

## Chapter – VII

### CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS AND PROBABLE ALTERNATIVES

#### **7. Impact of regional movements and federal governance in India Since 1977: quantitative and qualitative**

As has been discussed above in the earlier chapters, there are several asymmetrical provisions in the constitution which has created the sense of regional disparity which became more intensified soon after the working of the constitution. Gradually the regional imbalances in India since independence, has produces the feelings of alienation. The autonomy movement has generated throughout the country for institutionalization of the cultural differences which emphasized the multi-culture centric national development. In these circumstances “The multicultural sensitivity and an inclusionary sense of combining authority with a nationalist mission proved to be more demanding” (Dasgupta, 2001) at the contemporary surface of Indian political system. It has been observed that, the federal processes adopted by the founding fathers are revaluated by the regionalism in particulars because in a federal society when a prevalent majority tries to put their language on an atrophied minority, the minority section rebels, regionalism then appeared as a means to defect the attempts of the majority. (Rao, 1992).

Henceforth, whether the nature of the country falls under the purview of ‘uni-federation’ or ‘quasi- federation’ that question does not matter in this context. The present study has given emphasis on the arrangement whether the country’s contemporary sub regional needs are accommodated through the federal device or not. As the fundamental configuration of federalism is plural in nature, hence forth in a plural country like India, the federal practice is important instead of a classical federal theory, which is treated as a continuous process rather than a fixed diagram. Hence forth in a polytechnic country, the federal asymmetry has been seen as a problematic one. But demographically in a large country equalization of sub-national units remain to be difficult. The enormous heterogeneity as well as the plural character of the nation often reflects the necessity of a strong centre. But politically motivated asymmetric arrangements of federal union may encourage the feelings of detachment as well as dissatisfaction which is identified as a “secession potential” (Tarlton, ‘1970). It has been observed that in a federation when advantaged units are frequently benefited and the relatively deprived units are continuously dissatisfied on the basis of political favoritism the regional discontent reaches at its culmination. In this

situation, the compromising nature of central authority towards the local autonomy may produce the approximate federal solution in a polyethnic country like India. But when the linguistic formations are founded disputed in nature, has been treated as a problematic one. In India after the creation of Andhra Pradesh on the basis of language is often treated as “Nehrus’s major mistake”. Since 1960’s the creations of several states beyond the linguistic ground was proved the lack of continuity in the political system of India. Following Franck, In India the causes of increasing centrifugal tendency “is not a local revolt against the idea of the nation as a whole but against the idea of particular formation of the local unit” (Moraes, 1970).

It has been observed that, in a plural country the cultural mobilization may enhance the scope of ethno-political participation of a multi-ethnic country. It was also been observed that the federal political cultural is appeared as a juncture for the survival of a parliamentary democracy through the conversion of multi-party domination. It has been observed that a plural country may claim for a strong federal culture by the responsiveness of the political institutions towards the society in general where the autonomous territorial units of federation were represented in the national decision making platform in particular. As federation is a political mechanism fostered by the society where the federal solution of a plural country depends on the politico-cultural environment of the country not only confined in a legal constitutional study and which tries to balancing the dual demands of a potent union and regional autonomy. It is the formidable task of an effective union to given emphasis on the issue of regional needs primarily because, in particular circumstances, the federal compromise was the only alternative to protecting the politico-cultural balkanization. Though the nature of the cultural movements are not always fixed in nature in a plural country hence it is assumed that the timing of the federal solutions as well as the qualitative flexibility of the constitution may capable to gaining the regional confidence in general (Watt, 1996). In India as the cultural diversities are geographically distributed since the linguistic reorganization, hence the internal diversities of the country may go with the same direction within the different regional context in different times dominated by the ethno-economic depression. This established the plethora of federal necessity of power devolution beyond its traditional form of power concentration. Henceforth the age of federalism is not over rather the success of a federation may depend on the delicate use of it as an irreplaceable mechanism of plurality management. Following W.S. Livingston, “Federal government is a device by which the federal qualities of society are articulated and protected.” (Livingston, 1998).

It was observed that, a segment of the people pertain to the same race, using the similar language, having a common faith living in a distinct region, may urge for regional autonomy, emerged on the notion of relative deprivation comparing the more advanced race in the same country. Moreover in a largest democracy the problem of immigration often propagate the regional frustration. It was said that, “Regionalism is the response of unequal sharing of benefits of developmental activity.” (Pant, 1984). The lack of attention of the existing political authority towards the regional problems, has prepared a space for regional elites in a given society. Hence forth, in a plural country the regional scarcity makes the federal polity active with the dual ideology of nationalism and regionalism. The recognition of cultural identity as well as more balance development was appeared as a pre condition of the origin of regionalism more specifically in the period of modernization. It has been observed that, after the major event of state reorganization (1956) take place in an independent India, the constitutional federation was absorbing itself as an ethnic federation where the culturally integrated people were political represented. Which often identified as “the dominant method of federation building in India ”Even, it was observed that, the reorganization was take place not only on the basis of cultural linguism but throughout the country more states were reorganized gradually on the basis of religion, development issues. Hence forth, often it was said that, the issue of linguistic reorganization was used as a matter of “political opportunity.”(Bhattacharyya, Hansin and Mukherjee, 2017). However another fact also established in this context that this reorganization has strengthened the roots of cultural obligations. It sought to create ethno-linguistically homogeneous sub-national units within the territory of India. But so far as ‘supra diversity’ is concerned sub-regionalism was arrived in the cultured context which gradually rooted due to the phenomena of internal colonialism along with the asymmetrical development.

Generally regionalism has rooted out in India’s amazing diversity and consequently the regional assertions have started out from simultaneous centripetal confinement of British colonialism and the centralized hegemony of newly independent India. The present study identified the cultural federalism since 1956 as the primary input of regionalism as an ongoing process of cultural accommodation and the formation of coalition government as the secondary input of regionalism as an ongoing process of political accommodation. If we are concentrating in the early stage of nation formation, in the stage between the people and the concept of nationality we found that, the concept of nation is a new one which is exclusive as well as imaginary in nature. It is a political concept which has been emerged to secure the

concept of political oneness of people or ethnic groups within a constitution boundary. But the preliminary concept of society as well as region is an inclusive one where the cultural homogeneity is identified as a prevailing factor instead of political homogeneity. The issues of homeland comprise the key areas of ethnic mind instead of nations. In this sphere it is difficult to contextualizing ethnic federalism as a problem or a solution of institutional challenges especially when the problems have treated as pre-institutional one. Though as a political concept, the purpose of the federalism is purely a political one which enshrined in our political system in general. Hence often a structural dilemma has been occurred when the federal device has not implemented properly on ethnic ghettos.

Therefore it is very necessary to analyze the profound impact of these two above mentioned phenomena federalism as a system and regionalism as an ongoing ethnic factor in the Indian Political Process since 1977 along with the background of the growing strength of regionalism and some suggestions regarding the accommodation of ethno-regional grievances through the federal means. However the present study tries to explain the Quantitative as well as some Qualitative impact in this regard.

### **7.1. Cultural federation, 1956 the primary input of regionalism**

It has been observed that Jawaharlal Nehru said that “India was an historic unity, based on traditions on toleration, incorporation and assimilation.” (Adeney,2003) . But the problem may arise when the central authority was unwilling to bring these multi cultural identities in to the national arena of national decision making process for a long time. Gradually the politics of regionalism was appeared as a force of plural democracy. However accepting the distinctive regional needs Indian has proved itself as a relative successful multicultural federal country in the world, bearing the “Demos enabling features” (Shepan, 2001). Consequently the matter of reorganization is going beyond the language issues in general when a Punjabi of Punjab came to be acknowledged only when in 1966 Haryana was separated from Punjab on the basis of religious demand instead of linguistic one. (Baruah, 2010).

As an institutional device cultural federalism can ensure the legitimacy of political power in a fragmented society in particular. Because it is observed that having a large demography India is experiencing the incongruity of strong central control as well as a sound regional initiative in the political process. Hence the federal foundation of India is considered as the product of ‘conflicting cultures’ (Narang, 2012) of its country ignited by the political

heterogeneity. On the other hand, modernization has made the territorial integrity complementary with the national integrity where an economically strong region can produce a flexible federalism (Baruah, 1999). The emphasis has been given on federation building with a positive outlook of maintaining the maximum regional parity within a nation-state in particular. It has been observed that, the primary purpose of the trend of ethnic-federalization of India was to reconcile the large diversity into a single nation. Hence the central idea of ethnic-federalization is to manage the ethnic conflict through accommodations in general. But when the ethnic identities have been manipulated by the political organizers, the purpose of cultural federation may fail and go back to the politics of de-federalization along with a powerful centre again.

It has been observed that since independence the controversial central command over the national resources paved the way for regional discontent in particular. It has been observed that the ethno-regional movement was directed not against the nation but the national strategy of development distribution. Henceforth the regional desire of involvement in the national decision-making process has opened the decade of the politics of regionalization. Following Jyotirindra Dasgupta, the economic backwardness of Assam has focused enormous central negligence which imposed an apparent divide in the rest of the country. Hence it has been established that the ethnic riot in India is amalgamated with the developmental disappointment in particular. Therefore the inclusionary strategy of planned national development as well as resource distribution on ethnic lines is appeared as a juncture in the context of plural federalism. (Das Gupta, 1988). Hence the problem of federalism in India is primarily dependent upon the conflict of resource distribution between the haves and "have nots" which may be partially solved by the politico-cultural accommodation in 1956. Several regions of the Northeast zone have become full-fledged states in the platform of ethnic federation. Henceforth the balanced distribution of "shared rules" is appeared in the Indian political system influenced by the regionalism. In an ethnic-federation, the satisfactions of regional communities have been reflected by their involvement in the decision-making process of the state as well as the centre through the strategy of coalition later. The method of shared rule only can give this advantage in a plural country which works in favor of national unity by accommodating the country's tremendous diversity. Hence in an ethnically plural country, the 'ethno-federal' strategy is often seen as a suitable way to satisfy the ethnic demands through the socio-political empowerment in general and this kind of ethno-regional autonomy may prevent the tendency of secession in particular.

## **7.2. Increasing political participation: a trend of ‘democratization’**

This cultural federation gradually makes the political culture of the country participant in nature which intended to bring a major political change in Indian political system by replacing the one party domination (1952-1977; 1980-1989) in to a multi party domination (1977-1980; 1989- present) due to the intervening as well as ignorant attitude of the all powerful Congress Party towards the state level politics in particular. It has been observed that the increasing political awareness has bought the coalition system as an alternative ruling strategy run by different political parties. The number of political parties has participated in general election in India 1977, [5 National parties; 15 State parties; 14 registered (unrecognized) parties] ([eci.gov.in](http://eci.gov.in)) has greatly expanded in general election 2019[7 National parties; 42 State parties; 618 Registered(unrecognized) parties] ([eci.gov.in](http://eci.gov.in)) Moreover the member of political parties of different coalition government has started to increased from 6 in JanataParty;5 in National Front; 10 in United Front(M.P. Singh India's National Front and United Front Coalition Governments ‘A phase in Federalized Governance’, P. 332 Asian Survey Vol. XLI, No. 2 March/April 2001library.fes.de) 5 political parties and left parties in UPA; (Farook Ahmad Malik and Bilal Ahamad Malik, ‘Politics of Coalition in India’ p.6, Journal of Poer, Politics & Governance March 2014, vol.2, No.1 jppgnet.com) and reached 23 in ND (Tarun Gogoi ‘Indian Federalism with party system: Changes and continuity’ P. 184,International Journal of Scientific &Technology Research volume 9, issue 01, January 2000.[www.ijstr.org](http://www.ijstr.org)). These dynamic trends of multi party system In India has produced the environment of bargaining instead of command parties. The growing number of political participation in different states has been shown in the country’s general elections after the institutionalization of ethno-linguistic consciousness since 1956.

Table 7.1  
General Elections in India from 1962 to 1989; 2004 to 2019

| Name of the states<br>which created /<br>reorganized<br>(since 1956) | Year wise political participation (Voter Turnout) |           |          |          |                                     |          |          |                                    |             |           |            |
|--|---|-----------|----------|----------|-------------------------------------|----------|----------|------------------------------------|-------------|-----------|------------|
|  | First wave of state reorganization                |           |          |          | Second wave of state reorganization |          |          | Third wave of state reorganization |             |           |            |
|  | 1962  | 1967      | 1971 ₹   | 1977     | 1980                                | 1984     | 1989     | 2004                               | 2009        | 2014      | 2019       |
| 1 Andhra Pradesh   | 12302352  | 14124097  | 13420873 | 17220943 | 17363759                            | 23136116 | 29916616 | 35704463                           | 42086701    | 48467721  | 31674526 ~ |
| 2 Gujrat   | 5526904   | 6818682   | 6401309  | 8353883  | 9141539                             | 10916331 | 13281560 | 15208353                           | 17467688    | 25849655  | 29128364   |
| 3 Maharashtra  | 11721955  | 14391706  | 14391012 | 17404823 | 19018800                            | 22451250 | 28256668 | 34221390                           | 37007500    | 48740403  | 54111038   |
| 4 Nagaland   |   | 0 *       | 148125   | 250016   | 294009                              | 394820   | 607429   | 951684                             | 1189742     | 1039962 † | 1007437 θ  |
| 5 Punjab   | 7028778   | 4489663 = | 4163167  | 5725795  | 6103192                             | -----    | 8114095  | 10232519                           | 11833883    | 13849496  | 13777295 ψ |
| 6 Haryana  |   | 3185295   | 3068699  | 4224405  | 4476526                             | 5163799  | 6207111  | 8090595                            | 8160211     | 11501251  | 12701029   |
| 7 Madras   |   | 15922449  |          |          |                                     |          |          |                                    |             |           |            |
| 8 Tamilnadu  |   |           |          | 18252182 | 18767818                            | 22591943 | 26763788 | 28649320                           | 30405063    | 40644282  | 42391653   |
| 9 Sikkim   |   |           |          | 0 &      | 52895                               | 86024    | 138698   | 215294                             | 252274      | 310095    | 353415     |
| 10 Manipur   | 264770  | 324796    | 265495   | 473895   | 742442                              | 869614   | 875158   | 1035360                            | 1342309     | 1415131   | 1620451    |
| 11 Meghalaya   |   |           |          | 264544   | 115575 #                            | 409212   | 486967   | 679238                             | 822614      | 1078295   | 1367759    |
| 12 Tripura   | 326605  | 450521    | 428203   | 606833   | 845729                              | 934814   | 1288985  | 1318943                            | 1760485     | 2028707   | 2154550    |
| 13 Mysore  |   | 8044053   | 7917061  |          |                                     |          |          |                                    |             |           |            |
| 14 Karnataka   |   |           |          | 10596342 | 11289532                            | 13857272 | 19320008 | 25081961                           | 24581348 ** | 31053583  | 35159448   |
| 15 Arunachal Pradesh   |   |           |          | 52764    | 182909                              | 240762   | 281665   | 383322                             | 500701      | 600828    | 659766     |
| 16 Mizoram   |   |           |          | 102075   | 129533                              | 0 @      | 228202   | 345372                             | 326424 ***  | 434962    | 500347     |
| 17 Goa   |   |           |          |          |                                     |          | 427065   | 551090                             | 564439      | 817440    | 853724     |
| 18 Chattisgarh   |   |           |          |          |                                     |          |          | 7140574                            | 8556714     | 12256962  | 13622625   |
| 19 Uttaranchal →   |   |           |          |          |                                     |          |          | 2668413                            | 3145818     | 4395561   | 4861415    |
| 20 Jharkhand   |   |           |          |          |                                     |          |          | 9362842                            | 9142557 φ   | 12986625  | 14966781   |
| 21 Telengana   |   |           |          |          |                                     |          |          |                                    |             |           | 18646856   |

Source: Election Commission of India eci.gov.in

Note:

→Uttaranchal renamed Uttarakhand

\* There was single candidate from Nagaland constituency

= Panjub was split in to Haryana

For the first time midterm election was called

& No candidate for contesting the election

# One constituency participated from Meghalaya, nominated candidates withdraw

. their candidatures from 1- Shilong

– No law and order situation in Punjab

@ Single candidate from Mizoram constituency

\*\* Repoll

\*\*\* Defeat of Mizo National Front in Assembly election

∅Repoll

∑ Proxy vote

θ Split of Naga People Front

ψApathy on religious ground

~ Telengana was split from Andhra Pradesh

It has been observed that Bombay split into Gujarat and Maharashtra in 1960; Nagaland achieved statehood in 1963; in 1966 Haryana was split from Punjab; Madras state was renamed as Tamil Nadu in 1969; Manipur, Meghalaya, Tripura achieved statehood in 1972; Mysore state is renamed as Karnataka in 1973; Sikkim achieved statehood in 1975; Arunachal Pradesh and Mizoram became states in 1987; the three new states Chhattisgarh from Madhya Pradesh, Uttarakhand from Uttar Pradesh (was renamed Uttarakhand in 2007), Jharkhand from Bihar was created in 2000; Telangana state was created in 2014. (state-reorganization [www.mha.gov.in](http://www.mha.gov.in); dopt.govt.in)

### **7.3 Coalition formation, a secondary input of regionalism: a strategy of federation building**

It is observed that the central-state federal balance has varied considerably over time since independence. It is also accepted that, following American federal legacy Indian states did not enjoy the dominant status but since the regionalization the states are enjoyed the status of relative autonomy. However the tendencies towards pluralism instead of centralism were created a drastic level of center-state interdependence. But the regional demands were gradually more prone in this flexible political atmosphere. However in the context of the ethno-regional diversity, India cannot deny the utility of regionalism as a form of federal structural adjustment. More over the eventful socio-political changes has keeping this constitutional device as fluid as possible. In a multicultural society the coalition building has identified as a driving force of regionalization in general because it evolved from the contour of the social diversity which was undermined by the centralized forces since 60s. As a culturally fragmented country, Indian federation exhibits the requirement a high degree of coalition compulsion. In the government of coalition the different political parties represent the federal diversity in together. Hence the coalition politics had its direct impact on the federal arrangement of the country. It was said that “Any change in the coalition structure has a corresponding impact on the federal institutional balance of power” (Riker, 2013). On the other hand it was observed that, when one-party domination suppresses the federal spirit of a country, the coalition strategy has been arrived as a technique of regionalism with the ends of federation building. So, in this context regionalism is being treated as the producer to bringing the multi party system in India. Hence forth it will not be an exaggeration, to say that, the greater diversity of contemporary India was properly represented by the federal coalitions in particular. It was observed that, the inclusionary method often strengthen the legitimacy of the multiparty system through the federal coalition which was quite loose in

one party system. Hence, the regional parties were appeared as a crisis manager in the field of federal imbalances since 1977. Therefore, federalism has appeared as one of the political instruments along with recognition of regional identities has been able to forge together the twin values of unity and diversity within the multicultural context of India.

So, it has been said that, it is the regional forces, which made the federal bases of the country as strong as possible. The states, as one of the organ of the federal system become healthy in the era of regionalization. Through the various regional parties the states are directly involve in the national decision making process. The politics of regionalization has regenerated the centre-state relation which denotes the system of federal correlation between the two units instead of the dominant subordinate relationship. However the formation of 'federal front' consisting of TDP, TMC, DMK and AGP has represented the state's power in a moderate way. (Xaxa, 2014).

So far as the diversity is concerned the growth of regional political parties has made a significant impact upon the India political process. Though it is an age old phenomenon operated in the country in accordance to their needs consequently through the regional parties the states have got there due share in the federal matrix in general. The uneven economic development has inspired the regional political parties, fight for federal response. Gradually the regional consciousness has shifted the character of 'uni- federalism' in to a 'co-operative' one. This bought a development syndrome in the Indian federal system where the regional parties were acted as a check against the central policy making in particular.

#### **7.4. Regional accommodation: an emerging politics of bargaining.**

It has been observed that the enormous diversity of India which represented by the different regional political parties through the government of coalition since 1989, (started from 1977), exerted a deep important on Indian political process. It has been observed that the establishment of Mandal commission by the Janata Government under the pressure of its allies Revolutionary Socialist Party and all other socialist sections and its implementation during the tenure of National Front Government has been appeared as a product of caste consciousness. However gradually which strengthened the support base of Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) in the platform of coalition. It has been observed that the politics of India has been experienced the Coalition confrontation between Bhartiya Janata Party and its principal allied All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (AIDMK), on the basis of "Jayalalitha's politics of brinkmanship" in 1998. Where she demanded the resignation of the Minister Buta

Singh, Ramakrishna Hegde and Ram Jethmalani who were charge sheeted in the case of bribery. On the other hand, another three name also raised in this context L.K. Advani, Murli Manohar Joshi and Uma Bharati, charge sheeted in the Babri Masjid demolition case. Which made the governmental stability of NDA at risk in 1998 (Jayalalitha vs. the BJP, Frontline, 1998 [frontline.thehindu.com](http://frontline.thehindu.com)). It has been observed that, the TDP has joined in NDA in 1998 to capture the state legislative assembly of Andhra Pradesh against Congress. The case of Lok Dal in Haryana also fitted in the same framework. The political of opportunism beyond ideological factor also have been seen in coalition arena when “in Punjab Sikh based Shiromani Akali Dal has allied with the Hindu based BJP”. (Alistair McMillan, "The causes of party alliances and coalitions and their effects on National coalition in India, P203, Journal of African Elections, Vol-13, No. 1, [www.eisa.org](http://www.eisa.org)). On the other hand the demand of Tamil Nadu regarding the full power transfer to the power station of Tamil Nadu instead of power Share to the 'National Grid' empowered by the 'Central Electricity Authority'. Moreover the demand of Telangana Rashtriya Samiti in Andhra Pradesh for the creation of separate Telangana state in UPA regime have been appeared as the instances of political bargaining on the basis of coalition compulsion in the period of regionalization. (Srividya astry, 'Coalition Government and its impact on Indian Federal Structure' [www.legalservicesindia.com](http://www.legalservicesindia.com)).

Hence, it has been observed that the approach of a 'Control state, during Congress domination has been replaced by the approach of 'open state' in the arena of coalition which lead a substantive amount of autonomy to the states. So far as the benefits of the States in the coalition politics is concerned it has been argued that, “if a party participates in government, not only do the psychological rewards of wielding power accrue to the party elite and its back benchers but also the party is in a position to use the power of the state to reward its friends and punish its enemies” (Browne & Franklin 1973, P. 453 cited in Alistair McMillan "The causes of party alliances and coalitions and their effects on National coalition in India, Journal of African Elections, Vol-13, No. 1, [www.eisa.org](http://www.eisa.org) P.198). So, the multi representations of regional, religion, linguistic as well as tribal identity in federal cabinet has often produced a politics of manipulation on the one hand and the politics of retaliation on the other.

However in the contemporary era of Authoritative Coalition the equation of federalism and regionalism has again experiencing the central strength regarding the “formation of new states and alteration of areas, boundaries or names of existing states”. When on the one hand Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) has voiced for the formation of four small

separate states in Uttar Pradesh named Purbanchal, Harit Pradesh, Bundelkhand and Awadh Pradesh (zeenews.india.com, 15<sup>th</sup> November, 2011) the center has taken a reluctant stands. But on the other country's political process has been witnessed the sudden transfer of the states of Jammu & Kashmir from a full-fledged state to two Union territories Jammu & Kashmir and Ladakh in 2019. (The Times of India, 5<sup>th</sup> August, 2019 timesofindia.com).

### **7.5. The trend of regionalization of political Power**

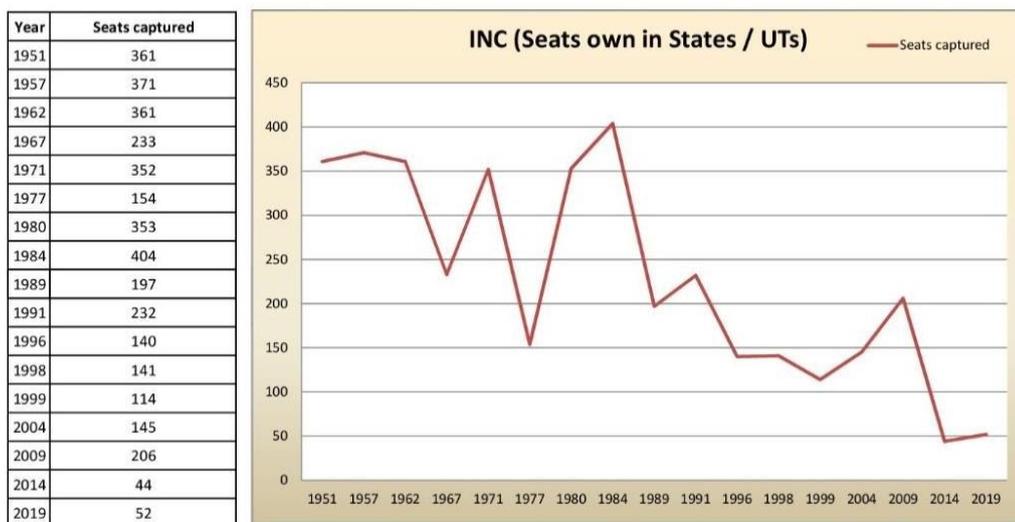
So far as the concept of political culture is concerned it was the 'evaluative orientations' of the society which have decided the political fortune of a democratic country in general. It has been observe that the regional and sub-regional grievances has uprooted the State Congress in 1967 in seven states like Gujarat, Madras, Orissa, Rajasthan, Kerala, West Bengal and Delhi. In 1977 the congress ruling of centre was replaced by the non-Congress government. But again the centralized attitude of Janata Government as well as regional discrimination has established Congress government at the centre in 1980. The Congress (I) have re started its political journey with more centralized manner since 1984 which affected the tenure of Rajiv Gandhi instead of adopting several accomodationist strategies towards the states and resulting a durable triumph of regional coalition at the centre in 1989, named National Front Government in India which ensure the political federalism along within the increasing political participation throughout the country.

In 1967 general election India, the Indian National Congress has achieved 11 Constituency out of 24 Constituency in Gujarat; 3 Constituency out of 39 Constituency in Madras; 6 Constituency out of 20 Constituency in Orissa; 9 Constituency out of 23 Constituency in Rajasthan; 12 Constituency out of 40 Constituency in West Bengal; 1 Constituency out of 19 Constituency in Kerala and 1 Constituency out of 7 Constituency in Delhi. Even the winning percentage of the candidates of Indian National Congress (54.84%) in General Election, India 1967 was not satisfactory rather the percentage of the candidates of CPM (32.20) was more satisfactory in compare to their all India level political existence. The percentage (31.30%) of the candidates of INC was deteriorated massively in General Election, India 1977 but in General Election, India 1980, the winning percentage ( 71.75%) of the candidates of INC(I) has increased and in General Election, India 1984 the wining percentage (82.28%) of INC was highly increased. It was argued that, "the year 1985 was ushered in against the ominous background of the assassination of Indira Gandhi , the Prime Minister of India , on October 31, 1984, resulted an unprecedented majority of INC once again"(Narain,1986). But the centralized trauma of the country again highlighted which was

suppressed by a sudden sympathy actually. Hence again the percentage (38.63%) of INC was quite low in General Election, India 1989 and they are not in a position to form a Government with single majority till 2020. In General Election, India 2014 the candidates of Bharatiya Janata Party capturing 282 seats out of 428 seats which has been established the one party - dominance once again in Indian political system. [Source: Election Commission of India General Election] (eci.gov.in)

Hence the journey of Indian democracy has been experiencing the era of Nehruvian decentralized autocracy; trauma of Indira`s centralized autocracy, Rajib Gandhi`s accomodationist centralized policy and reached its final destiny, through a desirable polity of coalition on the basis of pluralist democracy. Actually the environment of regionalization has weakened the strength of Indian National Congress internally and the decline of congress hegemony has been started since 1967. However the upward and downward mobilization of congress support base has been shown by the Graph given below.

Figure: 7. (c)  
INC (Seats own in States / UTs)



Source: Election Commission of India (eci.gov.in)

## 7.6 The changing nature of Indian federalism since 2014

It has been observed that since 2009 the polity of coalition was continued smoothly with its own preferential way but since 2014 the political culture of the country has changed its form again when the coalitional requisite has been changed into a redundant coalition where the Prime Minister and his coterie has been worked without bothering the compulsions of coalition government on the basis of their single dominance. But the problem arise when a

thought came in to a mind that if the country's Political culture has changed centralized paradigm in to a decentralized one then why again it is leaning to the centralized politics. It has been observed that the dominance of the Hindi belt of the country has played an active role to bring such a significant change in the age of coalition. It has also been observed that the support base of the Bharatiya Janata Party as a single unit has been started to increase since 2000 which reflected in the ballot box in the General Election 2004 when Bharatiya Janata Party has captured a good number of seats in the Hindi belt of the country with some exceptions in UPA regime. Finally in the General Election 2014, BJP has achieved an unprecedented majority. Which become more widened in the General Election 2019. This has shown the revolutionary tendency of a political culture of a particular country from the apathy of a particular political party (INC). On the other hand the political instability as well as majoritarian anarchy of coalition government may lead to the powerful evolution of BJP. Especially when in the general election 2009, the power of congress party again has started to climb; the politics of regionalization has been turned in to a politics of de- ethnicization along with the establishment of another power centre of democratic India.

However in the contemporary era of Authoritative Coalition the equation of federalism and regionalism has again experiencing the central strength regarding the "formation of new states and alteration of areas, boundaries or names of existing states". When on the one hand Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) has voiced for the formation of four small separate states in Uttar Pradesh named Purbanchal, Harit Pradesh, Bundelkhand and Awadh Pradesh ([zeenews.india.com](http://zeenews.india.com), 15<sup>th</sup> November, 2011) the center has taken a reluctant stands. But on the other country's political process has been witnessed the sudden transfer of the states of Jammu & Kashmir from a full-fledged state to two Union territories Jammu & Kashmir and Ladakh in 2019. ([The Times of India](http://The Times of India), 5<sup>th</sup> August, 2019 [timesofindia.com](http://timesofindia.com)).

However as a multicultural country Indian democracy have faced a structure dilemma since independence due to ethnic diversity the pattern of democracy have been changed in order to satisfy the needs of Milieu. Hence the ethnicity has been played a dominant role in the Indian political system. It is often argued that, "it is the development activity of the centre conducted in a democratic setting of Political competition that initially reinforced the politics of ethnicity". It has been observed that, the states which born within a severe ethno-regional environments were achieved the highest economic places in the country. It is mentioned that "from the sixties to eighties Punjab, Haryana, Maharashtra and Gujarat have consistently remained at the top rank along with Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu which rapidly improve

their economic status". This development often inculcate the environment of relative deprivation when one ethnic group were 'provoked to react' against the development of another dominant ethnic groups which has permitted "a development of fluid loyalties demonstrating an inbuilt complexity of ethnic politics".( Das Gupta,1988). Henceforth India has successfully tackled the regional movements by increasing power devolution through the institutionalization of linguistic demand but it has its own limitations. Following Kymlicka, Federalism as a process of ethno-cultural accommodation has inculcated the movements of national minorities. (Kymlicka, 2010).It has been observed that, in the frame of reorganization, the units of political federalism were crated along the cultural lines. But its tendency of fragmentation may bring the limitations in particular. On the basis of the paradigm of regional conflict, in the case of Punjab, Paul Brass argued that, the reorganization of Punjab was so "imperfect" that it "has never been completed". ( Brass, 2017).

#### **7.7. The classical as well as contemporary challenges of federation building:**

It has been observed that as a political process the success of federalism is lies on the policy of conjugation by bringing the regional diversity and national integration in one frame. Following, Myron Weiner, national integration is "the process of bringing culturally and socially discreet groups in to a single territorial unit and the establishment of national Identity."(Myron Weiner, 2006). But in plural society, bring all the ethno- regional community under the one ideological dimension is comprehensive in nature. Especially the phenomena of cultural nationalism have made the task of national integration complicated. Hence forth the federation of India is trying to accommodate the extreme diversity through the art of politico-cultural assimilation in the period of regionalization. But the spirit of nation building again hampered due to coalitional confrontations on the basis of narrow power calculations. Even the national development has been compromised in front of coalition compulsion. In this context, often the politics of 'cohabitation' may standardize the nature of Indian polyarchy. It has been observed that, political mood in a spontaneous multicultural society has been swing in to a various institutional segment frequently. The perplexity of the politics of coalition often secure by the togetherness of the 'politics of cohabitation' which was seen as a comfort power sharing arrangement by passing the strains of coalition in general. In the process of 'cohabitation' the true spirit of plurality may honor by emphasizing the notion of togetherness of distractive identities. Because it has been observed that in a politics of coalition, the party identity has been given greater significance on the basis of seat

adjustment. The different parties were competed with each other for their political identities. On the other hand, the mutual inclusionary strategy of integrity is evaporated in the “politics of cohabitation.” Hence the time has come for the calm solutions of ideological conflict in the political platform and to defeat the negative appetite of ethnicity and to foster the sense of nationalism. Hence it is remain to be seen that in the sphere of centre- state relation how far the politics of cohabitation will have to bring antiqueness?(Kailash, 2010).

Though in a plural country like India, Federation is appeared as a suitable technique for controlling the enormous diversity but there are some constitutional dilemmas which raised questions against the spirit of the democracy and which is anti-federal in nature. Hence forth, often it was come in to the mind of scholar’s, is some ideas of “new federalism” evolved in 1970’s in the United States of America may included in the Indian federal framework, which based on the principle of greater devolution? It has been observed that, the greater state autonomy through the reductions of the state’s financial needs has inserted in the philosophy of “New Federalism” (New Federalism, encyclopedia federalism.org 28<sup>th</sup> Nov 2018). Following, Richard Nixon, new federalism offer, “more money and less interference” to states and local governments and would act “not as a way of avoiding problems, but as a better way of solving problems”. (katz, 2014). Though it is an acceptable truth that, a greater financial autonomy is a pre requisite for a healthy federation in general but, though the federal background of India is quite different from the confederal background of United States of America, the matters fallen in the purview of examination. But it has been observed that since 1990’s the greater federalization was take place in Indian of globalization where the treaty-based relationship between the states and the global companies, could increase the state’s financial autonomy (Singh and Saxena, 2013). But still, the fiscal federalism of India is more dominated by the central government.

**i. Ethno- regionalism and elite controversy:**

Now, when the issue of identity is highlighted in the federal discourses of the country encouraged by the linguistic reorganization, 1956 the political environment has produced different result. Gradually it has been seen that, the phenomenon of cultural identity has been injected on the national decision making process by the regional elites. Because the regions which were entitled with distinct culture gradually capable to imposed their regional thrust over the central leadership in general which was neglected since a long days. More over when the identity issue is frame worked by the issue of socio-economic development going beyond the cultural issue there is no way besides the adoption of a greater inclusionary method. In

this context it is assumed that the greater political participation through the politics of 'cohabitation' can minimize the problem of ethno-regionalism in the country. Otherwise the frustrations of different region may fragment the nation. Because when politics are getting politicized, it is the mankind who affected enormously. Following Rajani Kothari, "The battle for federalism in India is fundamentally a battle for greater democracy in which the people come in to their own through social identities, organization forms and institutional frameworks with which they feel comfortable and through which they can find their potency and self respect."(Kothari ,1989). It was seen that in this context the ethnic communities were interested regarding the issue of homeland representation in the arena of national decision making, to protect their exclusive cultural interest as well as for the balanced socio-economic development. Moreover they prefer, the transfer of the rights of decision making from the central elites to the local elites. In India where language plays a decisive role in an ethnic society, naturally the several ethnic assertions have been working within the federal boundary in general.

In a multiethnic society the ethnic issues are viewed as a source of conflict between the local leaders and the state apparatus. Territorialize the ethnic demand has been seen as the target of the local leaders for acquiring the political power. Therefore the ethnic sentiments in a plural society have been used by the elites as an instrument of power politics. It is the elite sections of a country that can cherish the ethno regional assertion in a federal environment for their personal benefit instead of ethno national integration. Hence the study of ethnicity denotes the issue of politically persuaded cultural change. In this context, the primordial attachment of an ethnic group is skillfully transformed into a path of political bargaining in particular. From the instrumentalist point of view it has been observed that, the ethnicity has been seen as the pursuance of interest articulation and the ethnic cultures are manipulated by the elites to develop and maintaining its power in the political matrix (Brass, 1991).It has been observed that the event of linguistic reorganization have made our country's federation ethnic in nature. The different cultural identities that co-exist in an ethno federation are in confrontation due to the perception of relative deprivation as well as political discriminations. Hence it is assumed that again regionalism has been appeared through the regional political parties as a crisis manager in the field of federation to fulfill the gap of federal imbalances through the strategy of coalition in general since 1977.

So far as the politics of ethnicity is concerned, a major constraint has been one of the problem of perception of deprivation, an obstacle of federation building. Where, the ethnic

problems will be created first and then it will be instrumentalized. Hence the phenomenon of ethnicity is a liquid in nature which has been shaped by the elites in accordance to their political needs. Hence, the socio-economic deprivation has been instrumentalized where the ethno-national minorities are forced to think in terms of their social deprivation against other superior groups and goes for their due share of national cake. Hence in this context we cannot ignore the capability aspect of a strong centre as a monitoring device. But on the other hand, living in the age of diversity we cannot ignore the spirit of diversity rather promoting diversity has been appealed as a pre-condition of a success of a multi-ethnic polity. Hence if we want to contextualize the monitoring spirit of parliamentary democracy in a multi ethnic frame work, we may go for the establishment of multitude federalism where the regions may place in the power sharing strategy along with centre and states under the Constitutional norms.

## **ii. Delimitation as a political technique**

It has been argued that, “symbolic inequalities generate the policies of recognition and this dimension of inequality indeed been addressed through the political process” (Jayal, 2006). However the tendency of drastic political change in federal atmosphere is proved healthy if it exempted from the political exploitation as it is emerged as a challenge for federation – building in India. Where ‘Political fragmentation often used as a political technique of unity establishment as there is no fragmentation, there is no purpose for politics (Kothari, 1976). The institutional recognition of diversity often proved inadequate in Indian political system. Henceforth the federal process of the country needs to be more responsive as a political manifestation of diversity. It has been observe that according to Art.82 of the Constitution of India, the parliament by law enacts a Delimitation Act every census. After coming in to force commencement of the Act, the Central Government constitutes a Delimitation Commission for demarcates the boundaries of the Parliamentary Constituencies as per provisions of the Delimitation Act (eci.gov.in). (See **Appendix F**) Now it has been observed that often the trend of regionalism has been curtailed to some extent by re configuring the constituencies. So far as the rotation of the reservation of SC & ST seats are concerned grievances often made in the previous state of Jammu and Kashmir. It has been argued that, “accordingly in Jammu and Kashmir state assembly all the seven seats reserved for SC population fall in the Jammu region alone and no seat has been reserved in the Kashmir region. These reserve seats for SC population have not been rotated for the past four assembly elections held in the state since 1996. No seats are reserved for the ST population of

the state which constitutes nearly 12% of the state has been deprived of these constitutional rights” Hence often a demand rose for “Constitutional Amendment to delimit the constituencies in the state legislature which has required two- third majority in both the houses to pass the amendment bill” (Pandita, 2017).

### **iii. Sub-regional demands: a consequence of cultural federalism**

Following Rudolph and Rudolph, Indian federalism has experiencing the vicissitudes of traditional central power on the one hand and modern regional pressure on the other.(Rudolph and Rudolph, 2014).Whatever may be the paradox of India federation, when the concept of cultural movement has supported by the country through linguistic reorganization, the fate of a plural country has been written on that very moment. Again the different regions has demand another readjustment, institutionalization, more inclusion in the decision making platform. The feeling of dissatisfactions regarding “self rule” is converted in to the demand of “shared rule” gradually due to the absence of dynamics in the strategy of leadership may create the complicacy because all the ethnic demands were not the unanimous in nature and the common ethno-federal strategy may not be applicable in the heterogeneous platform of the country. (Bhattacharyya, Hausing and Mukherjee, 2017).The time has come to explore the particular reasons behind the growing sense of relative deprivations among the regions. Following Horowitz, “Skillful division of authority between regions or states and a centre has the potential to reduce conflict” (Horowitz, 1985).

But when the regional consciousness is confined within the regional outlook only, it is the task of unitary federation to maintain the integrity of the country by emphasizing the national outlook. Hence the success of federalism depends on the quality of management of ethnic diversity as well as to hold the country within one union. It is the formidable task of federal government to make the regional parties for their positive contribution in the nation building by reducing the regional disparity as much as possible. Hence the political process of India needed a “viable political culture” enhanced by the spirit of co-operation between federalism and regionalism (Tenginder, 2008).Hence an integrated outlook of political authority is appeared as the demand of the age instead of segregationist outlook for reducing intra regional discontent. It has been argued in this context that once the federal segregation was started in a plural country it is difficult to hold the country within the notion of integration because in an ‘ethnic democracy’ the notion of “civic quality” may disappear. (Garry and O’Leary 2007).

Though it is very tough to make a durable solution in a country where highly controversial ethnic cultural were co-existed. Though India is trying to envisage the ethnic demands within the federal context through redistribution but the ethno regional problems are to be seen as an ongoing reality in the countries contemporary political discourses. How the problems are mitigated the matter is subject to debate. The effective policy of resource development as well as resource sharing is being treated necessary for incorporating the ethnic demands in particular.

On the other hand, it has been examined that in a multi ethnic country, the execution of the notion like integration are highly complicated as well as ephemeral in nature. More over the linguistic reorganization of India made the ethnic assertions as endemic in nature. Hence the matter is under observation that how the political consequences of cultural pluralism were accommodated in a federal context. The policy making will be conducted in the horizontal federal line where a considerable attention will be paid to the local level. It has been observed that instead of minimizing the cultural differences through various accommodative schemes, the recognition of diversity is appeared gradually as a challenge of federal politics of India.

Hence, though the political accommodation of sub national units was successfully framed in cultural federation motivated by the regionalism. Which inculcate the positive impact of democratization since 1956 on the one hand, and detracting the massive centralization by the establishment of the rules of coalition on the other. But the impact of regionalism has survived and continued through the sub-national assertion again which often complicated the task of nation- building by representing the perception of deprivation. However in the age of 'valorization of diversity' we cannot ignore the ethnic minorities. More over it is the production of political awareness which has been started since 1956. Therefore again the phenomena of regionalism in the form of sub regionalism has produced the regional scarcity which compelled the political authority to think in term of political development which is necessary for federation building in the period of modernization.

The cultural exclusiveness of a heterogeneous society may honored for the purpose of national integration because in a multicultural society, the notion of cultural homogeneity is constantly working under the frequent Central imposing politics and going through the fear of losing their cultural distinctiveness. It has been observed that, a nation state is not only a political being but also a jumble of cultural communities which were heterogeneous in nature. India as a multicultural country expressed its territorial fragmentations through its different

its ethno linguistic states. The cultural instinct of the country naturally may go for the extension of cultural autonomy with the passage of time. There was an acute presence of large amount of regions in India from its ancient age but the political culture of the country may be accompanied with the quest of regionalism since 1956 when the language was appeared as one of the deciding factors of the formation of a state in particular. Consequently a new kind of power equation is pretend and the federal political system of India gradually shifted towards more regionalization when the regional politics is come and fitted in the arena of central level power politics. But it has been observed that the different type of ethno-regional demands still exist on the basis of relative deprivation based on advanced economic position of another region as well as weak constitutional position in the decision-making platform in general. Henceforth through the rational recognition of diversities instead of ethnic isolation, the primordial loyalties of a plural society may given respects as well as the national interests of the country have been protected. Moreover in India, where ethno-regional demand were constantly forming and reforming the Constitutional regime is being used as a preventive measure against the political deprivation created by the elites in particular instead of freezing the ethnic identities.

However in the arena of multiculturalism it is quite difficult to smooth running of a federal political system. So far as the economic diversity of India is concerned, the federalism often goes for greater democracy in the form of regionalization, quest for more participation in decision making process when within a federal fragments the ethnic diversity may be accommodated for minimizing the union state political contradiction. Moreover the growing federal diversity showing that the federation of India is still in the form of liquidity which tried to adjusted itself with the power concentration on the one and power dispersion on the other hand. Because it has been observed that the problems of regional disparity on the ground of federal transfer has been acute in the polity of centralization which has been continued in the new era of the polity of decentralization on a new form. An acute regional disparity is noticed on the economic sector through which the statuses of the states were labeled on the basis of their income differentiation like high-medium-low income states. Henceforth ethno-regional deprivation has their adverse effect on the federal policy of India in this circumstances the regional movements may be seen as way of protection of the federal infrastructure of the country in general.

However before reach any conclusion regarding federal resolution of ethno-regional discontent or improvise the federal framework through more institutionalization of political

power by the positive inspiration of regionalism, the research work has try to enlisted several existing politico-cultural problems of Indian political system.

**Linguistic asymmetry, the problem of identity, scarcity of development : The criterion of sub-regional movements**

However it has been observed that since Independence the centre state relations in India are mainly motivated by the economic and cultural factors in federal politics. The event of linguistic reorganization of States in 1956 has brought a turning point in Indian political process and the he linguistic consciousness eventually has ignited the democratic spirit of balanced development in a centralized state. Hence, regionalism denotes the politics of retaliation against the regional imbalance of centralized India. On the other hand the linguistic demand denotes a quest for political identity formation in particular when the world is stand for the new existence of 'Small homogeneous units' instead of a centralize nation state where the ethno-regional consciousness are being highlighted.

It has been observed that according to language census of India 2011,there are 22 languages are enjoyed the official status under the eighth schedule of the Constitution of India. From which "15 languages out of 21, has belong to the Indo-Aryan group of Indo-European family, the total speaker of this language family is 94,50,52,555;4 languages out of 17, has belongs to Dravidian family, the total number of speaker of this family is 23,78,40,116;1 language out of 14,has belongs to the Austro-Asiatic family, the total speaks of this family is 1,34,93,080;2 languages out of 66 has belongs to the Tibeto-Burmese family, the total speaks of this language is 1,22,57,382.Hence, it has been revealed that, the 1,875,542 speakers out of the total population of 1,21,08,54,977 are from local or ethnic languages. Hence the language of Hindi, Bengali, Marathi, Gujarati, Urdu, Punjabi, Maithili, Nepali, Sindhi, Sanskrit, Odia, Konkani, Dogri Assamese, Kashmiri are from the Indo-Aryan which enjoyed the status of official/ language. On the other hand Santali from Austro- Asiatic family; Kannada, Malayalam, Tamil, Telugu were from Dravidian family and Manipuri and Bodo languages are from Tibeto-Burmese family" have enjoyed the official status under the Constitution of India. [Language: Census India 2011 (censusindia.gov.in)]The speaker's strength of the 22 scheduled languages is given below:

**Table 7.2**

| <b>SCHEDULED LANGUAGES IN DESCENDING ORDER OF SPEAKERS' STRENGTH – 2011</b> |                 |   |                                       |
|---|-----------------|---|---------------------------------------|
| <b>Sl.No.</b>   | <b>Language</b> | <b>Persons who returned the language as their mother tongue</b> | <b>Percentage to total population</b> |
| <b>1</b>  | <b>2</b>        | <b>3</b>  | <b>4</b>                              |
| 1   | Hindi           | 52,83,47,193  | 43.63                                 |
| 2   | Bengali         | 9,72,37,669   | 8.03                                  |
| 3   | Marathi         | 8,30,26,680   | 6.86                                  |
| 4   | Telegu          | 8,11,27,740   | 6.70                                  |
| 5   | Tamil           | 6,90,26,881   | 5.70                                  |
| 6   | Gujrati         | 5,54,92,554   | 4.58                                  |
| 7   | Urdu            | 5,07,72,631   | 4.19                                  |
| 8   | Kannada         | 4,37,06,512   | 3.61                                  |
| 9   | Odia            | 3,75,21,324   | 3.10                                  |
| 10  | Malayalam       | 3,48,38,819   | 2.88                                  |
| 11  | Punjabi         | 3,31,24,726   | 2.74                                  |
| 12  | Assamese        | 1,53,11,351   | 1.26                                  |
| 13  | Maithili        | 1,35,83,464   | 1.12                                  |
| 14  | Santali         | 73,68,192   | 0.61                                  |
| 15  | Kashmiri        | 67,97,587   | 0.56                                  |
| 16  | Nepali          | 29,26,168   | 0.24                                  |
| 17  | Sindhi          | 27,72,264   | 0.23                                  |
| 18  | Dogri           | 25,96,767   | 0.21                                  |
| 19  | Konkani         | 22,56,502   | 0.19                                  |
| 20  | Manipuri        | 17,61,079   | 0.15                                  |
| 21  | Bodo            | 14,82,929   | 0.12                                  |
| 22  | Sanskrit        | 24,821  | N                                     |

N- Stands for Negligible.

Source: Language: Census India 2011 (censusindia.gov.in)

It has been observed that languages included in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution of India have enjoyed “cultural incentives, employment opportunities, monetary and pedagogic benefits, membership of the Official Languages Commission, benefits in the Parliament such as translation” e.t.c ([www.deccanherald.com](http://www.deccanherald.com)). Hence so far as the economic prosperity as well as cultural autonomy is concerned several new demand of inclusion in the eighth schedule in the constitution of India has been raised due to asymmetric linguistic status. It has been observed that a different language like Sanskrit [present speaker strength is 24,821(Census of India 2011 Language censusindia.gov.in)] specified in the Eighth Schedule as per the populations of speakers is too low on the other there was some languages (mother tongue) as per the populations of speakers is comparatively high like Kamtapuri language of Rajbangsi community has demanded the inclusion in Eighth Schedule. They claim about their belongingness to the language family of “Indo- European Indo-Iranian Indo-Aryan Eastern

Bengali – Assamese” (www. ethnologue.com). As per census, India 2011 the total speaker strength of Rajbangsi language is 4,75,861 (Census of India 2011 Language censusindia.gov.in).

It has been observed that, besides the categorization of 22 official languages, the six languages have been identified as a ‘classical language’ these are ‘Tamil, Sanskrit, Kannada, Telugu, Malayalam and Odia’ within the year between the years 2004 to 2014. Which have been given the national weightage by including these languages in ‘National Education Policy 2020’. The Maharashtra now demanded for inclusion of Marathi language in the status of classical language. Moreover there are demands for inclusion of “38 more languages” in the eighth schedule to the constitution of India. These are:“(1) Angika, (2) Banjara, (3) Bazika,(4) Bhojpuri,(5) Bhoti, (6) Bhotia, (7) Bundelkhandi, (8) Chhattisgarhi, (9) Dhatki, (10) English,(11) Garhwali (Pahari), (12) Gondi, (13) Gujjar/Gujjari, (14) Ho, (15) Kachachhi, (16) Kamtapuri,(17) Karbi (18) Khasi,(19) Kodava (Coorg), (20) Kok Barak, (21) Kumaoni (Pahari), (22) Kurak, (23) Kurmali, (24) Lepcha, (25) Limbu, (26) Mizo (Lushai), (27) Magahi, (28) Mundari, (29) Nagpuri, (30) Nicobarese, (31) Pahari (Himachali), (32) Pali, (33) Rajasthani, (34) Sambalpuri/Kosali, (35) Shaurseni (Prakrit), (36) Siraiki, (37) Tenyidi and (38) Tulu”. (<https://www.mha.gov.in>) On the other hand it has been observed that though there is an adoption of flexible three language formula in NEP 2020, ( Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India [www.education.gov.in](http://www.education.gov.in)) but on the other hand a question may arise regarding the position of a children who belong to ethnic minority when he forced to learn a regional or state language in a government educational institution until the development of proper teaching learning process due to the lack of infrastructure of multi ethnic languages in general.

### **Assam : a case of ethnic assimilations**

Federal asymmetry may permit to continue a healthy federal atmosphere. But the policymakers should be aware at the time of asymmetric application that the asymmetrical provisions are works in according to the prescribed manner woks in a multi-cultural country like Canada and Spain (Tillin, 2007) and it may not create an inter regional as well as intra-regional asymmetry of the particular region on the one hand and the strategy of federal asymmetry may not appeared as segregationist in nature. As it was seen that on the ground of massive cultural heterogeneity as well as the growing number of linguistic minority has created an identity crisis within the people of Assam, whose mother tongue is Assamese. The state politics of Assam has experiencing the confrontation between Assamese and non-

Assamese communities frequently. A fear has dominated the region on the basis of a doubt on a sudden conversion of a linguistic minority (Bengali) in to a majority one. The growing Bengali speakers in Assam have been shown below:

Table 7.3  
**DISTRIBUTION OF 10,000 PERSONS BY LANGUAGE-INDIA, STATES AND UNION TERRITORIES-2011**

| India State / Union territory# | Scheduled Languages |             |             |      |       |          |       |         |          |         |          |
|--------------------------------|---------------------|-------------|-------------|------|-------|----------|-------|---------|----------|---------|----------|
|                                | Total               | Assamese    | Bengali     | Bodo | Dogri | Gujarati | Hindi | Kannada | Kashmiri | Konkoni | maithili |
| 1                              | 2                   | 3           | 4           | 5    | 6     | 7        | 8     | 9       | 10       | 11      | 12       |
| India                          | 10000               | 126         | 803         | 12   | 21    | 458      | 4363  | 361     | 56       | 19      | 112      |
| Jammu & Kashmir                | 10000               | 7           | 16          | N    | 2004  | 15       | 2083  | 6       | 5327     | N       | 1        |
| Himachal Pradesh               | 10000               | 2           | 9           | N    | 34    | 15       | 8588  | 1       | 83       | N       | 7        |
| Punjab                         | 10000               | 1           | 10          | N    | 7     | 5        | 935   | 1       | 1        | N       | 3        |
| Chandigarh"                    | 10000               | 4           | 59          | N    | 10    | 15       | 7360  | 4       | 13       | 1       | 30       |
| Uttarakhand                    | 10000               | 2           | 150         | N    | 5     | 4        | 8915  | 1       | 2        | N       | 54       |
| Haryana                        | 10000               | 2           | 28          | N    | 1     | 3        | 8805  | 1       | 2        | N       | 10       |
| NCT of Delhi"                  | 10000               | 5           | 129         | N    | 4     | 24       | 8492  | 6       | 11       | 1       | 73       |
| Rajasthan                      | 10000               | N           | 12          | N    | 1     | 10       | 8939  | 1       | 1        | N       | 2        |
| Uttar Pradesh                  | 10000               | 1           | 12          | N    | N     | 1        | 9408  | N       | N        | N       | 1        |
| Bihar                          | 10000               | N           | 78          | N    | N     | 1        | 7752  | N       | N        | N       | 1255     |
| Sikkim                         | 10000               | 14          | 114         | 1    | 4     | 3        | 796   | 6       | N        | N       | 10       |
| Arunachal Pradesh              | 10000               | 390         | 727         | 51   | 7     | 3        | 710   | 4       | 1        | N       | 21       |
| Nagaland                       | 10000               | 87          | 378         | 37   | 6     | 1        | 318   | 2       | N        | N       | 7        |
| Manipur                        | 10000               | 9           | 107         | 1    | 6     | 1        | 111   | 2       | N        | N       | 1        |
| Mizoram                        | 10000               | 12          | 983         | 2    | 2     | 1        | 97    | 2       | N        | N       | 1        |
| Tripura                        | 10000               | 6           | 6573        | 1    | 1     | 4        | 211   | 2       | N        | N       | 1        |
| Meghalaya                      | 10000               | 134         | 784         | 16   | 1     | 1        | 212   | 2       | N        | N       | 3        |
| <b>Assam</b>                   | 10000               | <b>4838</b> | <b>2892</b> | 454  | 1     | 2        | 673   | 1       | N        | N       | 2        |
| West Bengal                    | 10000               | 1           | 8622        | 5    | N     | 5        | 696   | N       | N        | N       | 3        |
| Jharkhand                      | 10000               | N           | 974         | N    | N     | 7        | 6195  | N       | N        | N       | 42       |
| Odisha                         | 10000               | N           | 120         | N    | N     | 4        | 295   | 1       | N        | 2       | 1        |
| Chhattisgarh                   | 10000               | 1           | 95          | N    | N     | 15       | 8362  | 1       | N        | N       | 4        |
| Madhya Pradesh                 | 10000               | N           | 15          | N    | N     | 26       | 8857  | 1       | N        | N       | 1        |
| Gujarat                        | 10000               | 1           | 13          | N    | N     | 8597     | 706   | 3       | N        | 1       | 2        |
| Daman & Diu"                   | 10000               | 49          | 215         | 2    | N     | 5083     | 3631  | 19      | N        | 6       | 43       |
| Dadra & Nagar Haveli"          | 10000               | 28          | 91          | 1    | N     | 2148     | 2616  | 26      | N        | 226     | 64       |
| Maharastra                     | 10000               | 1           | 39          | N    | N     | 211      | 1289  | 89      | 1        | 36      | 4        |
| Andhra Pradesh                 | 10000               | N           | 7           | N    | N     | 7        | 369   | 63      | N        | N       | N        |
| Karnataka                      | 10000               | 2           | 14          | N    | N     | 19       | 330   | 6654    | 1        | 129     | N        |
| Goa                            | 10000               | 8           | 49          | N    | 1     | 47       | 1029  | 466     | 3        | 6611    | 2        |
| Lakshadweep"                   | 10000               | N           | 22          | 1    | -     | 4        | 25    | 6       | -        | N       | -        |
| Kerala                         | 10000               | 2           | 9           | N    | N     | 1        | 16    | 26      | N        | 21      | N        |
| Tamilnadu                      | 10000               | N           | 3           | N    | N     | 38       | 55    | 178     | N        | 1       | N        |
| Puducherry#                    | 10000               | 1           | 12          | N    | N     | 11       | 51    | 15      | N        | 1       | N        |
| Andaman & Nicobar Islands"     | 10000               | 3           | 2849        | N    | 2     | 6        | 1929  | 6       | 1        | 3       | 4        |

In continuation.....

| Scheduled Languages |          |         |        |      |         |          |         |        |       |        |      | Scheduled languages total Col 3 to 24 | Non-Scheduled Languages Total |
|---------------------|----------|---------|--------|------|---------|----------|---------|--------|-------|--------|------|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Malayalam           | Manipuri | Marathi | Nepali | Odia | Punjabi | Sanskrit | Santali | Sinhdi | Tamil | Telegu | Urdu |                                       |                               |
| 13                  | 14       | 15      | 16     | 17   | 18      | 19       | 20      | 21     | 22    | 23     | 24   | 25                                    | 26                            |
| 288                 | 15       | 686     | 24     | 310  | 274     | N        | 61      | 23     | 570   | 670    | 419  | 9672                                  | 328                           |
| 9                   | 2        | 18      | 18     | 8    | 175     | N        | N       | N      | 12    | 11     | 16   | 9727                                  | 273                           |
| 2                   | N        | 5       | 130    | 5    | 896     | 1        | 1       | N      | 2     | 2      | 8    | 9791                                  | 209                           |
| 4                   | N        | 7       | 8      | 4    | 8982    | N        | N       | N      | 4     | 3      | 10   | 9986                                  | 14                            |
| 19                  | 4        | 12      | 62     | 18   | 2203    | N        | N       | 1      | 53    | 13     | 100  | 9981                                  | 19                            |
| 3                   | N        | 6       | 105    | 4    | 261     | N        | N       | 3      | 3     | 3      | 422  | 9944                                  | 56                            |
| 6                   | N        | 5       | 8      | 6    | 947     | N        | N       | 1      | 5     | 4      | 148  | 9982                                  | 18                            |
| 53                  | 2        | 16      | 22     | 22   | 520     | N        | N       | 19     | 49    | 15     | 517  | 9982                                  | 18                            |
| 4                   | N        | 3       | 1      | 2    | 332     | N        | N       | 56     | 1     | 1      | 97   | 9464                                  | 536                           |
| 1                   | N        | 1       | 1      | 1    | 25      | N        | N       | 1      | 1     | 1      | 542  | 9998                                  | 2                             |
| N                   | N        | N       | 1      | N    | 1       | N        | 44      | N      | 0     | 0      | 842  | 9975                                  | 25                            |
| 15                  | 6        | 19      | 6260   | 16   | 32      | -        | 5       | N      | 12    | 17     | 33   | 7364                                  | 2636                          |
| 29                  | 20       | 17      | 689    | 49   | 27      | N        | 12      | N      | 9     | 12     | 9    | 2787                                  | 7213                          |
| 15                  | 48       | 13      | 220    | 23   | 11      | -        | 1       | N      | 6     | 6      | 6    | 1187                                  | 8813                          |
| 5                   | 5330     | 6       | 223    | 3    | 5       | N        | N       | -      | 6     | 4      | 1    | 5820                                  | 4180                          |
| 7                   | 20       | 4       | 82     | 3    | 3       | -        | 10      | -      | 3     | 3      | 1    | 1235                                  | 8765                          |
| 3                   | 65       | 4       | 8      | 71   | 3       | N        | 11      | N      | 3     | 10     | 1    | 6978                                  | 3022                          |
| 6                   | 15       | 70      | 184    | 5    | 15      | N        | 1       | 1      | 3     | 4      | 7    | 1465                                  | 8535                          |
| 2                   | 54       | 4       | 191    | 70   | 7       | N        | 68      | 6      | 2     | 9      | 3    | 9278                                  | 722                           |
| 1                   | N        | 2       | 127    | 18   | 7       | N        | 266     | 1      | 2     | 10     | 182  | 9947                                  | 53                            |
| 2                   | N        | 3       | 5      | 161  | 24      | N        | 991     | 1      | 3     | 9      | 596  | 9014                                  | 986                           |
| 2                   | N        | 2       | 2      | 8270 | 5       | N        | 206     | 1      | 1     | 159    | 160  | 9230                                  | 770                           |
| 9                   | N        | 56      | 1      | 358  | 26      | N        | 7       | 37     | 4     | 60     | 31   | 9067                                  | 933                           |
| 5                   | N        | 170     | 1      | 3    | 19      | N        | N       | 34     | 3     | 3      | 126  | 9264                                  | 736                           |
| 11                  | N        | 152     | 4      | 30   | 10      | N        | N       | 196    | 7     | 12     | 79   | 9285                                  | 175                           |
| 51                  | 1        | 453     | 58     | 182  | 9       | N        | 3       | 17     | 13    | 19     | 42   | 9896                                  | 104                           |
| 63                  | 2        | 701     | 34     | 130  | 12      | N        | 2       | 14     | 22    | 23     | 32   | 6232                                  | 3768                          |
| 33                  | N        | 6893    | 7      | 12   | 25      | N        | 9       | 64     | 45    | 118    | 671  | 9548                                  | 452                           |
| 7                   | N        | 80      | 1      | 43   | 3       | N        | N       | 1      | 84    | 8355   | 887  | 9910                                  | 90                            |
| 127                 | 1        | 338     | 3      | 10   | 4       | N        | N       | 3      | 345   | 584    | 1083 | 9647                                  | 353                           |
| 89                  | 3        | 1089    | 18     | 38   | 13      | 7        | 1       | 4      | 48    | 76     | 283  | 9883                                  | 117                           |
| 8417                | -        | 4       | 1      | 6    | 1       | -        | -       | 1      | 56    | 7      | 5    | 8554                                  | 1446                          |
| 9703                | N        | 9       | 1      | 3    | N       | N        | N       | N      | 150   | 11     | 4    | 9957                                  | 43                            |
| 101                 | N        | 12      | 1      | 3    | 1       | N        | N       | 1      | 8837  | 587    | 175  | 9993                                  | 7                             |
| 384                 | N        | 7       | 3      | 15   | 1       | N        | -       | 1      | 8822  | 596    | 69   | 9991                                  | 9                             |
| 722                 | 1        | 17      | 25     | 29   | 41      | N        | 8       | N      | 1520  | 1324   | 34   | 8524                                  | 1476                          |

Source: Census of India 2011 Language censusindia.gov.in

On the other hand besides the Boro tribes there was another demands of a separate state hood in Assam like the demand of “separate Dimaraji Kingdom by Dimasas tribe comprising the Dimasa dominated areas of the NC Hills, Karbi Anglong, some parts of Nagaon and Dimapur (in present Nagaland)”; the demand of “separate Karbi Anglong state comprising Karbi Anglong district, Nagaon, Morigaon, Kamrup districts and Meghalaya’s Ri-Bhoi district” ( Singha, 2018).

However it has been observed that since 1956 linguistic states reorganization has exerted two major problems for linguistic minorities. A linguistic group which enjoyed

several privileges in their own linguistic states on the one hand, but the same linguistic group has faced lots of difficulties in different linguistic states on the other. Which ultimately led an ethnic confrontation and goes for another fragmentation which often denotes another readjustment of states boundaries. Again another problem is arrived when a same linguistic minority group has been treated differently in two different linguistic states. In this context the linguistic groups often face a serious identity crisis which brings a separatist attitude resulting an urge for creation of a separate state. Hence the linguistic integration often indulges the feeling of ethnic fragmentation in particular. However the assimilations of different linguistic minorities of different states in India are given below:

**Table 7.4**

| State/Union Territory           | Linguistic Majority | %     | First Ling. Minority | %     | Second Ling. Minority | %     | Third Ling. Minority | %     |
|---------------------------------|---------------------|-------|----------------------|-------|-----------------------|-------|----------------------|-------|
| Andhra Pradesh                  | Telugu              | 84.77 | Urdu                 | 8.36  | Hindi                 | 2.77  | Tamil                | 1.33  |
| Arunachal                       | Misi/Dafla          | 19.91 | Adi                  | 17.94 | Nepali                | 9.39  | Bengali              | 8.19  |
| Assam                           | Assami              | 57.81 | Bengali              | 21.67 | Bodo/Boro             | 5.28  | Hindi                | 4.62  |
| Bihar (+ Jharkhand)             | Hindi               | 80.86 | Urdu                 | 9.89  | Santhali              | 2.95  | Bengali              | 2.92  |
| Goa                             | Konkani             | 51.52 | Marathi              | 33.36 | Kannada               | 4.64  | Urdu                 | 3.41  |
| Gujarat                         | Gujarati            | 91.49 | Hindi                | 2.94  | Sindhi                | 1.70  | Marathi              | 1.37  |
| Haryana                         | Hindi               | 91.00 | Punjabi              | 7.11  | Urdu                  | 1.99  |                      |       |
| Himachal                        | Hindi               | 88.87 | Punjabi              | 6.28  | Kinnauri              | 1.19  |                      |       |
| Jammu & Kashmir                 | Kashmiri            | 52.29 | Dogri                | 24.39 | Hindi                 | 17.32 | Punjabi              | 2.84  |
| Karnataka                       | Kannada             | 66.22 | Urdu                 | 9.96  | Telugu                | 7.39  | Tamil                | 3.84  |
| Kerala                          | Malayalam           | 96.56 | Tamil                | 2.12  |                       |       |                      |       |
| Madhya Pradesh (+ Chhattisgarh) | Hindi               | 85.55 | Bhili                | 3.35  | Gondi                 | 2.24  | Marathi              | 1.94  |
| Maharashtra                     | Marathi             | 73.34 | Hindi                | 7.81  | Urdu                  | 7.26  | Gujarat              | 2.55  |
| Manipur                         | Manipuri            | 60.43 | Thado                | 5.64  | Tangkhul              | 5.45  | Mao                  | 3.89  |
| Meghalaya                       | Khasi               | 49.54 | Garos                | 30.86 | Bengali               | 8.36  | Nepali               | 2.77  |
| Mizoram                         | Mizo                | 75.11 | Bengali              | 8.57  | Kokborok              | 3.83  | Lakher               | 3.33  |
| Nagaland                        | Ao                  | 40.04 | Sema                 | 12.38 | Konyak                | 11.3  | Angami               | 6.06  |
| Orissa                          | Oriya               | 82.75 | Hindi                | 2.40  | Telugu                | 2.1   | Santhali             | 2.09  |
| Punjab                          | Panjabi             | 92.22 | Hindi                | 7.29  |                       |       |                      |       |
| Rajasthan                       | Hindi               | 89.56 | Bhili                | 5.13  | Urdu                  | 2.17  | Punjabi              | 1.90  |
| Sikkim                          | Nepali              | 63.09 | Bhotia               | 8.20  | Lepcha                | 7.34  | Limbu                | 6.64  |
| Tamil Nadu                      | Tamil               | 86.71 | Telegu               | 7.12  | Kannada               | 2.16  | Urdu                 | 1.86  |
| Tripura                         | Bengali             | 68.88 | Kokborok             | 23.50 | Hindi                 | 1.66  | Mongh                | 1.01  |
| Uttar Pradesh(+Uttarakhand)     | Hindi               | 90.11 | Urdu                 | 8.98  |                       |       |                      |       |
| West Bengal                     | Bengali             | 85.99 | Hindi                | 6.08  | Santhali              | 2.37  | Urdu                 | 2.14  |
| Andaman Island                  | Bengali             | 23.05 | Tamil                | 19.07 | Hindi                 | 1.66  | Telugu               | 11.75 |
| Chandigarh                      | Hindi               | 61.07 | Punjabi              | 34.72 |                       |       |                      |       |
| Dadra NH                        | Bhili               | 55.03 | Gujrati              | 21.91 | Konkani               | 12.32 | Hindi                | 5.05  |
| Daman and Diu                   | Gujarati            | 91.01 | Hindi                | 3.59  | Marathi               | 1.24  |                      |       |
| Delhi                           | Hindi               | 81.64 | Punjabi              | 7.94  | Urdu                  | 5.45  | Bengali              | 1.29  |
| Lakshadweep                     | Malayalam           | 34.47 |                      |       |                       |       |                      |       |
| Pandichery                      | Tamil               | 89.19 | Malayalam            | 4.75  | Telugu                | 4.31  |                      |       |

Source: National Commission for Linguistic Minority (India Census of 2001) [www.sgindia.org.in](http://www.sgindia.org.in)

### **Kamtapur Movement:**

The Rajbangsi Community is one of the oldest ethnic communities, who were found “throughout the undivided Bengal, Purnea in Bihar and Goalpara in Assam” ( Sanyal, 1965). It has been observed that the Rajbangsi communities of western part of Assam have demanded St status along with separate Kamtapur state. However they have achieved a development council for themselves named Koch-Rajbangsi Development Council. According to the report of Urban and Panchyat Department, Government of Assam 2020, the Rajbangsi population of Assam is at present 45 lakhs. But in the neighbor state West Bengal they have always in ideological confrontation with the pre dominating Bengali class, where they have forced to maintain a superior-subordinate relationship. Hence forth as a peripheral group they have demand a political detachment from the core groups (Bengalis) in West Bengal.

Table 7.5  
Abstract of speakers strength of Languages and Mother Tongues 2011

| <b>Name of Language &amp; mother tongue(s) grouped under each language</b> | <b>Number of persons who returned the language (and the mother tongues grouped under each) as their mother tongue)</b> |
|--|--|
| <b>1</b>   | <b>2</b>   |
| <b>1 ASSAMESE</b>  | 1,53,11,351  |
| Assamese   | 1,48,16,414  |
| Others   | 9,94,937   |
| <b>2 BENGALI</b>   | 9,72,37,669  |
| Bengali  | 9,61,77,835  |
| Chakma   | 2,28,281   |
| Haijong/Hajong   | 71,792   |
| Rajbangsi  | 4,75,861   |
| Others   | 2,83,900   |

Source: Census of India 2011 Language [censusindia.gov.in](http://censusindia.gov.in)

Table 7.6

|    | <b>Name of the Scheduled</b> | <b>Total population</b> | <b>Proportion to the total SC population</b> |
|----|------------------------------|-------------------------|--|
| 1  | All Scheduled Castes         | 18,452,555              | 100%   |
| 2  | Rajbanshi                    | 3,386,617               | 18.4   |
| 3  | Namasudra                    | 3,212,393               | 17.4   |
| 4  | Bagdi                        | 2,740,385               | 14.9   |
| 5  | Pod                          | 2,216,513               | 12.0   |
| 6  | Bauri                        | 1,091,022               | 5.9  |
| 7  | Chamar                       | 995,756                 | 5.4  |
| 8  | JaliaKaibartta               | 409,303                 | 2.2  |
| 9  | Hari                         | 390,619                 | 2.1  |
| 10 | Dhoba                        | 369,808                 | 2.0  |
| 11 | Sunri (excluding Saha)       | 317,543                 | 1.7  |
| 12 | Dom                          | 316,337                 | 1.7  |
| 13 | JhaloMalo                    | 293,714                 | 1.6  |
| 14 | Lohar                        | 279,582                 | 1.5  |
| 15 | Mal                          | 273,641                 | 1.5  |
| 16 | Kaora                        | 263,731                 | 1.4  |
| 17 | Tiyar                        | 195,340                 | 1.1  |

Source: Census of India 2001 West Bengal

Table 7.7

Rajbangsi Population in West Bengal( Borda Composite Demographic Indicators)

| <b>District</b>            | <b>Population Density</b> |
|----------------------------|---------------------------|
| Bankura                    | 18                        |
| Barddhaman                 | 7                         |
| Birbhum                    | 13                        |
| DakshinDinajpur            | 14                        |
| Darjeeling                 | 17                        |
| PurbaMedinipur             | 8                         |
| Haora                      | 2                         |
| Hugli                      | 4                         |
| Jalpaiguri                 | 16                        |
| Koch Bihar                 | 11                        |
| Kolkata                    | 1                         |
| Maldah                     | 9                         |
| Murshidabad                | 5                         |
| Nadia                      | 6                         |
| North Twenty Four Parganas | 3                         |
| Puruliya                   | 19                        |
| South Twenty Four Parganas | 12                        |
| Uttar Dinajpur             | 10                        |
| PaschimMedinipur           | 15                        |

Source: Computed from the Census data 2011 [www.iosrjournals.org](http://www.iosrjournals.org) [Basu Roy, Roy and Basu, 2017 ]

Table 7.8

| Name of the major SCs     | Percentage of major SCs to total SCs population of the Zone | Name of the major SCs | Percentage of major SCs to total SCs population of the Zone | Name of the major SCs  | Percentage of major SCs to total SCs population of the Zone |
|---------------------------|---|-----------------------|---|------------------------|---|
| <b>Western Zone</b>       |   | <b>Eastern Zone</b>   |   | <b>Southern Zone</b>   |   |
| Bairwa, Berwa             | 4.26  | Bagdi, Duley          | 6.22  | AdiDravida             | 17.2  |
| Bhambi,Bhambhietc         | 8.26  | Bauri                 | 2.50  | Adi Karnataka          | 6.9   |
| Chamar,Bhambhi,etc        | 8.42  | Bhuiya                | 3.18  | Arunthathiyar          | 2.6   |
| Mahar, Mehra, etc         | 27.06   | Chamar, Mochietc      | 14.12   | Banjara,Lambanietc     | 3.0   |
| Mahyavansi,Dhedetc        | 5.44  | Dewar, Dhibaraetc     | 2.02  | Bhovi, Od etc          | 2.7   |
| Mang, Matang, etc         | 8.41  | Dhoba, Dhobi          | 1.31  | Madiga                 | 18.2  |
| Megh, Meghval, etc        | 10.34   | Dhobi, Rajak          | 1.52  | Mala, Mala Ayawaru     | 13.2  |
| Thori, Nayak              | 2.84  | Dom, Domboetc         | 1.44  | Pallan                 | 5.5   |
| <b>Central Zone</b>       |   | Dusadh, Dharietc      | 10.05   | Paraiyan,Parayanetc    | 4.3   |
| Chamar, Chamarietc        | 52.59   | Ganda                 | 1.33  | Pulayan,Cheramaretc    | 2.4   |
| Balahi, Balai             | 9.11  | JaliaKaibartta        | 1.16  | <b>Northern Zone</b>   |   |
| Mahar, Mehraetc           | 5.61  | Kandra, Kandaraetc    | 1.08  | Ad Dharmi              | 1.62  |
| Koli, Kori                | 4.49  | Musagar               | 5.54  | Balmiki,Churaetc       | 4.97  |
| Ganda, Gandhi             | 2.61  | Namasudra             | 7.12  | Chamar,Jatia,Chamaretc | 44.65   |
| Bhangi, Mehtaretc         | 2.50  | Pan, Panoetc          | 2.45  | Dhobi                  | 3.87  |
| <b>North-Eastern Zone</b> |   | Pasi                  | 1.79  | Khatik                 | 1.48  |
| Bhuinmali, Mali           | 2.29  | Pod, Poundra          | 4.98  | Kori                   | 3.65  |
| JaliaKaibarta             | 3.53  | <b>Rajbangshi</b>     | <b>7.73</b>   | Mazhabi, Mazhabi, Sikh | 4.19  |
| Jhalo, Malo, Jhalo-Malo   | 2.65  |                       |   | Pasi, Tarmali          | 10.37   |
| Kaibartta, Jaliya         | 22.88   |                       |   | Shilpkar               | 1.48  |
| Lois                      | 2.82  |                       |   |                        |   |
| Mahisyadas                | 5.05  |                       |   |                        |   |
| Muchi, Rishi              | 2.56  |                       |   |                        |   |

Source: [www.censusindia.gov.in](http://www.censusindia.gov.in)

It has been observed that the language factor have played a vital role for continuing the trend of state building in India. The movement of separate Kamtapur state for the community of Koch Rajbangsi was started since the event of linguistic reorganization in 1956, from Assam comprising the boundary of ancient region. However the demand of separate Kamtapur state was restructured under the guidance of the Kamtapur People's party in 1995. The movement centre on the “six district of North Bengal and the Goalpara, Kamrup

and Nowgaon district of Assam”. It has been said that “near about 69% of Rajbansis are concentrated in the two district of North Bengal Jalpaiguri and Coochbehar” (Mukhopadhyay, 2005). So far as the linguistic distinctiveness is concerned they are constantly live in a fear of identity crisis with the immigrants who came from Bangladesh, known as a ‘Bhatia’. (Jana Arun K, Mimeo (nd). The inclusion of Kamtapuri language in the 8th schedule of the Constitution of India has constitutes a major part of their movement.

### **Greater Cooch Behar Movement**

Again the phenomenon of Identity as well economic ‘backwardness’ has been appeared as a pre- condition of another regional autonomy movement in West Bengal since 1998 under the leadership of Greater Cooch Behar People`s Association on the basis of a separate statehood, namely Greater Cooch Behar and later the demand of granting the status of Union territory to Cooch Behar. The contemporary dimension of Greater Cooch Behar Movement has been identified through the below mentioned letter given by Bangshi Badan Barman, General Secretary, The Greater Cooch Behar Peoples Association to the Home Minister, Government.of India, New Delhi,2014 where it has been argued that ,

“It is worth mentioning that the erstwhile Cooch Behar, one of the most important princely states of British India, categorized as class ‘C’ State under an agreement signed by Mr. Vapal Pangunni Menon, then Adviser to the Govt. of India, Ministry of States, New Delhi on behalf of Union Govt. and Lt. Col. His Highness Maharaja Jagaddipendra Narayan Bhup Bahadur, the last king of Cooch Behar stated that the erstwhile subjects of the state were happy to be part of our nation. On the Historic occasion of handing over of power, Honorable Home Minister, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel sent a message to Sri Nanjappa, Chief Commissioner of Cooch Behar on the eve of formal handing over function wishing bright political future of ethnic Cooch Behar people”.

“The intension of the Govt. of India was expressed in Mr. V.P. Menon, then advisor to the Central Govt. vide His demy official letter No.-F-15(19), P/40 dated the 30<sup>th</sup> August 1949 addressed to the Maharaja of Cooch Behar which categorically mentioned about the future status of Cooch Behar State”. “...It is the intension of the Govt. of India to administer for the present the territories of the Cooch Behar as a centrally administrated area under a Chief Commissioner.....” “(Neherupatels correspondence 1945-55, vol-7 by Durga Das)”.

“Unfortunately, the State was further got merged with West Bengal on 1<sup>st</sup> Jan 1950 by then Chief Minister Late Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy. After that hasty, tactful and wrongful merger with West Bengal, the political leadership of West Bengal dominated by mainstream imported leaders never allowed the ethnic people or the erstwhile subjects of the State to see the light of development. Despite the assurances given by Pandit Jawahar Lal Neheru, then Prime Minister and Sardar Vallabhai Patel, then Home Minister, these unfortunate people remained neglected in all aspects of their socio-economic, cultural, and linguistic and most importantly remained deprived of true democratic right. Whatever, development can be seen in Cooch Behar today, its fruits are being enjoyed only by those people who are non-ethnic people and got settled in our areas. Our ethnic people who form majority in rural areas are suffering from acute poverty, unemployment and getting displaced from urban areas”.

**“Demand No.1:**

It is pertinent to mention here that during the deliberations of the last two ‘Tripartite Meeting’ held under patronage of home Ministry of Central Govt. and Govt. of Assam with the various organizations of Assam 03.09.2013 and 07.11.2013 respectively, we tried to project the various problems to the participating dignitaries of both Central as well as Assam Governments. We are thankful to Home Ministry for patient hearing to our problems during the meetings. Keeping in view of the constraints for grant of UNION TERRITORY this moment and considering the genuineness of our problems, we request your Excellency to restore the earlier status of Category ‘C’ Statehood to Greater Cooch Behar or grant Union Territory status to Greater Cooch Behar as per the Merger Agreement with adequate political safeguards to ethnic people with immediate effect”.

**“Demand No. 2:**

Our mother tongue is Rajbanshi, which is an old language and is spoken over two crore people in Greater Cooch Behar area and neighboring countries such Bangladesh and Nepal. Trace of this language can be found in old scriptures and writings such as ‘Charjyapad’ which were written much before advent of other contemporary language in Eastern and North eastern India. This Language was the official language of Cooch Behar Empire. However, due to political division of the area and non-recognition by the State, Rajbanshi language has not developed and this language is dying. With a view to save this language from getting extinct, immediate steps should be taken by Govt. The language should be given constitutional recognition and included in the eighth schedule of the

Constitution of India. We want immediate tabling of a Bill for constitutional recognition of Rajbanshi language”.

**“Demand No. 3:**

Immediate reorganization of the Cooch Behar Rajbangsi School which is providing education through the Rajbangsi language that led and guided by the Hindi and English from the primary stage. Because Rajbangsi Language is the requirement of not only for the ethnic people of the Greater Cooch Behar but also a national requirement of learning in mother tongue so the schools opened in some rural areas of the Greater Cooch Behar should be grant by the Central Govt. and grant the financial assistance to these schools and teachers”.

**“Demand No. 4:**

Post-Independence days could not be termed as happier as ought to be people of Cooch Behar kingdom, mainly the Rajbangsi speaking erstwhile subjects. The ex-Maharaja Lt. Colonel Jagadipendra Narayan Bhup Bahadur had been bitterly involved with legal battles. The significance of the articles of the agreement for merger signed between the Governor General of India and His Highness the Maharaja Jagadipendra Narayan Bhup Bahadur on 28<sup>th</sup> August 1949 was given a simple go by. An assurance was given to ex-Maharaja by V.P. Menon on behalf of the Central Govt. vide ministry of State letter D.O. No. F. 15(19)/49 dated the 30<sup>th</sup> August 1949(PARA. NO. 14) Saying that “the Government will Endeavour to associate absorption in the Indian Army”. Therefore, we demand for rising of ‘Narayani / Rajbanshi Regiment’ as an infantry regiment in the Indian Army”.

**“Demand No. 5:**

Immediately set the legal president, Amithabh Narayan, to the Debottor Trust Board of Cooch Behar, which is illegally used by D.M. of Cooch Behar and fill up the two other posts of the Debottor Trust Board by the Native members of Cooch Behar in which – 1. Ambika Charan Roy & 2. Trikulendra Narayan was posted”.

**“Demand No. 6:**

Complete the details of Amount of the Cooch Behar Development Fund for the native people of Cooch Behar, donated by the Maharaja Jagadipendra Narayan Bhup Bahadur of then Cooch Behar State immediately”.

**“Demand No. 7:**

The proper use of the Cooch Behar Development Fund in all over the Greater Cooch Behar area”.

( Source: The then unpublished letter collected from Bangshi Badan Barman, General Secretary ,The Greater Cooch Behar Peoples Association which has been given to “The Home Minister, Govt. of India, New Delhi, Sub: Dharna/ Rally at Jantar Mantar 11<sup>th</sup>&12<sup>th</sup> Dec,2014, for granting Union Territory(UT) Status to Cooch Behar. Dated, 12.12.2014, Ref No, GCPA/HD/08”).

Besides these, another movement has been started to flourish in west Bengal by the organization of Aadibashi Bikash Parishad on the basis of the cultural distinctiveness of the Aadibashis as well as the economic backwardness of this ethnic group who mainly resided in the tea garden areas of West Bengal.

**Gorkhaland Movement : a quest for institutionalization of identity**

After a long struggle the ethno –regional demands as well as demand for separate statehood Gorkhaland of Gorkhas have been concluded in the formations of two simultaneous Autonomous bodies named Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council (DGHC) under the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council Act 1988 and Gorkha Territorial Administration (GTA) under the Gorkha Territorial Administration Act 2011(enforced in 2012). Now if we analyse the performances of these councils the two matters are prominent, the limitations of these council on the basis of its formations and the failure of these council on the basis of development issues.

**Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council, 1988 an apparent state controlled semi-autonomous council in Darjeeling District:**

Some crucial sections of DGHC Act 1988 indicating apparent states controls,

“Section 5.Constitution and composition of General Council.(1) The General Council shall consist of forty-two members whom two-thirds shall be elected, on the basis of adult suffrage, from the territorial constituencies and one-third shall be nominated by the Government and three shall be nominated by the Chairman of the General Council”.

“Section 34. (4) The election of the Chairman of the General Council shall be conducted by the elected councillor nominated by the Government to preside over the first meeting under sub- section (2). The elected Councillors shall, in the prescribed manner, elect

from amongst themselves one Councillor to be the Chairman who shall also be the Chief Executive Councillor. The presiding Councillor shall have the right to participate in the election of the Chairman”.

“Section 30. Power to impose levy and collect taxes and fees

1. Notwithstanding anything contained in any other law for the time being force, the General Council shall have power to collect within the hill areas such taxes payable under any law for the time being in force as may be prescribed.

Provided that the tax or taxes as aforesaid shall be collected by the General Council from such date as may be appointed by the Government in this behalf by notification in the Official Gazette.

2. Subject to such maximum rates as the Government may prescribe”.

“Section 48.[Principal Secretary to Council.]

1. There shall be a Principal Secretary to the Council (hereinafter referred to as the Principal Secretary) appointed by the Government in consultation with the Chief Executive Councillor.

2. The Principal Secretary shall be paid out of the Council Fund such salaries and allowances as may, from time to time, be fixed by the Government.

3. Principal Secretary shall be the Principal Executive Officer of the General Council and all other officers of the General Council shall be subordinate to him”.

**Source: DGHC Act 1988**

Table 7.9

**The socio- economic conditions of the people in Darjeeling hills under DGHC (2001 – 2011) are as follows:**

| <b>Sub Divisions</b>          | <b>Population</b> | <b>Employment (Total workers)</b> | <b>%</b> |
|-------------------------------|-------------------|-----------------------------------|----------|
| Darjeeling Sadar Sub Division | 388,107           | 133,551                           | 34.41%   |
| Kalimpong Sub Division        | 225,220           | 87,431                            | 38.82%   |
| Kurseong Sub Division         | 177,264           | 59,868                            | 33.77%   |

Source: Bureau of Applied Economics and Statistics Government of West Bengal (District Statistical Handbook Darjeeling, 2004)

Table 7.10

| Sub Divisions                 | Population | Employment (Total workers) | %      |
|-------------------------------|------------|----------------------------|--------|
| Darjeeling Sadar Sub Division | 429,381    | 158,967                    | 37.02% |
| Kalimpong Sub Division        | 251,642    | 95,678                     | 38.02% |
| Kurseong Sub Division         | 194,680    | 65,057                     | 33.41% |

Source: Directorate of Census Operations West Bengal (District Census Handbook Darjeeling, India, 2011)

Table 7.11  
Household

| Sub Division                         | Population | Parmanent | Semi Parmanent | Temporary |
|--------------------------------------|------------|-----------|----------------|-----------|
| <b>Darjeeling Sadar Sub Division</b> |            |           |                |           |
| 1 Darjeeling Pulbazar                | 126935     | 5198      | 20642          | 1576      |
| 2 RangliRangliot                     | 70125      | 3406      | 11279          | 558       |
| 3 Jorebunglore-Sukhiapokhri          | 113516     | 9833      | 14560          | 950       |
| 4 Darjeeling (M)                     | 118805     | NF        | NF             | NF        |
| <b>Kalimpong Sub Division</b>        |            |           |                |           |
| 1 Kalimpong I                        | 74746      | 5276      | 9224           | 780       |
| 2 Kalimpong II                       | 66830      | 2085      | 10129          | 822       |
| 3 Garubathan                         | 60663      | 2877      | 8674           | 1039      |
| 4 Kalimpong (M)                      | 49403      | NF        | NF             | NF        |
| <b>Kurseong Sub Division</b>         |            |           |                |           |
| 1 Kurseong                           | 94347      | 9150      | 11136          | 473       |
| 2 Mirik                              | 46374      | 4199      | 4884           | 182       |
| 3 Kurseong (M)                       | 42446      | NF        | NF             | NF        |
| 4 Mirik (N.A)                        | 11513      | NF        | NF             | NF        |

Source: Directorate of Census Operations West Bengal (District Census Handbook Darjeeling, India, 2011)

Table 7.12  
Educational Institutions

| Sub Division           | Primary                       |       | Middle |        | High |       | Higher Secondary |    |
|------------------------|-------------------------------|-------|--------|--------|------|-------|------------------|----|
|                        | Darjeeling Sadar Sub Division | 564   | 0.14%  | 28     | NA   | 36    | 0.009%           | 23 |
| Kalimpong Sub Division | 333                           | 0.14% | 19     | NA     | 23   | 0.01% | 12               | NA |
| Kurseong Sub Division  | 289                           | 0.14% | 05     | 0.002% | 33   | 0.01% | 9                | NA |

Source: Bureau of Applied Economics and Statistics Government of West Bengal (District Statistical Handbook Darjeeling, 2004)

Table 7.13

**Public Health**

| Sub Division                  | Hospitals | Health Centres | Clinic | Dispensaries |
|-------------------------------|-----------|----------------|--------|--------------|
| Darjeeling Sadar Sub Division | 3         | 12             | 3      | 7            |
| Kalimpong Sub Division        | 2         | 11             | 1      | 7            |
| Kurseong Sub Division         | 4         | 6              | 1      | 4            |

Source: Dy. CMOH, Darjeeling, State Bureau of Health Intelligence, Govt. Of W.B., Hospitals, Darjeeling 2003 in Bureau of Applied Economics and Statistics Government of West Bengal (District Statistical Handbook Darjeeling, 2004)

Hence the above mentioned minor statistics (non-availability of data) of the socio economic condition of the hill areas under the domination of DGHC was quite dissatisfactory. The percentage of the numbers of the workers in various sectors like agricultural, industrial, cultivator, marginal and others were too low as per population less than 40% of the total population in each sub divisions of Darjeeling Hills. Even the percentage of total workers from the year 2004 to 2011 in Kalimpong and Kurseong sub divisions have decreased. The percentage of total workers from 2004 to 2011 in Darjeeling Sadar subdivision was little increased but as per growing population it was again too low. The living conditions of the people in these major sub divisions were also very poor. The majority of the population lives in kutcha houses which are semi permanent and temporary in nature as per populations, census 2011.

**Gorkha Territorial Administration, 2012 an apparent state controlled semi-autonomous Council in Darjeeling District:**

Some crucial sections of GTA Act 2012 indicating states controls,

“CHAPTER I”

“2. (a) Chief Executive" means the Chief Executive of the Gorkhaland Territorial Administration”

“40. (1) The Chief Executive shall-

- a. have general responsibility for the financial and executive administration;
- b. exercise administrative supervision and control over all officers and employees of the Gorkhaland Territorial Administration, and the officers and employees whose services may be placed at the disposal of the Gorkhaland Territorial Administration by the Government”;

“CHAPTER II”

“25. (I) The Gorkhaland Territorial Administration Sabha shall meet for the conduct of business at least once in every three months and shall conduct its business in such manner and in accordance with such procedure as may be determined by it by regulations with the approval of the Government”.

“CHAPTER VI”

“62. The State Planning Board shall have powers to supervise and evaluate the works of the Gorkhaland Territorial Administration”.

“63. In the discharge of its functions the Gorkhaland Territorial Administration shall be guided by such instructions or directions as may be given to it by the Government from time to time for the proper implementation of the objects of the Act”.

“64. (1) If in the opinion of the Government the Gorkha land Territorial Administration-

- i. has shown its incompetence to perform, or has made default in the performance of, the duties imposed on it by or under the Act or any other law for the time being in force, or
- ii. has exceeded or abused its power, the Government may by order to be published in the *Official Gazette* stating the reasons there for, supersede the

Gorkhaland Territorial Administration Sabha and direct that it be re-constituted within such period not exceeding six months as maybe specified in the order.

2. The Government shall before making any order under sub-section (1) give to the Gorkhaland Territorial Administration an opportunity of making representation to the Government in respect of the same”.

“65. When an order of supersession has been passed under section 64 with effect from the date of the order-

- a. all the Members shall vacate their office, and
- b. all the powers, duties and functions of the Gorkhaland Territorial Administration Sabha and the Executive Sabha shall be exercised, discharged and performed by such Sabha or authorities or such person or persons as may be appointed by the Government in this behalf”.

Source: GTA Act 2011

**The socio- economic conditions of the people in Darjeeling hills under DGHC (2012 – 2020) are as follows:**

The semi- development schemes which has been implemented in Darjeeling hills under GTA, Darjeeling Sadar Sub Division:

Darjeeling Pulbajar (Total population 126935 as per Census 2011)

- a. 3 Primary Schools, 1 High School was established; 28 teachers recruited in primary schools.
- b. 496 houses were established by the ‘Bangla Awas Yojona’.
- c. 45 persons have benefited through handicapped allowance.

Rangli Rangliot (Total population 70125 as per Census 2011)

- a. 10763 persons were included under ‘Swastha Sathi’ medical insurance scheme.
- b. 450 persons were benefited through ‘Bangla Awas Yojona’
- c. Total 6558 latrines and 4 community toilets were established under the scheme of ‘Mission Nirmal Bangla’.
- d. 129 agricultural labourars has received agricultural loan under the scheme of ‘Kishan Cradit Card’.

e. 71 families of this block have received Patta under ‘ Nijo Griher Nijo Bhumi’ scheme  
Sukhia Pokhri (Total population 113516 as per Census 2011)

a. 3771 workers were bought under the scheme of ‘Samajik Surakhha Yojona’ and 18  
persons have got the facility from ‘Karmo Sathi’ scheme.

b. 317 houses were built under ‘Gitanjali’ scheme.

Darjeeling Municipality (Total population 118805 as per Census 2011)No Data Found

Kalimpong Sub Division:

Kalimpong I (Total population 74746 as per Census 2011) No Data Found

Kalimpong II (Total population 66830 as per Census 2011) No Data Found

Gorubathan (Total population 60663 as per Census 2011) No Data Found Kalimpong (M)

(Total population 49403 as per Census 2011)No Data Found

Kurseong Sub Division:

Kurseong (Total population 94347 as per Census 2011)

a. 446 houses were built under ‘Bangla Awas Yojona’

b. 3 primary health centers were established

c. 2 Community toilets were made.

d. 2 village roads were constructed

Mirik (Total population 46374 as per Census 2011)

a. 27 schools were provided with extra rooms facilities.

b. 2 warehouses were constructed

c. 47 new roads in villages were constructed

d. 6 libraries were established

e. 36 drinking water facilities were provided

f. 19 ICDS centres were established.

Kurseong (M) (Total population 42446 as per Census 2011) No Data Found

Mirik (N.A) (Total population 11513 as per Census 2011) No Data Found

(Source: Information’s are collected from Block Offices of each Block)

Hence there was no data found regarding employment, tourism, tea gardens and forest which are the backbone of the economy of this hill area. Even it was heard from an informal source (Telephonic conversation with the official, Office of the District Magistrate, Darjeeling) that during this tenure of GTA there was no new recruitment been seen in tea gardens. More over not a single meeting was held in GTA regarding the recruitment of the post for Group C and Group D by the GTA authority. Only some civic police, covid warriors, recruitment of some contractual teacher in primary schools were done in recent years.

It has been observed that though the Autonomous Councils are established under the States regulations but these controls are being seen apparent in nature due to the absence of proper monitoring, questioning as well as documentations regarding the development as well as expenditure given by these Councils in particular.

**Government Claims regarding the Development of Darjeeling District:**

- There was a renaissance of Tourism Industry of Darjeeling since 2011.
- Total “6500 Civic Volunteers, 80 S.I.s and 566 constables” were recruited from the areas of Darjeeling District since 2011
- Fund allotted to Gorkhaland Territorial Administration for several “minor schemes like communication, education, rural electrification, Irrigation & Water ways, fisheries, sports & youth welfare, tourism, health & family welfare, minor irrigation, public health engineering sector” etc. have been undertaken by the Government of West Bengal.
- Various major schemes like the “construction of new roads connecting villages with block, sub-divisional and district head quarters, up gradation of major roads in different municipalities, construction and repair of school buildings, rural electrification, construction and improvement of community halls, riverbank and jhora protection works, Improvement of water supply in rural as well as urban areas, improvement of district hospitals and primary health centres, improvement of Mink Lake, renovation and improvement of different tourist lodges” etc. under Gorkha Territorial Administration area have been taken up for execution under Special Central Assistance Sector.

- Different schemes like “construction of Rural Roads, Minor Irrigation, Social Sector projects like construction of new school buildings and reconstruction of old school buildings, construction of bridge etc Under RIDF” are being implemented.

**Fund sanctioned to GTA for the purpose of Hill Development:**

- “Plan SectorRs.63.69 crore ; Non-Plan sectorRs.244.18crore (2011-2012)”
- “Plan SectorRs. 194.11 crore ; Non-Plan sectorRs. 351.28 crore (2012-2013)”
- “Plan SectorRs. 243.67 crores ;Non-Plan sectorRs. 403.08 crore (2013-2014)”
- “Plan SectorRs. 31.83 crores; Non-Plan sectorRs. 405.75 crore (2014-2015)”

(Source: Chief Minister’s Office Government of West Bengal wbcmo.gov.in)

**7.8. The Theoretical Frame Work of Sub -Regional Movements in India:**

Now if we analyze the nature of sub-regional movements in India in general and West Bengal in particular we find that the five major theories are dominating the entire discourse of the sub- regional movements.

**i. Relative Deprivation Theory:**

The theory of relative deprivation has been developed on two different lines, social mobility and social conflict. Marx and Engels(Marx and Engels, 1841), recognized that dissatisfaction with the status quo was not determined by absolute condition but by relative expectations, thus leading to conflicting situation. Gurr perceives relative deprivation as the ‘actors’ “perception of discrepancy between their value expectations and their value capabilities”. To him “value capabilities are the goods and conditions they think they are capable of getting and keeping” ( Gurr, 1971).

It has been observed that there are basic ingredients of guiding forces behind any ethno-regional movements like problems of inequalities, psychological orientations of the people, situational facilities e.t.c When the gap between the relative expectations of the people and the perceived capabilities of a political system is increased the identity crisis has been emerged. This situational dilemma often led the deprivational orientations in general. Moreover as the ethnicity refers psychological feelings of cultural homogeneity naturally an ethnic community is always protective about their distinctiveness in compare to other communities. Especially they do not agree to rule by the other community. It has been observed that when a particular ethnic community was associated with a particular geographical region for a long time with a satisfactory majority, a feeling of home rule is

grown between them gradually. The feelings of separativeness have converted in to feelings of relative deprivation against the majority community in a same state.

It has already discussed in the earlier chapter that, in 1872, the first census of India was published and the total population of Darjeeling appeared to have steadily increased to 94,712 (Memorandum on the Census of British India of 1871-72 p. 100). In 1876 W.W.Hunter wrote in his “Statistical Account of Bengal”(Volume x): “ The Nepalese who form 34 percent of the population of the district, are all immigrants from the State of Nepal. They are a ‘pushing’ and ‘thriving’ race....”.(Hunter ,1876). According to the population the Nepalese were the major ethnic group in Darjeeling. The census of India in 1881 has proved that, the Nepalese form the absolute majority in the whole of Darjeeling. From 1951 onwards, following the Indo-Nepal Treaty of Peace and Friendship, 1950 country was seen a population web from Nepal. Gradually the major uprising of the population growth in Darjeeling district from 1951 to 1961 implies the significant volume of migration from Nepal to Darjeeling.

Table 7.14  
**Total Population in Darjeeling (1881– 1951)**

| <b>1881</b> | <b>1891</b> | <b>1901</b> | <b>1911</b> | <b>1921</b> | <b>1931</b> | <b>1941</b> | <b>1951</b> |
|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| 155179      | 223314      | 249117      | 265550      | 282748      | 319635      | 376369      | 445260      |

Source: Census 1951, West Bengal, District Hand Books, Darjeeling

Table 7.15

|             | <b>Index of Population Growth Darjeeling</b> |             |             |             |             |             |             |
|-------------|--|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
|             | <b>1901</b>                                  | <b>1911</b> | <b>1921</b> | <b>1931</b> | <b>1941</b> | <b>1951</b> | <b>1961</b> |
| West Bengal | 100  | 106         | 103         | 112         | 137         | 155         | 206         |
| Darjeeling  | 100  | 105         | 111         | 125         | 147         | 173         | 235         |

Source: Census 1961, West Bengal, District Hand Books, Darjeeling

Eventually the article VII of the Indo-Nepal treaty of peace and friendship 1950 has brought a significant change in West Bengal state politics which was treated as the primary source of relative deprivations of the Nepalese of the hills who belongs to the Gorkha communities migrated from Nepal. To Gorkhas, the article VII of Indo-Nepal treaty has stolen their identity as well as their state which identified them as foreigners in their own state where they serve their duties as freedom fighters. These stages of dissatisfactions as well as frustrations of the Gorkha communities have been produced Gurr’s “decremental

deprivation”( Dzuverovic,2013). Article VII of the Indo- Nepal treaty of peace and friendship stated that, “The Governments of India and Nepal agree to grant, on reciprocal basis, to the national of one country in the territories o the other the same privileges in the matter of residence, ownership of property, participation in trade and commerce, movement and other privileges of a similar nature” (Indo-Nepal Treaty of Peace and Friendship, July 31, 1950, Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India mea.gov.in). Hence this treaty has stimulated the Gorkhas for going towards a long term agitations for a separate state Gorkhaland. More over besides this psychological manifestation of relative deprivation the backwardness of the hill regions of Darjeeling the economy of which stands on tea, timber and tourism has been produced an economic deprivation against relatively developed neighbouring plains regions as well as another district of the state of West Bengal.

**ii. The Theory of Strain :**

The strain theory is propounded by Neil Smelser who treats structural strain as the underlying factor leading to collective behavior. He defined “collective action as uninstitutionalized mobilization for action in order to modify one or more kind of strain on the basis of a generalized reconstitution of a component of action”( Smelser, 1962). It has been observed that the structural strain occurs at different levels of norms, values, mobilization and situational facilities.

In case of Darjeeling district, there are many factors which disturbed the situational facilities, like Tea industry is facing crisis in the hill area, the ill effect of deforestation as well as the stagnant condition of tourism centers is visible in that area, which produced a constant strain against the rising problem of unemployment.

Table - 7.16

**Area, Production & Employment in Tea Industry in the district of Darjeeling**

| Year        | No. of Tea Garden* | Total Land under Cultivation (Hec.) | No. of persons employed in |            |       |
|-------------|--------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------------------|------------|-------|
|             |                    |                                     | Factory                    | Plantation | Total |
| (1)         | (2)                | (3)                                 | (4)                        | (5)        | (6)   |
| 1999 - 2000 | 107                | 26325.00                            | --                         | --         | 66603 |
| 2000 - 2001 | 112                | 26006.72                            | --                         | --         | 69651 |
| 2001 - 2002 | 115                | 26509.23                            | --                         | --         | 71175 |
| 2002 - 2003 | 100                | 24783.56                            | --                         | --         | 67746 |
| 2003 - 2004 | 100                | 24783.56                            | --                         | --         | 67746 |

| (Continued...)  |                       |                           |
|---|-----------------------|---------------------------|
| Year  | Production ('000 Kg.) | Average Yield (Kg./Hect.) |
| (1)   | (7)                   | (8)                       |
| 1999 - 2000   | 27522                 | 1838                      |
| 2000 - 2001   | 28922                 | 2771                      |
| 2001 - 2002   | 29368                 | 2686                      |
| 2002 - 2003   | 24884                 | 2915                      |
| 2003 - 2004   | 24765                 | 2695                      |
| * = Most of the Tea Gardens are closed  |                       |                           |
| Sources: - 1) Darj. Planters Association, Darjeeling<br>2) Tarai T.G. association, Siliguri |                       |                           |

Source: Bureau of Applied Economics and Statistics Government of West Bengal (District Statistical Handbook Darjeeling, 2004)

Table 7.17

### Progress in Tourism in the district of Darjeeling

| Year  | No. of Vehicle | Trips conducted | No. of Tourist Carried | No. of Tourist Staying in Tourist Lodge | No. of Tourist Lodge* (Govt.) | Total Earning ('000 Rs.) |
|---|----------------|-----------------|------------------------|---|-------------------------------|--------------------------|
| (1)   | (2)            | (3)             | (4)                    | (5)                                     | (6)                           | (7)                      |
| 1999 - 2000   | 17             | 1293            | 14723                  | 5247                                    | 3                             | 2427                     |
| 2000 - 2001   | 16             | 894             | 11598                  | 16693                                   | 12                            | 1397                     |
| 2001 - 2002   | 14             | 540             | 8433                   | 9263                                    | 12                            | 4122                     |
| 2002 - 2003   | 14             | 482             | 6792                   | 8622                                    | 14                            | 2920                     |
| 2003 - 2004   | 4              | 330             | 6526                   | 8523                                    | 14                            | 3482                     |
| * = Out of Tourist Lodges only 4 are running at present.                          |                |                 |                        |   |                               |                          |
| Sources: - 1) Manager of Tourist Lodges<br>2) Dy. Director of Tourism, Darjeeling |                |                 |                        |   |                               |                          |

Source: Bureau of Applied Economics and Statistics Government of West Bengal (District Statistical Handbook Darjeeling, 2004)

### iii. The Theory of Revitalization :

This theory is developed by Wallace. According to the theory, individuals involved in cultural revitalization process usually, realize the culture as a whole and then move gradually towards a movement for cultural change. To Wallace, “a deliberate, organized, conscious effort by member of a society to construct a more satisfying culture”. Wallace analyzed the dynamics of revitalization movements in “five phases: period of cultural stability, period of increased individual stress, period of cultural distortion, period of revitalization and period of new cultural stability”(Wallace ,1956).

In case of Gorkhaland movement, the Nepalis often disturbed by the influence of the Bengali culture and in according their point of views they said that if the trend continues then

they would be submerged into the Bengali culture. The growth of Bengali speakers from 1961 to 2001 in Darjeeling has been shown by the given chart:

**Table 7.18**

| Year | Nepali/Gorkha | Bengali       | Hindi        | Sadan/Sadri | Kurkh/Oraon | Bhojpuri   | Santali    | Urdu       | Lepcha     | Rajbanshi  | Munda     | Tibetan   | Bhotia    | Marwari   | Maithili  | Other Mother Tonguea | Total Population |
|------|---------------|---------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|----------------------|------------------|
|      | 1             | 2             | 3            | 4           | 5           | 6          | 7          | 8          | 9          | 10         | 11        | 12        | 13        | 14        | 15        | 16                   | 17               |
| 1961 | 369130(59.1)  | 115172(18.4)  | 47842(7.7)   | 9163(1.5)   | 17595(2.8)  | 91(0.0)    | 7993(1.3)  | 2505(0.4)  | 8171(1.3)  | 2534(0.4)  | 5638(0.9) | 7679(1.2) | 2388(0.4) | 2008(0.3) | 65(0.0)   | 26466(4.2)           | 624640           |
| 1971 | 446646(57.1)  | 162349(20.8)  | 99387(12.7)  | ----        | 22517(2.9)  | ---        | 9379(1.2)  | 4718(0.6)  | 10821(1.4) | ---        | 4470(0.6) | 4362(0.6) | 3884(0.5) | ---       | ---       | 13244(1.7)           | 781777           |
| 1981 | 540444(52.8)  | 2665209(26.0) | 125040(12.2) | ----        | 31845(3.1)  | ----       | 11457(1.1) | 5461(0.5)  | 3600(0.4)  | ---        | 5069(0.5) | 2269(0.2) | 2825(0.3) | ---       | ---       | 29739(2.9)           | 1024269          |
| 1991 | 637874(49.1)  | 333290(25.6)  | 122262(9.4)  | 42306(3.3)  | 33709(2.6)  | 8976(0.7)  | 13500(1.0) | 13073(1.0) | 9313(0.7)  | 17611(1.4) | 4240(0.3) | 4943(0.4) | 3171(0.2) | 5274(0.4) | 2583(0.2) | 47794(3.7)           | 1299919          |
| 2001 | 739821(46.0)  | 385721(24.0)  | 166606(10.4) | 50051(3.1)  | 45008(2.8)  | 16996(1.1) | 15842(1.0) | 15091(0.9) | 14481(0.9) | 9716(0.6)  | 665290.4) | 5902(0.4) | 5559(0.3) | 5390(0.3) | 4579(0.3) | 121757(7.6)          | 1609172          |

Source: Directorate of Census Operations West Bengal (District Census Handbook Darjeeling, India, 2011)

#### iv. The Cultural Pluralist Theory :

This theory is evolved by J.S. Furnivall'. This theory given emphasize not merely on ethnic distinctiveness of a group but also on the dominant subordinate patterns of relationship of a culturally distinct rulers and ruled (Furnivall,1939).

In case of Gorkhaland movement, we also had seen that, theGorkhas in Darjeeling. After Indo- Nepal treaty 1950, they treated as a migrant in India and they feel that one constantly dominated by the state as well as central govt. in economic, social and political sphere. They feel that they are forced to maintain superior-subordinate relationship in the other people state of West Bengal.

## v. The Theory of Internal Colonialism :

The Theory of Internal Colonialism has developed by A.G.Frank in his theory of dependency. This theory is further developed by Michael Hechter (Hechter, 1975). The theory of internal colonialism implied as a source of suction applied on the peripheral groups by the core group inside a country. In a plural society often a core group exerted feelings of frustration among the peripheral groups by promoting a policy of division. It has been observed that political authority of a state often adopted some politico-cultural strategies to weaken the support base of a minority group by culturally fragmenting the region.

The Gorkhas often enlisted themselves as an unfortunate ethnic minority who belongs to the peripheral community in West Bengal. The contemporary step of government of West Bengal to creating several cultural development boards in Darjeeling district may decide as on of the instances of internal colonialism. This hill peoples assumed that this political cultural strategy has injected a cultural deviation in hill politics, with an intention of weaker the support base of Gorkha Jana Mukti Morcha (GJMM) under the leadership of Bimal Gurung. Though the Government of West Bengal claimed that through these development boards near about 800 hill peoples gets the benefit of " Awasan Prakolpo" (Source:Block Office, Rangli Rangliot, Darjeeling Sadar Sub-division,2020).

Table 7.19  
Development and Cultural Boards in the Gorkhaland Area

| Sl. No. | Name of the Board   | Year of Establishment | Created Under                                      |
|---------|---|-----------------------|--|
| 1       | Mayel Lyan Lepcha Development Board                                       | 2013                  | Backward Classes Welfare Department                |
| 2       | Tamang development and Cultural Board                                     | 2014                  | Tribal Development Department                      |
| 3       | Sherpa Cultural Board   | 2015                  | Tribal Development Department                      |
| 4       | Bhutia Development Board  | 2015                  | Tribal Development Department                      |
| 5       | Khambu Rai Development Board  | 2016                  | Backward Classes Welfare Department                |
| 6       | Mangar Development Board  | 2015                  | Backward Classes Welfare Department                |
| 7       | Limbu Development Board   | 2016                  | Tribal Development Department                      |
| 8       | Pahadia Minority Development & Cultural                                   | 2017                  | Minority Affairs and Madrasha Education Department |
| 9       | Gurung Development and Cultural Board                                     | 2017                  | Backward Classes Welfare Department                |
| 10      | Kami Development and Cultural Board                                       | 2016                  | Backward Classes Welfare Department                |
| 11      | Khas Development and Cultural Board                                       | 2017                  | North Bengal Development Department                |
| 12      | Sarki Development and Cultural Board                                      | 2016                  | Backward Classes Welfare Department                |
| 13      | Bhujel Development and Cultural Board                                     | 2016                  | Backward Classes Welfare Department                |
| 14      | Newar Development and Cultural Board                                      | 2016                  | Backward Classes Welfare Department                |
| 15      | Damai Development and Cultural Board                                      | 2016                  | Backward Classes Welfare Department                |
| 16      | Terai, Dooars, Siliguri Development and Cultural Board (Gorkha Community) | 2018                  | Backward Classes Welfare Department                |

Source: thedarjeelingcronicle.com August 23, 2018

It has been observed that, besides the Gorkhaland movement in West Bengal, the other movement like Kamtapur movement, the Greater Coochbehar movement in West Bengal and others sub regional movement in different states in India which mentioned earlier all the movements has been fitted in this theoretical frame work. Since any movement is a multi faceted phenomenon and no single issue or cause can be isolated, any attempt at a final conclusion might prove wrong in the long run.

Hence, from the above analysis of qualitative as well as quantitative impact of regional movements and federal governance in Indian Political Process the present study tries to give some measure in the following ways:

So far as the regionalism is concerned the land of India was divided by the Socio-culturally distinctive regions like the linguistic difference between Northern Zone and Southern Zone where the south zone is belongs to Dravidian family of language group and the North Zone is belongs to Indo-Aryan family of language group. Another distinctive region is northeast region which is known as the land of tribal. Hence regionalism is in the soil of Indian Civilization.

Federalism in this outset has been seen as a mode of accommodating the regional diversity and contextualizes it in a particular political frame. Federal success of India has been depending on the conjugation of federal autonomy and regional autonomy in general which ultimately run by the developmental spirit of regionalism.

Through the 'ism' of federalism is differing from the 'ism' of regionalism which denotes the affection to toward a region. But if we have taken the phenomena of regionalism as a process of region building then it is quite similar with the notion of federalism which has been serve the purpose of nation building. In this context, the regions as an institution have been appeared in the same platform of state government as well as central government. Hence the institutionalization of regional autonomy through the constitutional reform has been highlighted as a demand of age. Which must be people oriented devolution of power, capable to ensure Socio-economic as well as politico-cultural justice. Only the creation of certain autonomous or semi-autonomous council may not solve the problem from the roots. This is one of the satisfactory ways through which the diversity of a multi-cultural country may honor and which again consolidate the process of democratization by encouraging the spontaneous civic awareness of the general masses. This may contribute to the process of region building, state building and nation building simultaneously through the viable

devolutionary federalism. Where the equation of 'Self rule' and 'Shared rule' may run spontaneously and the loyalties of the sub national units towards the nation become strong. Moreover the institutionalization become durable if the nature political authority may flexible, responsive along with the quality of tolerance towards the ethno-regional sentiment. As the federal system of India is unique in compare to the rest of the world, as it was not established by maintaining the theory of integration or disintegration of federalism actually. Hence India may able to establish and the enquire pattern of federalism by the arrangement of power between the multilevel federalism which may establish a consolidated equilibrium in a power model.

Hence the time has come when Indian democracy may prepare itself to face severe newly emerging ethno-regional requirements by the 'trial and error' principle on the basis of temperament of diversity. If we analyze the position of India to managing the ethno-regional discontents as a federal country, we cannot ignore the capability aspect of our state to achieve a relative success in compare to the older countries like United States of America, Switzerland or the contemporary failure of Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia to maintain the integration of the countries. On the other hand we can not ignore the truth also that, In India there are several ethno-regional demands were raised from different states for another readjustment. Like the separate "Mithilanchal, Magadh from Bihar; Sourashtra from Gujarat; Harit Pradesh, Poorvanchal, Oudh Pradesh, Bundelkhand, Bhojpur from Uttar Pradesh; Coorg from Karnataka; Vidharba, Marathwada, Konkan from Maharashtra; Vindhyaachal, Bhil Pradesh, Malvapradesh from Madhya Pradesh; Marwar from Rajasthan"e,t.c.

As ethnicity is much closer to the human nature hence the ethno-cultural presentation has been seen a crucial claims of linguistic minority in general. It has been observed that when the end of nation building is multiple of nature, the leaders should be ready to make a strategic balance between constitutionalism and regionalism by using the federal device cautiously and sensibly within the sphere of constitutions limitations. However it has been observed that when the politics of bargaining is working in the national arena on the basis of coalition compulsion the state level politics has reflected a narrow political bargaining on the basis of cultural accommodation of regions. The bargaining has emerged by the creation of several development boards, autonomous council which has been continued between the ruling elites and local elites of political regions of a state. This implies the states sensitivity towards the local needs as well as the alternative arrangement of resources sharing under the supervision of highest political authority through constitutional protection along with the

creation of small states as per genuine needs in a plural democratic country like India. The time has come for raising voice against the internal colonialism in the state level politics which tried to suppress the diversity instead of 'valorizing' it

In the age of decentralization, the 'UN's declaration on the Rights of persons belonging to national or ethnic, Religious and linguistic minorities' (United Nations Human Rights, Office of the High Commissioner, 1992) or the 'UNESCO Universal declaration on cultural diversity', (Portal- unesco.org, 2002) has presented the necessity of diversity accommodation in a multiethnic country in the world. Hence no country can ignore the content of diversity and not even thinking on the perspective that more political devolution of power exacerbates the ethnic division in a multi cultural country. Hence it is established that compartmentalize the sub national minorities in to sub national majority by the federal boundary actually denotes the process of institutionalization of territorial autonomy may fasten the process of democratization by enhancing the civic responsibilities of the ruled in general. More over adopting the policy of uniformity in economic distribution may remove the rest of apathy in future which strengthen the legitimacy of the political authority spontaneously.

### **7.9. The tentative role of political leadership:**

It was often said that the cultural recognition may sustain the advantages of local elites.( Erk&Anderson,2010) Hence, federal self-rule alone cannot be treated as a stable form of conflict resolution. Hence the emphasis will be given on the quality of policy making which should be designed in federal context because the principles of liberal democracy has enshrined in the federal theory and there was no alternative way in a liberal democratic country to accommodate the ethnic conflicts as well as to manage the diversities. Following Bermo, there was no place for long time survival of disintegrations in federalism ( Bermo, 2010).

It has been observed that since 1980's in the arena of coalition politics, parliamentary federalism was converted in to 'executive federalism' on the basis of central state co-ordination. After that, in the arena of regionalization, the federalism of India is working under the notion of "legislative federalism" on the basis of the empowerment of the states (Chakraborty, 2017). Since 2014, the federal governance of India knows as "National Federalism" on the basis of growing statism. (Singh, 2019). It has been observed that when the federal process is dynamic the regionalism is fluid in nature. According to Kohli the

federal political authority in a developing country are need to be more accommodative more institutionalized in their strategy of ruling rather the discontent may spreaded the environment of secession in general. Because it is assumed that the ethnic conflicts were born out from the power politics in general. (Kohli, 2010). It has been suggested that often the constant “reorientation” of the ethnic movements in to a “tolerant direction” was emerged as a successive way to combat the ethnic conflicts in general. (Subramaniam, 2010).

It has been argued that the challenge which Indian federalism has faces is political instead of cultural in nature.( Nayar, 1992). Hence the solution is depending on the strategy of governmental leadership instead the nature of ethnicity. It was said that, for achieving a successful federation of India, the two conditions are necessary. A strong centre as well as and a more strong State with autonomous regions as per ethnic requirement because a strong state may not be antithetical to a strong centre in general and the regions are the fundamental roots of regionalism. But the ideological perspective of the political process must be modified in this purpose because it was observed that politics is known as technique of retaining power as well as power concentration, but when the power become multi-centric, the problem may arise. In this context, the administrative structure of a country may flexible as per the regional needs. It has been argued that in a developing country the development can only achieved through political stability (Noda Fukuo) Though the federal polity in India is working with the reciprocal flow of diversity, It is often being said that the power decentralization on the grass route level may be one of the possible outcome of managing the territorial diversity in a federal context through the re-distribution of power to the local bodies, which denotes the restoration of the autonomy of the regions. It has been observed that, whether the federalism has been works in a plural society either co-operative or competitive in form, theoretically it is intended to decentralize the power at the apex. But when a federal government has been less interactive with the states as well as the regions has been diverted in to a “coercive federalism”. Hence the working of a healthy federal polity is depending on the principle of co- ordinations in particular. Following Kincaid “federalism requires co-operation to have competition and competition to have co-operation”. (Kincaid,2000).So, whatever may be that theory, in practice the federal situation of plural India must be associate with an inclusionary method of cultural accommodation as well as resource sharing directed by a strong central authority.

Hence, to fulfill the federal ends of the country it is a crucial task of the policy makers to find out the delicate means of diversity accommodation on the basis of fundamental

integrity of the country in particular. Where the cultural autonomy of territorially non demarcated sub-units also be honored as well as included in the national decision making process. Whereas country's 'shared rule's should be provided for all the ethno-regional communities of federal India in general because it is believed that, the concept of more autonomy may strengthened the democratic legitimacy of any viable political culture to a great extent. More over in India, the federal process has been working within a complicated coexisting culture of unity and heterogeneity on the on the one hand and diversity and homogeneity on the other. It is assumed that as a form of government federalism can use some features of consociationalism (Lijphart, 1977) as a regime. More federalism and required 'consociationalism' both may enhanced country's capability aspect regarding diversity absorbency where the institutionalized power sharing method are involved in the process of coalition which is qualitative in nature, based on the benefits of the entire society through the policies of inclusion instead of segmentation.

It is also noticed that in a country like India where the cultural diversity has been propagated by the multilingualism unlike the other countries of the world, the role of the political authorities may judge in terms of their quality instead of a large quantity, who are aware about the changing nature of Indian regionalism and the delicate use of federal device as per circumstantial necessities. Moreover on the ground of relative success of Indian federalism throughout the world compelled us to believe that the centre as well as State's sensitivity and responsiveness towards the local crisis may reducing the socio-economic unrest of the country within its constitutional heritage.

#### **7.10. An alternative mode of sub-regional accommodation:**

Hence there is a necessity of a responsible transparent political authority in a multi ethnic country like India to find out the original deprived regions of a particular state by 'valorizing' the ethnic diversity. More over in the period of growing modernization the method of ethnic conflict resolution need to be modified. Time has come for replacement of traditional method of institutionalizing minority interests representations rather there was a necessity of interests accommodations. The method of accommodation is needed to be integrated instead of segregated as per the trend of modernization. It has been observed that in Canada the agenda of separation in referendum in 1980 has been failed and 'clear cut secession from the Canadian federation was rejected by the most of Quebec's voters' (Christian Lammert, 'Ethno-Territorial Protest Movement and the Politics of Accommodation in Centralized and Decentralized Political Systems' pp. 20, Article in Federal Governance,

January 2005, <https://www.researchgate.net>). More over in Indian perspective the reforming methods have to be dynamic in nature instead of confining within policy uniformity in the perspective of ethnic grievances regarding cultural identity or development perspective. The regional policies of a federal state have been implemented as per the nature of ethnic demands. The political structure of different units like central, sub national as well as local units need to be open in the arena of communication through a viable network. The regional grievances may safe guarded through 'regional councils' by strengthening the power centers of the local elites because when the cultural deprivation may enhance by the political deprivation when there was an obstacle to fulfilling the political desire of elites, as the elite accommodation appeared as a pre condition of diversity regulation. More over a major policies regarding resource sharing may adopted and implemented by the highest authority by any means going beyond an impositions of centripetal decisions only. Let the local elites interrogate in a national decision making platform through a formal or informal way regarding the local regional matters. This inclusionary accommodative path has been successfully implemented In Corsica the territorial of France(AndreFazi, 'The Multilevel Politics of Accommodation and the Non- Constitutional Moment: Lessons from Corsica' in Jaime Lluçh (ed) Constitutionalism and the politics of accommodation in multinational democracies, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan September 2014, pp.132-156 <https://www.researchgate.net> ). Hence forth we may depend on our Constitution in this context where the founding fathers have already arranged a set of an ethno- accomodatory instruments like Tribal Advisory Council, Regional Council in part X of the article 244 and 244(A) of the Constitution of India has needed an amendment to promoting it in a non tribal regions also.

Though there was some criticism has been made regarding the Schedule system when it has been argued that "the schedule system offered a ready-made model for the educated elite of communities to gain access to power without contesting the sovereignty of India....Asymmetric federalism introduced by the schedule warrants significant reconsideration" ((Baruah, 2011). But, if we have analyze another observation where it has been argued that "asymmetrical constitutional status is necessary for the protection of cultural group rights and the politics of recognition in multinational countries"(Kymlicka 2001; Taylor 1991; Requejo 2005).But the policymakers should be aware at the time of asymmetric application that the asymmetrical provisions are works in according to the prescribed manner in a multi-cultural country as per "the political philosophy that has developed in Canada and

Spain around the idea of asymmetrical federalism” (Tillin, 2007) we find that Corsica the territorial of France, has been adopted the concept of regional council as a self sufficient political entity. It has been argued that “Corsica is the first French region that has been reorganized as a regional corporation, not merely an administrative unit, but a political entity with certain independent functions and powers...the regional council of Corsica has been renamed ‘National Assembly’ ” (Christian Lammert, ‘Ethno-Territorial Protest Movement and the Politics of Accommodation in Centralized and Decentralized Political Systems’ pp. 18, Article in Federal Governance, January 2005, <https://www.researchgate.net>).

Now, as per Fifth schedule, Article 244(1) in the Constitution of India, “part C” implies that, “6 schedule Areas-(1). In this constitution the expression “Schedule Areas” means such areas as the president may by order declare to be schedule areas”. “Part A” implies that “2. Executive power of a state in schedule areas-subject to the provisions of this schedule, the executive power of a state extends to the scheduled areas therein.” “Part B” implies that, “4.2. It shall be the duty of the Tribals Advisory Council to advice on such matters pertaining to the welfare and advancement of the scheduled Tribals in the state as may be referred to them by the Governor”(Constitution of India Fifth Schedule [www.mea.gov.in](http://www.mea.gov.in)).

If an attempt will be made to accommodate the ethnic demands of non-tribal Communities through the fifth schedule of the Constitution, the complication may arise in several ways. At first there was no provision for the application of fifth schedule, directly to the non-tribal areas or communities. Moreover the legislation as well as judicial power unlike Sixth Schedule, has been vested in “Tribal Advisory Council” under fifth schedule, on the one hand and the feeling of deprivation has been developed to wards the segregationist nature of this provision of the constitution on the other. It has been noticed that, the embodied principles of Fifth Schedule has followed the principles of regulations of “Excluded and Partially Excluded” Areas under the “Government of India Act 1935”. Eventually the district of Darjeeling including major Nepali Gorkha Communities has been treated as a ‘Partially Excluded Area ’prior Independence which give birth the separatist tendency throughout the region initially.

As per Sixth schedule, Article 244(2) and 275(1)in the Constitution of India has implies “1. Autonomous district and autonomous regions” in “(1) the tribal areas”; “(2) If there are different Scheduled Tribes in an autonomous district, the Governor may, by public notification, divide the area or areas inhabited by them in to autonomous regions” ; “2.(1)

There shall a District Council for each autonomous district”. “(2) There shall be a separate regional council for each area constituted an autonomous region”. “ (6) The Governor shall make rules for the first constitution of District Councils and Regional Councils in consultation with the existing tribal councils....within the autonomous districts or regions concerned”; “ 3. The Regional Council for an autonomous region in respect of all areas within such region and the District Council for an autonomous district in respect of all areas.....shall have power to make laws”; “4. The Regional Council for an autonomous region in respect of areas within such region and the District Council for an autonomous district in respect of areas within the district...may constitute village councils or courts for the trial of suits” ; “ 8. The Regional Council for an autonomous region in respect of all lands within such region and the District Council for an autonomous district in respect of all lands within the district .. shall have the power to assess and collect revenue..” (See the Constitution of India Sixth Schedule [www.mea.gov.in](http://www.mea.gov.in))

Now if another attempt will be made to accommodate the ethno-regional autonomy demands of the country either led by the non-tribal communities, through the application of the provisions enshrined in the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution of India, the problem arises again in the same legal context. As there was no provision of direct application of Sixth Schedule to the non-tribal peoples primarily. But the flexible nature of Indian federal system however argued in favor of some reservation for non-tribals representations under the sixth scheduled often may not accepted by the ethnic minorities. They argued on the basis of maximum facilities in the Sixth Schedule is constitute for the tribal communities of the country in particular. However it has been observed that “Paragraph 2 has been amended in its application to the state of Assam by the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution (Amendment) Act, 2003” ” Provided that the Bodoland

Territorial Council shall consists of not more than forty-six members of whom forty shall be elected on the basis of adult suffrage, of whom thirty shall be reserved for the Scheduled Tribes, five for non-tribal communities, five open for all, six shall be nominated by the Governor ..from amongst the un-represented communities of the Bodoland Territorial Areas District...” (Constitution of India Sixth Schedule [www.mea.gov.in](http://www.mea.gov.in))

It has been observe that there was a declaration in the Memorandum of settlement between the Government of India, Government of West Bengal and Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council in 22<sup>nd</sup> August, 1988. In according to their demand for inclusion of DGHC under sixth schedule of the Constitution of India “The Autonomous Self Governing Gorkha Hill

Council shall comprise of 33 members of whom 28 shall be elected on the basis of adult suffrage out of whom 10 shall be reserve for ST's, 15 for non-tribal communities, 3 open for all communities, the remaining five nominated by the Governor from amongst the unrepresented Communities of the states under the council. Out of the five nominated members at least two shall be women.” which was taken up by the Govt of West Bengal in the Constitution Amendment Bill 2007( Amendment of Article 244 of the Constitution) presented in RajyaSabha, New Delhi, 28<sup>th</sup> Feb 2008 are as follows: “On 01-12-2005, The cabinet committee on political affairs approved the purpose to enter into an principle memorandum of settlement, to set up a new council under the sixth schedule replacing the DGHC”, (cited in a power point presentation made by the Joint Secretary (Central State), Ministry of Home Affairs.).

Table - 7.20

| <b>Sub-Division</b>          | <b>Population</b> | <b>Percentage (%)</b> |
|------------------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|
| Darjeeling SadarSub-Division | 33693             | 8.68%                 |
| Kalimpong Sub-Division       | 38014             | 16.97%                |
| Kurseong Sub-Division        | 13340             | 7.52%                 |

Source: Bureau of Applied Economics and Statistics Government of West Bengal (District Statistical Handbook Darjeeling, 2004)

Table 7.21

**As per Census 2011, ST Population of three major Sub Divisions under DGHC**

| <b>Sub Division</b>           | <b>Total ST Population</b> | <b>(%)</b> |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------|------------|
| Darjeeling Sadar Sub Division | 120,435                    | 28.04%     |
| Kalimpong Sub Division        | 74,975                     | 29.79%     |
| Kurseong Sub Division         | 55,547                     | 28.5%      |

Source: Directorate of Census Operations West Bengal (District Census Handbook Darjeeling, India, 2011)

Hence a serious oppose was raised from the hill region of Darjeeling District regarding the tribal – non tribal ratio of the representation of Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council. Consequently

the Gokhas have reviewed their demand of inclusion of the territory of Gorkhaland under the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution of India. They argued that the benefits of Sixth Schedule are fitted to their territory if the Gorkha community has been granted ST status. However the demand is started to verify by the Government of India. It has been observed that the Ministry of Tribal Affairs, has “decided to appoint ...a committee to examine and recommended granting of Scheduled Tribes status to eleven communities.... in Sikkim and others Gorkha dominated states and areas” . (Source: Ministry of Tribal Affairs tribal.nic.in) ( See **Appendix G** )

Now not all the ethnic minorities are belongs to the tribal category and we cannot ignore the culture, heritage of non- tribal minorities also. More over the autonomy movements which were purely directed towards the development issue has needed to accommodate also. On the other hand though there was no contradiction between the process of new state formation and national building rather it enhances the democratic awareness of the multi ethnic country but as all the regions cannot fulfill the criterion of a full-fledged separate state also. So the time has come to focus on the configuration of Sixth Schedule regarding its applicability in non-tribal areas also as per the needs of diversity, the needs of development, the needs of our because the national challenge regarding the growing ethno-regional diversity cannot be achieved by streamlining the differences only.

However as a multicultural country Indian democracy have faced a structure dilemma since independence due to ethnic diversity the pattern of democracy have been changed in order to satisfy the needs of Milieu. Hence the ethnicity has been played a dominant role in the Indian political system. It is often argued that, “it is the development activity of the centre conducted in a democratic setting of Political competition that initially reinforced the politics of ethnicity”. It has been observed that, the states which born within a severe ethno-regional environments were achieved the highest economic places in the country. It is mentioned that “from the sixties to eighties Punjab, Haryana, Maharashtra and Gujarat have consistently remained at the top rank along with Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu which rapidly improve their economic status”. This development often inculcate the environment of relative deprivation when one ethnic group were ‘provoked to react’ against another dominant ethnic groups which has permitted “a development of fluid loyalties demonstrating an inbuilt complexity of ethnic politics”.( Das Gupta,1988).

Hence it is remaining to be seen that whether the contemporary federal politics will be able to minimize the ethno-regional dissatisfactions or not in the period of one party -

dominance since 2014. So far as the political culture of India is concerned there was a qualitative difference between the Nehruvian Congress and Modi led BJP regime in general. In the atmosphere of cultural nationalism, it was said that “Often the politics of caste-identity assertion can promote harder variants of Hindu Nationalism, to fertile the political ground...” (Vanaik, 2018). It has been observed that, in the background of pluralism where country’s immense diversity has been represented through the politics of regionalization, Modi’s model of ‘patriotic devotion’ (Vanaik, 2018) has brought a definite significance there. Therefore it has been observed that the contemporary Indian federalism bearing the imposed super nationalism is going beyond the model of loose federalism. Rather the newly emerging federal politics works in an idealistic manner boost up by the idea of a powerful nation where the state is its own objective or goal (Banerjee, 2018).

Notwithstanding the above arguments it is also a fact that there has been a shift in terms of the policies not relating to the ideological issues. The step that Rajiv Gandhi had attempted in 1989 of bypassing the state and reaching out to people through direct transfers has been successfully carried out by the present central government with no real resistance from the states. Despite the demands for devolution there has been a renewed centralization. Does that mean the issue of state rights is on the wane? It is a reality however, that The Centre for many of its agendas is going to need the assistance of the states. Ultimately the Centre has to rely on state governments for implementing its own ideas and schemes. Farm Bills are a great example of this. Without the ability to deal with consensus, it will be seen that there will be political logjam that will make things difficult. To use Yogendra Yadav’s idea of electoral authoritarianism which can definitely aid in bulldozing decisions temporarily but the institutional weakness resulting out of it would definitely be more forbearing and challenging, an example being the GST Council which was touted to have a lot of federal potentials but now it is in a difficult position. Therefore, what can be deduced from that the federal centralization observable now would very soon face challenges as that are the obvious outcome of a situation where the entire structure revolves around a single charismatic leader on the one hand and the institutions weakening on the other. As it happened earlier when Devkant Baruah, the President of the Congress party during the Emergency proclaimed “India is Indira and Indira is India”, this power of Congress waned with the death of Indira Gandhi weakened but in the process also weakened the public institutions in India. This weakening was due to the lack of transparency and accountability ultimately leading to the strengthening of the regional political parties. The same trend can be noticed now which

indicates that extreme centralization would open up the possibilities of the regional political forces emerging as strong challengers as it should not be forgotten that the socio-cultural conditions have changed, citizen participation has increased as people have become aware about their rights and the influence of social media as a strong communication medium with a high degree of reach ability cannot be overlooked. Therefore, the future emergent challenge would be deeper, sharper and with wide ranging consequences that would unfold gradually and would force the central government to reformulate themselves and adopt a structure and strategy of governance based shared power between the Centre and the constituent units and the same set of rules would be required to be followed by the states while dealing with their local units. And Covid 19 experience in 2020 has actually indicated that it is better in terms of service delivery if more and more of devolution to the regional units take place.