

CHAPTER - I

Regionalism in India

I.I Introduction-The Concept of Regionalism in India:

The present work undertaken is by no account concerning reconceptualizing regionalism or study of any regional movement in particular. However at the very outset of any study a conceptual understanding of a phenomenon is essential, it is on this regard let us see the concept of the growth of regionalism in India. Regionalism in India as a concept is not new though it has gained eminence in the recent time, not only as a form of economic, political and social phenomenon, but also as a field of study. The concept of regionalism has attracted huge attention from Scholars. As a historical factor in Indian polity regionalism has been dealt in different ways by different Scholars and in different social conditions. Regionalism in Indian politics became unavoidable and a noticeable feature of the Indian political party system.

Recently, India has been witnessing the onset of the democratic processes that have resulted in the reconfiguration of its politics and economics. Among these processes, most significant has been the assertion of identity politics. There have been struggles around the assertiveness and conflicting claims of the identity groups and of struggles amongst them, often fought out on the lines of region, religion, language (even dialect), caste, and community. These struggles have found expressions in the changed mode of electoral representation that has brought the local/regional into focus with the hitherto politically dormant groups and regions finding voices. A more genuinely representative democracy has led to the sharpening of the line of distinction between or among the identity groups and regions (Kumar, 2009).

We may also see regionalism as an ideology and political movement that seeks to advance the causes of regions. But it is necessary, at the very outset, to distinguish two quite different meanings of the term regionalism. At the international level, regionalism refers to transnational cooperation to achieve a common goal or resolve a shared problem or it refers to a group of

countries, such as Western Europe, the Western Balkans, or Southeast Asia, that are linked by geography, history or economic features. Used in this sense, regionalism refers to attempts to reinforce the links between these countries. Today, the foremost example of such an attempt is the European Union (EU) (Bevir, 2009).

To some Scholars regionalism in Indian politics in generally has been regarded as something that is anti-system, anti-federal and against basic interest of a well integrated polity (G Ram Reddy and B A V Sharma, 1979). It has often expressed itself in antagonistic terms to that of the nation, fuelled as it is by the sense of continuing deprivation due to long- term neglect in development and resource allocation. Regionalism has often articulated itself in terms, which are opposed to national unity and integrity, and challenging to the legitimacy of the state. The literature on regionalism, its meaning, forms, causes and consequences in India is so extensive and vast that there is little scope or perhaps not much to add to elucidate the meaning of regionalism in India, or its forms and content.

India is a complex country and so far as the question of development is concerned, there are conventional theories of development economic as well as political; it is where the question arises whether these theories are sensitive enough to regional demands and aspiration. India has a federal system consisting of twenty eight states. The states have important power and also acquire their own place in contributing their share in the nationwide growth of agricultural development, education and generation of taxes and are equally effective in making India a prosperous country. There is no denying the fact that states are the constituting units of India, at a larger picture, it is the state which depicts the national progress. The hits of danger shocks that come in the way of economic growth are first faced by the states and then from the state the shock level enters at the national picture. Therefore, regional autonomy demands treat regions as coherent units politically having a right to reflect the constituents' aspiration to manage their internal affairs, while making claims on national resources, in competition for resources, language, culture, religion, economic advancement and administrative coherence are used as a basis of identity. In India despite occasional and remote indications of potential secessionism, regional movements do not usually go beyond claiming resource sharing within the border of national context. (Gupta, 1970)

Iqbal Narain in his book “Regionalism: A Conceptual Analysis in the Indian Context” stated that in the Indian context regionalism is an ambiguous concept. It has two different connotations, one is negative and other is positive. In negative sense, regionalism is a concept developed among the inhabitants who consider themselves as the deprived sections of the country in relation to the whole country. These deprivations generally arise out of the negligence of the government officials who are responsible for implementing the national developmental policy.

A region is a nucleus of social aggregation for a variety of purposes. A particular territory is set apart, over a period of time when different variables operate in different degrees. The variables may be geography, topography, religion, language, usages and customs, socio-economic and political stages of development, common historical traditions and experiences, a common way of living and more than anything else, a widely prevalent sentiment of togetherness(‘we’ feeling, which differentiates a people from ‘them’). At the core of regionalism is a profound sense of identity, which is as real, and as dear to a people than their feeling of identity with a state or a nation or a religious group, or a linguistic group. These are cultural realities and one cannot just wish them away (Maheshwari, Oct-dec 1973, p. 442).

Furthermore a region can be understood as a territorial unit with particular dialect, ethnic group, social and cultural institution. The meaning of the word ‘regionalism’ is very ambiguous in nature, there are scholars who regard regionalism as a threat to national integration and on the other hand, there are scholars who view that regionalism inculcates a strong feeling of loyalty and togetherness in the people which is highly impactful in generating political participation through regional mobilization. It often involves ethnic groups whose aims include independence from a national state and the development of their own political power. In Indian context, regionalism refers to assertion of distinct ethnic, linguistic or economic interests by various groups within the nation. Since regionalism is rooted in linguistic, ethnic, economic and cultural identities of the people living in specific geographical area, political scholars have treated various forms of regionalism as economic regionalism, linguistic regionalism, political regionalism and even sub-regional movements in the general frame of regionalism.

There is therefore virtually a riot of terms concerning regionalism; economic regionalism, linguistic regionalism, ethno-regionalism etc. More confusion creeps in when we connect the term regionalism with social movement or political movement. Are regional movements same as

social movements/ are social movements same as political movements? To us, they can be or cannot be depending on the chosen criteria. Region has a spatial dimension, usually geographic but often overlaid with language, culture, tradition and so on. Social movement can have spatial as well as motivational, cultural aspects in addition to its dynamic aspect. When region is seen as regionalism we usually include in it the aspects of social movement and describe it as either linguistic, political etc. However, there can be different types of social movements depending on its major dimensions and some of them can be political movements. For example when predominantly tribal population in a particular region want recognition of their language, it is cultural movement, but if they demand a share of political authority in a particular domain, it is the object of their movement that makes it political. The Bodo movement in Assam, for example is an ethnic regional movement, social movement and a political movement for separate state at the same time.

I.2 Statement of the Problem:

As already stated the present work undertaken is not about reconceptualizing regionalism or study of any regional movement in particular. It is about the nature and outcome of the interaction between an organised political movement and its relation with the structure and agencies of state mainly in the context of India, political parties, govt in power and parliamentary system oh politics. while the work focuses on the interaction , between the leadership of the movement and the government. It also focuses on the relevant consideration that are bought to bare on the course of the movement by both the govt and the leadership of the movement.

Any outcome of this dynamic process of interaction cannot therefore be called permanent. The political movement that have the objective of controlling a territory. In most case we will make selective use of history focusing on a variable like language ethnicity or any marker of identity that is considered productive from the point of ensuring solidarity and in political terms creation of majority in democratic terms. The other relevant part of both centre and state also flesh out. Their own arguments, either to justify the status quo in case the movement is powerful enough to secure its own strategic position within the new arrangement. In the content of India the debates in the SRC pertaining to the creation of Andhra state having ramification for both Tamil Nadu and Karnataka are illustrative of this process.

While we will make some kind of historical background analysis in course of studying the two movements let us make it clear that we are not concerned here primarily with social movement. The two movements that we here selected are taken by us as primarily political movements, with the stated objective of having a separate state within the Indian union.

I.3 The Theoretical Framework:

The initial theoretical proposition that we will like to make in respect to our study of the two movements are derived from strategic relational approach. The structure represents the set of initial condition. The so called core out of which the subsequent development emanates. There is no definite cause in this development but an interplay of broad patterns or regularities which condition the character of the emanation. In our case therefore both the Telangan and the Gorkhaland movement were conditioned by certain initial structures such as the presence of Princely state or the structure of political rule that were in place for a long time. In the case of both the movements this includes the nature and extent of sovereign control regimes producing a political subject with their distinctive socio-cultural identities. For instance in the time period of the Telangana movement involved agents like the Telugu ruler and finally the British who expanded the state so that on the eve of independence the Tamils had a political majority.

However, structures are not decisive in determining the outcome of a movement and one has to acknowledge the role of agencies also. From the same instance one can highlight the role of Sri Potti the veteran Andhra leader who demanded creation of Andhra state and died following fast unto death. Eventually the shape of the Andhra state was not an outcome of either Tamil Nadu's history or the history of Hyderabad but also of the political leadership of the Congress which settled for an Andhra Pradesh state having connected certain territories from Hyderabad, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu.

In case of Gorkhaland agitation the territory under reference comprises the whole tract between the Meachi river and the Tista the hilly region of Darjeeling and Kalimpong, bordering Sikkim and China and the whole tract of Doars bordering Bhutan and Bangladesh. Before partition of Bengal Presidency within India. The whole tract was part of the Bengal Presidency. A creation of the British colonial rule out of territories rested from Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim. This shows that the political movements arising in this region would have to deal with history in a very

selective way because before the British period the control regime were multiple, unclear and subsequently the demographic composition became mixed due to several practical reasons. For instance the British brought in plantation labourers from Chotanagpur areas with their own distinct cultural identity. People migrated from Sikkim to these areas to escape high tax and feudal rule. The British ruler also influenced demographic settlement pattern of this region in several other ways. For instance the British settlement of Gorkhas who were mostly hunters to offset China's advance into these areas through Tibet. Established a Gorkha Brigade encouraged a new set of government employees and traders to come and settle in the areas around Darjeeling so that ultimately formation of any regional political majority in unitary ethnic terms became difficult. For instance when the Gorkha Chief Bimal Gurung wanted to include the Doars area under the GTA, initially the Adivashi Bikash Parishad joined the movement but later on withdrew. The force of the political agencies on the structural outcome can also be illustrated by certain steps of the Government of West Bengal in moderating the movement for Gorkhaland by establishing several Councils like Lepcha Council in Kalimpong to tame the force of the movement.

In this sense probably both Telangana and Gorkhaland movement can have different prospects or outcome. Both operate within a historical context shaped by British colonial rule before independence and by the structure of parliamentary democracies after independence. However in case of Telangana movement several conditions are present which were absent in case of the Gorkhaland movement. First Telangana region had a long continued cultural tradition relating to established structures of Princely states, large concentration of linguistic communities and historically evolved cities like Chennai and Hyderabad. All these are not present in case of the proposed area under the Gorkhaland. Before British rule these areas were wild tracts with no established control regime which the British developed out of primarily strategic reasons as the area has been contiguous to several international neighbours. If Chennai was retained within Tamil Nadu for investment and development concerns despite demand for its inclusion in Andhra there is no such city under the proposed territory of Gorkhaland compared to the status of Chennai. The hilly region of Darjeeling are resource starved, over populated and depend on the only city of Siliguri which again cannot be said to have under the control of any particular ethnic community. We feel that one cannot therefore expect the same outcome as like that of the Telangana movement.

I.4 Demonstrations of Regionalism in India:

Regionalism in India is the Expression of the neglected socio-political elements which not succeed to find expression in the mainstream polity and culture. These feelings of frustration and annoyance resulting from exclusion and neglect find demonstration in regionalism. Narrow-mindedness and biases have a lasting impact on the mind of the people. They themselves do not play a part in the political process, but as a psychic factor they do influence their party organisations and their political behaviour. Seen in this perspective, regionalism in India, as elsewhere, is which can also be described as a psychic phenomenon. It has its root in the minds of the people.

In India, the states share a common legal, constitutional and administrative structure but their international functioning has no match with each other and vary considerably. It was in the early 1950s, mass agitation occurred throughout the country with a demand to reorganize the states on linguistic lines. As the linguistic movement swept the country, there was increasing concern about the powerful sense of regional attachment and what then appeared to be a low level of national identification. Scholarly and journalistic attention was then given to development within the states, but the focus was on the relationship of one linguistic group to another, the attitudes that existed in each multilingual state towards linguistic reorganization and the relationship between the state and the central government. With the reorganization of the Indian States in 1956 along linguistic lines there was considerable apprehension that the states would be concerned primarily with their own development, that national authority would be eroded and that only a slender thread Nehru's leadership would bind the Union (Weiner, 1968).

The intention expression by the scholars that the Indian states would stay united under Nehruvian rule did not last long and it was after Nehru's death that the national authority over states started to weaken and the states started to operate in an open atmosphere which resulted in the unique development process within the states. What came out was the growth of regional sentiments which had aggravated the growth of regionalism. Regionalism in India has found expression in different ways, where boundaries cannot be considered sacrosanct, states can be taken as vital components for evolving different forms of regionalism. Supra-state regionalism or secession from the Indian Union; this kind of regionalism can be classified as the most dangerous form of regionalism as it is based on the policy of division from the Indian Union. The Kashmir issue is

the classic example of this form of regionalism which is based on the demand for a separate state outside India and the Kashmiri militants persistently committing bloodshed in pursuit of their desire to divide away. Intra-state regionalism or disputes between states; regionalism can be looked as an inter-state competition under the federal structure of India, which could be seen in regard to inter-state river water dispute. Inter-state regionalism or demands of certain areas for separate state, this type of regionalism is noticeable with demands for parts within the state for fulfillment of self identity and gaining more autonomy.

I.5 Background of Regionalism in India:

Regionalism as a phenomenon in the Indian political system is not new. Regionalism has remained perhaps the most potent force in Indian politics ever since 1947, if not before. Regionalism is rooted in India's manifold diversity of languages, cultures, tribes, communities, religions and so on, and encouraged by the regional concentration of those identity markers, and fuelled by a sense of regional deprivation. For many centuries, India remained the land of many lands, regions, cultures and traditions. The basic point that highlights in this respect is that internal self-determination of community, whether linguistic, tribal, religious, regional, or their combinations, has remained the principal form in which regionalism in India has sought to express itself, historically as well as contemporaneously. In the pre-independence period it was applied by the British imperialist, as they intentionally encouraged the people of various regions to think in terms of their region rather than the nation as a whole, with an aim to maintain their hold over India during the national movement.

I.6 Cultivation of Regionalism in Pre-Independent India:

The British empire building started around the three nuclei of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. The acquired territories of east, west and south India were gradually added to the presidencies of Bengal, Bombay and Madras. This resulted into the formation of 3 original British Indian provinces. The British formed bigger states during the first phase of the empire building. The second phase of the formation of the British Indian provinces was initiated by the bifurcation of bigger states into smaller ones. Assam was the first state of its kind. The sole purpose of the Britishers in the territorial reorganization and the formation of new States was the advancement of the imperial interest and the efficient administration. Development and welfare did not form

the agenda of the British State. Due weightage was always given to the furtherance of the policy 'Divide And rule'. The British India had three kinds of provinces, namely, the Governor's provinces, the Lt. Governor's provinces and the Chief Commissioner's provinces. (Kumar B. B., 1998) India during the British period was not uniformly controlled and various regions may be categorized as given below:

1. Areas under effective British control,
2. Partially administered areas,
3. Un-administered areas and
4. The areas controlled by the native princes.

The following observation of B.B. Kumar about the rulers of North-East India equally applies to the large number of cases: "the British were not aware of the strengths and weaknesses of the rulers of this region and were very cautious in their dealings with them. Their cautious approach gradually gave way to unusual firmness. The Kings and Chiefs who were initially treated on equal footings, were gradually reduced to the status of Sanad and Kabuliati holders. British paramountcy gradually eclipsed the sovereignty of the Kings. This gradually happened as British established their stronghold on other parts of the country and could know the inner weakness of the society, the ruling elite and the polity of the region". (Kumar B. B., The Trend of British Annexation of North-East India).

I.7 The Categorical Division of Post Independent India:

India, that is Bharat, was proclaimed to be a Sovereign Democratic Republic and a Union of States on 26th January, 1950. The merger of Princely States was almost complete by that time. The country had following categories of State at that time:

Category A: Assam, Bihar, Bombay, Madhya Pradesh (Central Provinces and Berar), Madras, Orissa, Punjab (East Punjab), the United Provinces (U.P.) and the West Bengal. These States continued to be headed by the Governors as was the case during the British days. They were allowed to have the elected Legislative Assemblies and the Councils of the Ministers.

Category B: The erstwhile Princely States/State Unions included in this category were Hyderabad, J&K, Madhya Bharat, Mysore, PEPSU (Patiala and East Punjab States Union),

Rajasthan, Saurashtra, Travancore-Cochin, and Vindhya Pradesh. The Maharaja of the State functioned as the Raj Pramukh of the State. In J&K, it was termed Sadar-e-Riyasat. One of the Maharajas acted as the Raj Pramukh in the case of the State Union.

Category C: Included the Chief Commissioner's provinces of Ajmer, Bhopal, Bilaspur, Coorg, Delhi, Himachal Pradesh, Kutch, Manipur, Tripura and Cooch Behar. This included three pre-existing Chief Commissioner's Provinces, namely, Delhi, Coorg, Ajmer-Merwara.

Category D: The Andaman and Nicobar islands.

Historically it is found that the regional forces played a highly valuable role against the anti-imperialist forces to liberate the country on basis of national movement. It often fights against the oppressed forces of chauvinist big nations. After Independence the leaders tried to encourage a feeling among the people that they belonged to one single nation. The framers of the constitution wanted to achieve this by introducing single citizenship for all. But India is a complex country and keeping in view of its vastness and diversity in culture and language, a strong sense of regional loyalty and love started appearing and thus regionalism became inevitable.

I.8 India after Independence:

The following two processes were initiated at the dawn of independence in India by the national leaders.

1. Integration of the country: All parts of the country were not equally integrated by the Britishers. The national leadership took effective steps to integrate the following in the national mainstream:
 - a) The Princely States were brought under unified constitutional framework. The people of these States were no more subjected to the autocratic excesses and the tyrannies of their rulers.
 - b) Uniform administration was gradually extended throughout the country. This was not so during the British days when a very large area of the country remained either non-administered or partially administered.

2. The entire country was uniformly democratized. This brought a change in the quality of life of the people of the Princely States of this country. (Kumar B. B., Small State Syndrome in India, 1998).

I.9 The Darjeeling Area:

The Britishers had divided the conquered territory in the hill region into a range of categories like regulated, non regulated areas on the basis of location character and importance. The Council Act of 1861 abolished such distinction. Prior to 1861 and from 1870–1874, Darjeeling District was a ‘Non-Regulated Area’ (where acts and regulations of the British Raj did not automatically apply in the district in line with rest of the country, unless specifically extended) for preservation of indigenous system of simple natives. From 1862 to 1870, it was considered a ‘Regulated Area’. The term ‘Non-Regulated Area’ was changed to ‘Scheduled District’ which kept the area outside the ambit of general law which was in operation throughout the country, in 1874 and again to ‘Backward Tracts¹’ in 1919. The status was known as "Partially Excluded Area" from 1935 until the independence of India. However, the district had been kept under the overall jurisdiction of Bengal since 1912.

I.10 The Hyderabad Area:

When India became independent from the British Empire in 1947, the Nizam of Hyderabad did not want to merge with Indian Union and wanted to remain independent under the special provisions given to princely states. He even asked for a corridor, a passage from India. Rebellion had started throughout the state against the Nizam's rule and his army, known as the Razakars.

The Government of India annexed Hyderabad State on 17 September 1948, in an operation by the Indian Army called ‘Operation Polo’ which government called Police action. When India became independent, Telugu-speaking people were distributed in about 22 districts, 9 of them in the former Nizam's dominions of the princely state of Hyderabad, 12 in the Madras Presidency (Northern Circars), and one in French-controlled Yanam.

It can be thus seen that both Telengana and Gorkhaland movement operate within a historical context shaped by British colonial rule before independence. The view of the territory underlying

¹ Art 52 A (2) Government of India Act 1919.

the Constitution of 1950 reflected the Weberian conception of a uniform-rational legal state. The organisation did not meet historical or cultural criteria but those of administrative efficacy. However, under the pressure of regionalist movements the territory of India was gradually differentiated in the 1950s according to particularist criteria: language. However the British administrative division exhibit the Weberian legal rational state truly. Under the province division scheme as discussed earlier none of the regional unit had cultural or ethnic criteria such as that of language, religion, caste and tribe. The British provinces were multicultural. Further the state were subdivided according to the same non-ethnic rationale (ed John Zavos, 2004).

In the early years it was feared that the demand for linguistic state would jeopardize the unity and integration of the country, it was accepted that the adaptation of regional claims would reduce regional demands and also seen as more democratic way of representation and also underlined the principle of diversity and also changed the nature and path of democratic politics and leadership which was open for people other than the small English speaking elite.

With its unbelievable 4,635 communities and 325 languages spoken by a population of a billion plus, India has been the home of rich and diverse social movements representing protest, dissent, reform or reassertion (Kumar L.)and is often mentioned as the Babel of languages with its multi-lingual character, we are fairly aware of the fact that language is one of the pertinent marks of group identification. Linguistic homogeneity strengthens regionalism both in *positive* and *negative* senses; in the former it strengthens in unity and in the later through emotional frenzy. (Majeed, 1984)

The Report State Reorganization Commission 1955 also became instrumental in creating language dedication, and growth of regional sentiments it states “*A regional consciousness, not merely in the sense of negative awareness of absence of repression or exploitation but also in the lense of scope of positive expression of collective personality of a people inhabiting a state or region(emphasis added) may be conducive to the contentment and wellbeing of the community. Common language may not only promote the growth of such regional consciousness but also make for administrative convenience. India in a democracy, the people can legitimately claim and the governments have a duty to ensure that the administration is conducted in a language which the people can understand.* (State reorganization Commission, 1955).

I.11 Regionalism as a sub state movement:

On the contrary, in its positive sense, regionalism implies an idea of searching the self identity of the people of that particular area. In other sense it is rather a separate demand for protecting and preserving racial, linguistic and economic interest of a group of people belonging to a nation.

To be precise, Regionalism is in fact, is a movement of a Sub-nationality against a prevailing nationality. It is often distinguished by a particular racial, linguistic or religious group settled in a particular part of the country which demands either separation or sovereignty of special constitutional, administrative, economic or political status for themselves to the exclusion of the rights and interest of other communities and takes recourse to necessary political measures with a view to coercing the authorities to accede to their demands, then that movement is certainly a regionalist movement. Hence, regionalism is the other name of distinctive and restrictive political movement having no broad based liberal and democratic elements but in some cases it also had a clear objective of attaining separate statehood, as in the case of Gorkhaland and Telengan .

The regional movement is also considered as the ‘diverse trend detrimental to national unity’. In popular parlance, it is supposed to be a synonym of provincialism, which breeds localism, isolationism and separatism. But regionalism is not always regarded as parochial anti-national movements. Historically it is found that the regional forces played a very glorified role against the anti-imperialist forces to liberate the country on basis of national movement. It often fights against the oppressed forces of chauvinist big nations. Regionalism is thus a movement against social, political and economic deprivations and it is also a movement against the hegemonic groups who are dominant in the mainstream of the country as a whole.

It is important to note that regionalism in India, in its present form, has various connotations like ‘provincialism’, ‘localism’, ‘son of the soil theory’, ‘disintegration of Indian States’, struggle for separate statehood or provincial autonomy, struggle for more power, especially economic power etc. whatever may be the connotations, the concept of regionalism has now become a separatist movement in different parts of India in various forms. India is now infected with regional upsurge of different kinds like geographical regionalism, linguistic regionalism, cultural regionalism, ethnic regionalism and so on.

In this scenario, it can be stated that it is very difficult to provide an acceptance to a particular definition of regionalism. However it can further be added that the process of state formation in India is going on which can be claimed by the fact that after independence, there were not as many States and union territories but at present there are 29 States and 7 Union territories. One of the most significant factors contributing to the process of State construction in India is regionalism and has further quicken the growth of this process in the Indian society.

The issue of ethnicity and language :

In order to understand both the movements on more aspect needs to be conceptually understood i.e. ethnicity. The term 'ethnic' in general words can be understood as a group of people who share a common culture and life style but without any homeland. An ethnic group is characterized by a multiplicity of attributes like religion, caste, region, descent, race, language, colour, culture and so on. The focus of interests of an ethnic group is to get some benefits for itself. The group often uses ethnic criterion like religion, language or caste to mobilize itself to give identity to itself which separates it from other group or groups. Thus delineation of boundary of an ethnic group of community is an important aspect of ethnicity. The nature of identity shifts along with shifts along with changing circumstances and calls for change in boundary or a change in identification. There are different approaches to understanding ethnicity have been used by different social scientists when trying to understand the nature of ethnicity as a factor in human life and society. Examples of such approaches are: primordialism, essentialism, perennialism, constructivism, modernism and instrumentalism².

Depending on which source of related identity is emphasized to define membership of a particular group, the following types of ethnic groups can be identified:

group, the following types of ethnic groups can be identified:

- i) Ethno-racial emphasizing shared physical appearance based on genetic origins;
- ii) Ethno-religious emphasizing shared affiliation with a particular religion, denomination and/or sect³;

² http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ethnic_group retrieved on 17/07/2014.

³ *ibid*

- iii) Ethno-linguistic emphasizing shared language, dialect and/or script⁴;
- iv) Ethno-national emphasizing a shared polity and/or sense of national identity⁵;
- v) Ethno-regional emphasizing a distinct local sense of belonging stemming from relative geographic isolation⁶.

India is a land of various ethnic⁷ and tribal groups. Ethnicity relates to ascriptive identities like caste, language, religion, region etc. Inequality in terms of sharing power between two ethnic groups' results into conflict. The ethnicity is socially mobilized and territorially confined. It has numerically sufficient population and is a pool of symbols depicting distinctiveness. It has a reference group in relation to which /whom a sense of relative deprivation is aggregated. Ethnicity causes ethnic movements after being left out of the developmental process or even being a victim of uneven development. Ethnicity is manifested in Indian politics not merely due to grass root discontent but is also a creation of vested political interest. Ethnic groups that use ethnicity to make demands in the political arena for alteration in their status, in their economic well being etc are engaged very often in a form of interest group politics.

According to Lake and Rothschild, (1996) ethnic conflict is a sign of a weak state or a state embroiled in ancient loyalties. In this case, states act with bias to favour a particular ethnic group or region, and behaviours such as preferential treatment fuel ethnic conflicts. Therefore, in critical or difficult political situations, the effectiveness of governance is dependent on its ability to address social issues and human needs.

The continuing demand for separate state in India as argued by T.K Oommen is due to two reasons. First, even though the Indian state is conceived as a multi layered entity- a union/federal, provincial, autonomous regions, zila parishad panchayat hardly any authority is conceded to the lower three levels. This prompts a demand for provincial state by regional linguistic communities, ignoring their population, size and financial viability. Second, the cultural specificity of subaltern communities is not only ignored but sought to destroyed through

⁴ ibid

⁵ ibid

⁶ (Ibid) it may be taken that the Gorkhaland movement is a type of ethno-regional movement.

⁷ There are many diverse ethnic groups among the people of India. The 6 main ethnic groups are as follows. 1. Negrito 2. Proto - Australoids or Austriacs 3. Mongoloids 4. Mediterranean or Dravidian 5. Western Brachycephals 6. Nordic Aryans.

their vivisection and attachment to the state dominated by major linguistic communities which results in the former's marginalization and alienation. He also points that the failure of the states in India to link culture and governance systematically provides an important agenda for the society. Moreover, the recognition of language as the basis for politico administrative units has attended to the deprivation of most of the speech communities. (Oommen, 2004) The demand for separate states for Gorkhaland and Telengana are long standing demand and the creation of such state and their sustainability demand the insight study in reference to three questions of economic viability, Social Inclusion and Social Cohesion.

Contextual Comparison of Gorkhaland and Telengana:

The proliferation of social movements and revolution in recent decades has emerged as a common feature of the political panorama. Social movements and revolution has not only become hot areas of interest for study amongst Scholars but also provide a wide range of vicinity that exist within it and which can be crum by the construction of a comparative model of study which can be taken as a base line in the study of present social movements for instance Gorkhaland and Telengana. There are good reasons why these two movements were chosen Gorkhaland and Telengana as comparative units for my study. There is no denying the fact that, at present India is infected with various regional upsurges and therefore, there are various manifestations of regional movements. From Kashmir to Kanya Kumari each and every state is now infected with the disease called regionalism.

Examples of Regional Movements like Uttarkhand, Bundelkhand, Jharkhand, Vidarbhas Khand, Boroland, Karbianglong, Garoland, Bhilland etc. All these regional movements are demanding separate states on the basis of their language, race, culture, economic development etc. It is on this line the demand for Gorkhaland in West Bengal and Telengana in Andhra Pradesh comes into the picture. It is a strong distinct sense of identity among the hill people of Darjeeling which make them feel that they are identity wise different from the people residing in the plains and to give recognition to the identity of the hill people, the demand for autonomy arise. On the other hand we can say that an early manifestation of regionalism in India is Telengana, which later became the state of Andhra Pradesh. The present Gorkhaland agitation is nowhere in sight to the position acquired by Telengana in comparatively short span of time as compared to the former.

The Telangana movement was triggered by the eminent statehood leader K. C R's singly resorting to an indefinite hunger strike which is in obvious contrast to the mass scale hunger strike by everybody in the Gorkhaland movement. In matter-of-fact estimation the rays of hope is in desolate contrast to the fast way lane that Telangana has been transferred to. Whereas Gorkhaland has deviated themselves from the broad gauge to the small gauge track, which is too insufficient to actually undertake the movement to its concluding destination.

I.14 Research Questions:

- i. Why a political movement demanding separate statehood comes up at a certain point of time and a certain context?
- ii. What are the relations between the leadership of the movement and the government within the political process?
- iii. How the nature of the interaction of different agencies affect or shape the outcome of the movement?

Apart from this general questions we may also ask the same set of three questions with respect to each of the two movements that we would cover. If we ask the same set of questions about these movements two other questions become relevant in comparative terms:

- a) How do the two movements resemble each other in terms of their origin, development and outcome?
- b) How do the two movements differ from each other in terms of their origin, development and outcome?

I.15 Research Methodology:

Comparing two political movements need some kind of method. Comparative research is a research methodology that aims to make comparisons across different variables necessary to understand a particular phenomenon. The major aim of comparative research is to identify similarities and differences between social entities. Comparative research hunt for ways to compare and contrast nations, cultures, societies, and institutions. Although scholars are far from a consensus on a definition, the trend appears to be toward defining comparative research in the

social sciences as research that compares systematically two or more societies, cultures, or nations. In actual execution comparisons of nations reign as the dominant practice. When it comes to subject matter of comparative inquiries, many contend there is none exception to it. This may indeed be true, but a brief examination of comparative undertaking reveals there are some topics more recurrent than others. Determining whether socioeconomic or political factors are more important in explaining government action is a familiar premise. In general, however, the only thing that is certain in comparative research issues is the existence of differences to be analysed.

However, the most comprehensive study of methods of comparative research was given by J S Mill. Mill's text is widely considered to be the first systematic formulation of the modern comparative method. He however thought that the methods of difference and the concomitant variations could not be applied in the social sciences because sufficiently similar cases could not be found. This suggestion is commonly rejected as over demanding scientific standard⁸. Comparative research methods have long been used in cross-cultural studies to identify, analyse and explain similarities and differences across societies. Whatever the methods used, research that crosses national boundaries increasingly takes account of socio-cultural settings. Problems arise in managing and funding cross-national projects, in gaining access to comparable datasets and in achieving agreement over conceptual and functional equivalence and research parameters. Attempts to find solutions to these problems involve negotiation and compromise and a sound knowledge of different national contexts. The benefits to be gained from cross-national work include a deeper understanding of other cultures and of their research processes⁹.

The historical comparative research involves comparing different time-frames. The two main choices within this model are comparing two stages in time (either snapshots or time-series), or just comparing the same thing over time, to see if a policy's effects differ over a stretch of time. (Deacon, 1983). So far as the Gorkhaland and Telengana movements are concerned, selective study of history of the two areas is required.

⁸ <http://poli.haifa.ac.il/~levi/Mill.htm> accessed on 19/05/2014

⁹ <http://sru.soc.surrey.ac.uk/SRU13.html> accessed on 19/05/2014

The standard models of Most Dissimilar System(MDS) and Most Similar System(MSS) encourage us to compare either the similar or dissimilar aspect of two movements. The basic objective of MDS and MSS is not to propose uncritically similarities and differences. Essentially there designs are derived from the requirements of proof in one and everything except one, that is considered to vary, in the other everything except one is considered as constant. So that one can identify certain regularities. Basically comparative method is an attempt to bring out certain regularities.

However there is a problem with the usual strategy of MDS and MSS. They are too much structured in nature and do not highlight so much the social, emotional or political aspect of social process. Any political movement is however is as much influenced by objective factors as by subjective factors. In case of both the movements for existence, the emotional bond associated with Telugu and Gorkha identity are strong but they do not just decide the shape of the outcome of the movement. The political, economic consideration often are instrumental in providing leadership or support to a political movement which are expected to make some gain out of the success of the movement.

Hence our way of comparing the movements would be to focus on the key role played by the historical context in shaping the course of the movement and in respect to bring out both the similarities and differences. Our method would be comparative historical and critical with respect to the role and motives of different agencies. We will primarily depend on qualitative tools such as interviews and consultation of archival materials.

I.16 Review of Literature:

Shah Ghanshyam, *Social Movements in India. A Review of Literature*, (2004). The author in this book had done extensive study on the literature available on social movements in India, in order to discover gaps in the related works and other findings which would be useful for further research work in the concern field. The book also points out the fact that there has not been enough study on the review of literature and this area needs to enrich further. The author has taken into account different kinds of social movements like Peasant Movements, Tribal Movements, Dalit Movements, Women's Movements, Industrial Working Class Movements,

Students' Movements, Middle Class movements, Human Rights and Environmental Movements. the author The author opines that due to the narrow concept of politics and Political Science in India, Europe and America has in length and depth ignored studies on social movements. He also points out the due to the pre-occupation of the political scientist with elite politics and studies of political legal decision making institution, it is assumed that masses have no politics of their own they are manipulated by the ruling classes and reflect the decision made by the political elite and choices offered by political parties and leaders, which he argues that argues is not only oversimplification of the political situation but also to an extent erroneous and detrimental to the efforts of building a democratic egalitarian social order. Masses have their own politics and they also decide the fate of the government and the state. He also asserts that our understanding of the politics of any society will remain superficial irrespective of the theoretical perspective one holds without understanding the politics of the masses. And in the conclusion he points out the fact that in the study of social movements a large number of scholars have concentrated on the peasant movements, whereas the studies on the movements launched by the industrial working class or by women are relatively small in number. To understand the nature of social movements in India this book provides a good meal to scholarly appetite and this book is a must read.

G.Ram Reddy and BAV Sharma (1979) in *Regionalism in India: A Study of Telengana* the author brings upon the long deep – rooted problems of the Telengana region since its admission. The book is divided into two parts. The first part begins with analysis of regionalism in the framework of national and state politics, Telengana grievances and their eruption into a mass agitation are analyzed next along with the roles played by the political parties in relation to the separatist movement and also that of the press and public meetings in political communication. The second part analyses the data based on survey research. Keeping regionalism in focus the book deals with the mass agitation regarding the Centre's role in dealing with the telengana problem and the list of lessons learnt from the separatist movement. Regionalism in Indian politics is regarded as something that is anti-system anti federal and against basic interest of a well integrated and well developed polity. This negative thinking and negative reaction towards a phenomenon which is essential to the normal growth of any healthy polity anywhere in the world, could only be understood in the perspective of ' the ambition and assertion ' of centripetal forces in India – of forces that have continually been aspiring for the capture of executive

authority and power, viewed from the centre, the peripheral forces always tend to assume threatening and dangerous proportion. It is only through a peripheral perspective that the real implications and significance of regionalism could be assessed properly. Regionalism has remained the most potent force in Indian Politics. In the book for the author seeks to dig deep into one of the basic question that demographically what are the factors responsible for the formation of identity development. The author also stresses upon the fact that since its admission to the Indian polity, Telengana has always remained an expression of sub regionalism. In dealing with this classic issue the author provides a solution to this problem which can only be solved by creating a separate state which would entirely composed of Telengana personal. The author has very well and elaborately discussed the issue at length and gives a detail finding of the problem of regionalism in Andhra Pradesh.

Samanta, Amiya K. *Gorkhaland Movement: A Study in Ethnic Separatism*, (2000). The author has divided the book into eight chapters. This book on Gorkhaland gives a sense of ethnic exclusiveness among a community known as Indian Nepalese or Gorkhas who had migrated to India from Nepal over a period of more than one hundred and fifty years, being encouraged by the British protecting their colonial and commercial interest. They were designated as a martial race and a separate administrative arrangement in Darjeeling only for Gorkhas also built a sense of exclusiveness among the Gorkhas. The author mainly focused on the Gorkhaland Movement and also reveals the fact that sectarian considerations have been the work force rather than integrating them to the nation building process.

Subba T. B. *Ethnicity, State and Development. A Case Study of the Gorkhaland Movement in Darjeeling*. 1992. The author in this book focuses on the political conflict in Darjeeling in 1986 and the demand for a separate state Gorkhaland. The author in this book talks about the emergence of the movement and the impact of violence and counter violence that occurred in Darjeeling district. The Gorkha National Liberation Front which plays a very significant role had a very high support of the Gorkhas or Nepalese. The author also talks about the role played by media as the Queen of Hills Darjeeling were the focus of media attention for almost three years since the advent of the Gorkhaland movement in 1986.

Sundaraya Puccalapalli, *Telengana People's Struggled and its Lessons*, (1972). It highlights the Movement, the years in the forest fighting the Nizam's focus and then the Indian Army. It

provides a wealth of detail and any account of the Telengana struggle is incomplete without references to this authoritative work. This book basically deals with the important political lessons that came out from the Telengana movement. It gives the detail account of the Heroic Peasant resistance movement.

C.H Hanumantha Rao, *Regional Disparities, Smaller states and statehood for Telengana*. (2010). In this book the author primarily focus on the complex issue of regional disparities and regional tension leading to the demand for creation of separate smaller states. The author also point the fact that lack of political clout in decision making process in the backward regions regarding investment and other provisions like jobs has led to revival of regional tensions and a consistent demand for separate states consisting of the backward areas. State like Uttarakhand, Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh and some recent examples of states formed out of the backward Regions as a demand for separate states. This book is of great importance in the present context of revived regionalism in the backward regions of the country.

Nalamotou Chakravarthy, *My Telugu Roots: Telengana State Demand-A Bhasmasura Wish*, 2009. In this book the author to bring out the history of Andhra Pradesh and also focuses is on how politicians play with people sentiments for personal political gains fanning issues like regional loyalty. But while talking about issue of separate statehood there are certain points which the author should have given importance, like the implementation of the 6- point formula, gentleman's agreement etc. which actually was responsible for revival for the separate statehood demand; but this flaws were ignored by the author and were not addressed properly. However this is a good book with facts and unbiased analysis in which the author concludes that the demand for separate state of Telengana is a Bhasmasura wish.

Spencer Meeta, *Seperatism Democracy and Disintegration*, (2006). In this book the author points out the fact that how modern democracies in the world have failed to mechanise ways to curb the feeling of seperatism. The book also proposes certain suggestive measures to promote democracy and protect minority rights. The book plays a vital role in the concerned study because it brings out an analysis of various separatist movements. Some of which have achieved separation and some have not as it rightly bring out the point that the world is facing a trend of seperatist movements, or movements within movements and this is high time where these issues has be addressed at a larger extent.

Harihar Bhattacharyya, *Federalism and Regionalism in India. Institutional Strategies and Political Accommodation of Identity*, Heidelberg Papers in South Asia and Comparative Politics working Paper No. 27, May 2005. The author points out that India's federal reconciliation of regional identity with autonomy has a democratic aspect. As a study of the interaction between federalism and regionalism in India, this paper seeks to focus on Indian federalism as a method of accommodation of regionalism in India. Federalism is seen here as a political equilibrium, which results from the appropriate balance between shared rule and self-rule. The author questions the role played by Indian federalism in ensuring India's Stability in the face of persistent regionalism. The author also stresses upon the fact that devolutionary steps should be with a partnership spirit between federal and sub-national levels rather than unilaterally by a dominant centre. This paper seeks to take forward the following four ideas as a conceptual preface to the discussion. First, there is no necessary conflict between federalism and regionalism. The relations between the two may be conflicting as well as collaborating depending on the manner of accommodation, if any, which is undertaken in a federal system. Federalism and regionalism may be complementing each other in the practical political processes. The need for balance is of utmost importance if unity of the country is not to be risked. Second, federation rather than a nation-state, ideal-typically, is better able to accommodate ethnically distinct regions because while the nation-state demands uniformity, federalism is based on the recognition of differences. This assumes special significance when the top-down approach to federation-building is followed. Third, a two-tier federation may not be sufficient to accommodate regionalism of many forms and levels. A tier below the 'states', or 'provinces' with appropriate constitutional guarantee may be necessary for regional accommodation. Fourth, regionalization may itself be a technique for ethno-regional accommodation provided both the constitutional input and a sufficient ethno-regional pressures from below are available. According to the author following this technique, the spill-over effects of regional discontent can be minimized. The paper is a very informative one elaborately stating the true nature of federalism in accommodating regional identity in political process by which cultural and linguistic differences can be met and unity in diversity can be strengthened.

Hardgrave, Robert.L.Jr, *The Northeast, The Punjab and Regionalization of Indian Politics in Asian Survey* Vol. XXIII, No 11, Nov 1983 explains the different dimension responsible for regional disparities in the North-East India and the state of Punjab. The author also argues for a

genuine democratic and federal setup with economic decision making located more at people's level. Perhaps can be an answer to the recent crisis.

Ashutosh Kumar (*ed*), *Rethinking State Politics in India, Regions within Regions*, 2011. The author in this book, has tried to go beyond the State and look into the region within the State with a distinctive analytical category for an in-depth study of the democratic politics of identity and development that is unfolding to look the state levels. This book attempts to look the regions within the state as a distinctive identity. This book is divided into V Parts where in Part II Quest for Territorial Homeland backwardness and Political articulation of backwardness in North Bengal region of West Bengal by A.K Jana brings into focus that the regional imbalance in the region of West Bengal particularly in North Bengal in terms of development and sharing of political power triggers on the demand for a separate space. The author talks about a separate statehood demand of Gorkhaland and Kamtapur, he also attributes that the economic neglect of the indigenous communities had enabled people to mobilize under a separate statehood agenda. In another article by Rama Rao Assertion of a Region: Exploring the demand for Telengana the author talks about the role of the socio-economic and political factors which have rekindled the demand for separate Telengana region in Andhra Pradesh and had evaluated and analyzed it, he also refers to the process of economic reforms undertaken in recent years that had accentuate the process of regionalization of identity politics in a relatively underdeveloped Telengana region.

Hooghe Lisebet, Gary Marks and Arjan H.Schakel, *The Rise of Regional Authority: A Comparative Study of 42 Democracies*, 2010. The book provides a sketch of the current trend of regional autonomy. The author has taken into account 42 advanced democracies including the 27 EU member states. The author takes four criteria like functional pressure, democratization, European integration, and identity to explain regionalization over the past fifty years. This book provides invaluable information and is a must read in the area of comparative government and politics.

Bookman Milica Zarkovic, *The Political Economy of Discontinuous Development: Regional Disparities and Inter-regional Conflict*. 1991, in this book the author has tried to develop a methodology to assess the efficiency of a region determined to secede from a nation. It also outlines four ways of studying inter-regional conflict.

Paula Banerjee (ed) Samir kumar Das (ed) *Autonomy Beyond Kant and Hermeneutics* (2008). In the first decade of the twenty first century autonomy has become one of the major concerns of our social and political existence. The right to autonomous life is now a political, cultural and social call of both individual and the group – a rare conformity that points to the crucial importance of autonomy in the agenda of critical thinking. Though the notion of autonomy in the modern era was at first applied in a political content of individual rational persons, their rights and existences. In the wake of anti colonial movements, the term gained new perspective and meaning which would imply new rights and new responsibilities. It became the emblem of group rights in particular minority rights. In time the idea of autonomy became not only the standard of rights and responsibilities, but also an issue of governmentality. The present volume is a critical attempt to understand autonomy from both historical and analytical perspective; an international group of scholars seek answer that go beyond the thinking of Immanuel kant or a simple hermeneutic reading of the principle of autonomy. Autonomy, in this collective reading, emerges as deeply rooted in Social practices and contentious polities.

Kumara Anita, *Balanced Regional Development in India: Issues and Policies* (2006). Balance regional development has always been an essential component of the Indian development strategy in order to ensure the unity and integrity of the nation. Balance regional development has been an integral part of economic planning in India since the launching of the First Five Year Plan in 1951. Part 1 of this work provides an introduction to policies, programmes, and current issues pertaining to balanced development of various parts of the Indian economy. Part 2 of the book reproduces edited extract on the subject from India's Five Year Plans.

Samaddar Ranabir (ed), *The Politics of Autonomy -Indian Experiences*. 2005. In this book the author comes up with ideas argues that autonomy has to be an essential ingredient in the building of past colonial democracies, not merely a residual measures to keep some constituencies happy, he also draws attention on the principles and consequent politics of autonomy and the need for dialogue. This book is filled with empirical findings and case studies on the autonomy experiments in Kashmir, Darjeeling and the entire North – east as a whole, this book is a cutting – edge research on democracy. This book is divided into two Parts. Part 1 deals with genealogy of the issue of autonomy. And in Part 2 dealing with the practices of autonomy Subhas Ranjan

Chakrabarty in *Silence under Freedom: The Strange Story of Democracy in Darjeeling Hills* brings out the working of the autonomy over the last decade and a half.

Rao. M.S.A(ed), *Social Movements in India, Studies in Peasants, Backward classes, Secterian, Tribal and Women's Movements*. (2004). This book is the study of Social movements in Sociological frame work, which has been a shift from the conventionalist Structure functional approach to the Study of dynamic processes and movements. This book is divided into two parts. Part 1 includes six types of movements - peasants, backward classes sectarian, tribal and women. The three peasants movements – Naxalbari movement in Bengal, NijaiBal movement in UP, and the peasant movement in Telengana it unfolds the way they have organize around revolutionary ideology of class – struggle and t the changes these movements have brought agrarian society. And Part II of the book contains extensive bibliography supporting the different types of movements and concepts.

Datta Prabhat, *The Hill Council Experiment in West Bengal: A Case Study in Journal of Political Science, Vol.55.No.1 Jan-March.1994*. The author points out the fact the Hill Councils works as definite waste. The Hill Council was just used by the GNLFF leaders as an institutional device only for further political gains. The Hill Council became a battle ground between GNLFF and the State government regarding flow of funds and transfer of functions and government departments. The Hill Council was an administrative set up to accommodate the aspiration of the Hill people of Darjeeling, but it failed to live up the high expectations of the local masses. The author also suggests that the failure can be attributed to the leadership of DGHC which tried to utilize this institution for narrow personal ends. He also suggests that improvements can be made if the leaders become more serious, responsible and keep themselves away from narrow political gains.

L.P Gupta *Tribal Development Administration: A Study in Darjeeling District of West Bengal*, 1998. This book deals with development administration for the underdeveloped tribal and it provides a glimpse of grass-root reality in the district of Darjeeling – a world known place for tea, timber and tourism occasionally rock the nation for its hostilities political interest for linguistic and identity recognition and movement for regional autonomy and separate statehood.

M.P Lama (compiled by) *Gorkhaland Movement, Quest for an Identity*. (1996). The author comes to the point that, the demand for Gorkhaland as a constitutional state within the Union of India has been one of the oldest demands in the History of modern India. Though this demand has to face several ups and downs and has over years taken various political turns, it acquired the shape of a mass movement only towards the end of 1970s when Sri Subhash Ghising for the first time called the Gorkhas in India to come under one umbrella and demand a separate state known as Gorkhaland. The Gorkha National Liberation Front was set up as a political party which for the first time comprehensively raised the ever burning issue of the identity of the Indian Gorkhas at the national level. As Ghising spread his tentacles, he soon became a very popular name. For the first time the entire nation realized the existence of the Gorkhas as a distinct Indian ethnic entity on the laps of the Eastern Himalayas. As we stepped into the last decade of the Twentieth Century, Ghising was declared as the 'Tiger of the Hills'. The historic accord was signed on August 22, 1988 which finally led to the setting up of Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council (DGHC). This book gives a detail account of the rise and fall of Sri Subhash Ghising and the events that occurred during this transformation.

Gurumurti Sitharam, *Telengana: Dream or Reality*, (2012). The author in this article focuses on the historical perspective for understanding people's stubborn hard decision for a separate statehood demand. It also brings into focus the report submitted Sri Krishna Committee on Telengana. The author also brings the point that it has to be understood by the Telengana leaders that the city of Hyderabad which Telengana wants it to be made its capital, was executed with contribution from all the three regions Andhra Pradesh, Rayalaseema and Telengana, during the time of Kutubshahi Sultan as early As 1590 and that all the three areas have equal rights to Hyderabad city. It is but necessary that Hyderabad should remain a common capital for both.

Kumar B.B, *Small State Syndrome in India* (1998). The author in this book gives a detailed account of background information about the small states demand in India, he also furnished all necessary facts regarding territorial re-organization during the British period and the re-organization of states after independence. The linguistic re-organization of states, formation of ethnic small states and the ever increasing demand for new states are discussed thoroughly. The myths and realities related to new states' demands discussed also give a new outlook of study. The author started with the historical perspective and had touched upon every aspect and the

factors which had generated the ever increasing demand for new states in India. This book is of high significance though precise in nature and its approach, the author had taken into account a number of small state movements including the Gorkhaland movement but in a limited approach.

Khosla Ritu, *Exploring the Demand for Telengana State: Is the demand Valid?* (2011) This article brings into account the facts and information which are very necessary in order to understand the demand for Telengana state on the ground of its validation. Giving a brief historical sketch the focus shifts to developmental issues which happen to be the core reason of the demand. The author has also provided relevant information about the allocation of Development Grants. Region wise sectoral contribution to Gross District Domestic Product and concludes that if development is the main reason for emergence of demand for Telengana state then why the region of Rayalaseema has not come up with a similar demand? The fact that is reflected by the article is that the demand for separate state should be based on concrete ground.

Atis Dasgupta, *Ethnic Problems and Movements for Autonomy in Darjeeling*, Social Scientist, Vol 27, No.11/12(Nov-Dec 1999) pp 74-78. The author in this article starts with the early history of Darjeeling to understand the ethnic problem embedded in the demand and see how historically there has been a shift in viewing Darjeeling from as early as in 1895 and the kind of sentiment that developed between the educated Nepali middle class and the intelligentsia of West Bengal is portrayed in a significant manner. To understand the initial stages of the Gorkhaland movement this article serves a purpose of bringing in all the information intact for reference.

LSS O' Malley, *Bengal District Gazetteers Darjeeling* (1907). This book is a very essential book in understanding the historical background of Darjeeling in the early period of 19th Century. These Official records provide a wealth of information on all aspects of the region, to know the early history of the region before independence one has to refer to this book. It gives a detailed information about the early inhabitants of the region, their way of life, habits, customs religious rites and rituals, festivals and indeed everything concerning them.

Why Gorkhaland, Published by the Gorkha Jananukti Morcha Central Committee is an Official document which gives a detailed account of the reasons behind the demand for Gorkhaland state, starting from the history of Darjeeling before independence, bringing into light the distinct socio-cultural entity of the Gorkhas to the language issue, also the administration issue of depriving the

local majority Nepali speaking community. The documents also highlights various issues like education and health services, it also gives a clear picture of the sadness of the Darjeeling district towards the West Bengal Government. However, if we try to analyze the document it gives a very brief idea and can be regarded as a short summary behind the Gorkhaland demand which only gives a one sided picture on the point of view of the Gorkhaland proponents.

A Case for Gorkhaland, the Socio Economic Perspective by Udaya Mani Pradhan. The author in this article stresses on the identity question of the Indian Gorkhas which according to him is the main reason behind the demand for Gorkhaland. He also points out that the path of self reliance is self government which can only be attained by the formation of a separate state called Gorkhaland. The author also talks about the socio economic viability issue of the state and also stresses that the resources present in the state can make Gorkhaland into a model state for the country. He also talks about socio economic issues like education, tea and tourism and his views are not different from any other Gorkhaland supports in the content because each and every other Gorkhaland supporter are of the opinion that once Gorkhaland is achieved it can be easily transformed into dreamland for Gorkhs. This article can be regarded as a write up by a Gorkhaland supporter which ends up in giving the same structure of the movement like any other protagonist but which in reality stands on very different ground.

The never ending wait for a home land by Sonam B Wangyal. The author in this article points out the detailed account of number of times the Gorkhaland issue was put on demand. From the First to the twenty seventh demand for a separate state for the Indian Gorkhas. The author also cites example for how a Bengali from Cachar from Assam feel isolated violated and insulted for his community of his minority population as in an island surrounded by non Bengalis. According to the author the main aim of the article is to understand the Bengali the Bengali counterpart the sense of helplessness predicament that a minority community suffers. In the History of Darjeeling as researched and presented by Dr Sonam Wangyal organized by the Kursong Chapter of Gorkha Janamukti Secondary Teachers' Association on 12th July 2008. The paper starts with the early history of Darjeeling, its incorporation into the east India Company and ends at when Darjeeling joined to Bengal. The author is of the opinion that formation of Gorkhaland is not just partition but it is just a humble act of giving back what was never part of Bengal and

also conclude that due to difference in language physical structure food habit and clothes Bengal and Gorkhaland are different.

Social and Political Tensions in North Bengal Since 1947 edited by Dr. Sailen Debnath. This book is a compilation of papers covering a wide range of contemporary aspects of socio political movements tensions and insurgencies including the unleashing of terrorism in different phases of historical evolution in North Bengal since the attainment of independence since 1947. In Chapter 11, *The Role of Tea Planters in Creating the Demand of Separate Gorkhaland* by Soumen Nag is a paper made on his social work point of view on the role of the factors on the socio political factors behind the unrest of North Bengal with Special reference to the role of the tea garden owners during the colonial period in initiating the demand of Gorkhaland. In Chapter 12 *Tensions and Anxiety Over Proposed Sixth Schedule for Darjeeling Hills* by Prof. Rajat suhra Mukhopadhaya deals on the inclusion of Darjeeling in the Sixth Schedule of the Indian Constitution which had generated a lot of excitement as well as tension and anxiety among the people of both hills and plains for which he gives a detailed account for the rise of tension in Darjeeling hills and the apprehension of serious divisions arising between tribal and non tribal once the hills are brought under the Sixth Schedule provision.

Gorkhaland - Evolution Of Politics of Segregation by Dyutish Chakrabarty in The Centre for Himalayan Studies Special Lecture X. This paper is an altered version of a section of the project: "Roots of Regionalism: A Case Study Of Nepalis politics in Darjeeling District. In the beginning this paper primarily starts stating the gradual maturation of the demand for Gorkhaland State by the Nepali speaking people of Darjeeling district. This paper is a very elaborate paper and according to the author this paper is an attempt to highlight inter relationship between regional and local movements claiming segregation in the form of administrative autonomy and state politics that are often dismissed summarily as mere super-structural. The author also clearly pin points the fact that the main aim of the author is not to construct any grand theory of segregationist attitude and in away it aims primarily to bring fragmented pieces of information together in a systematic manner and focus on state and administrative arrangement in a broad sense, it is a descriptive paper than an analytical one.

Regionalism: Developmental Tensions In India by Akhtar Majeed. The author in this book talks about the concept of regionalism in a very elaborate manner starting from the concept to the

manifestation of regionalism in India in which he talks about three types of regional manifestations; Supra-state regionalism, Intra-state regionalism and Inter-state regionalism and also regionalism as a separate statehood movement. He also points out the fact that linguistic homogeneity strengthens regionalism in both positive and negative senses, in the former it strengthens in unity in the later through emotional frenzy. In a nutshell this is a very important book in the initial stages of studying regionalism in India and the reasons behind the outbreak of regional sentiments.

Indian Nepalis: Issues and Perspective (ed) by Tanka Bahadur Subba Ashok Kumar Mittal. This book is divided into Five Sections starting from conceptual and theoretical issues like ethnic identity crisis and rethinking Gorkha identity, section two deals with search for Indian national identity, the neglect of Nepali discourses in India and the consolidation of Nepali identity, section three includes regional identities of Indian Nepalis, section four deals with Nepali sub culture, youth, women ,food and medicine where as section five talks about India Nepal linkage history literature and people. This book covers different aspect of identity issues of the Indian Nepalis for example in section five B C Upreti had talked about India Nepal treaty of Peace and Friendship.Nature Problem and the questions of identity of Indian Nepalis which is very important in understanding the core reasons that had substantiated the maturation of feeling of identity crisis among the Nepali speaking people of India. This book is a very good compilation of papers covering different aspects to understand the theoretical issue relating to identity and nationality question across cultures relating to Indian Nepalis.

Government of West Bengal Department of Information. *Gorkhaland Agitation facts and Issues: Information Document II*. It is a document published by the Director of Information Calcutta on the agitation for a separate state for Nepali speaking population in Darjeeling and its vicinity by the Gorkha National Liberation Front(GNLF). This document begins with an assessment of the impact of the ten months old agitation during 1980s by the GNLF on the economic and social life in the hills. This document is a sequel to the September document and it was an attempt to provide an updated account of the incidents occurred during that point of time.

Ethnic Groups in Conflict by Donald L Horowitz. This is a standard book on ethnic conflict which gives a theoretical aspect of insight matter focusing on the logic and structure of conflict and discussing measures to combat it. It talks about important issues which affect all levels of

society; we may say that it is a foundational work on ethnic conflict literature, mainly from South East Asia, Africa and the Caribbean. This book is divided into five parts, starting from the dimensions of ethnic conflict to Conflict Theory and conflict motives to paradigms of military ethnicity, to policies to reduce ethnic conflict. This book is a very good book to understand ethnic conflict in theoretical perspective.

Gorkhaland Movement : Ethnic Conflict and State Response by Swatasiddha Sarkar. This book on Gorkhaland Movements attempts to problematise the issue of State ethnicity relationship keeping in view the ongoing research activities taken place in the field of conflict resolution and peace studies. This book gives a critical analysis of the state led response towards the containment of the movement in the year 2012 and offers a sociological aspect of resolution. The author seeks to explain the working of regional autonomy model based on the sociology of conflict resolution, he proceeds by analyzing the historical conflict in Darjeeling in response to state policy and forms of governance. The author also argues that the main reason for the failure of the government to stop the conflict through autonomous council is its unresponsiveness to the ground reality of ethnic conflict in the hills. The author also identifies weaknesses in the state's failure to address the contradictions inbuilt in its nation state project. Instead of fostering a feeling of togetherness the autonomous council created a feeling of disparity. The author then talks about the emergence of the violent movement in the 1980s and its persistent demand for regional autonomy and language inclusion and the unresponsiveness of the government to these demands. The major problem came to the state after the formation of the DGHC. In view of allegation of corruption and violence against GNLF the author blames the government for following a policy of least interference which resulted into the autonomous council become a war zone for capturing power over council and also become a means of elite creation in Darjeeling. The author concludes that the solution of ethnic conflict in Darjeeling does not lie in addressing developmental concerns through negotiations with elites whose representation of the population is questionable. Instead it must ensure the participation of the broader public and address the ethnic identity question through an approach of "integrative peace" instead of "forceful assimilation"(p133). This book is a well researched and well structured book. It is not only highly valuable book for those trying to understand the history of Gorkhaland movement and its further development after 2007, but it also questions the value of autonomous council policy in resolving such ethnic problems in other parts as well.

Fallen Cicada – Unwritten History of Darjeeling Hills by Barun Roy (2003). This is the most celebrated book by Barun Roy, in dealing with the history of Darjeeling Hills the author had used a different approach. The is divide into three parts. The author writes about the unknown facts of Darjeeling in doing so he begins with the evolution of Darjeeling, the influx of early settlers, the evolution of ‘support towns’, the evolution of Darjeeling Himalaya Railways , Darjeeling hills plunging into the independence movement, Darjeeling during the second World War and a Gorkha at the Constituent assembly. This book is an addition to modern History of Darjeeling providing a lot of information about the Gorkha people and the hills. *Gorkhas and Gorkhaland. A Socio Political Study of the Gorkha People and Gorkhaland Movement* by Barun Roy. “Barun Roy puts to rest all the questions involving Gorkhas and Gorkhaland. A must read for Gorkhas and non Gorkhas alike”. As stated by Dr. Penelop Whitaker, this book is a well written manuscript adding higher clarification in the history of Darjeeling and making the reasons visible behind the demand for Gorkhaland. This book is a sociological and anthropological study of the Gorkha people which is done in the first part of the book. The author did a long and extensive study of the Gorkha people and the book provide enough information to know about the Gorkhas of India as Indians. This book has another two parts. In part two the author deals with the demographic study of Gorkhaland whereas book three deals with the movement for a separate state. The author provides a detailed account of the information on the social anthropological and cultural dispersion. Not known by many of us the author gives a relevant information about the division of major streams of races in the Gorkha community. Most importantly the ethnicity issue of the nepali speaking people in India has been dealt in a totally different way by the author. The author had also given information about the Muslim league hoisting the Pakistani flag over the Town hall in Darjeeling and also in kalimpong and Kurseong on 14 August 1947 and the reaction of the Gorkha people. This book can be regarded as a wide ranging book in modern Indian Gorkha history. It is a must read for those trying to understand the Gorkhaland Movement.

Sub Regional Movements in India with reference to Bodoland and Gorkhaland by Snehomoy Chakladar K P Bagchi. It is a book on Nepalese and Bodo political movement in Darjeeling district in West Bengal and Kokhrajhar district in Assam. Sub regional movement is a sequence of regional movement and immediately after independence various regional movements outbroke and various linguistic communities demanded reorganization. This book is a very brief bookpin-

pointing about the movements and the author also seeks to give prescription for granting statehood.

Construction and Consolidation of the Telengana Identity by H.Srikant in the Economic and Political Weekly. According to the author the movement for a separate Telengana state has been hailed by many intellectuals as a democratic struggle of the people of that region. The paper deals with the process by which the Telengana identity has been built and also has emphasized on different factors which had contributed to such construction of identity. The author also brings out the fact that the Telengana identity is partly built on facts and partly on half truths. According to the author intellectuals had played a great role on construction and consolidation of telengana identity especially Keshav Rao Yadav and K Jayashankar. The author also highlights the role played by artists and information technology in garnering the movement and he also concludes that the construction of the Telengana identity is created in the same way as any ethnic identity movement is created and there is no denying the fact that some of the districts in Telengana are underdeveloped and it may be said that regional identity movement may not be the only solution for Telengana or any other region, to the author the left parties could have played an important and pr active role in reconciling the masse of the three regions by educating and mobilizing them and resolve internal differences and disparities.

Telengana Movement: The Demand for Separate State. A Historical Perspective by K Jayashankar. This article is a work done by one of the eminent intellectuals behind the Telengana Movement where the author gives a detailed account of the reasons behind the movement to regain its momentum in 2006. The author very sharply points out the recommendation of the State Reorganization Committee (SRC) set up by the Government of India in 1950s, to examine the issue of reorganization of States, but despite of the recommendation of the SRC which was not in favour of a merger of Telengana with Andhra State, the state of Andhra Pradesh was formed in 1956 which was however not unconditional, facilitated by a number of promises and constitutional safe guards. The author gives a highlight to the promises made to the people in the form of Gentle men's Agreement(1956), which never materialized into reality and thus resulted into massive revolts by the people of the Telengana region. The author also points out a comparative picture of development in different sectors over the last 47 years highlighting the imbalance that persist. The author gives a region wise comparative study in the areas like

irrigation, tank irrigation, education primary and collegiate, industries, employment and finance all revealed that Telengana remained at the lowest. At the end the author raises a number of questions to him these question are somewhat a result of ignorance, some out of bias and some out of genuine concern for maintaining status-quo yet he attempts to answer his own questions his own way.

Sri Krishna Committee Report on Telengana: Recommendations at Variance with Analysis by C H Hanumantha Rao. A committee constituted by the Government of India headed by Justice B N Srikrishna to examine the situation in Andhra Pradesh with reference to the demand for a separate state of Telengana as well as the demand for maintaining the present status of a united Andhra Pradesh, submitted its report on 31st December 2010 after carrying a wide range of comprehensive analysis of the relevant data of socio economic aspect. The author gives a very nice insight of the Sri Krishna Committee's analysis in reference to its suggestion that a separate Telengana state is viable which is favoured by a large majority of the people. The Committee examined on the three bearing issues bearing on the formation of a separate state of Telengana viz its economic viability, social inclusion and cohesion and the wishes of the people of Telengana and found them strongly favouring the creation of a Telengana State with Hyderabad as its capital. But the Committee had fears on three counts vehement opposition from the intellectual section of Semandhara particularly to Hyderabad becoming the capital of Telengana, similar demands of smaller state cropping up in the country and the impact on the internal security situation with the anticipated growth of Maoism and religious growth of fundamentalism which has been discussed in Chapter 8 of the report .The Committee tended to regard big state as strong and small state as weak. Balancing various considerations the Committee recommended keeping the state united by creating a statutory empowered Telengana Regional Council, a Water management Board and Irrigation Project Development Corporation. As the second best option the Committee recommended bifurcation into Telengana with Hyderabad as its capirtal and Seemandhaha to have a new capital, only in case it is unavoidable. Above all the Srikrishna Committee preferences shows that in our system opting for radical change by moving away from status quo is not easy.

Nizam British Relations 1724-1857 by Sarojini Regani. This book deals with the political relation of the Nizam of Hyderabad with the British East India Company. It is divided into

eleven Chapters starting from Nizamul Mulk Asaf Jah I and the English up to Hyderabad and 1857. This book is written with a historian's perspective digging into the traces of the Deccan history as early as 1724 when Asaf Jahi dynasty was established in the Deccan as he emerged victor against Mubariz Khan the last of the Mughal emperor's nominee. This book gives a detailed account of the French influence to the Anglo French rivalry, Nizam Ali Khan to the cession of the Northern Sarkars to the English East India Company, the Metcalf's Reform to the Wahabi Movement and Hyderabad, the sporadic attempts made by the common masses, the general dislike towards the Company's rule resulting the war of 1857 against the British rule. The attempts made by the common people to overthrow the British rule throws important light on the history of freedom movement in Hyderabad during this period.

Comparative Perspective on Social Movements. Political opportunities, Mobilizing Structures and Cultural Framings (ed) by Dough McAdams, John D McCarthy and Mayer N Zald Cambridge University Press. As historians have produced over the years a wealth of theoretical and empirical scholarship on social movements and revolutions. It is the right time when the authors have taken stock of this mushrooming literature, possibly to discern the clear outline of a synthetic, comparative perspective on social movements that transcends the limit of any single theoretical approach to the topic. This book rests on that perspective even as it seeks to extend and apply it comparatively. The authors have emphasized on the emerging agreement among movement scholars regarding the importance of three factors i) the structures of political opportunities and constraints confronting the movement ii) the forms of organization (informal as well as formal) available to insurgents iii) the collective process of interpretation attribution and social construction that mediate between opportunities and action in short political opportunities, mobilizing structures and framing processes. The growing agreement between movement scholars that these three factors can often sometimes have very different and often sometimes have antagonistic perspective in which they develop. The authors begin by discussing each of these factors separately with an eye to acknowledge the divergent intellectual streams that have influenced work on each. All these years the scholars have tended to study one aspect of the movement but the challenge here lies is to sketch a relationship between these factors thus leading to a fuller understanding of the movement dynamics.

Gorkhaland Crisis of Statehood by Romit Bagchi Sage publication India Pvt Ltd. 2012. The book starts with “Gorkhaland- a Psychological Study” a demand for separate state called Gorkhaland by the hill people in Darjeeling. The demand is made by the hill people who are completely different from the rest of Bengal. He presents two psyche condition one is the people demanding a separate state because according to them they are not acknowledged at the national level and a separate state will give them identity, on the other hand there are people who are unable to accept it. The history of Darjeeling is complicated and treacherous where the author narrates the chronological history of the movement from the first time demand of a separate administrative set up by the Hill people to the GTA in 2011. This gives a quick overview to the readers about the movement. However the authors writing seems to be anti Gorkhaland who does not believe in the demand himself which can be understood by the attempt of writing the book in a non believer way, in doing so he had overlooked the aspiration of the hill people and had made no attempts in analyzing it from a neutral point of view but had made his study narrow. The author in his epilogue views “the Telengana trajectory moving fast things seems to be uncertain for the hills” which is predictive as the formation of Telengana has been supported by the Centre whereas the demand for Gorkhaland is taking a different course.

Ethnonationalism in India: A Reader (Critical Issues in Indian Politics) by 20th July 2012. This reader the fourth in the critical issues in Indian politics series is an anthology of key theoretical essays and analytical writings on Ethnonationalism movements and conflicts that frame major debate. The country’s exceptional ethnonational diversity has long been an area of puzzle to students of comparative politics. This volume brings together important works in the study of Ethnonationalism in India in its various manifestations like separatism, secessionism and sub-nationalism and regionalism. Discussing various Ethnonational movements in India including the North-East, Punjab and Kashmir movements, the volume covers their initiation, subsequently trajectory and the role of the state. The first part provides the context discussing democracy, diversity and devolution and the containment of social and political power. The second and third part focus on Kashmir as a legacy of partition and the North-East respectively. Both parts discuss the nature of contest among various forms of legitimate and not legitimate power in these conflicts. Dealing with the nature of federal design, the fourth part discusses conflict negotiation between a democratic nation and prospective breakaway units with an emphasis on how such situations are controlled. The fifth part explores the theory of fragmented nationalism and relates

it to the specifics of the situation in India. The concluding part charts the rise and fall of self determination movement across the country.

Nation Civil Society and Social Movements Essays in Political Sociology by T K Oommen Sage Publication Pvt.Ltd.2004. This book is a collection of twelve essays on three interrelated themes of Nation, Civil Society and Social Movements organized in three parts each having four chapters. Chapter (1-4) discusses some aspects of nation and nationalism. Chapter (5-8) deals with different dimensions of Civil Society and the last four chapters (9-12) analyze social movement from different vantage points. The author seeks to explain the gap between the theoretical assumption behind the construction of nation state and the empirical reality. Particularly in the case of india and Pakistan also srilanka the author argues that project homogenization is not yet successful and also not likely to succeed in future, therefore inividual equality alongwith group identity will have to co-exist. It is in this contextthat one should recognize the salience of collective rights within south asian states as an antidote to collective alienation and to deligitimise successtionist movements. In chapter three the author argued that religion cannot be basis of nation formation in democratic state for which he had provided several imperical facts and theoretical assumption. The fear of balkanization is based in India through partition of the Indian subcontinents based on religious ground. The demand for linguistic state by the dissatisfied linguistic community led the linguistic reorganization of India. In fact the demand for new states still continues. The author gives two reasons behind the continuing demand for new state. First, even though the Indian state is conceived as a multi layered entity- a union/federal, provincial, autonomous regions, zila parishad panchayat hardly any authority is conceded to the lower three levels. This prompts a demand for provincial state by regional linguistic communities, ignoring their population, size and financial viability. Second, the cultural specificity of subaltern communities is not only ignored but sought to destroyed through their vivisection and attachment to the state dominated by major linguistic communities which results in the former's marginalization and alienation. He also points that the failuire of the states in India to link culture and governance systematically provides an important agenda for the society. Moreover, the recognition of language as the basis for politico administrative units has attended to the deprivation of most of the speech communities. The author had identified four critical pre requisites for equipping civil society to contribut positively to good governance. One of the four pre requisites of good governance is providing representation to all segments of

people from all walks of life which is possible only through education and training. In chapter nine the author argues that social movements and social policies are two different instruments pursuing the same goal. Yet in conventional social research they are just opposed as polar opposites. In chapter 10 the author talks about comparative analyses of social movements in 3 societies. Chapter 11 talks about new social movements while in chapter 12 the author seeks to explain that the movements are widely believed to be response to discontents of modernity. The modernisation project of India was exogenously initiated colonialism being its launching pad. After political freedom arrived the process of modernization was accelerated through planned development, industrialization, legislation and social movements of the deprived. Through the process of nation building the twin objective of ensuring equality to all providing dignified identity to traditionally disabled communities were sought to be achieved. The discontent of modernity was qualitatively different and the new social movements of India addresses the issue of equality and identity.

Battleground Telengana: Chronicals of Agitation by Kingshuk Nag Harper Collins (2011). In this book the author seems to go back to the history and seeks to explain the cultural background of Telengana and Andhra region. Giving the detail of Telengana region the author discusses the golden rule of the Nizams of Hyderabad its people's fight for basic needs and the region under the British rule. The book explores the core of the complex issue and the underlying causes of the Telengana movement. It throws light on the situation in Telengana before the reorganization of linguistic states in 1950. The author also talks about the first mass movement in 1960 for separate state of Telengana, by giving a detailed picture of the failure of the movement and its consequences. However, the book is informative rather than analytical, it consists of facts that analysis. Altogether the history statistics the political rivalry rampant in the book throws enough light on the much coveted root cause analysis needed to understand the Telengana movement. The author seeks to provide solution which seems highly valid but how far they are implementable is a big question. All in all this book is a must read to understand the Telengana movement.

G. Palanithurai. Polyethnicity in India and Canada. Possibilities for Exploration. M.S Publications Pvt. Ltd. New Delhi (1997). This book is a small handy volume of ethnic movement in India and Canada. This book is a collection of articles which throw light on a variety of issues

confronting the politics of the two nations namely India and Canada. Ethnicity was once felt as a negative factor for growth and development. But at present it is reckoned with a phenomenon influencing the national and regional politics both in the breadth and length of the developing and the developed countries. India and Canada provide striking similarities and commonalities in the structure and governance of their political system. This book highlights major areas and issues of politics of both the countries. The first article identified certain areas of common interest in Canadian and Indian politics for meaningful theorization. It also analyses the implication of the usage of religion, language and culture, which is rightly possible in a comparative study. In the second article the role played by the two ethnic parties namely Parti Quebece (PQ) and Dravida Munnetra Kazhagan (DMK) has been highlighted in mobilizing the people. The third article analyses the modulations of ethnic fervor among the collectivities of Tamils and Quebece. The fourth article attempts a relative evaluation of the French-English situation in Canada and Tamil-Hindi situation in India from the perspective of history, ethnic assertiveness and linguistic conflict. The fifth article makes a modest attempt to study the nature of change the ethnic groups have undergone in the political process of the society and the state system in managing the ethnic groups. The sixth part attempts to analyse a very vital aspect of the changing scenario and its necessity to evolve a new paradigm to explain the ethnic politics in India and Canada. It brings out a new postulate to manage the ethnic conflict that by shifting power from the higher to lower institutions nearer to the people, ethnic tension could be reduced. The seventh article makes a slow departure from the conventional wisdom of looking at factors from historical, sociological, institutional approaches to demographic and psychological analyses of the ethno-politics in Quebece and Tamil Nadu. The main concern of the inquiry is to construct a design to study the role played by the French Canadian women in Canada and Tamil women in India the ethnic politics of the two regions. The eighth article highlights the formula adopted by the Indian State system in building the nation and state. It deals with the issue of national integration. It tries to answer certain questions like, when and why is the identity of language, culture ,religion, race, region considered dangerous to the unity of the nation? In the last article the author analyses the fast changing pattern of perception of the people of Tamil Nadu over the ethnic issue. More specifically the governing factors of changing relationship between the centre and the ethnic groups have been analysed. In a nutshell the whole work was done in linking the Quebece issue with Tamil issues for meaningful theorization. The value system has been totally

eroded the space provided by state system to the ethnic groups in Indian content especially in Tamil Nadu tilted the balance in the approach of the groups.

State Politics in India : Reflections on Andhra Pradesh by Agarala Easwar Reddi and D Sundar Ram(1994).This edited volume is divided into two parts. Part one of the volume entitled “Party Politics in Andhra Pradesh deals with the ongoing transformation of the power politics from 1983. Part two is devoted to the study of different Lok Sabha and Assembly Elections of Andhra Pradesh state from 7th to 10th Parliament and 6th to 8th Legislative Assemblies. It also provides a detailed analysis on the election to rural and local bodies in Andhra Pradesh held in March 1987. This book is quite informative as it covers important themes relating to Andhra Pradesh state politics. The contributors to the volume by and large made an attempt in understanding the party politics and electoral politics and to bring out their reflection on the state politics of Andhra Pradesh as a whole.

Untangling Telengana by Goutam Penge Economic and Political Weekly Vol- XLV111 no 44 Nov 2, 2013. In this article the author wants to make a clear distinction about the fears of the Andhra people over sharing of water, government jobs and personal safety but the conflict which he termed as ‘real’ over the way the division of the state and the position of Hyderabad will affect the two power base ruling caste- the Kammas and the Reddys. This article is very informative it provides all the data necessary to know about the region and understand the actual fear of the people. The author is of the opinion that Telengana needs neither Reddys nor Kammas they only need peace and development and life after this divorce which Nehru had given the name of a matrimonial alliance would not ease but worsen the situation by creating ill will and resorting to self destructive actions.

I.17 Research Gap:

Regionalism is thus a movement against social, political and economic deprivations and it is also a movement against the hegemonic groups who are dominant in the mainstream of the country as a whole. There are various factors which brick the wall of regional sentiments of emotional attachment and affinity with that region which they think as theirs. Factors like language, economy, political and administrative issues plays pivotal role in mobilizing people. Psychological factor is also another dimension on which people get sensitized. Any protest

movement occurring in a particular social set up is not without favourable variables. There are traditional theories of such movements and a general review is required.

For the purpose of the present study that we have undertaken, the conceptual understanding of social movements which can be stated to be a broader umbrella or genus. There are three main theories which explain the emergence of a movement. They are relative deprivation, strain and revitalization. Aberle¹¹ in the year 1966 gave a definition to relative deprivation. According to him, relative deprivation is a negative incongruity between legitimate anticipation and actuality. He considered this concept as the basis of social movements. Gurr (1970) included perceived capabilities also in addition to the expectations in the theory of relative deprivation. This theory has also guided some studies on agitation and mass movements. Relative deprivation is described as player's recognition of inconsistency between their value desires and their environment's manifest value potentialities. Value prospects are the goods and conditions of life to which people suppose they are fairly entitled. The limitation of this theory is however pointed out by a number of Indian scholars. M.S.A Rao asserts that relative deprivation is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for protest movements. Shah (1979) argues that the theory of relative deprivation ignores the importance of consciousness and the ideological aspect of the participants. It explains protest and movements of revolt, but does not analyze revolutionary movements. Protest does not necessarily lead to movements. T.K. Oommen (1979) also argues that the deprivation theorist view movements as 'temporary aberrations' rather than as 'on-going process of change'. Moreover they do not deal with the sources of deprivation. For Gurr, 'deprivation' is primarily psychological; therefore he does not deal with the socio-economic structure which is the source of deprivation.

The theory of Strain was developed by Smelser¹² in the year 1962. This theory is also known as the theory of collective behaviour. The major factor of this collective behaviour is structural strain. The structural strain occurs at various levels like norms, values and mobilization. Strain together with the generalised belief of the people result in the emergence of a collective action according to the strain theory.

Wallace¹³ (1956) suggested that social movements emerge out of the deliberate, organised, conscious effort of the members of a society for better conditions. According to Wallace,

revitalisation has got four phases namely, period of cultural stability, period of increased individual stress, period of cultural distortion and consequent disillusionment and the period of revitalisation. According to the revitalisation theory, social movements express dissatisfaction, dissent and protest against the existing conditions. But at the same time they offer a practical solution to remedy the difficult situations (Rao, 1979).

Since the early 1970s, new strands of theory and empirical research have arisen, one in the United States and one in Western Europe. The first, called resource mobilization theory, takes as its starting point a critique of those theories that explain social movements as arising from conditions of social disorganization and strain and as finding their recruits among the isolated and alienated. By contrast, resource mobilization theorists argue that the success of social movements rests mainly on the resources that are available to them; this means forming coalitions with already-existing organizations, securing financial support, and mounting effective and organized campaigns of political pressure. As a result of this emphasis on strategy, resource mobilization theorists downplay the factor of ideology in the study of social movements (Kumar L.).

India is an example of complex plural society with segmental cleavages of religious, ideological, linguistic, regional, cultural, racial or ethnic nature (Eckstein, 1966). After studying the theories of social movement it can be admitted that the above mentioned theoretical frame is not suited to understand or explain social movements in India because social movements in India cannot be taken as a radical outcome it has a long genesis, in some cases it goes back to the colonial period. Moreover socio-political, economic, cultural and ethnic factors also work as agents in the process of movement generation which has been overlooked by the above mentioned theories. In India social movements should be dealt in broad dynamics of intersections of societal parameters.

There has been a massive attention of scholars and experts on secessionist ethnic insurgencies in Kashmir Valley, Punjab and other parts of the country. One such area that needs further proliferation and is equally important is the political mobilization of ethnic groups in demand for a separate state within Indian federation. For instance the growth of the Gorkhaland movement is on ethno-lingual ground claiming that a separate state will be able to solve the issue of identity crisis which every Gorkha is facing in the country, and a few of such demands have reached

physically powerful face of violence and conflict. A major significance of the study is to aim at providing a deep analysis of the of such movement with the only objective of attaining a separate state separate statehood demand with the stated objective of attaining a separate state.

Also there are a very few studies made that have analysed the causes of ethnic separatist agitation in a comparative way in order to bring out major similarities and differences between such movements which is highly essential in understanding the causes and consequences for effective policy making aimed towards ethnic conflict management. This study will try to bridge the existing gap between Scholarly literature on ethnic statehood agitation and separate statehood demand in a comparative manner.

I.18 Objective of the Study:

- i) It is about the nature and outcome of the interaction between an organised political movement in our case viz. the Gorkhaland and Telengana movement and its relation with the structure and agencies of state mainly in the context of India, political parties, governmentt in power and parliamentary system of politics.
- ii) In respect of both the movements to understand the idea of culture or identity as a foundation for political mobilization.
- iii) To have a deeper understanding of the relationship between the leadership of the movement and the government.

I.19 Significance of the Study:

A major significance of the study is to aim at providing a deep analysis of an organised political movement here we have taken the Gorkhaland and the Telengana movement for our study with the only objective of attaining a separate state in terms of their origin, development and outcome. As mentioned there are a very few studies made that have analysed the causes of ethnic separatist agitation in a comparative way, so the present study undertaken will open new dimension in the field of comparative study and will certainly become useful to any reader to enhance one's ken.

I.20 A Synoptic View of the Study undertaken:

The term regionalism as it should be, represents the regional idea in action as an ideology, as a social movement, or as the theoretical basis for regional planning. However regionalism as a movement may be outlined as a cultural and political movement, trying to protect and encourage an indigenous culture and to promote autonomous political institutions in particular regions or an administrative and political movement, aiming at the creation of a democratized and integrated governmental structure at an intermediate level between the state and traditional organs of local government.

The diverse character of Indian nationality is over and over again upset by lack of sentiments arising out of deprivation, mainly economic underdevelopment, unemployment regional disparity etc. slowly leading to the growth of separatist sentiments which is ultimately manifested as regional movement. India is strangled with the epidemic of regionalism infecting states with regional upsurge and political turmoil and the formation of separate autonomous state at the cost of nation building.

Reconceptualising regionalism or study of any regional movement in particular is not a major concern of the undertaken study. It is about the nature and outcome of the interaction between an organised political movement namely the Gorkhaland and Telengana movement and its relation with the structure and agencies of state mainly in the context of India, political parties, govt in power and parliamentary system of politics.. It also focuses on the relevant consideration that are brought to bare on the course of the movement by both the govt and the leadership of the movement. The political movement that have the objective of controlling a territory.

The demands for separate states have come from across the country. These regions having different regional identity on the line of region, language, culture, caste and class now pose a grave challenge to the Indian federalism. The constitutional approach justifying the demand for a state of Gorkhaland is altogether a different consideration in perception to the aspects of the Telangana demand. The context between the two are quite different and apart but at the end the justification is the same , both the people of these areas have a legal right to demand a state of their own as provided by law ,the Constitution of India. In the upcoming chapters the study undertaken makes a deeper understanding of both the movements in terms of origin, development and outcome of both the movements to see how far both the movements draw

resemblances and differences in their process of maturation based on the Strategic Relational Approach which would engage in investigation and findings answers of the research question undertaken in the present study.

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1.I Proposed Map of Gorkhaland:

