SCO members. The developments in the field of trade, investment and projects have been significant. The development of mutual trust among the SCO members is noteworthy, the involvement of all the member states and the response of the

global players is positive. The movement of goods, capital, technology and services are easier and more frequent. The individual motives of the member states are also being served. The SCO has ensured a platform that is catering to the needs of the states. Economic cooperation has given a new foundation to the organization. However, there is a need to strengthen the connection between communication and transport. A greater number of agreements should be proposed and implemented for protecting investment to provide a basis for assistance and conditions for the "silk road economic zone". As a multi-functional organization, the SCO has covered the different dimensions of cooperation from political level to the economic level. The further strengthening of the economic cooperation will promise the growth of the organization. The performance of the organization in the realm of economic cooperation is remarkable. Gradually it has evolved and has reached levels of great success. The two-way trade between its members has upgraded trade liberalization and infrastructural development. Statistics showed that 10 trillion U.S dollars has been the total output for 2012, while foreign trade accounts for 5 trillion dollars. To lift economic integration, the SCO members will have to work together and with better cooperation.

The SCO and the Russian motive:

Russia and China dominate the organization. The SCO also ensures an institutional base for the corporation of these two regional hegemons and with regard to Central Asian countries the testing of their partnership is done. More particularly, the SCO has varied meanings and purposes for every member. For Russia, the origin of SCO in 2001, marked the beginning of the between Russia and China in financial as well as in strategic forum. Since this event, there has been a continuous marked improvement in the relation between China and Russia. Number of deals and bilateral negotiations have been finalized and executed in the energy field, whereas Chinese banks financed the purchasing of important upstream oil production by a Russian state-owned bank in late 2004. While cooperating with the US during the Anti-Taliban movement in 2002, Russia figured out that SCO was a helpful way to balance association with the USA by deepening ties with Central Asia and China. Kazakh analyst Zakir Chotaev has pointed out that the SCO is a "*structure that allowed Moscow to control a limit Beijing's activities in Central Asia*". This organization ensures the conditions for the development of multilateral relations, regional securities and coordination of foreign policies of SCO members. Russia considers SCO on par with CSTO, as a vehicle for ensuring safe development of central Asia though the benefits Russia is drawing from the SCO's substantive activities are noteworthy. The SCO helps in staving off the open and interstate tension in Central Asia. The SCO's work of fighting Islamic extremism in the area of Central Asia has gained a lot of attention marked by its successful operations. This organization has ensured

a discussion forum on mutual security concerns. The SCO's role in reinforcing the status quo in regional politics in context of Central Asian countries by neutralizing the extremist activities is also appreciated by Russia. Russia appreciates the SCO's positive role in cooperation and harmonization of its energy policies among itself, Uzbekistan, China and Kazakhstan. With the help of SCO mechanism, all border conflicts which China had with other member states including Russia, are settled. Apart from these, the SCO in the capacity of a mediation forum has helped in resolving conflicts over water resources, customs, and borders in Central Asia. The risk of conflict emergence has gone down; though Russia is interested in administering the SCO's potential for combating the trade of drugs and the movement of drugs across Central Asia. The thought of an extended cross regional communication system that would promote exchange of information under the SCO's framework has been appreciated. The organizations' Eurasianist thrust and the code of non-interference are a considerable aspect for Russia and promote new foreign policy assertiveness of an energy superpower.

China's motive:

Throughout the process of gradual evolution from Shanghai to SCO, China has played a vital function as a major force. This positively marks the new stage of Chinese diplomacy with an overview of multilateral interactions. China's strategic goals are derived through the various stages of the organizations' development. The strategic implication of the SCO for China is great. China no longer feels exposed to military threats on its northern and western flanks because through the SCO as a forum, China has maintained peace and security through confidence building measures with regard to border issues. Followed by this process, China also contributes to a good framework for combating terrorism, extremism, and separatism along with cross border crimes. Apart from the security aspect, the SCO ensures economic cooperation; this goal is pursued because it is directly in sync with China's arrangement of developing its western regions chiefly in energy, imports and transport. The SCO promises a favorable neighborhood and peaceful development to China. The SCO exerts greater influence beyond its own sphere through friendship and cooperation. The process of area security by means of cooperative security and mutual trust are marked by assessing the border dispute settlement between China and Russia. The SCO through its engagement in combating contemporary, non-conventional and conventional security issues leaves China at a better place to play an important role in the global security cooperation.

A new representation of state-to-state relationship is witnessed under the SCO framework. The relationship among Russia, Central Asian countries and China under the SCO framework constitutes interaction on constructive aspects through stopping short of military alliance. This new representation of

regional cooperation and state-to-state relationship paves the way for cooperation and reciprocity in the economic sphere. More particularly, the SCO helped Chinese diplomacy to evolve from bilateral relations to multilateral interactions. The 21st century has gradually marked a constructive role in the multilateral era. The success of the SCO is marked through the coordination and consultation between China and Russia.

Central Asian motives:

The nature of the SCO and its growing regional and global role has called for a sufficient focus on Central Asian countries as members of this organization. The role of Central Asian states in SCO can be understood in these contexts:

- To determine how the organization influences regional security and economic development.
- To know the extent to which it has renewed the day today challenges the region.

The broader impact of SCO in the context of Central Asian states is yet to be discussed. One of the intriguing issues is how the national interests of Central Asian states are co-related with the actual agenda of the SCO. It is to be noted that the interaction among large powers i.e. Russia and China with the states of Central Asia within SCO are influenced. The interests of Central Asian states in the organization are secured and they have succeeded in outlining their national interests effectively. The role of the Central Asian states can be seen as important features of balance, both internally as well as externally. From regional interests to region's general international aspect, the Central Asian states are paying attention to the SCO's functions for regional security; trade, anti-terrorism activity, confidence building, combating drug trafficking, transportation, border security, investment projects and networks.

- In terms of geo-political affiliation, Central Asian states are more on the side of Russia. Russian security evokes no political fear and even Russia's military presence in Central Asia is acceptable unlike Chinese presence in the region. The insight in the region is that Russia is the purveyor of civilization and security protector, while China is a country that harbors territorial claims. China is attentive to these factors and seeks to gradually alter this situation (*Zhao 2007*). The competition between two powerful actors in the SCO poses a great challenge to its success. Although both these actors have a lot to gain from SCO's potential growth that will ensure future cooperation, this aspect is criticized because "*SCO stands as a forum to discuss trade and security issues, including counter terrorism and drug trafficking*" (*Scheineson 2009*) and such issues among member states will give a loose structural foundation to the

organization. Definitive strides should be made in the security aspect. Both members are also competing for authority in Central Asia. *"For China as much as for the west, Central Asia is a region essentially opened up by the end of the cold war after generations of Soviet seclusion: an intriguing market for both goods and technologies and a source of much needed energy that China can afford to pay for but would like to reserve to itself under long term agreements based on material interdependence"* (Bailes et al 2007). Russia seeks to strengthen its relationship with Central Asia to improve their mutual security. For Russia, Central Asia is a close strategic addition to its own homeland. Any difficulty regarding security collapse or anti-Russian development would be an alarming action for Russia.

It is fair to say that the SCO has no objective to counter the U.S or to emerge as an alliance against U.S; rather it will not become the one in near future either. The renewed call by the Russian foreign ministry on July 15 that the foreign troops in Central Asia must leave as the situation in Afghanistan has been stable, should be interpreted as the U.S infringement in Central Asia in the name of anti-terrorism and is a worrisome aspect for the SCO. The U.S is feeling uneasy about SCO's powers in neutralizing its aim to "Americanize" Central Asia. The SCO was established initially to discuss issues over disarmament in border regions, it focused on matters of strengthening mutual trust and embryonic cooperation in the security area and the organization has witnessed the positive results in this field with the joint efforts of the member states. It has resolved China's historical border issues and to a great degree, it has also worked for combating the three evils. It has also safeguarded Central Asia and restored some form of stability in the region to a certain extent. Based on what was achieved in terms of resolution of security issues, the SCO began to deal with economic cooperation. Therefore, on September 23, 2003, the program of multilateral trade and economic cooperation was signed with the aim of economic cooperation within the organizational framework. The growth of mutual trust among the member states gradually marked the institutionalization process of the SCO. This process manifests the ending of the development period of the SCO with the stage of consolidation.

The expectations of China and Russia from the organization are in terms of domestic issues, and resolution of border security issues. Therefore, SCO has not become a counter weight against the U.S or NATO. China's role in the SCO is directly motivated by its desire to control its vast Central Asian territory. Xinjiang, the autonomous region in north- west China and its independence movement is a serious challenge to Chinese territorial integrity. Thus, China seeks the help of member states and a platform through the SCO to combat the tension across this area and for fighting against separatist movements as well. Yet another motive

behind China's involvement is to have amiable relations with Russia that ensures China's northern and western border security. The SCO is used by China to pacify its relations with Russia. Russia needs the SCO to prevent the colour revolution from CIS countries to influence Russian Republics in Asia. Russia's strategic partnership with China and efforts to maintain traditional influence in Central Asia are its prime motivations, which are channelized through the SCO. Both China and Russia have no intentions to control the Central Asian states. The SCO creates a forum for discussion and decision making on the principle of consensus. To avoid any centralized framework, member states have introduced an "authoritative external power" i.e. the rule of the U.N. The SCO adheres to the U.N charter and it facilitates a healthy organizational structure to the SCO. The SCO represents a creative value of diplomatic practice. The concept of "Shanghai spirit" revolves around harmony and diversity and sides with the cold war mentality and power politics. Apparently, the Shanghai spirit that SCO has carried is entirely different from the communist ideological indoctrination that the Warsaw Pact applied.

The SCO will not engage as a uniform powerful entity as the Warsaw Pact. As the two major actors, Russia and China need to resolve their differences and develop mutual trust. With the present status, SCO will be a weak security alliance. Both these powers share the same issues like: how to safeguard security of their vast territory, exploring underdeveloped areas, in continuation with the west to form the new rules for world politics and economy and resolving the issues with other countries which are obstructing their economic growth. CCP leaders comment that to stick to Russia's international status and to ameliorate the pressure from NATO's enlargement to the east, it is glad to cooperate with China, unlike the cooperation between Japan and U.S. The Russian and Chinese partnership is rather a stable regime to establish coordination and to cater to the needs of the countries, but Chinese leaders are quite busy with the present situation of their relationship with Russia. The two countries try to collaborate more often by adhering to the international institutional status quo and by strengthening the role of the SCO through bilateral arrangements. Both these players take the SCO as an important player in safeguarding regional security and promoting mutual growth of the member states.

Regional cooperation:

The SCO has attained a positive success in its capabilities and potentials to address security issues across the region followed by growing confidence. With regard to minimization of the three evils, the SCO has gained the success. The institutional framework, durability and acceptability by the leaders of the member states have also made the SCO an important tool for security. The SCO model like E.U is not supranational; rather it lays its foundation on intergovernmental cooperation forums. The decision making in the SCO is based

on the consensus agreement through discussions among the states. Nonetheless, the informal discussions which led to the informal nature of the organization along with the evolutionary aspect of the organization are prominent in the organization. The SCO is one of the most comprehensive regional consultative structures with a security dimension. Critics argue that SCO is an elite-driven instrument designed to resolve issues and to further channelize the interactions among its member states. But with the formation of the permanent organizational bodies i.e. RATS and the secretariat has contributed to the unbiased and acknowledged functionality of the SCO as a body that will be strengthened (*Guang 2004*) and as a product of these permanent institutions, it "*has embarked on a new option of pragmatic growth*" (*Guang 2005*).

Central Asia shares a highly volatile security landscape and the building of a stable regional framework through the SCO is significant. As one analyst states "*SCO's major achievement to date is its accomplishment in creating a stable institutional foundation regardless of the challenges brought about by the hasty and unexpected changes in the international security environment*" (*Zhao 2006*). The SCO has shaped a regional community and has developed as a normative and value-based organization that enables collaboration. The SCO model is more normative in its nature than the liberal democratic undertakings of the west, and is more in agreement with the "Asian values". This model of the organization encompasses the shared aims of approach and system among members as in the case of western organizations. The SCO has been seen with the lens of skepticism among western analysts because the organization is projected as a combined Russian-Chinese geopolitical medium to oppose the increasing US presence in Central Asian states and in common as an anti-western bloc. This understanding may be explained by a wider presence of multilateral institutions which do not comprise the U.S as Mc Farlane states, in general with regard to Central Asian context, the U.S "*is wary of structures where other powers are preponderant*" (*Mac Farlane 2004*). The viewpoint that the "SCO chiefly serves as a geopolitical counterbalance to the United States", is also not rare among US analysts of the region (*Cohen 2006*).

Another aspect on which the SCO is criticized is its design and framework which is considered to be not enough to deal with serious regional cooperation, thus questioning its potential permanence. The cooperation is limited to mutual support because the member states are not liberal democracies. In this context of political structure of the member states, the SCO has been criticized as a "*club of autocrats*" (*Wall 2006*) for the absence of democratic principles and the record of human rights violation (*Tisdall 2006*). The evaluation of the organization has also included a review of relations among its members and the disputes that project the SCO as a platform that facilitates only talks. The most usually cited illustration of this is the lack of reaction

by the SCO to the important new regional security actions (*Blank 2005*). Despite these critical evaluations, the SCO has gained an important place in the strategic and volatile region of Central Asia and at a global level as well. The SCO is predominantly focused on its basic principle of addressing the security challenges that are emerging in the region. So far this organization has proved relatively successful and appropriate in a region that remains so affected and sensitive. The basic principle of the SCO includes regional security and whatever challenges are being posed, member states comprehensively deal with them. The charter of the SCO includes reference to "maintenance of peace and ensuring security and confidence in the region" and on various areas of traditional security of international cooperation such as "coordination in the field of disarmament and arms control". The prominence of non-traditional security threats within the region is acknowledged because "*the nature of the security problems in Central Asia is more transnational than interstate*" (*Allison 2004*). Thus, the SCO is a platform to deal with these issues by ensuring a suitable mechanism for regional security. The SCO sets an example of a new concept of security, based on mutual benefit, cooperation, equality and mutual trust. It also ensures the collaborative approach or commonality among its member states, either about a dispute, threat or the methods to address any threat, the SCO stresses that it is an open organization with no inclination towards any power bloc or with any other dimension of power politics, driven by the interest of any hegemon.

Conclusion

The SCO has made significant progress in establishing its purpose and principles by the means of cooperation among its members. The gradual growth of the organization has been appreciated, the group's focus on non-traditional security threats is appreciated and has earned positive attention but the rate of execution of missions remains low. The SCO is indeed recognized as a prominent regional security organization in Asia but the organization has to make progress in future missions to present a strong image to the international players. The structural framework and their activities are strictly based on the organizational principles. With open regionalism, non-interference, mutual trust and combating three evils- separatism, terrorism, and extremism, the organization has secured its place, by settling down the border disputes and security threats. The organization has verified the flexible nature and its swift development. The security structure of the SCO is working for the disputes settlement and has ensured security cooperation. "Economic, political and security cooperation of the organization have proved helpful to all members in the region and this reason has ensured high elasticity of the existence of the organization" (*Zhao 2004*). It has worked with appropriate organizational structure by identifying the right areas of cooperation.

Though analysts on the surface level, have often gone to the extent of painting the SCO as an "anti-NATO" but this organization, like any other supranational organizations has its strong and weak points. The organization is in no way anti-NATO, rather it is more of an organization which is engaged with the task of restoring stability, peace and security in the volatile region of Central Asia. The specific motives of the member states are also served with the help of this organization. Interoperability is achieved among its members, armed forces, security services and anti-terrorism deployments. It has made positive records in the field of economic security and energy cooperation. The real uncertainty is whether the SCO might be worn-out by national crises or by policymakers' stiffness on domestic issues or whether a change among the policy makers will be acknowledged. The input-output of the SCO can be seen as affirmative; the considerable fund is restricting the growth of the organization and the rudimentary nature of the SCO's important institutions.

References:

- Acharya, A. (2001), *Constructing a Security Community in Southeast Asia: ASEAN and the Problem of Regional Order* London: Routledge.
- Alagappa, M. (2003), 'Constructing Security Order in Asia: Conceptions and Issues', in Alagappa, M. (ed.) *Asian Security Order*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- *Alexander Veladimir & Vich Luckin (2005), "Shanghai collaboration organization, formation and development view", Translated by Tiva Kamran, international studies and research institution of Abrar Moaser, Tehran, Shahrivar.
- Allison, R. (2003), 'Strategic Security Dilemmas in the South Caucasus and Central Asia: The Limits of Multilateralism', NBR Analysis, National Bureau of Asian Research, [Online: web] Accessed 14 July 2014, URL: <http://www.nbr.org/publications/analysis/pdf/voll4no3.pdf>
- Allison, R (2004), 'Regionalism, Regional Structures and Security Management in Central Asia', *International Affairs*, 80(2).
- *Ambrosio, Thomas (2008), "Catching the 'Shanghai Spirit': How the Shanghai Cooperation Organization Promotes Authoritarian Norms in Central Asia", *Europe-Asia Studies*, 60(8): 1321-1344.
- *Azarkan, E. (2010), "The interests of the central Asian states and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization", *Ege Akademik Bakis*, 10(1): 395-420.

- Bahram, Amirahmadian (2009), "Conflict of interests in Shanghai", *Etemad-e Meli Newspaper*, June 27, 2009.
- *Bakshi, J. (2002), 'Shanghai Co-operation Organization (SCO) Before and After September 11', *Strategic Analysis*, 26(2): 265–76.
- Cohen, A. (2006), 'The US Challenge at the Shanghai Summit', *The Heritage Foundation*, [Online: web] Accessed 1 June 2013, URL:<http://www.heritage.org/research/asiaandthepacific/h1961.cfm>,
- Farrell, M. (2005), 'From EU Model to Policy?: The External Promotion of Regional Integration', Centre d'Etudes et de Recherche International, [Online: web] Accessed 12 February 2014, URL: <http://www.princeton.edu/~smeunier/Farrell%20Memo.pdf>,
- Global Security (n.d.), Shanghai Cooperation Organization: [Online: web] Accessed 12 February 2014, URL: <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/int/sco.htm>
- Goldsmith, B. (2005), 'Here There Be Dragons: The Shanghai Cooperation Organization', Centre for Defence Information, [Online: web] Accessed 6 December 2013, URL: <http://www.cdi.org/program/document.cfm?DocumentID=3153&StartRow=1&ListRows=10&appendURL>
- Guang, P. (2004), 'The Tashkent Summit Meeting: The Steady Advance of the SCO', *China and Eurasia Forum Quarterly*, 4, [Online: web] Accessed 12 February 2014, URL: http://silkroadstudies.org/new/docs/CEF/CEF_Quarterly_Fall_04.pdf.
- Guang, P (2005), 'the Astana Summit: A New Stage in the Development of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization', *Asia Europe Journal*, 3(4): 501–6.
- Hansen, Flemming Splidsboel (2008), The Shanghai Cooperation Organization. *Asian Affairs* 39(2): 217-232.
- Jansen, Lena, Roy Alison (2003), "Security in central Asia", translated by Mohammad Reza Daliri, Political and international studies of foreign ministry.
- Lefebvre, S. & McDermott, R.N (2008), 'Russia and the Intelligence Services of Central Asia', *International Journal of Intelligence and Counter Intelligence*, 21(2): 251–301.
- *Lukin, A. (2007), 'The Shanghai Cooperation Organization: What Next?', *Russia in Global Affairs*, [Online: web] Accessed 27 March 2014 <http://eng.globalaffairs.ru/numbers/20/1135.html>

Mäher, H. (2006), 'Central Asia: US Helsinki Commission Concerned about SCO's Influence', EURASIA Insight, [Online: web] Accessed 27 December 2013, URL: http://www.eurasianet.org/departments/insight/articles/pp_100106.shtml

*Marc Lanteigne (2006/2007), "In Medias Res": The Development of the Shanghai Co-operation Organization as a Security Community", *Pacific Affairs*, 79 (4): 605-622.

Narine, S. (2005), 'State Sovereignty, Political Legitimacy and Regional Institutionalism in the Asia-Pacific', *The Pacific Review*, 17(3): 423-50.

*Norling, N. (2006), 'RATS Exercise in Tashkent: Concern Over Nuclear Terrorism?', *Central Asia-Caucasus Analyst*, 5 April.

Rozoff, Rick. (2009), The Shanghai Cooperation Organization: Prospects for a multipolar world. [Online: web] Accessed 27 December 2013, URL:<http://www.globalresearch.ca/index.php?Context=va&aid=13707>

Taylor, B. & Botea, R. (2008), 'Tilly Tally: War-Making and State-Making in the Contemporary Third World', *International Studies Review*, 10(1): 27-56.

*Tisdall, S. (2006), "Irresistible Rise of the Dictators' Club", *The Guardian*, 6 June, available at: [Online: web] Accessed 10 March 2014, URL: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/worldbriefing/story/0,,1791089,00.html>

Rila, Mukherjee (2006), "The Long Hand of History: Regional Cooperation In The 21st Century", *Society and Economy*, 28(1): 61-79..

Wall, D. (2006), 'The Shanghai Cooperation Organization: Uneasy Amity', *Open Democracy*, [Online: web] Accessed 6 June 2014, URL: <http://193.41.101.59/debates/article.jsp?id=6&debateld=28&articleld=3653>

Wooley, A. (2004), "The Central Asian Republics and the "Great Powers", *China and Eurasia Forum Quarterly*, [Online: web] Accessed 10 January 2014, URL: http://www.chinaeurasia.org/files/CEF_Quarterly_Fall_04.pdf

Yuqun, S. (2007), "The United States and SCO: Perceptions, Relations, and Prospects", (Beijing, Institute of American Studies, and Chinese Academy of Social Sciences).

*Zhao, H. (2006), 'the Shanghai Cooperation Organization: Achievements and Challenges Ahead', *China and Eurasia Forum Quarterly*, Vol. 4, 105-23.

The Unpredictable 'Oikos': Agency, Memory and Migration in Contemporary Indian Poetry

D. Sinha¹

¹Department of Humanities and Social Sciences, GD Goenka University, Sohna-122103, Gurgaon (Haryana)

Author's corresponding email address: debashree.sinha@gdgu.org

Received: August 16, 2022

Accepted: November 20, 2022

ABSTRACT: Mainstream conservation environmentalism has excessively influenced control over literary and cultural forms. Environmental discourse has often shaped our understanding of the positions of power, control, agency and memory. As Eco critical thinkers like Lawrence Buell would argue, terms such as pastoral, urban, wilderness, connote retreat or escape, environmental discourse likewise creates a spectrum of representation situating particular groups and communities at the center and at the margins respectively. Our recent experience of the pandemic, destabilized our understanding of the predictable 'oikos' and brought into question the very nature of man's relationship to nature. Major anthropogenic activities that have always dishonored the bounds of man and nature and had always toppled the quiet balance of ecology felt the need to reconcile. Man returned to nature and returned home. In India We witnessed a long march of our migrant labourers from the city to their hometown in rural India. A journey back of the villages was latticed with experiences of domestic migration, loss of livelihood, exemplars of transmuting trauma, the human body had begun to pay the price for the symptoms of a sick world. Through the lens of major and most recent voices of the Indian literary scene this paper proposes to discuss this sudden rupture of the stable paradigms of the known biomedical as well as biopsychosocial world.

Keywords: conservation environmentalism, memory, Indian Poetry, Agency, migration, Covid 19, pandemic

Introduction:

The idea of contagion moved from being a biological phenomenon to social phenomenon as a descriptive and explanatory device towards the end of the 19th century in France through the works of James Mark Baldwin, Gustave Le Bon and Gabriel Tarde. Social researches on contagion argue that much like biological contagion we don't have control over social contagion. We do not choose to get infected with any contagion and do not pass it on intentionally. Humans have little or no control over their culture and thus get infected by it and pass it on to others. However, such understanding of contagion undermines the authority of

humans as autonomous beings who have full control over themselves and only act after rational and individual assessment. While we as humans might like to believe that we take decisions consciously, and act after assessing the situation and charting out the best plan to be followed, social contagion researchers say that this is not always true. Martin S. Pernick in the essay “Contagion and Culture” (2003) argues that the historically contingent and contested border between the literal and figurative uses of contagion is most obvious in the intertwined history of epidemics and panic. References to contagious fear were not necessarily or wholly metaphorical. Fear was long regarded as a direct cause of disease, and "died of fright" can be found on death certificates well into the nineteenth century. Panic spread from person to person, often preceding and almost always accompanying the actual appearance of a physical plague, from the Black Death through the cholera years. Panic could literally be seen as an epidemic of fear. Mass hysteria is a common problem that provides psychiatric contagion validity in society. It is this psychopathology of contagion that brings about a sudden rupture of the stable paradigms of the known biomedical as well as biopsychosocial world.

Lawrence Buell, in the book *The Future of Environmental Criticism: Environmental Crisis and Literary Imagination*, “that like racism, environmental crisis is a broadly cultural issue” (vi). Covid-19 has forced us to rethink our environmental values and perceptions. Just love for nature is not enough but we need “proto-ecological knowledge and environmental commitment” (2). We as humans are the most privileged species on the planet but our exploitation of our environmental damage cannot be anticipated or calculated. The pandemic has exposed the asymmetrical power relations that function in society. We now live in a time where life is uncertain and endangered. Most countries have put up restrictions on travelling. And thus, the idea of crossing the border has become more complicated. Even inter-country or interstate travelling has become difficult. In these critical situations it is the poor that suffer ceaselessly. The migrant worker could not go to their homes even though they could barely survive in the state or country they came to work for. Agamben once asserted that refugee camps are the places where “state of exception becomes permanent” and that the migrant has no rights and is reduced to “bare life” (Agamben, 15). They are forced to accept and embrace their status of liminality due to lack of nationality or citizenship rights. Despite the violence that is perpetuated in these camps, these places overtime he argued become places for belonging and sometimes even spaces of solace and empathy.

In the following section of this paper, I explore the conditions of *bare life* that Agamben proposed in trying to read the predicament of the migrant workers on their long march to home dur. Combined with deep

anxiety of fear and disease thousands of migrant workers attempted a journey on foot to the known destination of home, which owing to lack of employment for the unforeseeable future was now rendered unsafe as well.

Sudhanva Deshpande is an actor and director with Jana Natya Manch, and an editor with Left Word Books, with much poignancy writes the poem “Red Ants”, the tiny red ants march across the kitchen frames in a straight line with much discipline, in a “single file”. These ants have the capacity to pull away a carcass yet they remain undisruptive and silent and largely invisible. We realize their numbers only when all is quiet, the poet employs the metaphor of the ant to argue the numbers of migrant laborers and their conditions of squalid living in the peripheries of the urban metropolis which so often are the markers of development and economic growth of a society. The rigor and calm of discipline of these army of ants soon fall away as these frantic and anxious creatures seem to go on a rampage,

From the cracks in the doorframe
from the little keyhole of the main door
from the holes of the bathroom drains
from the gaps in the white cement
Between the tiles of the floor
from behind the switchboard
from the moist crevices in the walls
from the hollowness of the cables
from the darkness of the cupboards
from the emptiness under the bed
traumatised colonies of ants overflow (Deshpande)

The poem oscillates between the privilege of the stability of the middle class “home” as opposed to the flux of “home” experienced by the migrant at the beginning of the lockdown in 2020. The conventional idea of home as space steeped in nostalgia, innocence is lost, it is replaced with trauma and grief.

looking for their homes
Broken, destroyed, devastated
searching for their lives
crushed between someone’s fingers
suffocating beneath someone’s feet

The poem also destabilizes preconceived notions of “safety” in the household. The door does not keep away the infestation of the ants. The privilege that comes with being able to have a shelter during such times needs to be remembered in comparison to involuntary detention in custody and the exposure of people to danger of the pandemic in places like the prison , refugee camps ,immigration detention camps all find reverberance here, in this new destabilizing of the principle of home. The pandemic has forced us to reconsider the idea of safety of the home. The household has increasingly proven to be a very unsafe place for the historically marginalized groups such as children, women (subjected to increased domestic abuse), trans genders or queer who have been subjected to increased violence during the pandemic. The COVID 19 virus has forced us to change our perspectives about all basic and regular things.

Ashwani Kumar is a poet, writer and professor at Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai and his poems on the pandemic were published in the web edition of the Scroll on 13 may 2020. In the poem - *Flamingos in Early Summer* announce the arrival of the migratory birds on our marshy wetlands as phenomena that is equated with the arrival of the migrants. The trope of journey which is conventionally employed to resonate with soul searching, looking for newer vistas, or as horizons for newer opportunities is now replete with cries of hunger and desperation of both the flock of birds / migrants who have suddenly lost a way of life. Their cries tear our veneer of the normal and mundane of economic dispossession and force our middle-class sentiments to grapple with unending images of hunger and disease.

Contagion has the ability of metaphorical potency and it is not just a status of illness but is often a device used to classify people. It has strong connotations of other meanings like inequality and immorality. In Victorian England various diseases like cholera, syphilis or fever carried undertones of immorality, indolence and unproductive life. Victorian preoccupation with the metaphor of contagion was historical and it came to imply a polarization between what was considered as needed versus the undesirable, productive versus inefficient, or clean versus dirty. Contagion in Victorian England then developed as an ideological category by making norms on morality and social life. Such norms also influenced the colonies at large. We have constantly read in newspapers, televisions and other web related sources the pandemic has not spared any one. The rich and the poor both suffer but this suffering is also not alike. In the poem *Zebras at the Ration-Shop-* the poet wrote,

Grains are in short supply
Salt and sugar in abundance.
I am the only hungry person

Standing in this long queue.
The rest are affluent, and healthy.
They offer Botox sympathy for my wrinkled skin.
And zero-dollar petroleum oil for my kitchen.

Social factors such as right to food, shelter, dignity of life are now cosmopolitan privileges and we all may be like striped zebras appear to be similar but are not. Every part of the globe is affected by the pandemic and suffers both health and economic losses, even the rich and powerful. There is undoubtedly a shared experience that will go down as a defining feature in global history. However, the socio-political differences that existed before the pandemic are very much visible through this veil of benevolence and societal change. In fact, these social differences will become more ingrained and established and increasingly disruptive and unsettling in these trying times when everything is uncertain and there is scarcity of basic resources and a complete paranoia fills the world.

Thus, the poet says,

Come next day
Stand in the long queue like an obedient ghost,
The rest are all zebras with your stripes and mine.

I conclude by saying that In the essay “Dramatizing Water: Performance, Anthropology, and the Transnational,” (2013), Kanta Kochhar-Lindgren, cites Prof. Nirmal Selvamony’s use of the eco-critical concept of ‘Tinai.’ ‘Tinai’ is a term for the ancient concept of the Tamil “oikos,” which is a pre caste concept of classifying society into groups depending upon ecological variations. Tinai was specific to the idea of bonding with water but Selvamony describes it in the following words,

These modes of bonding, based on Tinai, promoted bonding with water, which was seen not as an object manageable by scientific policy, but, instead, as spirit. (Kochhar-Lindgren, 2013, p.9)

In a recent lecture, titled “Reading the Anthropocentric Critically to Unlearn Dominance” (2020) delivered at my university by Prof. Selvamony he extended his reading of the Tinai to speak about the incessant dismantling of the quiet of nature through constant human interferences. Traversing through the ideas of Gramsci’s notion of “hegemony” he argues major anthropogenic activities over centuries have spilled over from the boundary of the humans to that of the non- human. The idea of encroachment of space brings home the point of the

importance of the primal. It shares a boundary with the concept of “planetary crisis” that Amitav Ghosh, himself comes to mention at his RK Ramanujan lecture (2020) at University of Delhi. Both these concepts argue against the increased interference of the human and treat it as the biggest threat to our ecology. Selvamony argues further that such interference has now overwhelmed our present existence, the pandemic is an extension of the same. He argues that while nature unites it is characteristic behavior of the human to divide. Selvamony also reads the invading of the germs of the human body as a craft of enemy making, a consequent spillage of the natural into the removed world of the human. He continues to argue that a rendering of the ‘Tinaicene’ is our only escape from this diseased anthropocene. A post covid world, argues Selvamony cannot pretend to be unmoved by the non-dominant order any more. The relationship of man to nature just has to be a ‘tinai,’ a continuous symbiosis which he observes is the most recent paradigm of eco criticism as well. The poet wrote Victorious Virus,

Where are the men and women,
Washing, ironing dirty clothes at the Dhobi Ghat?
Where are the daily wagers and prisoners
Lavishing praise on lawmakers for their miseries?
Where are the laborious ants, and lazy rabbits
Slumbering in the holes of solitude?
Where are the lovers and travelling souls
Clearing imported land-mines in the streets?
Where are the days and nights
Polishing our shoes for May Day parade?
We all must stay in the house, dark confinement.
It is useless to protest.
Submit to the funeral speech of the victorious virus (Ashwani Kumar)

The preconceived notion of “safety” in the household. And also, the privilege that comes with being able to have a shelter during such times as compared to involuntary detention or custody and the exposure of people to danger in places like prison and abusive families, in refugee camps and in immigration detention camps. The pandemic has forced us to reconsider the idea of home safety. The household has proven to be a very unsafe place for the historically marginalized people like women, trans and queer. These people are often subjected to violence and the intensity of which has increased during the pandemic. The COVID 19 virus has

forced us to change our perspectives about basic and regular things. The promise of a home, the promise an undisturbed oikos is now given way to a more fragmented, destabilized concept of home and homeland which attempts to contour a shifting reality with which all have to confer.

References:

Buell, L. (2009). *The Future of Environmental Criticism: Environmental Crisis and Literary Imagination*. Germany: Wiley.

Ghosh, A. (2018). *The Great Derangement: Climate Change and the Unthinkable*. India: Penguin Random House India Private Limited.

Kanta K.L. (2013) *Dramatizing Water: Performance, Anthropology, and the Transnational,*” vol.5

Kumar, V. (2020).<https://scroll.in/article/961771/jobless-migrants-arrive-in-the-deserted-city-with-them-the-flamingos-five-lockdown-poems>. Web

Menon, R. Geeta.<https://www.poemhunter.com/poem/interesting-insects-6-the-blood-red-ants/>. Web

Pernick, M. (2002). Contagion and Culture. *American Literary History*. 14. 858-865. 10.1093/alh/14.4.858.

References:

Selvamony, Nirmal. (08 June, 2020). Reading the Anthropocentric Critically to Unlearn Dominance. Lecture at Amity University. Delhi, India.

An Assessment of Humanitarian Crisis Created by Boko Haram Insurgency in Yobe State, Nigeria

I. Alkali¹ and K. Sharma²

¹Department of Humanities and Social Sciences, GD Goenka University, Sohna-122103, Gurgaon (Haryana),

²Department of Humanities and Social Sciences, GD Goenka University, Sohna-122103, Gurgaon (Haryana)

Author's corresponding email address: alkaliibrahim59@gmail.com, kalindi.sharma@gdgu.org

Received: August 29, 2022

Accepted: November 10, 2022

ABSTRACT: The study aimed at assessing the humanitarian crisis created as a result of the activities of Boko Haram Insurgency in Yobe State, Nigeria. However, a critical analysis of the sect revealed illiteracy and poverty as the major causal factors. The study adopted an exploratory type of research and a secondary method of data collection. Data were sourced from secondary sources from the areas affected by the menace of Boko Haram insurgency. Findings from the affected Local Government Areas in Yobe State indicates that there is inadequate humanitarian response to people affected by the violence perpetrated by the Boko Haram insurgents, lack of accurate data on the needs of the displaced people in Yobe State and absence of accurate and reliable data misled any response to humanitarian crisis in the State because it may not reach the targeted population. The study recommended that government and security personnel should have interagency collaboration with the NGOs and address the major causal factors of the insurgency by introducing people-centered alleviation programs and free education.

Keywords: Boko Haram, Insurgency, Humanitarian crisis, Yobe State

Introduction:

Insecurity is the primary cause of the humanitarian crisis in Nigeria. Insecurity in the form of violent extremist movements that seek the overthrow of governments started as ethnically homogeneous movements in Nigeria. They have developed over time toward increasingly ambitious political objectives and have become actively involved in neighboring states (Stephen & Rorisang, 2016). Since Nigeria's independence from Britain in 1960, various types of insurgency have existed; the 1967–1970 civil war, militant ethnic militias like the Oodua People's Congress (OPC), the Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB), and the twelve-day revolution headed by Adaka Boro in 1964 (Emmanueller, 2018). The widespread socioeconomic hardship and religious insecurity among some communities in the North were

factors in the development of Boko Haram, whose actions caused severe humanitarian disasters in North East Nigeria (Fwatshak & Larab, 2004; Ikelegbe, 2010).

Nigeria's position on the Global Terrorism Index degraded over time, moving from 16th out of 158 nations in 2008 to 6th (tied with Somalia) and from 6th out of 138 countries in 2019 to 3rd, while Afghanistan and Iraq were ranked first and second, respectively. According to United States Agency for International Development (USAID) Fact Sheet (2015 as cited in Tarnoff, 2015), 24.4 million people are living in states that are frequently attacked by Boko Haram, 1.4 million people have been internally displaced, 168,000 Nigerian refugees in the neighboring countries, an estimated 4.6 million people are food insecure, and 1.5 million malnourished children. The challenge posed by Boko Haram in Nigeria, according to Alozieuwa (2012 as cited in Anyadike, 2013), is not only about the brutality of either its terror campaigns or the sect's declared mission to impose Islamic law on the nation but also about the uncertainty surrounding the precise cause(s) of the violence.

The heavy toll of the humanitarian crises in the form of an increase in internally displaced people (IDPs), refugee influx, food shortages, the spread of dangerous diseases, and gender- and sexual-based violence has therefore been the most destructive repercussions of these insurgencies around the world (Hughes, 2012, as cited in Emmanuelar, 2015). According to Bintube (2015), the Boko Haram insurgency seriously threatens national security and socioeconomic life in contemporary Nigeria. Its violent acts, including willful destruction of lives and property, suicide bombings, assassinations, and the palpable fear and suspicion they instil in the population, weaken social structures and threaten the social well-being of Nigerians.

The rise in youth radicalization and violent militant Islamist organizations since the founding of Boko Haram has been in northeastern Nigeria. President Goodluck Jonathan declared a state of emergency in Adamawa, Borno, and Yobe States in May 2013 in response to bombings across the northeast. President Muhammadu Buhari promised to end the insurgency and address the humanitarian and economic catastrophe caused by the Boko Haram terrorists during his inaugural speech on May 29, 2015. The President instructed the Heads of the Military to move their headquarters to Maiduguri, Borno State, which is the State most negatively impacted by the insurgents' actions, to complete the difficult mission. Some of the primary elements for Boko Haram's fertilization and expansion might be traced to the region's perilous socioeconomic suffering caused by poor climate conditions for farming and livestock rearing, as well as government negligence at all levels (Rizzo, 2015, cited in Kamta et al. 2020).

Objective of the study:

The research aim and objective is to assess the impact of Boko Haram insurgency on the humanitarian crisis in Yobe state.

Problem statement:

More than 2.5 million people have fled Nigeria to neighboring countries due to the actions of the deadly Islamist group Boko Haram since the war began there in 2009 (Nwaoga, 2017). Domestically, the militants' violent attacks on villages have made Nigeria the nation in sub-Saharan Africa with the highest number of internally displaced people (IDPs) (Humanitarian Response Plan, 2019). According to the Displacement Tracking Matrix (2017 as cited in Nwaoga, 2017), children under 5 make up 28% of IDPs, with women and children making up 79% of the population.

The IDPs in North-Eastern Nigeria are in urgent need of life-saving assistance, such as food and nutrition, healthcare, shelter, non-food items, potable water, and improved sanitation and hygiene conditions, according to the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UNOCHA, cited by Abdullhi, et al., 2018). Violence has also significantly impacted the IDPs' ability to receive an education. However, another protection issue that IDPs face is child and gender-based violence (CGBV), among others. Another worrying problem that worsens the situation of these displaced individuals is the possibility of IDPs returning to their communities (UNOCHA, 2018).

More than one million one hundred and sixteen thousand five Hundred and thirty six (1,116,536) IDPs were registered in twelve Local Government Areas of Yobe State, including Fika, Potiskum, Nangare, Fune, Jakusko, Bade, Nguru, Damaturu Tarmuwa Karasuwa, Bursari, and Machina, according to statistics from the National Emergency Management Agency (NEMA), as of the end of November 2019. Similar to this, 8,278 or 8,278 homes, schools, and places of worship were destroyed (Pulse Nigeria, 2016 as cited in Alkali & Yaya, 2019). Most IDPs reside in improvised camps that lack basic amenities, including comfort, sufficient shelter, and drinkable water. Where healthcare facilities exist, they are under equipped with insufficient skilled staff and medication, and not all IDPs have access to them. However, IDP camps in several LGA are susceptible to security risks and poor living conditions, particularly in Gujaba and Gulani, which have been repeatedly targeted by militants (Alkali & Yaya, 2019).

The Nigerian government has formed a committee to draft a National Policy on IDPs to aid in identity card registration and issuance, internal displacement avoidance or reduction, and responsibility distribution among government agencies, non-governmental organizations, and civil society organizations. The National Policy for Internally Displaced Persons was written and presented to the government in 2011, but it hasn't been implemented as of 2021. There are few studies conducted to address the effects of the Boko Haram insurgency on the humanitarian crisis in Yobe state. Therefore, the study would attempt to assess the aftermath of Boko Haram's humanitarian problems and socioeconomic changes.

Methodology:

The study adopted an exploratory type of research and a secondary method of data collection. Data were sourced from secondary sources from the areas affected by the menace of Boko Haram insurgency and the humanitarian exigency created herewith. The rationale behind the adoption of the above design and methods is to utilize the data collected from the affected areas in Yobe State and analyze it differently from its original purpose of collection.

Conceptual clarification-the concept of insurgency:

According to Moore (2007), an insurgency is a violent action taken by an individual or group of individuals to reject or resist the application of the law, the operation of the government, to rebel against the established authority of a state, or to engage in insurrection. He also suggests that insurgency may be characterized as a criminal act and a violation of human rights. It is a crime against public order because it is a pattern of internal unrest and tension that presents serious issues for the relevant authorities concerning public safety and public order, which could eventually result in circumstances that threaten the survival of a country and tempt the government to declare a state of emergency. Internal unrest includes situations of violent conflict, which can take many different forms, ranging from the emergence of an act of rebellion to a conflict between more or less organized organizations and the official authorities in power.

The meaning of Boko Haram:

The phrase "western education is immoral" is what Boko Haram, an Arabicized Hausa term, simply means. It is used by the Jama'atul Ahul Sunnah Lidda'awati wal Jihad group, which claims to be dedicated to the Hadith of the Prophet Muhammad's teachings and Islamic jihad (Adenrele, 2012). According to some academics, the Maitatsine riots of the 1980s and the ensuing religious and ethnic tensions in the late 1990s

were the root causes of Boko Haram (Johnson, 2011, as cited in Adenrele, 2012). The group's name also suggests that receiving a "Western" or "non-Islamic" education is wrong. This roughly translates from the Hausa language of the region to "Western education is prohibited".

Background of the study area:

Yobe State is a state situated in the Northeastern part of Nigeria; it was created and carved out of Borno State in August 1991 by the Babangida administration, covering an area of 45,502 km² (17,568 sq mi) with Damaturu as its capital. The 2011 estimate by the National Population Commission (NPC) shows that Yobe State has a population figure of 2,757,000, and it consists of seventeen (17) Local Government Areas (LGA's) zoned into zone A, B & C.

The ethnic composition of the Yobe state is diverse, brought about by long-existing links with various people in different ethnic groups. However, the Kanuri, Shuwa, Hausa, Bodaway, Bade and Takari are the main ethnic groups settled in the area, with Kanuri, Fulani and Hausa dominating the area (Aliyu, 2015). Furthermore, Yobe state has diverse economic potential. For example, it is believed that the largest cattle market in the Northern part of the country is located in Potiskum; potassium and gum Arabic are found in commercial quantities in the northern part of the state, and cotton, groundnut, and beans are also produced in the state (Isa, 2015). In addition, mineral resources such as kaolin, quartz, gypsum, and other chemicals are found in substantial deposits in most parts of the state.

Finally, peasant farmers make up a substantial portion of the state's population, although a sizable portion also engages in active livestock production, trading, and fishing. As the town's population develops and expands, so do the requirements and demands for a living, which has resulted in the creation of specific factories and numerous other forms of commerce to satisfy the population's needs and desires.

Internal displacement:

The massive internal population displacements that have resulted from the Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria is one of its aftermath effects (Gwadabe et al., 2018). Internal displacement occurs when individuals or groups are forcibly uprooted from their homes and relocated somewhere within their country due to a human-induced or natural crisis (Gwadabe et al., 2018). The Internal Displacement Monitoring Center (IDMC) estimates that between 2009, when Boko Haram began to use violence, and 2016, about 2.5 million individuals were compelled to leave their homes for safety and became internally displaced. While many others are spread

out over numerous host communities, some are in the camps. According to the 2017 report "IDMC » Nigeria IDP Figures Analysis," there was an accelerated rise in the number of IDPs from roughly 5,000 in 2009 to about 2.5 million (2.5M) in 2016. Internal displacement occurs when individuals or groups are forced to leave and remain away from their homes while remaining inside the borders of their own countries (Alobo & Obaji, 2016).

Humanitarian intervention: post-cold perspective:

Humanitarian crises threaten the health, safety, security, or well-being of a community or other substantial group of people, often over a vast geographical area (Humanitarian Coalition, 2013, para 2, cited in Okoli et al., 2014). It falls under the following classes: 1. Natural disasters such as earthquakes, floods, storms, and volcanic eruptions. Second, common artificial disasters include wars, train and airplane crashes, fires, and accidents in the manufacturing and processing industries. Thirdly, complex emergencies occur when a large portion of the population suddenly loses access to essential services like water, food, shelter, safety, or healthcare due to external events or forces like war or terrorism (Humanitarian Coalition, 2013, Para 3 as cited in Okoli et al, 2014).

Humanitarianism was expanded to include the need to preserve human rights rather than being defined as a sympathetic reaction to human suffering. In addition, the concept of human rights was expanded to include the rights to freedom of expression and assembly and the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. If these rights are violated, the international community is responsible for stepping in and ensuring they are respected and protected (American Foreign Relation Report, 2022).

Article 2(1) of the United Nations Charter states that the notion of sovereignty is one of the Charter's guiding principles and that this ideal has been a constant in international law and politics. However, with the fall of the Soviet Union, the sovereignty doctrine was rethought to reflect the new global interest in upholding human rights, including ideas like nonintervention, nonuse of force, and noninterference. As a result, the international community faced the difficult choice of undermining the ideals contained in the Charter by intervening in nations where serious human rights violations were taking place as the number of intrastate conflicts increased following the fall of the Soviet Union (Bricmon, 2006).

Similarly, after the Soviet Union's fall, hope grew that the international community might better address humanitarian crises. The post-Cold War era saw a dramatic increase in humanitarian interventions due to the growing awareness of the need to safeguard human rights, drawing both support and criticism from the global

community (Chomsky, 2008). It has been argued that wealthy countries have utilized this rising intervention trend as a strategic instrument to increase their influence and control over weaker states, especially those in the third world. When humanitarian concerns are invoked to justify violating principles of sovereignty and participating in the affairs of other states, the intentions of the intervening state may be called into doubt. Most humanitarian aid from western powers comes in the form of military actions. In Nigeria, however, there has not been a single military action in the name of humanitarian intervention other than the supply of food, shelter, healthcare, and education since the start of the insurgency (Boko Haram).

After the end of the cold war, the Western powers engaged in an unparalleled expansion of exploitative interventions in the name of humanitarian aid. Several historians have regarded these interventions as imperialistic (Orford, 2003). For proponents of postcolonial theory, the primary goal of the postcolonial movement was to provide a new lens through which to examine the relationships between Westerners and people and governments in other parts of the world. The theory provides a comprehensive illustration of the results of colonialism on the colonized states and argues that these results continue to shape the world today, as contemporary cultures are still influenced by and subject to the power structures that were established during colonialism. The theory further contends that Europe and North America dominated the three non-western continents even after conquered governments achieved national sovereignty (Asia, Latin America and Africa) as almost 90% of the world's land area was controlled by Europeans or European-derived nations.

On the other hand, humanitarian interventionists have attempted to strengthen the West's status as a global leader at times. Others claim that the end of the Cold War has allowed international institutions to grow, free of superpower competition and that this is why Western states favor multilateral action. They needed to have a sense of global community. Therefore, the imperialist objectives for this new norm of intervention will continue to pose severe issues for the future evolution of the debate over humanitarian operations. A more compassionate future necessitates a paradigm shift away from the significance of sovereignty and national interest and toward an approach in which human rights should be the primary motivation for involvement.

Humanitarian crisis created by Boko Haram insurgency:

The continued increase in the spread of the nefarious activities of the Boko Haram group in the Northeast since 2009 has created adverse humanitarian consequences in the region (Emmanuela, 2015). Livelihood in most of the affected communities of Yobe, Borno and Adamawa states; Buni-Yadi, Buni-Gari, Goniri, Gujba, Kawuri, Baga, Konduga, Bama, Malari, Dalori, Pulka, Giwa, Chibok, Gwoza, Kalabalge,

Ngamboru, Dikwa, Marte, Mubi to mention but a few, have been economically, socially, and politically stagnant and nasty.

Furthermore, the Northeast region has had severe humanitarian needs over the past ten years (2011–2021). Millions of individuals have been forced to seek humanitarian aid due to the situation (WHO, 2018). The most affected states in the region include Borno, Adamawa, and Yobe, while Bauchi, Gombe, and Taraba were comparatively calm. According to UNHCR estimates, 5.8 million people are in need of humanitarian assistance since September 2018, and 1.8 million people have been internally displaced. Furthermore, over 60% of the internally displaced people (IDPs) lived in host communities, placing further strain on these communities' already overburdened resources, and over 80% of them were located in Borno State, the crisis' epicenter (UNHCR, 2018, cited in Kamta et al., 2020).

The educational sector has suffered since Boko Haram extremists started their indiscriminate attacks. The primary and most frequent effects of Boko Haram on the educational sector are the group's regular destruction of school buildings and the killing of teachers and schoolchildren. This has resulted in a low enrollment rate, particularly at the impacted areas' primary and senior secondary schools.

The attacks occurred when Nigeria adopted Western education widely and created schools in every corner of the nation. One of the pillars of Nigerian human and capital growth has been identified as the educational system, which is currently under threat by Islamist rebels (Patrick & Felix, 2013). These groups have targeted schools in the north with numerous attacks and threats; in some attacks, teachers were killed or injured, and buildings were destroyed (Patrick & Felix, 2013).

According to the Demographic Health Study Education Data survey (2011) as cited in (Mohammed, 2014) report, 4 percent of children in the federal capital territory and 72% of children in Borno state have never attended school. The survey showed that, on average, 28 of every 120 kids in Zamfara are enrolled in school. Out of every 120 children, just 29 in Borno, 34 in Sokoto, and 42 in Yobe are enrolled, whereas 113 out of every 120 students in Plateau State are enrolled (DHS Education Data Survey Report, 2011). For instance, on July 6, 2016, before dawn, shooters opened fire on a government-run boarding school with 1,200 pupils in Mamudo Village, Potiskum LGA, Yobe State, killing at least 42 people, the majority of whom were kids (Amadu, 2016). Others suffered gunshot wounds, while some had large chunks of their bodies burned and blown off. A teacher, a few members of staff, and kids made up most of those slain (Amadu, 2016). In Borno

and Yobe states, 57 percent of schools were shuttered in late September 2017 because of concern for Boko Haram attacks, according to the United Nations (2017).

Additionally, according to estimates from the UN released in 2017, the war between security forces and Boko Haram damaged 1,500 schools between January 2014 and December 2016, resulting in at least 1,280 teacher and student deaths (GCPEA, 2018). Compared to the 2009–2013 period covered in Education under Attack 2014, these numbers showed more frequent and systematic incidents of attacks on schools from 2013 to 2015, coinciding with increased activity by Boko Haram (GCPEA, 2018). 314 schoolchildren were killed between January 2012 and December 2014, according to education officials in the northeast of the country (GCPEA, 2018). As of October 2015, Boko Haram had killed more than 600 teachers, according to the Nigerian Union of Teachers. According to similar research by Amnesty International (2013), up to 50 schools in Borno state alone were attacked, burned, or damaged in 2013, resulting in the deaths of 70 teachers and 126 students in Borno and Yobe States in 2013 alone. In addition, 209 schools have been destroyed by Boko Haram raids, with the damage costing an estimated \$15.6 million (YSMEAR, 2017).

Some academics believe that Boko Haram is a terrorist organisation that opposes education because of the group's popular name, which means "Western education is forbidden," and the frequency of its assaults or attacks on educational facilities, targets particularly western-oriented schools (Mukhtar et al., 2015). This is paradoxical because some members of Boko Haram and its breakaway groups attended college, such as Aminu Sadiq Ogwuche, a Nigerian Army deserter born in Britain and suspected of being responsible for the Nyanya, Abuja, explosions in 2014. In Nigeria, acts of violence against students, teachers, union members, schools, and government officials are rising. Nevertheless, the Boko Haram crisis in Nigeria made school attack incidents more concerning.

The group's ruthless attacks on students, scholars, professors, and educational facilities also show how they loathe western administrative and political systems and want to destroy modern education (Mukhtar et al., 2015). Additionally, the purposeful threats made by Boko Haram against students, academics, teachers, and educational buildings prevent all northern Nigerians from getting high-quality education.

The role of government and non-governmental organizations in the management of humanitarian crisis created by Boko Haram insurgency:

The African Union Convention for the Protection and Assistance of Internally Displaced Persons in Africa, also known as the Kampala convention of 2009, was adopted by the special summit of the Union held

in Kampala, Uganda, on October 22, 2009, and served as the basis for the Nigerian government's policy and approaches to the humanitarian crisis brought on by the Boko Haram insurgency.

The federal and state governments have established cells in Maiduguri and sub-cells in Yola, Damaturu, to handle the humanitarian difficulties in the North East. These offices were built up in these states to handle the surge of IDPs and those taking sanctuary in the neighboring nations. This was done to establish a safe passage for locals who had escaped Boko Haram occupations to walk into safety and to give humanitarian workers access to the IDPs' urgently needed help.

NEMA has been supplying food to the IDPs in the camps to supplement the efforts of the affected state governments and address humanitarian issues, particularly food security and nutrition (Ekson, 2016). NEMA and the states of Borno and Yobe signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) to ensure a constant supply of these food and non-food items (NFIs). Along with deploying a medical team and equipment to the North East to facilitate the provision of Medicare to the IDPs, the Agency also provided medications to significant hospitals in the zones and working resources for IDPs with expertise in particular skills (Ekson, 2016).

Similarly, the Yobe state schoolchildren impacted by Boko Haram have access to the Educational Support Programme (EDSP) through the Nigerian Foundation for the Support of Victims of Terrorism. According to the Executive Secretary of the Victims Support Fund, the EDSP focuses on school-aged children affected by violence and terrorism in the state. With the certainty of their future, VSF's mission in Nigeria is to restore the dignity and well-being of Boko Haram victims of terrorism and conflict. At the same time, our goal is to support and transform those affected by terrorism and insurgency in the nation through developing relationships and mobilizing sustainable funding.

The VSF has started its Educational Support Programme in Yobe state as part of its ongoing efforts to carry out its mandate to provide aid to insurgency victims and foster an atmosphere that will foster rapid healing and lasting peace and development. According to him, the first phase of the VSF project will benefit 21,291 kids and will provide them with textbooks, exercise books, writing supplies, school bags, and sandals, among other things. According to him, a breakdown of the Educational Support Programme (EDSP) beneficiaries shows that Borno state received 10,000 students and teachers, while Adamawa and Yobe received 7, 000, 3, 000, and 1, 291 students and instructors, respectively. The VSF has started its Educational Support Programme in Yobe State as part of its ongoing efforts to carry out its mandate to provide aid to insurgency victims and foster an atmosphere that will bring rapid healing and lasting peace and development.

The Inter-Sector Working Group and the Humanitarian Country Team had active participation from the Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) (ISWG). The HCT convenes once a month under the direction of the UN Resident Coordinator to provide strategic leadership, establish policy, and engage with the Federal Government. The ISWG encourages sectoral coordination and responsiveness. Along with the child protection sub-sector, UNICEF leads the education, WASH, and nutrition sectors. In addition, since April 29, 2015, UNICEF has assisted Yobe State's State Emergency Management Agency (SEMA) and National Emergency Management Agency (NEMA) with inter-sector coordination.

Results and discussion of findings:

Findings from the affected local government areas in Yobe State indicate an inadequate humanitarian response to people affected by the violence perpetrated by the Boko Haram insurgents. Attempts by state and local governments to resettle the IDPs and enable them to restart everyday life have been unsuccessful because the policy framework did not enable them to be economically independent. This is consistent with Kurtzer's (2020) conclusions, according to which there is not enough local and international political pressure on the Nigerian government to respond more thoroughly to the humanitarian requirements. Conflicting interests between states and within UN organizations have pushed humanitarian imperatives aside in favor of development and economic concerns on a global scale.

The findings further revealed a lack of accurate data on the needs of the displaced people in Yobe State. This absence of accurate and reliable data misled any response to the humanitarian crisis in the state because it may not reach the targeted population. The results revealed that in Yobe State alone, there are about 306,899 IDPs in need of shelter, while both State and Federal governments have concentrated on providing food items. This is similar to IOM's statement from 2020, which claimed that 309,887 IDPs are at risk of exposure to hazardous elements because there are not enough shelter options available. In addition, 68,090 returnees are also residing in severely damaged shelters. Another 1,156,509 internally displaced persons (IDPs) living in camps and host communities lack basic housing and NFI (Non-Food Items) supplies, and 277,530 returnees are housed in partially destroyed homes. This illustrates how poorly the impacted areas of Yobe State received aid.

Similarly, the finding showed that affected areas in Yobe State had received less attention than Borno State because outsiders consider the state less affected by the insurgency. Even in the Humanitarian Response Plan of Nigeria (2020), the affected areas in Yobe State were classified as having low humanitarian needs,

which is contrary to the reality on the ground. According to the Humanitarian Response Plan (2020), out of the 5.9 million people targeted for assistance in 2020, 1.8 million, or 31%, are internally displaced persons (IDPs) residing in both formal and unofficial camps as well as host communities. The remaining 4.1 million individuals, or 69%, live in host communities and are responsible for caring for IDPs and returnees. Women and girls in these populations face particular protection concerns, such as increased exposure to the dangers of rape, kidnapping, and use as "sex slaves," among other things. In addition to the lack of access to essential basic services, humanitarian partners identified poor living conditions due to substandard shelter, congestion in formal and informal camps, and lack of access to education services as factors contributing to the deteriorating living standards of the IDPs, returnees, and host communities in this category.

Additionally, the findings revealed that many obstacles hindered humanitarian aid from reaching the people in dire need in Yobe State. These obstacles could be a lack of government cooperation or the military, who refused to give the needed support and cover for the aid workers whom the Boko Haram insurgents target in the areas. This created a triangular obstacle to addressing the humanitarian crisis in Yobe State. This is supported by the results of Stoddard, Harvey, Czwarno, and Breckenridge (2020), which revealed that since the current humanitarian response in 2016, access for aid workers to the conflict-affected regions of northeastern Nigeria has been severely restricted. Humanitarian aid is entirely unavailable for an estimated 1.2 million Nigerians who live outside the government-controlled regions in those states, and several million more face varying degrees of difficulty accessing it. Northeast Nigeria has become one of the most challenging working environments for aid organizations due to a combination of insecurity, the actions of contending parties, and the lack of robust and coordinated advocacy by foreign diplomatic and humanitarian actors. This is also supported by the International Rescue Committee (IRC) (2020), which claims that 1.2 million Nigerians live in inaccessible areas of the northeast controlled by armed groups. There is insufficient data available on the status of civilians residing in these areas, but all indications point to an escalating humanitarian crisis.

Conclusion:

The Boko Haram insurgency has produced a grave humanitarian crisis that domestic and foreign governments, aid agencies, non-governmental organizations, and civil society organizations are trying to manage and address. Yobe State, like Borno and Adamawa, is one of the most afflicted states in the Northeast, yet the response to the needs of victims of insurgent attacks is poor. This has left the majority of the victims and displaced persons in a perilous situation and situation worse than the Boko Haram attacks because they are subjected to a slew of problems ranging from hunger, destitution, sickness, and sexual abuse because they

are left to fend for themselves at the mercy of nature. The social and economic lives of those affected have been overlooked in the humanitarian response, which is critical in reviving communities recovering from violent conflicts. It is important to invest in the social and economic well-being of people after a war so they can get back on their feet. So, people would no longer have to depend on the government or nonprofits for help.

Recommendations:

- i. Government and security personnel should have interagency collaboration with the NGOs in the areas in need of humanitarian assistance to enable them reach the affected people.
- ii. Aid agencies and NGOs should stop relying on second hand information in developing their response plan to the affected people in the Northeast.
- iii. Accurate data should be collected from the victims and IDPs to enable the government and other agencies to capture the real victims.

References:

- Abdullahi Ayoade, A., Mohd Afandi, S., & Gwadabe Nasai, M. (2018). The tenets and narratives of boko haram ideology: An appraisal. *International Conference on ASEAN and Globalization (ICAG 2018)*, 25 Jul 2018, UniSZA.
- Adenrele, A. R. (2012). Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria as a symptom of poverty and political alienation. *IOSR Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, 3(5), 21-26.
- Alobo, E., & Obaji, S. (2016). Internal displacement in Nigeria and the case for human rights protection of displaced persons. *JL Pol'y & Globalization*, 51, 26.
- Anyadike, N. O., & Nkechi, O. (2013). Boko Haram and national security challenges in Nigeria; causes and solutions. *Journal of Economics and Sustainable Development*, 4(5), 12-23.
<https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/234645881.pdf>
- Bintube, M. (2015), Boko Haram Phenomenon: Genesis and Development in North Eastern Region Nigeria, *International Journal of Sociology and Anthropology Research*, Vol.1 (1), pp.1-22

- Bricmont, Jean, *Humanitarian imperialism: using human rights to sell war*, Monthly Review Press, New York, 2006
- Chomsky, N. (2008), Humanitarian Imperialism: the new doctrine of imperial right”, *Monthly Review*, Vol. 60 No.4, pp. 22-55
- Emmanuelar, I. (2015) Insurgency and humanitarian crises in Northern Nigeria: The case of Boko Haram *Journal of African Journal of Political Science and International Relations* Vol. 9(7), pp. 284-296
- Humanitarian Response Plan Nigeria (2020). Humanitarian Programme Cycle. Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1-61.
- Ikelegbe, A. (2010). Oil, resource conflicts and the post conflict transition in the Niger Delta region: Beyond the amnesty. <https://www.africaportal.org/publications/oil-resource-conflicts-and-the-post-conflict-transition-in-the-niger-delta-region-beyond-the-amnesty/>
- International Rescue Committee (2020). *Emergency watchlist*. International Rescue Committee 1-49.
- Kamta, F. N., Azadi, H., & Scheffran, J. (2020). The root causes of the crisis in Northeast Nigeria: Historical, socioeconomic and environmental dimensions. *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*, 11(3), 95-95.
- Kurtzer, J. D. (2020). *Out of Sight: Northeast Nigeria's Humanitarian Crisis*. Center for Strategic & International Studies.
- Mohammed, D. (2014). The Effect of Boko Haram Crisis on Socio Economic Activities In Yobe State. *The International Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities Invention*. Volume 1 issue 4 2014 page no.251-257
- Moore, R. S. (2007). The basics of counterinsurgency. *Small Wars Journal*, 14, 1-24. <https://smallwarsjournal.com/documents/moorecoinpaper.pdf>
- Mukhtar, U., Mukhtar, J. I. & Mukhtar, H. Y. (2015). Unemployment Among Youth in Nigeria: A Challenge for Millennium Development Goals. *Researchjournali's Journal of Economics*. 3 (3): 1-12.
- Nasa'i Muhammad Gwadabe, Mohd Afandi Salleh, Abdullahi Ayoade Ahmad & Sobia Jamil (2018). Forced Displacement and the Plight of Internally Displaced Persons in Northeast Nigeria. *Humanities and Social Science Research*; Vol. 1, No. 1

Nwaoga, C. T., Okoli, A. B., & Uroko, F. C. (2017). Self-acclaimed religious terrorism, refugee crisis, and the plight of internally displaced persons in Nigeria. *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*, 8(3), 189. <https://www.mcser.org/journal/index.php/mjss/article/view/9952>

Okoli, Al Chukwuma & Iortyer, Philip (2014). Terrorism and Humanitarian Crisis in Nigeria: Insights from Boko Haram Insurgency. *Global Journal of Human-Social Science* Volume 14 (1)

Orford, Anne, *Reading humanitarian intervention: human rights and the use of force in international law*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2003

Patrick, O., & Felix, O. (2013). Retirement: A blessing or a curse? The Nigerian teachers' perceptions. *Journal of Elementary Education*, 23(2), 17-26.

Stoddard A., Harvey P., Czwatno M., and Breckenridge, M. (2020). Aid Worker Security Report: 2020—Contending with threats to humanitarian health workers in the age of epidemics. Humanitarian Outcomes.

Tarnoff, C. (2015). *US Agency for International Development (USAID): Background, operations, and issues*. Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service.