

**UNIVERSITY OF DELHI  
INNOVATION PROJECTS 2015-16  
FINAL REPORT**

**1.PROJECT CODE: MH-303**

**2. PROJECT TITLE: Continuity and Change in the Youth's Perception of National Interest in India's Foreign Policy: A Comparative Study of Delhi University, Jadavpur University and Madras University**

**3. NAME OF COLLEGE/INSTITUTION: MIRANDA HOUSE**

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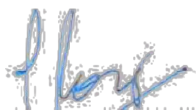
**University of Delhi**

**Certificate of Originality**

**This is to certify that the research work carried out and the final report submitted by the Project Investigators and the students of Innovation Project having Project Code MH 303 and title ‘Continuity and Change in the Youth’s Perception of National Interest in India’s Foreign Policy: A Comparative Study of Delhi University, Jadavpur University and Madras University’ of Miranda House is original. Any plagiarism/academic dishonesty reported at any stage will be our responsibility.**

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**Utilization Certificate**  
**Innovation Project 2015-16**  
**Project Code -MH-303**

**Project Title : Continuity And Change in the Youth's Perception of National Interest in India's Foreign Policy: A Comparative study of Delhi University Students with students of University of Madras and Jadavar University**

**Audited Financial Statement under Innovation Project scheme**

**College: Miranda House**

**Principal Investigators: Dr. Purnima Roy, Dr. Shashi Bala Aggarwal, & Ms. K.K. Subha**

Grant sanctioned	Rs. 3,50,000 + Rs. 50,000*			
S.No.	Budget head	Amount sanctioned	Total Amount utilized	Amount Remaining
1.	Equipment/Consumables	1,00,000	17,912	82,088
2.	Travel	55,000	41,832	13,168
3.	Stipend	1,20,000	1,20,000	NIL
4.	Honorarium	25,000	25,000	NIL
5.	Stationery/Printing	20,000	11,188	8,812
6.	Contingency	30,000	8,711	21,289
Total amount utilized	Rs. 2,24,643 (Two lakh Twenty Four Thousand Six Hundred Forty Three Only.			1,25,357
Amount Remaining.	Rs.1,25,357 (One Lakh Twenty Five Thousand Three Hundred Fifty Seven Only.			

Certified that out of Rs.3,50,000/- (Three Lakhs Fifty Thousand Only) Sanctioned to Innovation Projects MH-303 Rs.2,24,643/- has been utilized During the period of the project. The remaining amount of Rs.1,25,357/- One Lakh Twenty Five Thousand Three Hundred Fifty Seven Only) is being returned back to the University.

**\*Note:** An additional Rs.50,000/- (Fifty Thousand) was given as advance by oversight which is also being returned.

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**Signature of Principal**  
 Principal  
 Miranda House

**Financial Audit Clearance**  
**and Stamp of Chartered Accountant**



## **FINAL REPORT**

### **1. PROJECT CODE: MH 303**

### **2. PROTECT TITLE: Continuity and Change in the Youth's Perception of National Interest in India's Foreign Policy: A Comparative Study of Delhi University, Jadavpur University and Madras University**

### **3. ABSTRACT**

The research seeks to analyze the continuing and/or changing trends in the youth's perception of national interest in the foreign policy of India. It does so by conducting a comparative analysis across the current batches of Delhi University, Madras University and Jadavpur University. An analysis to understand continuity or change between the students in the wake of the Liberalisation, Privatisation and Globalisation (LPG) era and the students of today has been done by studying issues in India's foreign policy taking Delhi University's 1985-90s batch and the batch of 2016.

The choice of specific batches and universities make possible an analysis of perceptions across the dimensions of time and space. These dimensions along with other identities like gender and class shape the perceptions of an individual in matters related to foreign policy.

The Sampling Method (Non Random Purposive) has been used for the research questionnaire. The most suitable sample space was identified for the survey. It included the current batch and the batch of 1990s of Delhi University and the current batches of Jadavpur University and Madras University to bring out the trends of continuity and change across region and time in the study.

The results affirm the aspects of change and continuity in various domains, with fascinating insights. The spatial trends expose the dominant continuity in perception of national interest in foreign policy across geographical regions, affirming a national perspective rather than a regional one. This further reflects the far reaching role of mainstream media in shaping perceptions across regions.

With the twin goals of understanding the perceptions of the youth while simultaneously deciphering the concept of national interest that guides the foreign policy of the Indian state, the study attempts to achieve both objectives by successfully combining theoretical and statistical analyses.

#### **4. INTRODUCTION**

Today, every third person in an Indian city is a youth. The aim of this research study is to understand the perceptions of this youth, hailing from different parts of the country, regarding the concept of national interest in India's foreign policy. Furthermore, if it is found that differences exist in these perceptions, across the dimensions of region and time, the objective of the study is to investigate and summarise the reasons for the contrast in opinions. Simultaneously, the study has endeavoured to understand the factors that may influence the perceptions of the youth. These could include educational background, regional bias, primary sources of information and so on.

Furthermore, the study questions an implicit assumption made in International Relations that the foreign policy of each state is guided by the homogenous 'national' interest of its citizens. Through the use of questionnaires and interviews, the study attempts to draw a distinction between the 'real' national interest pursued by the state and the 'perceived' national interest of its citizens. The trends of continuity and change in the perceptions of Indian youth, hailing from different regions, will clarify whether the national interest is actually a collection of regional and local interests. Consequently, these trends will indicate the nature of the Indian state, especially in terms of representativeness.

In sum, the study will bring to light the contested nature of the concept of national interest by giving the citizens themselves an opportunity to explain what the idea means to them.

### **Theoretical Formulations**

The underlying theoretical basis of the study is an evaluation of a Realist conception of international relations and a shift from an Idealist orientation to a Realist orientation of the Indian state.

According to Donald E. Nuechterlein, a realist scholar who has worked extensively on the relationship between national interest and foreign policy, national interest can be defined as the “perceived needs and desires of one sovereign state in relation to other sovereign states comprising the external environment”. The perception of a state’s needs suggests that the various leaders in a country may hold different views on what the national interest is, but try to come to a consensus on one issue. Thus, the national interest is the result of a political process.

Foreign policy, then, is an instrument in the hands of a country for the protection and promotion of its national interest. Rajiv Sikri, in his book ‘Challenge and Strategy: Rethinking India’s Foreign Policy’ has argued: “As far as national interests are concerned, while it is true that a country will permanently have national interests, the content of the national interest will vary with time and circumstances. In the ultimate analysis, it is for the government of the day to determine what the country’s interests are at a given point in time. A successor government may take a different view and reverse the decision of the previous government on precisely the same ground of national interest.”

Furthermore, a major thrust of the project is aimed at evaluating the position of India in relation to its neighbours in the region of South Asia. Partha Ghosh, in his article ‘Region without Regionalism’, argues that “South Asia qualifies as a region only in institutional terms” and that “historically there is no reference to South Asia”. He analyses the complexities inherent within the region due to its sheer diversity and the presence of the competing forces of China, Pakistan and India. Within this context, the perceptions of Indian youth from different parts of the country, regarding India’s relations with its neighbours, gain significance

## **5. HYPOTHESES**

- There has been a shift in the external orientation of the Indian state, from Idealism to Realism.
- National Interest is not a monolithic concept but instead, may be a collection of regional and local interests.
- The dimensions of time and space considerably influence the perceptions of the youth regarding the Indian economy, military security and balance of power.
- Other aspects of an individual's identity, ranging from gender to class, may influence his/her perceptions.

### **Objectives**

- To evaluate the nature of the conception of national interest propounded by the Indian state.
- To analyse the perceptions of the youth regarding the idea of national interest in India's foreign policy.
- To investigate and summarise the reasons for contrast and convergence in the perceptions of the youth regarding the idea of national interest in India's foreign policy, across the dimensions of space and time.
- To draw relationships between the dimensions of time, space and identity respectively with the perceptions of an individual in an attempt to contextualise differing opinions.
- To understand how foreign policy decisions serve the real interests of a nation in the long run.
- To assess the potential of state governments to influence the foreign policy of a nation.
- To evaluate the representative nature of the Indian State.



## 6. METHODOLOGY

The objective of the study is to analyse the changes in terms of contrast and convergence in the perceptions of youth about national interest in foreign policy, across the dimension of time and space. In order to capture the spatial variations, universities from the North, East and South of India were selected, namely Delhi University (New Delhi), Jadavpur University, (West Bengal) and Madras University (Tamil Nadu). Within these Universities, two batches of students were surveyed. One from the present graduating batch and one between 1985-1991 to identify changes and perception over the decades.

- **Target Population:** 18-24 years (according to UN definition of Youth) in the three regions from both the batches (1985-1991 & 2015-16)

- **Sample Size:** While we received an overwhelming response from Delhi University and Jadavpur University, we encountered difficulties in the process of data collection from Madras University. In order to solve this discrepancy and ensure statistical parity, we analysed 20 responses from each university.

- **Sampling Method:** Non Random Purposive Sampling

**Research Questionnaire:** To test the hypotheses laid out in the earlier section, questionnaires were chosen as the preferred tool of data collection. The most important part and the focus of the research was to create and come up with a comprehensive, well-structured questionnaire. In order to this, a deeper understanding of the concept of national interest and foreign policy, and extensive theoretical background reading of the areas focused upon were undertaken.

The aim was to come up with a questionnaire that would:

- bring in all dimensions that form a part of our foreign policy
- bring in the factors influencing and shaping it
- role played by national interest in foreign policy
- role of some specific regions and governments in shaping foreign policy
- India's foreign policy towards its neighbors and some other countries like US, Russia, Africa etc.

Furthermore, the questionnaire was framed in a manner so that it could be analyzed comparatively for the current third year batches in the Delhi, Madras and Calcutta Universities,

with the batch of 1990s of the same. Thus, two sets of questionnaires were created - one for the current batch and one for the batch of 1985-1990s.

The questionnaire is divided into different sections which have questions to cull out the influence of various foreign policy issues. This encompasses subjective and objective questions and questions dealing with ranking of options so as to enable statistics of preferences. The batch of 1985-1990s and Madras University students were administered the questionnaire via Online Google forms.

**Pilot Study:** To check the efficacy of the questionnaires, a Pilot study was conducted. The results of which were used to improve our understanding of the survey methodology and redress the shortcomings faced on a small scale analysis to mitigate their occurrence in a large scale analysis.

### **Methods of Analysis:**

- Questionnaires were chosen as the basic tool for the collection of information because of its fluid format and relatively easy analysis. It was divided into various themes for making it more coherent for analysis. While most of the questions remained the same for the batches of 1990s and current batch for comparative analysis, there were also contextual questions for contextual analysis. The survey of three universities was done to analyze the spatial dimension of national interest.
- The questionnaires contained questions of preferential rankings. For the analysis, the ranks that were assigned to each variable were added and through this method it can be ascertained that the one scoring the least of being the most important one.
- For the analysis of cross sectional data, the data obtained from the current batches of the three universities was compared. The same method was applied to the 1985-90s batches as well. Furthermore, the aggregated data - across regions for the cross-sectional analysis (only for the current batch) and separately for the current batch and the alumni for the time-series - was understood to be the best way to arrive at definitive conclusions for our hypotheses.
- In order to arrive at this aggregated data, questions were also clubbed under broader themes drawn from that particular aspect of India's foreign policy, after analyzing each question separately.

### **Limitations of the Study**

The main limitation of the project comes from the fact that we have a small sample size especially for the alumni batch which were difficult to contact. Statistical constraints arising from the same should be kept in mind while arriving at any conclusions from the survey. Another issue is the objective representation of national interest and the way it has been disseminated and communicated by the surveyors since only few of the surveys were conducted in person, rest being conducted over electronic means of communication.

## 7. RESULTS

**TABLE 1: Thematic Results for Current Batches from all Universities**

	<b>Delhi University</b>	<b>Jadavpur University</b>	<b>Madras University</b>
What according to you are the most pressing issues that need to be addressed by India's foreign policy?	1. Economic Development 2. Territorial security 3. Climate change 4. Energy security 5. Resource sharing 6. Addressing North-south divide 7. Permanent seat in the UNSC and Migration	1. Economic development 2. Territorial security 3. Energy security 4. Climate change 5. Resource sharing 6. Permanent seat in the UNSC 7. Migration 8. Addressing North south divide	1.. Economic development 2.. Permanent seat in the UNSC 3. Territorial security 4. Addressing North-South Divide 5. Climate change 6. Energy security 7. Resource sharing 8. Migration
How would you describe the balance	a. Unipolar-47.4% b. Multipolar-42.1% c. Bipolar-10.5% d. Can't Say-0%	a. Unipolar-55% b. Multipolar-25% c. Bipolar-10% d. Can't Say -10%	a. Unipolar-25% b. Multipolar-50% c. Bipolar-12.5% d. Can't Say-12.5%

of power in the world today?			
How did the disintegration of USSR (now Russia) impact India's relationship with the US	a. Strengthened ties-0% b. Weakened ties-15.8% b. No effect-5.3% c. Can't say-78.9%	a. Strengthened ties-40% b. Weakened ties-15% b. No effect-15% c. Can't say-30%	a. Strengthened ties-43.8% b. Weakened ties-25% b. No effect-6.3% c. Can't say-25%
	<b>Delhi University</b>	<b>Jadavpur University</b>	<b>Madras University</b>
Given our increasing engagement with the US, how have India's relations with Russia changed?	a. No effect-26.3% b. Strengthened ties-15.8% c. Worsened ties-21.1% d. Can't say -36.8%	a. No effect-35% b. Strengthened ties-10% c. Worsened ties-20% d. Can't say -35%	a. No effect-12.5% b. Strengthened ties-25% c. Worsened ties-31.3% d. Can't say -31.3%
How relevant is NAM according to you?	a. Very relevant-10.5% b. Moderately relevant-42.1% c. Irrelevant -36.8% d. Can't say-10.5%	a. Very relevant-25% b. Moderately relevant-45% c. Irrelevant -10% d. Can't say-20%	a. Very relevant-25% b. Moderately relevant-37.5% c. Irrelevant -6.3% d. Can't say-31.3%
	a. Yes-78.9% b. No-21.1% c. Can't say-0%	a. Yes-55% b. No-40% c. Can't say-5%	a. Yes-62.5% b. No-12.5% c. Can't say-25%

Do you think India is a regional leader in South Asia?			
Rank in order of importance various aspects in the relations between India and China.	1.Resolving territorial disputes 2.Greater economic cooperation 3.Confidence building measures 4.Condemnation of terrorism	1. Greater economic cooperation 2. Resolving Territorial dispute 3. Condemnation of terrorism 4. Confidence building measures	a. Resolving Territorial disputes b. Confidence building measures c. Condemnation of terrorism d. Greater economic cooperation
	<b>Delhi University</b>	<b>Jadavpur University</b>	<b>Madras University</b>
How should India respond to the Chinese intrusion in the Indian territory?	a. Military response -15% b. Bilateral talks-60% c. Passive response -0% d. Involve the UN as a mediator-20% e. Can't say-5%	a. Military response -25% b. Bilateral talks-35% c. Passive response -10% d. Involve the UN as a mediator-20% e. Can't say-10%	a. Military response -12.5% b. Bilateral talks-50% c. Passive response -18.8% d. Involve the UN as a mediator-6.3% e. Can't say-12.5%
Does the government at power at State level in Jammu and	a. Yes -80% b. No-15% c. Can't say-5%	a. Yes -85% b. No-10% c. Can't say-5%	a. Yes -50% b. No-25% c. Can't say-25%

Kashmir influence Indo-Pakistan relations?  (1990s- National Conference, 2014- People's democratic Party)			
	<b>Delhi University</b>	<b>Jadavpur University</b>	<b>Madras University</b>
In your opinion, does the party in power at the state level (west Bengal) affect India's relationship with Bangladesh? [Left Front (CPI-M) in the 1990s as compared to All India Trinamool Congress since 2011]	a. Yes-60% b. No -40%	a. Yes-73.7% b. No -21.1%	a. Yes-50% b. No -50%
What consequences does extending credit (foreign aid) to nations like Bangladesh have on India?	a. Mutually beneficial-30% b. Financial burden on India-15% c. Necessary cost of being an emerging power-50% d. No effect -5%	a. Mutually beneficial-30% b. Financial burden on India-10% c. Necessary cost of being an emerging power-40% d. No effect -20%	a. Mutually beneficial-25% b. Financial burden on India-25% c. Necessary cost of being an emerging power-37.5% d. No effect -12.5%
	<b>Delhi University</b>	<b>Jadavpur University</b>	<b>Madras University</b>

How can India and Nepal improve their bilateral relations?	a. Hydro-electric co-operation-40% b. Trade and investment-30% c. Cultural exchange-10% d. Adopting a policy of non-interference-20%	a. Hydro-electric co-operation-10% b. Trade and investment-50% c. Cultural exchange-20% d. Adopting a policy of non-interference-20%	a. Hydro-electric co-operation-56.3% b. Trade and investment-25% c. Cultural exchange-18.8% d. Adopting a policy of non-interference-0%
In your opinion, does the party in power at the state level in Tamil Nadu (power has been shifting between AIADMK and DMK) affect India's relationship with Sri Lanka?	a. Yes-80% b. No -20%	a. Yes-70% b. No -30%	a. Yes-50% b. No -50%
Do you think India's intervention in the Sri Lankan Civil War was a foreign policy failure?	a. Yes -50% b. No-35% c. Can't say-15%	a. Yes -50% b. No-30% c. Can't say-20%	a. Yes -43.8% b. No-31.3% c. Can't say-25%
	<b>Delhi University</b>	<b>Jadavpur University</b>	<b>Madras University</b>
Do you think that the Indian State needs to do more to address	a. Yes -70% b. No- 30% c. Can't say-0%	a. Yes -65% b. No-5% c. Can't say-30%	a. Yes -68.8% b. No- 18.8% c. Can't say-12.5%

the plight of Tamils in Sri Lanka?			
What is the basis of our relationship with African nations?	a.Economic Linkages-10% b.Historical and cultural ties-20 % c.Resource sharing and development-25 % d. Idealistic policy -0% e. All of the above-45%	a.Economic Linkages-15% b.Historical and cultural ties-20% c.Resource sharing and development-10% d. Idealistic policy -15% e. All of the above-40%	a.Economic Linkages-6.3% b.Historical and cultural ties-25% c.Resource sharing and development-18.8 % d. Idealistic policy -0% e. All of the above-50%
Negative impact of human activities on the environment has been an important issue in International Relations. In this respect, India has always upheld the notion of ‘common but differentiated responsibilities’ (greater action by developed countries vis-à-vis the developing nations). Do you agree with India’s stand?	a. Yes -100% b. No -0% c. Can’t say -0%	a. Yes -55% b. No -25% c. Can’t say -20%	a. Yes -68.8% b. No -12.5% c. Can’t say -18.8%



	<b>Delhi University</b>	<b>Jadavpur University</b>	<b>Madras University</b>
Should India's foreign policy give more emphasis to economic development or environmental issues?	a. Economic growth -10% b. Environment/ Climate change-15% c. Equal emphasis to both (Sustainable development)-75%	a. Economic growth -15% b. Environment/ Climate change-10% c. Equal emphasis to both (Sustainable development)-75%	a. Economic growth -31.3% b. Environment/ Climate change-18.8% c. Equal emphasis to both (Sustainable development)-50%
Do you think Indian Diaspora can act as a soft power to promote India's national interest abroad?	a. Yes-75% b. No-10% c. Can't say-15%	a. Yes-70% b. No-15% c. Can't say-15%	a. Yes-68.8% b. No-6.3% c. Can't say-25%

## Discussion of Table 1:

### Themes:

1. **Economic security and trade:** The most pressing issue for a majority of students across the three universities was that of economic development. However, when asked if foreign policy should give importance to environmental issues or development, a majority chose sustainable development of both, 37.1% opined that economic growth should be given emphasis.  
In India's engagement with China, a majority of students in Delhi university and Madras University believe that greater economic cooperation should be the most important aspect in India's policy toward China.  
32.7% students were of the opinion that trade and investment should be the most important factor between India and Nepal. 9.9% of respondents believe that economic linkages should be the basis of India's relations with the African nations. While 28.3% of the respondents believe that extending foreign aid to countries like Bangladesh is mutually beneficial, 16.66% were of the opinion that it is a financial burden.
2. **Territorial Sovereignty:** The second most pressing issue for a majority of students across the three universities was territorial sovereignty. Territorial sovereignty was the most important issue for students of Delhi University and Madras University in India's engagement with China. Furthermore, a majority of the respondents (48.33%) were of the opinion that Chinese intrusions into the Indian territory should be tackled using the medium of bilateral talks.
3. **Environmental and Energy Security:** When asked if foreign policy should give importance to environmental issues or development, a majority chose sustainable development (66.66%) or equal emphasis to both. 18.76% opined that economic growth should be given emphasis against 14.6% who believe that the environment should be given emphasis. A majority of the respondents agree with India's stand of 'common but differentiated responsibilities'. However, it is interesting to note that only 3.5% of the respondents thought that addressing the north-south divide was an important aspect of India's foreign policy. This probably stems out of the fact that there has been a shift in the world's outlook towards the north-south divide, with rapid economic development of the south. In terms of energy, 35.4% of the respondents believe that hydro-electric cooperation can be used to boost India-Nepal relations. While 14.1% of the respondents believe that Climate Change is an important issue that should be addressed by India's foreign policy, only 6.7% believe that Energy Security is an important issue that needs to be addressed. Climate change as an important aspect of foreign policy formulations is a recent phenomena and is ever transforming the tenets of diplomacy.

4. **Terrorism:** Terrorism was the third most important issue for students of Jadavpur University and Madras University and believe that condemnation of terrorism should form an important part of India-China relations.
5. **Balance of Power:** A majority of the respondents (42.46%) believe that the balance of power in the world today can be described as unipolar. Furthermore, a majority of the respondents believe that India is a regional leader in South Asia. Consequently, 42.5% of the respondents believe that extending foreign credit to countries like Bangladesh in a necessary cost of being an emerging power.
6. **NAM:** A majority of the respondents think that NAM was a moderately relevant movement. This is an interesting phenomena, reflective of the official tendency to distance from the movement while focusing on other multilateral forum considered to be more strategically relevant to India rather than NAM.
7. **Indian Diaspora and Culture:** The emphasis on the role of Indian Diaspora and Culture have been positive. 29.5% of the respondents think that cultural exchanges can boost Indo-Nepal relations. Furthermore, 21.66% think that historical and cultural ties form the basis of India's relations with the African nations. A majority of the respondents were of the opinion that the Indian diaspora can be effectively used as a soft power, akin to the official policies pursued by the Government of the day.

**TABLE 2: Time Series Questions: DU Current vs DU Alumni**

	Delhi University Alumni	Delhi University Current batch
What according to you is the definition of national interest?	Perceived needs and desires of one state in relation to others - 13.3% Sum total of interests and objectives actually pursued- 40% All of the above- 40% Other-6.7%, National interest as power- 0%	Perceived needs and desires of one state in relation to others - 42.1% Sum total of interests and objectives actually pursued- 10.5% All of the above- 42.1% Other-0%, National interest as power- 5.3%
What according to you are the most pressing issues that need to be addressed by India's foreign policy? On a scale of 1 to 8, rank the following order of importance.	1.Economic Development 2. Territorial Security 3.Resource Sharing 4.Addressing north south divide/migration/energy security 5.Permanent seat in the United Nations Security Council 6.climate change	1. Economic Development 2. Territorial security 3. Climate change 4. Energy security 5. Resource sharing 6. Addressing North-south divide 7. Permanent seat in the UNSC and Migration
How would you describe the balance of power in the world today?	Unipolar-53.3% Multipolar-40% Bipolar-6.7%	Unipolar-47.4% Multipolar-42.1% Bipolar-10.5%, cant say-0%
How did the disintegration of USSR (now Russia) impact India's relationship with US?	Strengthened ties-80% Weakened ties-20% No effect on ties-0% Can't say-0%	Strengthened ties-0% Weakened ties-15.8% No effect on ties-5.3% Can't Say-78.9%
How relevant is NAM according to you?	Extremely Relevant-40% Moderately Relevant-46.7% Irrelevant-13.3%	Extremely Relevant-10.5% Moderately Relevant-42.1% Irrelevant-36.8%, Can't

		Say-10.5%
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On a scale of 1 to 7 (with 1 being the most important and 7 being the least important), which countries, according to you, are India's closest allies?	1.Bhutan 2.Nepal 3. Sri Lanka 4.Bangladesh 5.China 6.Pakistan	1.Bhutan 2. Nepal 3.Myanmar 4.Bangladesh 5.Sri Lanka 6.China 7.Pakistan
Do you think that India is a regional leader in South Asia?	Yes-93.3% No-6.7%	Yes-78.9% No-21.1%, Cant say-0%
Rank in order of importance the following aspects in the relations between India and China. Please rank the following on a scale of 1 to 4 (with 1 being the highest and 4 being the lowest).	1.Resolving territorial disputes 2.Condemnation of terrorism 3.Confidence building measures 4.Greater economic cooperation	1.Resolving territorial disputes 2.Greater economic cooperation 3.Confidence building measures 4.Condemnation of terrorism
How should India respond to the Chinese intrusion in the Indian territory?	Military response-6.7% Bilateral talks-46.7% Passive response-0% Involve the UN as a mediator-26.7% Can't say-20%	Military response-15% Bilateral talks-60% Passive response-0% Involve the UN as a mediator-20% Can't say-5%
On a scale of 1 to 4 (with 1 being the most important and 4 being the least important), please rank the following issues between India and Pakistan.	1.Cross border Violations 2.Terrorism 3.Kashmir issue 4.Nuclear Security	1. Kashmir issue 2. Terrorism 3. Cross border violations 4. Nuclear Security
How did you view the Land Boundary Agreement (LBA) between India and Bangladesh? Do you think the Indian parliament should ratify the Land Boundary Agreement with Bangladesh?	Yes-80% No-0% Can't say- 20%	Favourably-65% Unfavourably-15% Can't say-20%

Do you think Indian intervention in the Sri Lankan Civil War was a foreign policy failure? Given the plight of Tamils in Sri Lanka and the blatant killings that took place, should the Indian government have intervened in the Sri Lankan civil war?	Yes-13.3% No-60% Can't say-26.7%	Yes-50% No-35% Can't say-15%
What is the basis of our relationship with African nations?	Economic linkages-20% Historical and cultural ties-20% Resource sharing and development-0% Idealistic policy-6.7% All of the above-53.3%	Economic linkages-10% Historical and cultural ties-20% Resource sharing and development-25% Idealistic policy-0% All of the above-45%
Should India's foreign policy give more emphasis to economic development or environmental issues?	Economic growth-26.7% Environment/ Climate change-0% Equal emphasis to both (Sustainable development)-73.3%	Economic growth-10% Environment/ Climate change-15% Equal emphasis to both (Sustainable development)-75%

### **Discussion of Table 2**

1. **Understanding national interest:** The understanding of national interest from the 1990s batch to the current has changed in some key aspects. The idea of national interest understood as 'Perceived needs and desires of one state in relation to others' increased by 28.8% from the alumni batch to the current. This could be attributed to greater integration of states in the world economy, globalisation as well as 'complex interdependence' as understood in the liberal framework of IR. While the understanding of national interest as 'Sum total of interests and objectives actually pursued' decreased from the 1990s batch to the current by 29.5%. A realist understanding of national interest as power conceived by Morgenthau, 0% for the alumni batch increased to a 5.3% for the current batch. This transition in perception however seems to be in contrast to the predominant conception of International Politics, wherein Realism was a significantly more dominant idea during the 1990s.

2. **Pressing issues in India's foreign policy:** When asked to rank the most important issues in foreign policy, both batches placed Economic development at the first place and territorial security at the second. While the 1990s batch viewed Resource sharing as the third most important issue, the current batch replaced this with Climate Change. This transition is reflective of the shift towards the inclusion of Climate Change as an important element of diplomacy, particularly economic diplomacy. Both batches view Energy security as the fourth most important issue, above addressing the north-south divide, migration. The incremental demand of energy for India, makes it a very pertinent issue in our foreign policy imagination. The issue however does not entirely influence perceptions due to an inadequate coverage in media. Further, a permanent seat in the UNSC came in sixth for the alumni batch and last for the current batch. The issue of UNSC permanent seat has been raised intermittently in popular debate, though diplomatic efforts have been consistently deployed towards the goal.
3. **Balance of Power:** A majority in both the alumni and current batch believe that the world is unipolar, in view of the disintegration of the USSR and the following US hegemony in World Politics. A slightly less percentage in both the batches believes that the world is multipolar.
4. **Disintegration of the USSR and relations with the US:** While in the 1990s, a whopping 80% believed that the disintegration strengthened India's relationship with the US, today 0% hold that opinion, owing to the change in post- Cold War politics as well as post LPG policies. A majority of 78.9% of the current students can't say. The strength and stability of present relations with the USA is often viewed as a given, the trajectory of relations however clearly affirms the drift from Russia after the disintegration of USSR. Efforts were thereafter directed towards strengthening relations with USA, in the post cold war scenario.
5. **NAM:** While the alumni batch considered NAM to be Extremely Relevant (40%) and 46.7% believed it was Moderately Relevant, today merely 10.5% opine so, and 42.1% today think it was Moderately Relevant. In the present scenario, we have distanced ourselves with NAM for the absence of any significant strategic or economic interests in the alignment as compared to the other multilateral groupings and forums. The grouping is largely viewed as a more idealistic group rather than one which can adequately respond to India's real interests.
6. **India's closest allies:** When asked to rank India's neighbours in the region of South Asia, on the basis of closest allies, the answers of both the alumni batch and current batch of students revealed surprising trends of continuity. Across the temporal dimension, Bhutan and Nepal are perceived to be India's closest allies, while India's relations with China and Pakistan are considered to be the most conflict-ridden. It can, thus, be argued that the perceptions of the respondents reflect the actual operation of India's foreign policy, over the decades. Nepal and



Bhutan have traditionally been India's allies in the conflict-ridden region of South Asia. However, continued border skirmishes, wars, the conflict over Kashmir and terrorism have impeded the process of reconciliation between India and Pakistan. Similarly, the competition with China for control over South Asia, 1962 war and the unresolved border disputes have always proven to be obstacles in the way of peaceful relations between India and China. Thus, the perceptions of the youth living in a pre-liberalised India bear striking similarity to the perceptions of the youth, today.

7. **India as a leader in South Asia:** While 93.3% students of the alumni batch thought that India was a leader in South Asia, only 78.9% of the current students believe so today. As a result, an increased 14.4% believe that India is not a leader in South Asia today. There could be several reasons for this change in perceptions. Perhaps, the inhabitants of a pre-1991 reforms India were more removed from the rest of the world and hence, more confident of India's stature on the world stage. Since then, this unquestioned belief in India's position as a leader in South Asia might have weakened due to the unexpected consequences of the Sri Lankan Civil War, the inability to solve the disputes with Pakistan, China's rising influence in the region.
8. **Issues between India and Pakistan:** While cross border violations were ranked as the most important issue by the alumni batch, the current batch considers the Kashmir issue as the most pressing in light of increased tensions between the two countries over the issue. Terrorism was voted as the second most important issue by both batches, followed by Nuclear Security as fourth most important. However, Nuclear Security becomes an important issue between the two nations with escalation of conflicts. The Nuclear Threat Initiative, a nuclear nonproliferation watchdog however ranks both countries poorly on their Nuclear Security Index, which assesses the security of nuclear materials around the world.
9. **Land Boundary Agreement:** When the respondents from the alumni batch were asked if the Indian parliament should ratify the Land Boundary Agreement with Bangladesh, an overwhelming 80% of the former students answered with an affirmative. Since the Indian Parliament recently did ratify the agreement, it felt appropriate to ask the current batch of students, if they viewed the agreement favourably. Their answers were a little surprising. 65% of the respondents perceived the LBA as a positive development. It is possible that the rest of the respondents view it unfavourably owing to the controversy of the loss of land to India because of the Agreement, as portrayed by the mainstream media.
10. **India's intervention in the Sri Lankan Civil war:** while only 13.3% alumni students think that India's intervention in the Sri Lankan Civil War was a foreign policy failure, 80% of the students of the current batch see it as a failure. 60% of alumni students viewed it as a success.

This is an example of marked change about the view of the students regarding a foreign policy issue.

11. **India's engagement with Africa:** Of the alumni batch, both Economic linkages and Historical and cultural ties weighed 20% in our engagement with the African nations. For the current batch, Economic linkages were given 10% importance, and Historical and cultural ties weighed 20%. A shift can be seen from idealistic policy (Alumni: 6.7%; Current: 0%) to realistic foreign policy. This is also supported by that fact that of the alumni batch, 0% chose Resource sharing and development, which has increased by 25% today, given India's greater economic engagement and increasing energy and oil requirements from Africa.
12. **Environmental issues vis a vis Economic Development in Foreign Policy:** While a majority in both alumni and current students' data, students chose Sustainable development, the stress on economic growth has declined by 16.7% and support for environmental consciousness has increased by 15%. This is a marked shift, owing to increased pressure from civil society at both national and international level, as well as increased public consciousness regarding climate change. However, it is necessary to note that a majority still believe in growth while keeping the environment in mind.

**TABLE 3: CROSS-SECTIONAL ANALYSIS FOR CURRENT STUDENTS**

	<b>Delhi University</b>	<b>Madras University</b>	<b>Jadavpur University</b>
On a scale of 1 to 7 (with 1 being the most important and 7 being the least important), which countries, according to you, are India's closest allies?	1. Bhutan 2. Nepal 3. Myanmar 4. Bangladesh 5. Sri Lanka 6. China 7. Pakistan	1. Nepal 2. Bhutan 3. Bangladesh 4. Sri Lanka 5. China 6. Myanmar 7. Pakistan	1. Bangladesh 2. Bhutan 3. Nepal 4. Sri Lanka 5. Myanmar 6. China 7. Pakistan
Do you think that India is a regional leader in South Asia?	a. Yes-78.9% b. No-21.1% c. Can't say-0%	a. Yes-62.5% b. No-12.5% c. Can't say-25%	a. Yes-55% b. No-40% c. Can't Say - 5%
On a scale of 1 to 4 (with 1 being the most important and 4 being the least important), please rank the following issues between India and Pakistan.	1. Kashmir issue 2. Terrorism 3. Cross border violations 4. Nuclear Security	1. Terrorism 2. Kashmir issue 3. Cross- border violations/ terrorism- 4. Nuclear security	1. Kashmir issue 2. Terrorism 3. Cross-border violations 4. Nuclear security
Does the government in power at the state level in Jammu	a. Yes -80% b. No-15% c. Can't say-5%	a. Yes -50% b. No-25% c. Can't say-25%	a. Yes - 85% b. No - 10% c. Can't Say - 5%

and Kashmir influence Indo-Pakistan relations?			
On a scale of 1 to 5 (with 1 being the most important and 5 being the least important), please rank the following issues between India and Bangladesh.	1. Migration 2. Water sharing issue 3. Cross-border terrorism 4. Cross-border smuggling 5. Land boundary agreement	1. Migration 2. Cross- border terrorism 3. Cross- border smuggling 3. Water-sharing issue 5. Land Boundary Agreement	1. Water-sharing issue 2. Land boundary agreement 3. Cross-border smuggling 4. Migration 5. Cross-border terrorism
In your opinion does the party in power at the state level (West Bengal) affect India's relationship with Bangladesh?	a. Yes-60% b. No -40%	a. Yes-50% b. No -50%	a. Yes-73.7% b. No -21.1%
In your opinion does the party in power at the state level (Tamil Nadu – AIADMK and DMK) affect India's relationship with Sri Lanka?	a. Yes-80% b. No -20%	a. Yes-50% b. No -50%	a. Yes-70% b. No -30%
Do you think Indian	a. Yes -50% b. No-35%	a. Yes -43.8% b. No-31.3%	a. Yes-50% b.No-30%

intervention in the Sri Lankan Civil War was a foreign policy failure?	c. Can't say-15%	c. Can't say-25%	c. Can't say-20%
Should India's foreign policy give more emphasis to economic development or environmental issues?	a.Economic growth-10% b.Environment/ Climate change-15% c.Equal emphasis to both (Sustainable development)-75%	a.Economic growth -31.3% b.Environment/ Climate change-18.8% c.Equal emphasis to both (Sustainable development)-50%	a.Economic growth-15% b.Environment/ Climate change-10% c.Equal emphasis to both (Sustainable development)-75%

### DISCUSSION FOR TABLE 3

#### Impact of State Governments on Foreign Policy

- Respondents from Delhi University (80%) and Jadavpur University (85%) were overwhelmingly of the opinion that the party in power at the state level in Jammu and Kashmir has the ability to influence bilateral relations between India and Pakistan. However, only 50% of the respondents from Madras University thought that it formed a relevant factor in bilateral relations.
- When asked about the degree of influence that party in power in West Bengal has in the bilateral relations between India and Bangladesh, 73.7% respondents from Jadavpur University were of the opinion that it was a relevant factor. Only 60% of Delhi University respondents were of the same opinion. Respondents from Madras University were evenly split on the subject.
- In the context of the Tamil Nadu government and India's relations with Sri Lanka, 80% of Delhi University respondents and 70% of Jadavpur University respondents were of the opinion that the state government can influence foreign policy. However, respondents from Madras University were evenly split over the issue, continuing the trend from the earlier questions.
- On an average, out of the students from the current batch across all three universities, 72% felt that the Jammu and Kashmir government can influence bilateral relations with

Pakistan, 61% felt that the West Bengal government can influence bilateral relations with Bangladesh and 67% felt that the Tamil Nadu government can influence bilateral relations with Sri Lanka. This reaffirms youth's perception of the increasing role of State Governments in influencing bilateral relations and consequent policies with neighbouring countries. It is aligned with the overall trend towards federalisation, with States having an important say in issues of foreign policy.

- Thus, it can be noted that despite the regional and spatial differences, the perceptions of students in each university remained, more or less, unchanged. For example, the respondents from Madras University were evenly split on the question, whether the state in question was Tamil Nadu, West Bengal or Jammu and Kashmir. The only element of change was a shift in the responses of Delhi University students from 80% to 60%, in the cases of Jammu and Kashmir and West Bengal respectively.
- A cross-sectional analysis of these three questions, thus, reveals that spatial differences are not dominant in guiding the perceptions of the youth across the country. Instead, their perceptions reveal similarity. This confirms the role of mainstream media in shaping youth's perceptions across geographical domains. It also reflects the cosmopolitan nature of youth today, with diverse and inclusive perspectives rather than one dominantly shaped by local interests.

### **Role of India in South-Asia**

- Across all three universities, almost more than 50% of the respondents responded affirmatively to the question regarding India's role as a regional leader in South Asia. 79% of the respondents from Delhi University and 62.5% of those from Madras University were of the opinion that India is a regional leader.
- Interestingly, it is important to note that in case of Jadavpur University, wherein while 55% of the respondents felt that India is a regional leader, on the other hand, 40% of the respondents felt otherwise, i.e., India is not a regional leader in this area.

### **Perception regarding India's role in Sri-Lankan civil war**

- Respondents from Delhi University (50%) and from Jadavpur University (50%) felt that Indian intervention in the Sri Lankan Civil war was a foreign policy failure, while 43.8% of respondents from Madras University were of a similar opinion. Therefore, we see that around 48% of the total respondents held that opinion. On the contrary, if we look at the percentage of respondents who felt that it wasn't a foreign policy failure, around 32% of

those felt so. While at the same time, 20% of the respondents were unsure about the evaluation of the stance taken by India, with as many as 25% of the students from Madras University, opting for the option ‘can’t say’.

### **Orientation regarding India’s foreign policy: Economic development vs. Environmental concern**

- When asked about whether India’s Foreign Policy should give more emphasis to economic development or to environmental issues, it can be noted that 75% of the respondents both from Delhi University and Jadavpur university believed that the way out should be charted in the direction of equal emphasis to be given to both, that is, for sustainable development. While at the same time, 50% of the respondents of Madras University held a similar opinion.
- However if we see the percentage of the respondents opting solely for economic growth as the way forward, that constitutes only 18.8% of the total population, wherein around 31.3% of all the respondents from Madras University felt so. On the other hand, not more than 14.6% of the respondents felt that more emphasis should be given to environmental concerns in India’s foreign policy.
- Thus, it can be seen that despite the regional and spatial differences, the perceptions of the students of each university remained, more or less, similar. However, the only shift we could see was with regard to the respondents of Jadavpur University, wherein, the percentage of the students who felt that India is not a regional leader was much higher (40%) in comparison to the students who felt likewise in the other two universities, i.e, only 16.8% of respondents from the other two universities felt so.
- Therefore, on conducting a cross-sectional analysis of these three questions, it was revealed that predominantly, spatial differences do not tend to be a contributing factor in guiding the perceptions of the youth across the country.

### **Important Issues influencing India’s relations with her allies**

- On being asked about India’s allies, respondents across all 3 universities opined that Bhutan and Nepal are India’s closest allies. Whereas Pakistan and China were ranked the lowest in India’s list of allies amongst students of all 3 universities.
- Interestingly, it can be seen that when asked about the most important issues between India and Pakistan, Terrorism and the Kashmir Issue were the most critical. It should also

be noted that for respondents across all 3 universities Nuclear Security was the least prioritized issue between India and Pakistan.

- According to the respondents of Delhi University and Madras University migration was considered as the most important issue between India and Bangladesh. Jadavpur University students felt that the water sharing issue was the most crucial followed by the Land Boundary Agreement. However, respondents from Delhi and Madras Universities ranked the Land Boundary Agreement as the least important.
- A cross-sectional analysis of these few questions reveal that the opinions of students across the 3 universities remain predominantly similar, disregarding the regional differences between them. The only deviation from this conclusion can be found in the question concerning Bangladesh where the students of Jadavpur University had a different opinion from those of Madras and Delhi Universities.



## 8. INNOVATIONS SHOWN BY THE PROJECT

The project aims to study the perceptions of youth regarding National Interest and foreign policy by taking into consideration the regional and temporal variations in this regard. This is an innovative and significant element as it adopts an approach which has immense potential to explore the various factors which influence our perceptions.

It is based on an understanding that very often what is commonly perceived of national interest and what should constitute an integral part of foreign policy, is seen from a macroscopic lens, perceiving it to be solely in consonance with the nation as such. By means of this project, we wish to uncover that what is perceived as national at the Central level, is often perceived and understood differently at the state and regional level, as each region accords different importance to different national issues. The role of regional aspirations and State governments have become significant over time but little study has been done in this regard. We believe that even though very often regional identities and aspirations are not deemed important in foreign policy imagination, they do play a significant role in shaping the perceptions. Therefore, in this sense, the project goes beyond and explores a different domain of analysis as it explores the relevance and influence of regional variations.

Additionally, a comparative study of youth's perception is another innovative aspect of the project for it traces the shift in youth's thought process over decades and through the transforming milieu of International Politics. This is based on an understanding that as context changes, the perceptions also vary. Our understanding of events is based on the context in which it is framed. The same event can be looked at differently by different sets of population, primarily because their vantage points are different. In this regard, the project goes beyond and offers insights to understand the various nuances of Foreign policy.

Moreover, in the process of exploring the factors that influence perceptions of Foreign Policy and national interests, we have explored the impact of Media in shaping perceptions across time and space. This offers us possibilities to explore in the due course of future studies. The project thus has brought together a range of innovative research aims and outcomes that shall enrich academic work done in the domain of India's foreign policy outlooks.

## 9. FUTURE DIRECTIONS AND CONCLUSION

### Future Directions

Researching for the project gave us deep insights into India's foreign relations. It was an excellent learning experience since we were able to gather varied perspectives on specific issues concerning India and her relations with other countries. This was possible due to the fact that we had an opportunity to interact with eminent personalities, specializing in India's relations with particular countries.

Hence, in order to further our interests and knowledge we will continue to have speaker sessions; discussions with renowned academician and interactions with diplomats. A series of speaker sessions or discussions can be held focusing on various dimensions of India's relations with a particular country, enabling us to develop a more wholesome and complete understanding of India's foreign policy.

The results of the study reflect interesting insights about the perceptions of the youth in relation to foreign policy. Understanding these trends are crucial to formulating effective foreign policies that addresses the aspirations of the youth. Policy briefs as well as recommendations can also be formulated and sent across to relevant ministries for consideration. The trends the study brings forth are extensive and general in nature. Future studies can be done with the aim of exploring some of the facets exposed in the study, like the aspects of continuity in perceptions over time.

The media plays an important role in shaping the perceptions of the public. With a plethora of information easily accessible on the internet as well as social media, it becomes imperative to analyse its impact on the youth. Hence, as a part of our future endeavors, a more focused analysis can be undertaken in order to gauge the role of the media in influencing the opinions of the youth across geographical barriers.

Since, the research project revealed some interesting perspectives on the changes and continuity in the youth's perception across the time and space dimensions, as a part of our future endeavors, we aim to produce more documentation of our results. Further dissemination of research outcomes as well as analysis will be done through writing articles and op-ed pieces which can be published on a regular basis. A detailed compilation of the results related to a specific country or issue can be used to write focused research papers. Hence, detailed research on the trends revealed in our study as well as documentation and publication of these results shall be pursued.

## Conclusions

The objective of the study was to trace the trends of change and continuity in the perceptions of the youth regarding India's foreign policy, over time and space. The results affirm the aspects of change and continuity in various domains, with fascinating insights.

Analysis of the temporal dimensions of the study reflect trends of continuity in the opinions regarding the relevance of economic development in foreign policy and the idea of a unipolar world. The results reflect a significant shift in the relevance accorded to the Non Aligned Movement. The perceptive changes towards relations with Africa also confirm the overall trend towards a more pragmatic conception of International Politics, rather than one defined by Idealism and Ideologies. Each one of these trends confirm the original hypothesis, formulated at the beginning of the project, that there has been a shift from Idealism to Realism both in the external orientation of the Indian state and the perceptions of its citizens.

Changes can also be traced regarding the perception that India's power and status has decreased in the region of South Asia. Furthermore, the results indicate that the inclusion of Climate Change is an important issue in the thinking of the youth today, as compared to the youth of the pre-liberalisation era. These differences may owe their origin to the creation of a rapidly globalising world, in which western mainstream movements have the power to influence local trends.

Analysis of the spatial trends exposes the dominant continuity in the perceptions of the youth regarding the concept of national interest in India's foreign policy, across different geographical regions. This affirms the existence of a national perspective rather than a collection of regional ones. While this points to a homogenous national interest, it does not indicate whether the idea has been derived consensually or remains partly manufactured. On further reflection, these results may point to the far reaching role played by the mainstream national media in shaping perceptions of the youth across different regions of the country.

Thus through the application of statistical tools and analysis to quantify perceptions and the intangible idea of national interest, the study was successful in testing its hypotheses, achieving its objectives and delivering fresh insights on the relationship between national interest and foreign policy.

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## **11. PUBLICATIONS**

Currently, we do not have any publications but we endeavor to do so in the future.

## **12. CONFERENCE AND PRESENTATIONS**

One of the first sessions with Mr. Ashok Sajjanhar helped give direction to the research project. We interacted with him for a session on India's Foreign Policy, tracing its trajectory till the present day. He also spoke about National Interest and curated our questionnaire.

During the subsequent session, Mr. Sajjanhar helped us narrow down the most important aspects of India's Foreign Policy which our project would focus on. He also helped create an action plan for the course of our research project.

Furthermore, the students had participated in a paper presentation session with Mr. Ashok Sajjanhar. The session was aimed at enhancing their understanding of India's foreign policy concerns by highlighting the challenges ahead as well as the potential avenues for extending cordial relations, with special focus on India's ties with its neighbouring countries. The papers presented are available on the online blog created by the students to showcase their works. The following topics were covered in the Paper Presentation:

1. 'India-Bangladesh relations'
2. 'India-Pakistan relations'
3. 'India and Sri Lankan Relations: Understanding the past dynamics and future possibilities'
4. 'Indo-Sino relations'
5. 'India and Nepal'

Additionally, the students participated in sessions with academicians and scholars which further enriched their understanding of various facets of foreign policy and national interests.

**13. Patents and technology transfers- None**

**14. Media Coverage-** Shall be pursued in the future for subsequent dissemination of the research outcomes.

**15. Pictures related to the project**





## 16. ANNEXURE

Questionnaire (current batch)

### CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN YOUTH'S PERCEPTION OF NATIONAL INTEREST IN INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

#### QUESTIONNAIRE

#### Section 1: Personal Information

1. Age :
2. Gender :
3. Undergraduate Course and Year of Passing :
4. University (and/or College) :
5. Stream (in Class 12<sup>th</sup>) :
6. Hometown :
7. Current Address :
8. Annual Family Income :
  - a. 2-5 lakhs
  - b. 6-12 lakhs
  - c. 12 lakhs and above

9. What is your mother tongue?
10. What is your source of information regarding India's foreign policy?
  - a. Newspaper/magazines
  - b. News channels
  - c. Internet
  - d. Word of mouth (family, friends, et al)
  - e. Books, Articles
  - f. All of the above
  - g. If any other, please specify.....

## **Section 2**

### **National Interest and Role of National Government**

1. What according to you is the definition of national interest?
  - a. National interest as power
  - b. Perceived needs and desires of one state in relation to others
  - c. Sum total of interests and objectives actually pursued
  - d. All of the above
  - e. If any other, please specify .....
2. What according to you are the most pressing issues in India's foreign policy? On a scale of 1 to 8, rank the following in order of importance (with 1 being the most important and 8 being the least important).
  - a. Economic development
  - b. Territorial security
  - c. Energy security
  - d. Climate change
  - e. Permanent seat in the UNSC
  - f. Resource sharing
  - g. Migration
  - h. Addressing North-South Divide



3. Which out of the following should be a guiding factor for foreign policy?
- a. Economic benefits
  - b. Political value
  - c. Both
- If others, please specify \_\_\_\_\_
- Why? .....
4. (i) Do you think that foreign policy is a relevant factor during elections/ while electing a government?
- a. Yes
  - b. No
  - c. Can't say
- (ii) If yes, is National Interest defined by Political Parties?
- a. Yes
  - b. No
  - c. Can't say
5. Is it important to maintain good relations with other countries?
- a. Yes
  - b. No
  - c. Can't say
6. Do international visits by our leaders (Like Modi's visit to the US in 2015) have a role to play in the promotion of our national interest?
- a. Yes
  - b. No
  - c. Can't say

### **India's Relations with the US and Russia**

7. How would you describe the balance of power in the world today?
- a. Unipolar[1]
  - b. Multipolar[2]

- c. Bipolar[3]
  - d. Can't Say
8. Do you think the disintegration of the USSR has had an impact on India's relationship with the US?
- a. Strengthened ties
  - b. Weakened ties
  - c. No effect
  - d. Can't say
9. Have bilateral agreements like the Nuclear Deal with the U.S. benefitted the country as a whole?
- a. Yes
  - b. No
  - c. Can't say
10. Has India's collaboration with the US in its War on Terror [4] helped it combat terrorism?
- a. Yes
  - b. No
  - c. Can't say
11. In light of the recent accidents related to Russian import of military hardware[5], what do you think should India's response be?
- a. Continue defence ties
  - b. Develop indigenous military hardware
  - c. Search for other partners
  - d. Other.....
12. Given our increasing engagement with the US, how have India's relations with Russia changed?
- a. Strengthened ties
  - b. No effect

- c.      Worsened ties
  - d.      Can't say
13.    How relevant is NAM [6] according to you?
- a.      Very relevant
  - b.      Moderately relevant
  - c.      Irrelevant
  - d.      Can't say
14.    Did India benefit from being a forerunner in NAM?
- a.      Yes
  - b.      No
  - c.      Can't say

Why do you think so? .....

**India's relations with its Neighbors in the region of South Asia:**

15. On a scale of 1 to 6 (with 1 being the most important and 6 being the least important), which countries, according to you, are India's closest allies?
- a. Pakistan
  - b. Nepal
  - c. Bangladesh
  - d. Myanmar
  - e. Bhutan
  - f. China

Why and how? .....

16. Do you think that India is a regional leader in South Asia?

- a. Yes
- b. No
- c. Can't say?

Why and How? .....

**INDIA AND CHINA**

17. What approach should India adopt towards China in the future?
- a. Competitive
  - b. Collaborative
  - c. Passive
  - d. Aggressive
18. Rank in order of importance the outstanding issues between India and China:\*(Please rank the following on a scale of 1 to 4 (with 1 being the highest and 4 being the lowest).
- a. Territorial disputes
  - b. Confidence building measures
  - c. Condemnation of terrorism

- d. Greater economic cooperation
19. Do you think the devaluation [7] of the Chinese currency has an impact on the Indian economy?
- a. Yes
  - b. No
  - c. Can't say
20. How do think China's economic policies affect India's economy?
- a. Negative impact on small scale industries
  - b. Impact on Demand for Indian goods in the global market
  - c. Price instability
  - d. Increased national debt
21. How should India respond to the Chinese intrusion in the Indian territory?
- a. Military response
  - b. Bilateral talks
  - c. Passive response
  - d. Involve the UN as a mediator
  - e. Can't say
22. India became a member of WTO[8] in 1995, while China gained membership in 2001. (Becoming a member of WTO requires accepting certain sanctions and stress on LPG policies). Do you think India's early membership prove to be detrimental to its economy vis a vis China?
- a. Yes
  - b. No
  - c. Can't say

### **India and Pakistan**

23. On a scale of 1 to 4 (with 1 being the most important and 4 being the least important), please rank the following issues between India and Pakistan.
- a. Kashmir issue

- b. Cross- border violations/ terrorism
  - c. Terrorism
  - d. Nuclear security
24. Should cultural exchange between India and Pakistan continue despite outstanding issues/ political problems? (Sports, music concerts, literary exchanges, etc.)
- a. Yes
  - b. No
  - c. Can't say
25. Does the government at power at State level in Jammu and Kashmir influence Indo-Pakistan relations?
- a. Yes
  - b. No
  - c. Can't say

### **India and Bangladesh**

26. On a scale of 1 to 5 (with 1 being the most important and 5 being the least important), please rank the following issues between India and Bangladesh.
- a. Migration
  - b. Water-sharing issue
  - c. Cross- border terrorism
  - d. Land Boundary Agreement
  - e. Cross- border smuggling
27. In your opinion does the party in power at the state level (West Bengal) affect India's relationship with Bangladesh? [Left Front (CPI-M) in the 1990s as compared to All India Trinamool Congress since 2011]
- a. Yes
  - b. No

If yes, how does it affect India's bilateral relations with Bangladesh? \_\_\_\_\_

28. How do you view the Land Boundary Agreement (LBA)[9] between India and Bangladesh?

- a. Favourably
- b. Unfavourably
- c. Can't say

29. What consequences does extending credit (foreign aid) to nations like Bangladesh have on India?
- a. Mutually beneficial
  - b. Financial burden on India
  - c. Necessary cost of being an emerging power
  - d. No effect

### **India and Nepal**

30. How can India and Nepal improve their bilateral relations?
- a. Hydro-electric cooperation
  - b. Trade and investment
  - c. Cultural exchange
  - d. Adopting a policy of non-interference

### **India and Sri Lanka**

31. In your opinion does the party in power at the state level (Tamil Nadu – AIADMK and DMK) affect India's relationship with Sri Lanka?
- a. Yes
  - b. No
- How? .....
32. Incidents of straying of fishermen are common between India and Sri Lanka given the proximity of territorial waters and thus has been a major cause of discord. Do you think a redressal mechanism should be put in place to address this issue?
- a. Yes
  - b. No
  - c. Can't say
33. Do you think our commercial relations with Sri Lanka have the potential to benefit us economically?
- a. Yes
  - b. No
  - c. Can't say





34. Do you think Indian intervention in the Sri Lankan Civil War[10] was a foreign policy failure?
- a. Yes
  - b. No
  - c. Can't say
35. Do you think that the Indian state needs to do more to address the plight of Tamils in Sri Lanka?
- a. Yes
  - b. No
  - c. Can't say
36. If yes, what can India do to improve the condition of Tamils in Sri Lanka?
- a. Influence democratic constitution making process to make it more representative
  - b. Involve third party (Mediator)
  - c. Use economic sanctions

#### **India and African Nations**

37. What is the basis of our relationship with African nations?
- a. Economic linkages
  - b. Historical and cultural ties
  - c. Resource sharing and development
  - d. Idealistic policy
  - d. All of the above
38. Do you think oil exporting African nations like Nigeria, Libya, and Angola etc. can contribute effectively to India's increasing energy needs?
- a. Yes
  - b. No
  - c. Can't say

#### **Balancing Economic Development and Environmental Security within India's Foreign Policy**

39. Negative impact of human activities on the environment has been an important issue in IR. In this respect, India has always upheld the notion of Common but differentiated responsibility (greater action by developed countries vis-à-vis the developing ones). Do you agree with India's stand?
- a. Yes
  - b. No
  - c. Can't say
40. Should India's foreign policy give more emphasis to economic development or environmental issues?
- a. Economic growth
  - b. Environment/ Climate change
  - c. Equal emphasis to both (Sustainable development)

#### **Role of Indian Diaspora**

41. Do you think Indian Diaspora can act as soft power to promote India's national interest abroad?
- a. Yes
  - b. No
  - c. Can't say
42. How do you think the Indian diaspora can contribute to India's economic growth?
- a. Remittances
  - b. Investments
  - c. Tourism
  - d. Other .....

- [1] Unipolarity in international politics is a distribution of power in which one state exercises most of the cultural, economic, and military influence
- [2] Multipolarity is a distribution of power in which more than two nation-states have nearly equal amounts of military, cultural, and economic influence
- [3] Bipolarity is a distribution of power in which two nation-states exercise nearly equal amounts of military, cultural and economic influence.

- [4] WAR ON TERROR-t refers to the international military campaign that started to argue a global military, political, legal, and conceptual struggle against both organizations designated terrorist and regimes accused of supporting them.
- [5] RUSSIAN IMPORT OF MILITARY HARDWARE- India's prime minister is expected to promote deals for Russian nuclear reactors and military helicopters worth billions of dollars. Russia and India will manufacture 200 Kamov-226T helicopters in a joint venture. India will also offer Russia a site in the southern state of Andhra Pradesh to build six nuclear reactors of 1,200 megawatts each.
- [6] Non Aligned Movement (NAM) -is a group of states that were not formally aligned with or against any major power bloc (led by the US and USSR). It emerged during the Cold War (after the wave of decolonization) and as of 2012, it has 120 members.
- [7] DEVALUATION OF CHINESE CURRENCY- The decline in China's currency has fuelled turmoil in Chinese stock markets and drove the government to suspend trading twice highlights a major challenge facing the country: how to balance its domestic
- [8] The World Trade Organization (WTO)- is the global international organization dealing with the rules of trade between nations. The WTO agreements have been negotiated and signed by the bulk of the world's trading nations and ratified in their parliaments. The goal of WTO is "to help producers of goods and services, exporters, and importers conduct their business".
- [9] Land Boundary Agreement- between India and Bangladesh is an agreement through which Bangladesh and India exchanged 162 adversely-held enclaves on August 1, 2015. One hundred and eleven Indian enclaves measuring 17,160 acres became Bangladesh territory and similarly, 51 Bangladesh enclaves measuring 7,110 acres became Indian Territory. All the Indian enclaves are located in West Bengal's Cooch Behar district.
- [10] SRI LANKAN CIVIL WAR- From 1983 to 2009, the Sri Lankan government and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) engaged in a bloody conflict to create and independent Tamil state called Tamil Eelam in the north and the east of the island. The civil war ended in 2009 after the Sri Lankan state military defeated the Tamil Tigers.

## QUESTIONNAIRE (1985-91)

### Section 1: Personal Information

1. Age .....
2. Gender .....
3. Undergraduate Course and Year of Passing .....
4. University (and/or College) .....
5. Stream (in Class 12<sup>th</sup>) .....
6. Hometown .....
7. Current Address .....
8. Annual Family Income: a) 2-5 lakhs b) 6-12 lakhs c) 12 lakhs and above
9. What is your mother tongue? .....
10. What was your source of information regarding India's foreign policy as a student?
  - a. Newspaper/magazines
  - b. News channels
  - c. Word of mouth (family, friends, et al)
  - d. Books, Articles
  - e. All of the above
  - f. If any other, please specify.....

### Section 2

#### National Interest and the Role of the National Government

1. What according to you is the definition of national interest?
  - a. National interest as power
  - b. Perceived needs and desires of one state in relation to others
  - c. Sum total of interests and objectives actually pursued
  - d. All of the above
  - e. If any other, please specify .....

2. What according to you are the most pressing issues facing India's foreign policy? On a scale of 1 to 8, rank the following in order of importance (with 1 being the most important and 8 being the least important).
  - a. Economic development
  - b. Territorial security
  - c. Energy security
  - d. Climate change
  - e. Permanent seat in the UNSC
  - f. Resource sharing
  - g. Migration
  - h. Addressing North - South Divide
3. Which out of the following should be a guiding factor for foreign policy?
  - a. Economic benefits
  - b. Political values
  - c. Both
  - d. If others, please specify

Why? .....
4. Do you think that foreign policy is a relevant factor during elections/ while electing a government?
  - a. Yes
  - b. No
  - c. Can't say
5. (i) Does the change in government at the Centre change the perception of National Interest?
  - a. Yes
  - b. No
  - c. Can't say

(ii) If yes, is National Interest defined by Political Parties?

- a. Yes
  - b. No
  - c. Can't say
6. Is it important to maintain good relations with other countries?
- a. Yes
  - b. No
  - c. Can't say
7. Did international visits by our leaders (such as the visit to China by Rajiv Gandhi in 1988) have a role to play in the promotion of our national interest?
- a. Yes
  - b. No
  - c. Can't say

**India's Relations with the US and Russia (then USSR)**

8. How would you describe the balance of power in the world during that time period (before 1991)?
- a. Unipolar[1]
  - b. Multipolar[2]
  - c. Bipolar[3]
  - d. Can't Say
9. Do you think the disintegration of the USSR has had an impact on India's relationship with the US?
- a. Strengthened ties
  - b. Weakened Ties
  - c. No effect
  - d. Can't say

10. Did bilateral agreements with the United States (like the 1984 agreement for technology transfer to help India build naval frigates and an indigenous light combat aircraft ) benefit the country as a whole?
  - a. Yes
  - b. No
  - c. Can't say
11. During the Gulf War (1990-91)[4], India collaborated with the US by providing it military support in the form of refueling facilities etc. Did this military cooperation serve India's interests?
  - a. Yes
  - b. No
  - c. Can't say
12. Was it beneficial for India to indulge in arms trade with the Soviet Union?
  - a. Yes
  - b. No
  - c. Can't say
13. How do you think India's engagement with the US affected its ties with the Soviet Union?
  - a. No effect
  - b. Worsened ties
  - c. Can't say
  - d. Improved ties
14. How relevant was NAM[5], according to you?
  - a. Very relevant
  - b. Moderately relevant
  - c. Irrelevant
  - d. Can't say



15. Did India benefit from being a forerunner in NAM?

a. Yes

b. No

c. Can't say

Why do you think so?.....

**India's relations with its Neighbors in the region of South Asia:**

16. On a scale of 1 to 6 (with 1 being the most important and 6 being the least important), which countries, according to you, are India's closest allies?
- a. Pakistan
  - b. Nepal
  - c. Bangladesh
  - d. Myanmar
  - e. Bhutan
  - f. China
17. Do you think that India was a regional leader in South Asia?
- a. Yes
  - b. No
  - c. Can't say

Why and how?.....

**China**

18. What approach should India have adopted in its bilateral relations with China?
- a. Competitive
  - b. Collaborative
  - c. Passive
  - d. Aggressive
19. Within Sino-Indian relation, which out of the following should have been prioritized? Please rank the following on a scale of 1 to 4 (with 1 being the highest and 4 being the lowest).
- a. Resolving Territorial disputes
  - b. Confidence building measures
  - c. Condemnation of terrorism
  - d. Greater economic cooperation



20. How do you think Chinese economic policies affect India's economy?
- a. Negative impact on small scale industries
  - b. Impact on demand for Indian goods in the global market
  - c. Price instability
  - d. Increased national debt
21. How should India respond to the Chinese intrusion in the Indian territory?
- a. Military response
  - b. Bilateral talks
  - c. Passive response
  - d. Involve the UN as a mediator
  - e. Can't say

### **Pakistan**

22. On a scale of 1 to 4 (with 1 being the most important and 4 being the least important), please rank the following issues between India and Pakistan.
- a. Kashmir issue
  - b. Cross- border violations/ terrorism
  - c. Terrorism
  - d. Nuclear security
23. Should cultural exchange between India and Pakistan continue despite outstanding issues/ pol problems? (Sports, music concerts, literary exchanges, etc.)
- a. Yes
  - b. No
  - c. Can't say
24. Does the government in power at the state level in Jammu and Kashmir influence Indo-Pakistan relations?
- a. Yes
  - b. No

- c. Can't say

### **Bangladesh**

25. On a scale of 1 to 5 (with 1 being the most important and 5 being the least important), please rank the following issues between India and Bangladesh.
  - a. Migration
  - b. Water-sharing issue
  - c. Cross- border terrorism
  - d. Ratification of Land Boundary Agreement
  - e. Cross- border smuggling
26. In your opinion does the party in power at the state level (West Bengal) affect India's relationship with Bangladesh? [Left Front (CPI-M) in the 1990s as compared to All India Trinamool Congress since 2011]
  - a. Yes
  - b. No

If yes, how does it affect India's bilateral relations with Bangladesh? .....
27. Do you think the Indian parliament should ratify the Land Boundary Agreement[6] with Bangladesh?
  - a. Yes
  - b. No
  - c. Can't say
28. What consequences does extending credit (foreign aid) to nations like Bangladesh have on India?
  - a. Mutually beneficial
  - b. Financial burden on India
  - c. Necessary cost of being an emerging power
  - d. No effect

### **Nepal**

29. How can India and Nepal improve their bilateral relations?
  - a. Hydro-electric cooperation

- b. Trade and investment
- c. Cultural exchange
- d. Adopting a policy of non-interference

### **Sri Lanka**

30. In your opinion does the party in power at the state level (Tamil Nadu – AIADMK and DMK) affect India's relationship with Sri Lanka?

- a. Yes
- b. No

How? .....

31. Incidents of straying of fishermen have been common between India and Sri Lanka given the proximity of territorial waters and thus has been a major cause of discord, especially since the Indian intervention in the Sri Lankan civil war. Should there be an endeavor to establish redressal mechanism(s) to address this issue?

- a. Yes
- b. No
- c. Can't say

32. Do you think India's commercial relations with Sri Lanka have the potential to benefit it economically?

- a. Yes
- b. No
- c. Can't say

33. Given the plight of Tamils in Sri Lanka and the blatant killings that took place, should the Indian government have intervened in the Sri Lankan civil war [7]?

- a. Yes
- b. No
- c. Can't say

Why do you think so? .....

### **India and the African Continent**

34. What is the basis of our relationship with African nations?

- a. Economic linkages
  - b. Historical and cultural ties
  - c. Resource sharing and development
  - d. Idealistic policy
  - e. All of the above
35. Do you think oil exporting African nations like Nigeria, Libya, and Angola etc. have the potential to contribute to India's increasing energy needs?
- a. Yes
  - b. No
  - c. Can't say

**Balancing Economic Development and Environmental Security within India's Foreign Policy**

36. Negative impact of human activities on the environment has been an important issue in international relations. In this respect, India has always upheld the notion of 'common but differentiated responsibilities' [8](greater action by developed countries vis-à-vis the developing ones). Do you agree with India's stand?
- a. Yes
  - b. No
  - c. Can't say
- If no, what position should India take? .....
37. Should India's foreign policy give more emphasis to economic development or environmental issues?
- a. Economic growth
  - b. Environment/ Climate change
  - c. Equal emphasis to both (Sustainable development)
38. Do you think India's membership of GATT[9] helped it to tackle the problems of 'reduction of tariffs and elimination of preferences' or was it detrimental to our economy in the hindsight?
- a. Beneficial for India's economy
  - b. Detrimental to India's economy
  - c. No effect on India's economy

d. Can't say

### Role of Indian Diaspora

39. Do you think Indian Diaspora acted as a soft power to promote India's national interest abroad?
- a. Yes
  - b. No
  - c. Can't say
40. How could the Indian diaspora contribute to India's economic growth in the long run?
- a. Remittances
  - b. Investments
  - c. Tourism
  - d. Other .....
  - c. All of the above
- [1] Unipolarity in international politics is a distribution of power in which one state exercises most of the cultural, economic, and military influence
- [2] Multipolarity is a distribution of power in which more than two nation-states have nearly equal amounts of military, cultural, and economic influence
- [3] Bipolarity is a distribution of power in which two nation-states exercise nearly equal amounts of military, cultural and economic influence.
- [4] Gulf War:
- [5] Non Aligned Movement (NAM) is a group of states that were not formally aligned with or against any major power bloc (led by the US and USSR). It emerged during the Cold War (after the wave of decolonization) and as of 2012, it has 120 members.
- [6] The LBA was in the process of ratification in the Indian parliament since the 1974 pact between Indira Gandhi and Sheikh MujibarRehman. It deals with exchanges of enclaves that were created after the 1971 war, which led to the creation of Bangladesh.
- [7] **From** 1983 to 2009, the Sri Lankan government and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) engaged in a bloody conflict to create an independent Tamil state called Tamil Eelam in the north and the east of the island. The civil war ended in 2009 after the Sri Lankan state military defeated the Tamil Tigers.



- [8] This principle recognizes the historical differences in the contributions of the developed and developing countries to global environment problems and differences in their respective economic and technical capacity to tackle these problems. Despite their common responsibilities, important differences exist between the stated responsibilities of developed and developing countries.
- [9] General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) was a multilateral agreement regulating international trade. Its objective was the substantial reduction of tariffs and other trade barriers and the elimination of preferences, on a reciprocal and mutually advantageous basis. It was succeeded by the World Trade Organization (WTO).