

Chapter – I

INTRODUCING THE STUDY

1. Introduction:

A conflict took place in 1790, United States of America, the actors, Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson, centering on the issue of the autonomy of the federating units and the centre. The Federalists led by Alexander Hamilton advocated the importance of a strong central government in leading the country forward, while the Democratic Republicans, led by Thomas Jefferson, promoted the rights of the states and increasing common man's role in government. Jefferson, believed "in the common sense of mankind in general" and distrusted the central government. However, Hamilton believed that allowing the Federal government more freedoms was important to the well-being of the country because this allowed the government to act in whatever manner would best serve the country's interests even if the actions stretched (or, in some cases, violated) the limits of power set in the Constitution. Unfortunately Jefferson's philosophy planted the seeds of the future conflict where southern advocates of sectionalism believed that state legislatures had the right to "pick and choose" which Federal laws were effective in their states.

The framers of the Constitution of India read through this piece of history and so post-independence India chose to be a federation not in a traditional sense but a federation with definite unitary bias. It was an imperative since post - independence India saddled with numerous challenges adopted and adapted a political system that was a federation with a unitary bias. This, was hoped would inch India towards more integration and prosperity. However, as time passed regionalist tendencies became stronger. Regional political formations catering to such aspirations started jostling for political space. Scholars keenly following the unfolding of the events stood divided with some considering it as a sign of democratization and developing political consciousness whereas some considered it as a problem for governance.

It is true that the nature, consolidation and manifestation of regional movements in India do not conform to any set pattern their cumulative impact on the working of the federal governance appears to be significant. The question that very often is raised with regard to the functioning of federalism that who is more powerful the centre or the states in the frame of power equation? The concern is not with "ought" rather with who exercise power over whom

under what political conditions or issue-areas. There are very vital areas over which the authority of the centre is generally acknowledged as supreme. But there are other issues in the governing process which become prominent and sometimes decisive in determining the course of politics. The language issue in any multi-lingual and poly-ethnic state like India has altered the entire fabric of the unity of the nation. Needless to mention, so far as the federal governing process in India is concerned, one may notice that substantial changes have taken place since 1977. The phenomenal changes both qualitative and quantitative have taken place and not only in the centre-state relations but also in the power configuration and power-equation between the centre and states. Moreover, with the emergence of coalition politics, the process of coalition building has given rise to a number of political issues which the constitutional arrangement does not specify. Since the political process of any system includes not only the formal and legal forces, the analysis of such problem becomes all the more complex and compelling. Such a study, therefore, goes for beyond the formal structure and process and includes within its ambit many other informal issues and factor without whose support no movement of this nature can proceed with its objectives. The following sections delineates the conceptual framework and the research questions to be answered throughout the course of the study.

1.1. Federalism:

Federalism has been described generally as a socio-political doctrine under which the three governmental sections legislature, executive and judiciary has been operated separately in the national as well as sub national arena. Though, the dynamics of separation of powers differs in parliamentary and presidential form of government in all over the world. The Latin word 'foedus/faeder' from which the English term 'federal' was derived, denotes a "contract among states which acknowledge centre jurisdiction over common affairs exercised by a federal government distinct from the governments of the individual states" (Singh Saxena 2013). Elazar argued that "Federalism is more than an arrangement of governmental structures, it is a mode of political activity that required the extension of certain kinds of Cooperative relationship throughout any political system it animates." (Elazar, 1983).It has been noticed that, "The twentieth Century will open the age of federations" (Proudhon, 2005) as well as, "we live in an increasingly federalized world" (Gibson, 2005). Immanuel Kant, in his Theory of Law and Politics, has argued that, an international federation could safeguard international peace. However gradually this phenomena has been covered the national arena also. (Cameron and Falleti, 2005)Hence, so fare as the modern Comparative literature is

concerned the federalism is measure on the basis of its quality as being federal which not only confines within the structural dilemma.

However it has been observed that, a dual polity of independent general and regional governments is the key factor of the institutional theory of federalism which is traditional in nature. As an exponents of the traditional theory of federalism, Lord Bryce argued regarding the federal System that, “the system was like a great factory where in two sets of machinery are at work, their revolving wheels apparently intermixed their bands crossing one another, yet each set doing its own work without touching or hampering the other” (Paleker, 2006) . K. C. Wheare said that, “By the federal principle I mean the method of dividing powers so that, the general and regional governments are each, within a sphere, co-ordinate and independent.”(Wheare, 1963).

But the traditional theory often redefined along with the Concept of ‘autonomy’ instead of ‘independence’ as well as ‘single polity’ instead of ‘dual polity’. Livingston, redefines a federal government as “a form of political and constitutional organization that unites into a single polity a number of diversified groups or component politics so that the personality and individuality of component parts are largely preserved while creating in the new totality a separate and distinct political and constitutional unit”. (Livingston, 1956)

On the other hand the socio-political requirement is concerned, the federalism has been analyzed as a society centric manner. According to Livingston, ‘Federal Government is a device by which the federal qualities of society are articulated and protected’ (Livingston, 1956). In a political angle, William H. Riker argued that, “as a Political Solution, federalism is the result of a political bargain in the situation which follows either the collapse of an empire, on which seeks to strengthen the enlarged political Community while respecting and protecting the autonomy of the Constituent Units”. (Paleker, 2006)

However, so far as the working of the federal government is concerned R.L. Watts, has focused on the emerging concept of New Federalism and he explained the inevitability of cooperative federalism in a modern trend of federal analysis (R.L. Watts,2006). Hence the federal system in contemporary world does not confined itself in legality only but it is extended for society and the ‘new federalism’ is stand for coexistence of general and regional governments. More over the nature of the regions of country either homogeneous or heterogeneous may affect. The structure of political Parties and the federal system is influenced in return. It has been observed that a conjugation of the two confronting forces

unity and territorial diversity has been seen as a crucial burden for a federal society which has been changed with the dynamic of the socio-political circumstances.

It was said that, these two opposite forces often “engaged in a moral combat” [C.A.I. Report of the Linguistic Provinces commission (1948), Para, 143], However as a irreplaceable method for altering unity and accommodating regional diversity the delicate use of this system by balancing the temperament of both the government has been suggested. It has been said that, “the federal compromise was the only alternative to political balkanization” – along with some crucial ingredients like constitutional elasticity (time based) and the quality of political authority. (Watt, 1966). More over in a new federation, the economic forces was acted as a motivating factor behind the politico cultural diversity, closely attached with the technique of accommodation as well as the strength of leadership because the ‘new federal society’ often assumed as diversity Potential.

It has been observed that in the global age of decentralization, the federalism manifests as a contemporary political device of a nation building. It has been observed that globalization has weakened the centralized nation state by minimizing its sovereign status on the one hand and cherished the ethnic crisis on the other which paves the way for ‘Federal Solution’. According to Huntington, in the period of globalization the sub national as well as ethno-regional identities predominant over the national identities (Huntington ,2010) Hence the ‘federation building’ is one of the crucial task of a multi ethnic state under the compulsion of fragmentation as well as diversity. Elazar argued that, “the Strong federal system is one which combines a high degree of unity with a high degree of diversity” (Elazar, 1987).

In another direction, the political ends of any political process have been able to establish its nature also. Hence the ends of federalism are significant regarding the analysis of a federal political system. It has been observe that as an institution arrangement federalism is intended to attain dual ends of a large political entity where the distinct sub-units are always in a contradiction with a unitary country. Following Tocqueville, there was some strategy which is placed in terms of federal ends like. ‘Governmental centralization’ regarding the power of legislation on the one hand and the ‘administrative decentralization regarding the power of execution vested regionally on the other.

Tocqueville’s is recommendation in this context is highlighted by Prof. G.W. Pierson, “Let the laws continue to be national, but let the administration of these laws be decentralized”. (Tocqueville,2011) with this continuation Mill was going beyond the

devolution of executive power of the locality only, he argued that ‘the devolution of the entire process of forming and carrying out policy regarding administrative things.’ (Kincaid, 2011).

However, this was a terminological dilemma about the actual position of federalism. It has been said that, federalism denotes a ‘set of principles’ where besides the distribution of power between national and Sub-national government, another concepts like limited government, separation of powers, checks and balances were also occupied a predominate position. It has been also noticed that as a political system Parliamentary democracy and federation are contradictory in nature which often denotes the age of federal crisis. (Verney, 2011)

It has been observe that, besides the connotations of Centralized or Cooperative trend of federalism, the urges for ‘economic federalism’ has been appeared as a contemporary grievance. How a decentralized federal structure could achieve economic sufficiency. This is the major concerns of the scholars now. As it has been defined that, “The principle of economic federalism prefers the most decentralized structure of government capable of internalizing all economic externalities, subject to the Constitutional constraint that all Central government policies be decided by an elected or appointed Central planner.” (Inman and Rubinfeld,2011).More over the stability of a federation depends on its democratic nature which is encouraged by the environment of cooperation as well as competition among its units and different Subunits. Elazar argued that, ‘a federal democracy can be defined as a constitutional union of separate democratic policies (e.g. States) within an overall democratic polity in which power is distributed and shared among general and constituent governments in a manner designed to protect the existence and authority of both.” In this context continuous democratic reforms and evaluation of federal political system is appeared as another crucial things. (Kincaid, 2011). It has been observed that, In a democracy the federal system has been acted as a cheeks on governmental autocracy by limiting its power on the basis of a proper devolution because the states has a potential to act as an alternative force of central authority. Hence a proper ‘devolutionary federalism’ have the capability to forming a more balanced constitutional system in a plural country congruent with the political culture of a country (Plotica, 2017).

On the other hand Horowitz argued that, ‘federalism can either exacerbate or mitigate ethnic conflict’ and he showed that a ‘skilful division of authority between regions or states and a centre has the potential to reduce conflict’ (Horowitz , 2010).Though federalism is seen as an only method of ethno regional accommodation but the federal success as well as failure

is depend on the 'federal design' of a particular country either through the asymmetrical ethnic empowerment or symmetrical distribution of powers within the system itself (Erk and Anderson, 2010, PP II).

Another form of federalism is applicable in the area of federal discussion is ethno-federalism which often recognized as more suitable in a plural country to deals with ethnic fragmentations. So far as the 'autonomy arrangements; of ethno federation is concerned, Kymlicka has argued that, "in general, it seems to be unlikely that federalism can provide an enduring solution to the challenge of ethno cultural pluralism." (Kymlicka,2010). But it has been observed that, the ethno federal arrangements have induced an 'institutional compromises' which often indulge to open a pandora's box in a plural democratic polity. It is often identified as 'trap polities' an arrangement which led the country in a trap between centralization and fragmentation, there was no middle way actually. Hence the strategy of 'bargaining' is seen as the only reform in this context. More over these institutions are become politicized and make the country secession potential (Roeder, 2010).

However, often the 'Federalists' has produced a 'compound republic model' of federalism for the purpose of solving federal dilemma in a plural country. They argued in a favor of, (i) multiple levels of government with a strong centre but the responsibility for providing local services with governments at the lower level (ii) divided 'ownership' of powers at the different levels (iii) legitimacy of central government derived not from unanimous consent of the constituent units but the approval of the majority of the citizens (iv) citizen preferences articulated through representatives elected by them locally to a national legislature and the national election of a single executive, who implements the laws enacted by the legislature. It has been observed that, the 'decentralization was their guiding principle in the matter of allocation of functions among governments, the rationale being economic rather than political' (Bagchi , 2000).

Though the ethno federal arrangements are there in a plural country but there are major problems also has been seen in a multi-ether country is the problem of 'federal asymmetry' based on language, religion, caste, tribe etc. More over the attachment of distinct sub-units towards the union is generally different which often foster the sense of inter regional disparity throughout the nation. A fillings of relative deprivation has been reflected within the territory of a weaken sub-units in compare to the rich sub units regarding the receiving of 'federal benefits'. Gradually which is led several discontents towards the federal Union. Often the idea of federalism has been debouched from the 'phenomena of pluralism'

due to its tendency of partial hegemony (Duchacek, 1970). Hence it is assumed that in a plural society the ethno-regional differences are cannot be recognized federally because the federal power is itself unequal in nature. No multi-ethnic federal polity can escape from this federal asymmetry. It has been said, in this context that, “A federalizing process, by definition, requires some sacrifices of central power and many compromises with local autonomy. Such sacrifices or compromises are usually difficult for the leaders to accept.” (Nye, 1970)

It has been observe that the wave of ‘federal political culture has been demanded a responsible federal Union with the aim of promoting socio-economic development in all over the country, which proved itself as a motivating forces regarding the political participation in the local level on the one hand and ‘institutional recognition of self rule’ on the other. Hence it has been noticed that gradually the traditional Constitutional from of federalism has been lost its relevance regarding the changing dynamics of diversity where federalism has been confined itself within the ‘territorial dimension of democracy’ and which bought the opportunity of political participations of the territorial units in to the national level. (Duchacek, 1970).However, while federalism has been identified as a ‘set of principles’ of devolution of power in a plural country, the regionalism has been established itself as state of mind of belongingness to a particular region as a unit of a plural country. Hence there is a symbiotic relation between these two concepts of federalism and regionalism in particular. It has been observed that, federalism as a process has deals with the boundary of a region where the feeling of regionalism is cohabited within the region. The phenomena of regionalism have influenced the federal structure of a plural country and have made the federal practice more devolutionary in nature. Hence both the phenomena have going towards a same direction that is diversity accommodation along with secured unity of a multicultural nation. Hence forth a semantic discussion about regionalism as well as ethnicity which flourished the regional grievances on ethnic lines are appeared here as a crucial factors.

1.2. Regionalism:

Harold Laski observed that ‘the epoch of federalism is over’. He argued that, the federal government in its true form will be incapable of coping with the new demands of the society generated by industrialization and modernization. (Laski,1992). It has been noticed that regionalism has been arrived as a psychological from a behavior which concentrate over the distinctive identification of a territory on the basis of culture, region, language, race tribe etc. In a contemporary nation state the regionalism has been involved itself to ‘province

building' for maximizing the developmental needs of a region as well as coping up with the grievances of socio-economic imbalances. It has also been observed in this context that, if the interests of the region are protected then the phenomena 'regionalism has nothing to do with the process of disintegration' which often arises from federal crisis. (Palanthurai Thandavan, 1992)

It has been observed that the phenomena of federalism have been attached with the phenomena of regionalism in the age of 'territorial politics'. Which strengthen the state's as well as the regions along with centre in the federal platform. Hence the regionalism has been stand for 'transferred of powers to sub-state levels'. (Hepburn and Detterbeck, 2013). The political power has been territorialized instead of power concentration in the context of multi-ethnic regionalization. In the age of regionalization the political system has been directed towards power deconstruction in particular. The political parties have been acted as a carrier of this transformation, resulting multiparty system. This decentralize polity transformation in the period of modernization gradually has been moved from a "unitarian model of the state towards regionalization in the 1980's and moves towards federalization in the 2000s" (Hepburn, 2013). The politics of coalition has been emerged from this grater regionalization of party system. In the wave of modernization It has been observed that, 'A centre periphery cleavage was drawn between the dominant national culture and ethno linguistic minorities, which mobilized along territorial lines in resisting centralizing and standardizing policies, from the centre' (Rokkang and Urwind,2013).Generally the inter-regional socio-economic disparity as well as the territorial cleavages has left its deep impacts on the changing political scenario. However in this environment of fragmentation, it has been experimented that, the 'State wide parties must urgently re-think how to maintain their integrative functions in increasingly disintegrating party system'. (Hepburn and Detterbeck, 2013).

On the other hand it has been observed that when a feelings of regionalism is build upon an ethnic inclination, represented ethno-regionalism. If regionalism devotes territorial dimension the ethnicity represent the belongingness to a common culture within a particular territory. Hence the ethno-regional accommodation has needed a strategy of regional decentralization which should be made as per ethnic attachment of a particular region. The phenomena of ethno-regionalism directed towards the change in existing central state relations of a 'Uni-federal' country in general. There are various sources of ethnic conflict are dormant within a boundary of region like language, culture, religion, tribe etc. It has been observed that, "When economic inequalities are superimposed on ranked ethnic groups"

culture differences were widened resulting severe conflicts within the boundary nation-state. (Hutchinson and Smith, 1996) However the ethnic groups have earned a rising political importance by representing the spirit of heterogeneity in modern world. It has been said the, “Ethnicity involves, in addition of subjective self-consciousness, a claim to status and recognition, either as superior group or as a group at least equal to other groups”. Hence the crucial factor is, to find out the reason for rising ethnic needs as well as ethnic conflict in a democratic political process which exacerbates the tensions of Centre-State conflicts in the federal arena in particular. Though these conflicts often emerged from the conflicts between ‘indigenous elites’, of a poly ethnic country. (Brass, 1996) However it is said that, an ethnic cohesion as well as we feeling is actually created through social and political processes, especially in the context of competition for scarce resources" (Sengapta, 2014).

In the age of multiculturalism often the contradictory nature of ‘ethnos’ has been appeared in the context of ‘demos’ due to politico-economic imbalances. Moreover, the ethnicity have been viewed as socially and politically constructed in a modern world (May, 2014). As the cultural diversity is appeared as a normative concern of different multi-culture Society, hence the demand has been raised for “show sensitivity to the uniqueness of the context, history and identity of cultural minorities” when the issue of ‘autonomy’ can be more meaningful and actually works. (Taylor, 2014).It is noticed that, the un equal resource distribution, in a state may erected’ relative deprivation’ which give birth the relative frustration among the ‘disadvantaged’ etching groups against the ‘privileged’ groups. In a poly ethnic states the ethnic groups have occupied different ‘geographical regions’ and raise their voices for economic upliftment. (Brass, 1991).Paul R. Brass has argued that, ‘The process of modernization may produce so great an imbalance between one group and another that many ethnic groups may become assimilated to another language and culture’ and to him these ethnic groups are manipulated by the elite sections of the country who may awake the cultural consciousness among them and channelized their ‘primordial’ Sentiment in to a feelings of discontent against the ruling authority of a nation state, which enter the support base of the political elites, in general. (Brass, 1991).

1.3. Indian Federation: the Structure and the Processes

India has carried an age long profound diversity in compare to other countries in the world. On the one hand where the Northern and Southern parts of the country is fragmented through several ‘linguistic enclaves’; predominating overlapping regions identities like ‘Hinduism, Sikhism Indo-Islamic way of life’ on the other has make the country multi

cultural in nature which stand for 'federative solutions' in response of territorial claim (Sing Saxena,2013)

It has been observed that during the British rule the constitutional reforms regarding decentralization of power has been introduced in India by the India council Act 1909 which create the 'provincial legislature' along with the central legislative council where besides the indirect election procedure the reservation opportunity for Muslim community was inserted at both the level of legislature which often recognized as a 'communitarian federalism' .consequently diarchy was introduced at the provincial level along with direct electorate by the Act of 1919, and the communal reservation has seen extended for other categories besides the Muslim community. Gradually, the Government of India Act 1935 has established a bicameral legislature consisting of 'council of States' and a 'federal assembly' by introducing diarchy at the centre instead of the provincial level. Hence 'the foremost effort to introduce some degree of federalism in the centralized administrative system of British India was made in the Government of India Act 1935. As the princely states were unwilling to join the proposed union of India, Only the provincial part of the 1935 constitution Act Went in the effect while the federal part remain on hold' (Saxena, 2013)

However after an age long political struggle as well as in a communal dilemma the constitution of India has been adopted in 26th November 1949, where the constitutional designation of the country was renamed as 'Union of state's'. Through 'the structures of governments at the two levels and the legislative distribution of competences through there lists federal, Provincial are concerned were incorporate the 1935 India Act in to the 1950 constitution with some revisions (Sakena, 2013).Granville Austin argued "India's original contribution to constitution making is that its constituent Assembly produced an amicable union through consensual decision making and political accommodation." (Austin, 1999). The federal as well as unitary features of the Constitution of India are as follows:

It has been observe that through the process of integration or assimilation, the inclusion of the princely states in to a 'union of States' on the one hand and disintegrated the over all territory of British India by classified it in to four kind (A.B.C.D.) of provinces as well as the princely states in Indian territory on the other has recognized as a unique federal political system unlike (the adopting of either one policy of federation formations) the other federations more over the conjugation of the parliamentary form of government within a federal framework produced a crossbreed political system in India. However for the purpose of ruling the disintegrated 'Union of States' the founding fathers have decided to make a

strong centre to 'build up a strong viable nation'. Hence so far as the Unitarian trend of Indian constitution is concerned the units were dominated by the centre in every step. Ambedkar argued that, "the division of power among the units is more an arrangement of division of labour than distribution of power" (Verma, 1987). It has been observed that, "land and particularly agricultural land, is a subject of exclusive state legislation under entry 18, list II. However, entry 42 of the concurrent list provides for acquisition and requisition of property. Therefore, though land generally is a subject of exclusive state legislative power, acquisition and requisition of land become subjects of concurrent legislative power" (Jacob, 1968). Again entry 6 in state list is Public health and sanitation, Hospitals and dispensaries. Often aggravated by the entry 81 Inter-state migration, Inter-state quarantine in Union list; entry 3 The maintenance of public order or the maintenance of supplies and services essential to the community and entry 29 Prevention of the extension from one state to another of infectious contagious diseases or pests affecting men, animal or plants in the Concurrent list (The Constitution of India, legislative.gov.in).

However it has been observed that after attaining the freedom, the Constituted Assembly of India was stipulated by the Indian National Congress. To the Constitution makers "the circumstances following the partition of India made stability more important than autonomy efficiency more important than initiative and expediency more important than federalism on any 'ism'" (Kumar, 1997). But it has been noticed that this unitary temperament was proved quite unmatched with the ethno regional diversity of the country. More over the tendency of the Congress leaders to confining the 'primordial loyalties' towards the nation has aggravated the political situation of India. While in 1975-77 the President rules has reflected the 'Centralist Orientation' to capturing the State's power empowered by the constitution on the one hand, the formation of non-congress government at the centre in 1977 has reflected the federal power of the states on the other. Hence, the massive centralizing tendency of national elite has made the cultural minority, regionally more conscious and has recast their loyalty to the local elites. It is argued that without an active participation instead of alienation of the people, a multi federation "becomes meaningless and not durable" (Narang, 1997).

1.4. Emergence of Regional Identity and Subsequent Conflict

However with the passage of time the sub-national forces have played an active role in the political process of the country. The phenomenon of caste as one of the major sub-national forces has exerted its impact of policy making. Gradually the caste appeal is

appeared as a determining factor of political calculations. It has been observed that the states bearing major SCs and STs Populations the poverty rate is also high. It has been argued that, 'the Caste System in India over the years has acted in stratifying the society socially, corrupting it politically and weakening it economically' (Jain,1990). (See **Appendix A**)

Another regional force which has wakened the unitary strength of federal India since independence is the religious forces. It has been observed that in India even after the partition, the total number of Muslim population is quite larger in the world. It has been observed that percentage wise Muslim populations are significant in Jammu and Kashmir, Assam, West Bengal, Kerala, UP, Bihar, Jharkhand, Uttarakhand, Karnataka and Maharashtra (Census 2011) ; Christians have large percentage in Nagaland, Mizoram, Meghalaya, Manipur, Kerala (Census 2011); Sikhs are mainly concentrate in Punjab, Haryana, Chandigarh and Haryana (Census 2011).(See **Appendix B**) It has been argued that, "religious chauvinism of Sikhs has gained momentum and made the State of Punjab a cynosure for world leaders. The North-East has been greatly affected by the frequent commercial riots". (Das, Chowdhury,1990).

1.5. Federalism and Linguistic Politics in India

Language is the controversial ethnic issue in the age of pluralism the linguistic grievances of India made the political process of the country as flexible as possible. As a multi- lingual country India has '121 languages' out of which 22 languages are specified in the Eighth schedule in the constitution of India.(See the conclusion)At present in India, there are 5 language families are existed like Indo-European, Dravida, Austro-Asiatic,Tibeto-Burmese, Semito-Hamitic.(Census of India 2011) (See **Appendix C**) As a controversial political issue there was a serious debates took place on Constituent Assembly before the adoption of the Constitution of India. It has been observed that, 'the question of Hindi Vs English became the question of Hindi Vs India. Such a cumulative and massive pressure leads the three language formula'. 'The South Vs North tangle has been appeared as dominating regional forces' in particular. "The question of imposition of Hindi which is considered to be the language of the North, created a consciousness among the ethnically, conscious Dravida people particularly the Tamils" (Das, Chowdhury , 1990).

It has been observed that the Constitution of India has permitted 'the use of the Hindi language in addition to the English language ...for the official purpose of the Union' (Art.343) and in Art.347, it has been mentioned that the state may adopted any regional

language according to the 'substantial proportion of the population of a state' along with the language of Hindi or English for the official purpose of the States (Art.345).Art. 351 has mentioned along with Hindi, 'enrichment' as well as 'without interfering with its genius, the forms, style and expression in the other languages of India specified in the Eighth Schedule...' (Constitution of India) .It has been observed that there was no specific qualifying criterion regarding the inclusion of a language in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution of India. A large number of speakers as per the satisfaction of the President of India along with its own script and publications have been appeared as the criterion of a particular language of Eighth Schedule. However there was a different language 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 has demanded the inclusion in Eighth Schedule.(See the Conclusion).

However it has been observed that having a dynamic essence the phenomena of federalism not always confined within a legal constitutional framework. However, it was said that, In Indian context, 'Federation implies Union but, not loss of identity of the federating units'. Hence along with the politics of a nation, the state politics has been appeared as a crucial in the federal studies. It is also noticed that, 'the protagonists of centralized federation are probably unaware of the fact that the fissiparous tendencies may both be the causes and consequences of over centralization'. Consequently the emergence of 'multiple power centers' has been 'greatly eroded the erstwhile cordiality of centre state relations' in the environment of political bargaining in general (Das, Choudhury, 1990). Hence the trend of excessive centralization of newly independent plural India has been appeared as a 'counterproductive'. Hence the purpose of the constitution makers was failed regarding the adjustment of countries growing diversity. The emerging thrust for federal autonomy may endanger the countries integrity, by challenging the parliamentary grip over the federal power sharing. Hence all the subsequent attempts of the constitution makers' regarding diversity recognition within the constitutional frameworks has been started to collapse. On the other hand countries immense socio-culture diversity as well as inter regional economic cleavages has executed the inevitability of federalism as an irreplaceable mode of accommodation even at the cost of 'institutional compromises' like reorganization of states on the basis of linguistic considerations.

Now the situation is complicated when the questions come as to how the federal framework of a multicultural society accommodated the increasing ethnic identities when the country's political process again confined within the mode of one party –dominance since 2014? Is the politics of regionalization no more capable to make Indian federalism appear wanting in nature? Or is the politics of nationalism successful to hold the cultural diversity of India in a long run? The contemporary age where the utility of federal compulsions is nearly lost, questions have been raised regarding the public requirement of tight federal system again. In these circumstances another crucial matter has appeared that in which way the phenomenon of federalism has been used in India as an overwhelming structure or as a power sharing method? These are being treated as a most obfuscating questions related to federalism in India. It is true that regional movements in India bring with it a number of issues which may unnoticed in the general frame of governance. However it becomes necessary to see how far these demands can be accommodated within the general governing system without compromising the national interest. It has been rightly observed that in terms of magnitude, the literature on regionalism and federal governance in India has been enormous. The subject has been discussed from three perspectives: the Constitutional aspect, the institutional arrangements and the impact of these phenomena on political processes of a multi cultural country. Of these three, the third one appears to be most controversial aspect. The development and successful working of federal structure depend on actual political realities. Therefore, the attitude of the political parties, and the nature of people's demands and their impact on the governing process need to be assessed in an objective manner.

Statement of the Problem

The concept of federalism is not only confined within and understood as an institutional program rather it is more associated with the structure of government. Whatever may be the ambiguities, the federal system denotes the political dimension of a society, fostering the political unification along with multiculturalism. The enormous heterogeneity coupled with 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”. Although the linguistic identity was given predominance and states were created but this

recognition of regional identity did not lead to the end of further demands, sub-regional in nature. If federalism was used as a strategy to accommodate the regional identities, claims and issues then what could be the reason behind the emergence of sub-regional claims. Such claims and movements thereof have had an impact on the federal fabric in India. This impact wouldn't have been uniform everywhere depending on the socio-political culture of the region. This apart the return of the trend of one-party dominance at the Centre since 2014 with BJP dominating not just in the Centre but also in states. Fragmented nature of politics since 1989 gave way to an integrative nature of politics with the coming of BJP in 2014 and an increase in vote share in 2019 indicating a consolidation of centralizing tendencies. Against this backdrop of a hegemonic party system does that mean the regional forces would get integrated or they would still retain the potential to forge other political equations and if so then in what way they would impact on the Indian political process as with time the nature of terrain of the regions have also changed, the claims and the dimensions of conflict would also experience changes. This changed reality demands a new and a different way of looking into the nature of the impact and also what possible strategies may be applicable for management of the conflict. Moreover, this necessitates the focus on devising an alternative arrangement to accommodate and manage these sub-regional demands.

1.6. Literature Review

There is a substantial amount of research work has been done in an academic field over the issue of federalism as well as regionalism either in separable way or in together. It has been observed that there are three generation of scholars who have contributed to the study of politics in India. The first generation discussed federalism in general till 1970. The second generation discussed federalism and regionalism but more on regionalism as a problem of governance till 1990 and regionalism and federalism is focused more by the third generation scholars from 1990 to present.

In 'India's constitution in the Making' (1960) B.N.Rau as an eminent constitution maker has focused on India's constitutional problems in his writing .However besides explaining the union state relations he noticed the satisfactions of the demand of linguistic provinces as one of the major constrains of Indian federal system. But before the adoption of the Constitution of India he advised an "outline of a new constitution" in 1946 for the purpose of avoiding the event of partition of India in particular. It was observe that, most provisions of his writing very closed to federalism. He framed India as a Commonwealth of three different units of federation like 'Hindustan federation, Pakistan federation and the

Indian states and tribal areas' as the demand has been made by the Muslim league. The scheme of Rau was intended to represent a unified administration for whole of India with a strong centre on the one hand and giving a maximum opportunity to the regional cabinet to meet and discussed the matters of common interest on the other. However the tem 'federation' was not accepted by Mr. Jinnah, the leader of Muslim league.

In 'Federal Government' (1963), Professor K.C. Wheare had discussed about an institutional structure of a proper federation. His writing is considered as a juristic writing. To him the adoption of a federal government is depending on the circumstances, capacity as well as the desire of a particular country. The difference between the federalism within constitutional context and the practice of federalism are depending upon the circumstances in general. He had discussed about the principle of confederation (1777) as well as the principle of federation (1787) worked over the political environment of United States of America. He focused on the devolutionary principle of a federation when the relations between general and regional governments were co-operative in nature. He had argued by saying that the units in federation should be homogeneous rather the state loyalty may prevail over the general loyalty on the one hand but again he said that if there is no right to secede than there is a question of subordination which is a mark for bad federal government because the dictatorship style of ruling is incompatible with the working of federal principle on the other. As a method of safeguarding the regional interests he has given emphasize on equal representation in upper house in a democratic country. His idea of federal government is stood for multiplicity in unity.

In 'the foundations of Indian Federalism' (1967) K.R.Bombwall has focused on legal – constitutional as well as political factors which shaped Indian federal system in general. He emphasized the necessity of federal system in plural India which is composed by regional heterogeneity. He encouraged the rational adoption of federalism in India political process and to him it is quite successful in the environment, where the country was in the turmoil of British imposed politics of segregation on the basis of religion as well as caste system on the one hand and emerging aspiration of nationalism on the other. Though he reevaluated the federal system in changing political scenario in and after 1967 election where he has find a bold trend towards decentralization instead of a strong centre.

In 'Govt. & politics in India' (1971) Morris Zones describe federalism as a political form like democracy. As the Constitution of India is greatly influenced by Britain Westminster model hence naturally the federal features of the Constitution has a unitary trend. He

has given emphasis on the centre – state consultations as well as more decentralization of power like constitutional reallocation of power in the administrative sphere. To him in these ways the provincial dependence to the centre may minimize. He argued that under the act of 1919 the system of Diarchy was needed to be more devolutionary in nature which may by losing the central grip help to make India federalizing as more as possible. Morris Zanes observed planning commission as an instrument for making centre – state relation quite easy going and the confrontations which often arises in the purview of the planning commission are worked as a source of a healthy federalism which he named ‘bargaining federalism’. The federal units were bargain with each others in the platform of planning and the federal development take place.

In ‘Federalism and constitutional change’ (1956), S. Livingston has point out the notion of federalism as a process instead of an institution where federalism has been worked as an integrating force for composing the federal states in particular. He argued that, qualities of a society which is federal in nature are protected and assembled by the federal govt. As the federal institution are the essential product of society may acted as a politico – cultural as well as economic source form managing the diversity in general. So far as the needs of federal society is concerned the change through the constitutional amendment as required.

In ‘New Federations: experiments in the Common Wealth’ (1966)R.L. Watts has given emphasize on federal society. Hence the ‘federal solutions’ in developing countries is not therefore mainly a legal and constitutional study only rather it is a wider examination of federal societies. The pattern of the political parties had an enormous influence upon the working and the effectiveness of the new federations. The size, number, shape of regional units as well as the nature of homogeneity or heterogeneity of regions influenced the political parties or party politics of a federal county. Diversities are regionally distributed in federalism. To him the regional inequalities on the basis of economic development accentuated separatist pressure in new federation because in most of the new federations, politico-cultural diversities have been strongly colored by economic factors. Due to the presence of considerable heterogeneity a greater decentralization is required in a new federation.

The book ‘State politics in India’ (1967) edited by Iqbal Narain has highlighting the issue of socio-economic transformation of Indian political process and the role of the states as well as the pattern of state politics during Congress hegemony and the trend of non-congress politics. The book recognize the ‘dual personality’ of the states in s changing political

environment, which focused on co-operative federalism and sometime which reflect the confluent character of states politics also. In his 'Panorama of state politics' has analyzed the nature of fractional politics during Congress regime.

The book 'State Politics in India' (1968) edited by Myron Weiner was identified one the significant study of state politics in India. The book has covered the changing perspective of 'political participation' in India by emphasize the state's performances as well as the party system. The time period of the study was concentrated on the period of the hegemony of the Congress before the election 1967. Weiner has argued over the different contradictory political forms of different states during this period like, caste, tribes, linguistic groups, religions groups. He has highlighted the growing tendency of regionalism in the framework of state politics. In his 'political development in the Indian states' Myron Weiner has argued the trend of state level factional politics in congress regime. The manipulative Congress factions may lead a major discontent in different states.

In 'Politics in India' (1970) Rajni Kothari has argued that, In India political process the idea of politicization has been worked as a 'driving force of modernization'. The systematic working of a polity is identified as a pre condition of political stability. According to Kothari the dilemma of leadership, the classical trend of fragmentations as well as the fluid condition of Indian political process has facing a changing scenario for political survival with its increasing age old diversity. He argued that the 'politics of India' is represented by the 'politics of integration' but the problem of political development has been arises as a major obstacle. In India the political transformation has making the 'political system as an instrument of social structure'. He used a model for India in his 'politics in India' which represented a modernized plural society in the context of an 'open polity' where political culture played an important role for legitimized the political process. In this context he identified 'the period 1967 to 1969 has been one of the considerable learning in India'.

In 'Comparative Federalism The Territorial Dimension of Politics' (1970) Ivo D. Duchacek has discussed about, the problem of federal asymmetry in a poly-ethnic country where a 'grossly erroneous perception' of asymmetry of power may produce dissatisfaction. To him in India as a poly-ethnic federalism has combined the linguistic unity with the linguistic diversity. A Federalizing process has requires some sacrifices of central power and the compromises regarding local autonomy. He given emphasizes on federalization of the 'collective ownership of the means of production'. Federations should be "Pragmatic rather than dogmatic". He argued that one of the special problems of poly-ethnic federations' is

foreign involvement, resulting foreign support of secession. He defines federal culture as a set of orientations towards the federal political system which should be understood in the context of constant changes through the interlocking links. He focused on 'Deconcentration of powers' as well as participation of local authorities in general policy making process.

'The Indian Constitution: Cornerstone of a Nation A History of the Indian Experience' (1972) Granville Austin highlighted the background of the adoption of federal structure in Indian political system and he analyzed that because of the unique features of the country, Indian federalism would not come to under any dogma or theory of federalism. As a large country having big population with tremendous diversity make India's states to depend on a powerful central authority to maintain a unified administration and its integrity. But there was a demand of administrative decentralization against the tight model federation in India. He highlighted the centre-state financial cooperation and he argued that the regional sentiment of India is formed especially on the basis of inter regional disparity.

The book 'State politics in India (1976) another edited work by Iqbal Narain has cover the period 1967-71 of Indian political process, which was identified as a period of coalition politics in the states which have made a turning point in Indian politics by contributed both the positive and negative influences. The work has emphasized on the nature of political process of different states during the non-Congress tenure. The different levels of politics is highlighted in this work like the politics of integration, politics of defections, politics of instability, politics of stagnation, politics of one party dominance, politics of polarization, politics of manipulation, politics of immigrants etc. In 'Continuity and change in State Politics' Iqbal Narain has argued that, due to massive centralizing tendency of congress party an environment of plurality may flourish gradually in the sphere of state politics. The growing political instability characterized by intra-party factionalism has paved the way from coalition politics. The regional politics were come in to the lime light. One the non-congress regime was established since the general election 1967. The article showed that, the distinctiveness of the state politic was reestablished in their own format after went out from the grip of Congress domination. In 'Politics of Fragmentation and Political Integration' Rajni Kothari has argued about the trend of Indian politics regarding the over concentration of political morality especially when it is applied on the issue of 'political fragmentation'. To him the fragmentations were extended due to the increasing trend of political morality in Indian Political process. To Kothari, In India 'if there are no fragmentations, there would be no politics'. Though there is the politicization which influence the country to a great extent

but in a plural country the accommodationist tendencies fine give birth the politics of integration, which in return produced the fragmentation like the politics of linguistic reorganization he said.

In 'Democracy in plural societies a comparative exploration' (1977) Arend Lijphart has focused on the rising problems of a stable democracy in a plural society. In this context he explained a new form of democracy name 'consociational democracy' based on 'segmented pluralism'. He argued that consociationalism is the means to attend stable democracy as an ends in the third world country like India which characterized by tremendous ethno-regional diversity. He identified consociational model as a parallel of the process of federalism. He emphasized on segmental autonomy as a form of federalism which is necessary for sub- national government in India. He argued that the consociational democracy instead of parliamentary democracy is suitable for a political system which is overloaded by an increasing pluralism.

The book 'Regionalism: Developmental Tensions in India' (1984) edited by Akhtar Majid, has been analyzed the success of the spirit of sub-nationalism in compare to nationalism by the efforts of ethno-regional groups. The book focused on the negative character of regionalism as a threat to the development as well as unity of the country. But such essence of pluralism often does not produced fragmentation on the other hand. Hence the ethno regional forces have not always identified as disintegrating force. It was the inability of the political leadership not to bear the countries problems in proper way, rather exploiting these ethnic sentiments for the purpose of increasing their support base. In a plural country the ethno-regional demands are quite normal and can be accommodated peacefully. In a viable nation state cultural plurality and national integration may treated complementary instead of confronting with each other. The book has highlighted that as a plural country the centre-state relations in India are affected by the ethnic culture as well as economic inequality between regions. Hence the territorial identity of the regions often has been treated as crucial steps for Indian polity. The volume argued that, the regional identity therefore not antithetical to the national identity rather the rewarding coexistence of these phenomena has bring a great challenges in front of Indian political system.

In 'State politics of India' (1984) Babulal Fadia, has given emphasis on the role of the Indian state's as well as the federal policy of India which affected the character of the state politics. On the other hand as a constituent units of the union how the state positions affects

the national matrix was highlighted in his study. The book highlighted the coalition and regional era also.

In 'Ethnic groups in conflict' (1985), Horowitz, argued that ethnic affiliation as well as ethnic conflict is a common phenomenon in a deeply diversified society. But the degree of ethnic pervasiveness is variable. To him economic interests as well as cultural pluralism are the pre-conditions of ethnic conflict. The feelings of relative deprivation may create tension in ethnic groups. He further argued that, the election systems as well as the political parties are involved to maximize the ethnic conflict, as their ignorance of the people of a particular region.

In 'Exploring Federalism' (1987) Daniel J. Elazar has been treated federalism as a universal political form. As a form of political organization it is defined as a significant political force which shaped political behavior. To Elazar the federalism is more 'akin to natural law' which works for people as well as to the needs of politics and integrity was preserved through this political device. He argued that the federalism is coterminous with the 'diffusion of political power' on behalf of unity and integrity. He placed the term 'non-centralization' to describe federal system which works as a means to solve political problems as an ends. Federalism as a structure or as a process becomes popular because it is suitable with the modern temperament of society.

The book 'Indian Federalism Problems and Issues' (1987) edited by Tarun Chandra Bose, focused that, every federal system have faces the period of strain and stress in centre-state relation. But a tendency of political cooperation as well as self restraint has made the division balanced. He showed that, as the Constitution of India could not provide equity with growth in its constituent units, has been acted as a source of regionalism. Regionalism is appeared as a driving force of centre-state cooperation. He argued that the centre-state antagonism in Indian federation has been instigated by the inefficiency of political leadership which neglected the regional temperament in long term. To him a strong centre with strong states can only able to established the essence of unity in diversity. The congruence between national integration and regional interest may establish the true federal spirit in a multi-cultural country like India. Even a strategy of 'Carrot & Stick' should be promoted in the federal platform by the centre if needed.

In 'The politics of India since Independence' (1990) Paul R. Brass has built upon a work on Indian politics during first three decades of Independent India where he highlighted

the trend of power centralization in culturally plural country which increased in the post – Nehruvian era resulting ethno-regional conflicts. The Indian politics goes through a systemic crisis during these periods. Which affect the national unity also. Consequently an alternative political power has been arises instead of congress ruling. This made a turning point of Indian political process and which paved the way for the emergence of Bharatiya Janata Party with militant Hindu Nationalism. However he noticed the economic reform of India during the tenure of P.V. Narshima Rao which has made a great contribution in India’s economy.

In ‘Democracy and discontent India’s growing crisis of governability’ (1990) Atul Kohli has elaborated the problems of governability in India, when he focused on the declination of Congress system as well as the eroding points of India’s traditional pattern of authority. The growing tension between traditional and modern political authority is highlighted in his writing which was treated as an ‘inevitable political outcome’ of the country. The study has tried to give a “state oriented explanation of the crisis of governability”. So far as the diversity is concerned the study would have taken into account both the national and regional trends. The center, state and local politics were given equal importance in his work. However, the depth of governability crisis was different in each region but the role of central leadership to mitigate the problems was focused here. However he argued that the qualitative difference between traditional and contemporary political authority is dependent on the political history of the country from where the political changes occurred.

‘India’s democracy and analysis of changing state –society relations’(1990) edited by Atul Kohli had analyzed that, how the India’s democratic institution changed in accordingly to accommodate new demands of political participation toward solving the socio-economic problems of the country. A number of scholarly articles were presented in this edited volume for solving the democratic strain of Indian political process. Kohli analyzed India’s democracy on the perspective of state-society interaction. The problems of modernization were focused here. All the papers of this edited volume were concerned about the changing nature of India’s ruling institutions and their capacity to facing the emerging socio-economic challenges in particular. The changing role of political parties, as well as ethno-political demands was highlighted besides the role of the dominant proprietary classes in Indian society.

The ‘Ethnicity and Nationalism Theory and comparison’ (1991) by Paul R. Brass was written between the year 1978 to 1990. When he argued that the nationalism and ethnicity

were created by the society itself established by the political system of the country. The political elites were intended to create an ethno-national consciousness in order to build their support base. He observed that the phenomenon of nationalism and ethnicity are very much related with the modern centralized state which created several ethnic groups in its periphery. Gradually there was an alliance occurred between centralized and regional elites. Hence forth the political consequences were continued with confrontation as well as cooperation in general. He often argued against the consociational model for conflict resolution which according to him established elite advantage by 'freezing' a particular political system.

In 'The politics of nationalism and Ethnicity' (1991), James G. Kellas argued that the central arena of politics are nationalism and Ethnicity which influence the human nature to a great extent. He explains 'human nature provides the necessary condition for ethnocentric behavior', which is used in politics because ethnicity and nationalism are both the form of behavior.

In 'regionalism in Indian perspective' (1992) Bharti Mukherjee argued that since independence the Indian political process gradually leaning towards the regionalization which is multi dimensional in nature. She analyzed how the inter-regional asymmetrical development may transfer the Indian society in to a regionalist society. Hence the 'we-they' syndrome may established the culture of sub nationalism in a modern nation state. She identified regionalism as a connecting force between 'localism and nationalism' –which helps to make federal polity as matured as possible because often in a plural society the regional imbalances were appeared as a pre condition of rebellion.

In 'Regionalization of Indian Politics' (1993) Prabhat Dutta has argued that, the centre of gravity was turned in to regional favor due to increased ethno-regional temperament. The book was concerned about to find out the roots of separatism in India as well as review the urges for man power decentralization in the late 1960s. The book also emphasized on the nature of various regional and sub regional moments within Indian union. Prabhat Dutta has observed country's linguistic consciousness of different nationality since the birth of Indian nationalism. To him the problem of the tendency of ethno-regional separatism remain inconclusive problem of the country. Because in India as a democratic multicultural state the ethnic forces are more politicized and are intended to take their due share of the 'national cake'.

The book 'Ethnicity' (1996) edited by John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith have discussed about the phenomena of 'ethnicity' which is paradoxical in character. It expresses a common essence of community which had a common link with homeland as well as a common sense of solidarity. This volume highlights the political importance of ethnicity in a modern bureaucratic state especially in a plural state. The federalism often has examined as an instrument of conflict regulation through a peaceful accommodation of ethnic demands. The work highlighted the 'longevity' and ubiquity of ethnic ties throughout the world. The phenomena of ethnicity is not "ordinarily primordial rather it has a clear and analyzable socio genesis".

In the edited book 'politics in India' (1997) Sudipta Kaviraj has highlighted the Indian political process through the different scholarly articles over the issues like politics and sociology; historicity of structures; cast, class, religion and electoral politics, modernity and identities and last but not the least the crisis of the state. Dipankar Gupta in his "Ethnicity and politics" has discussed the linguistic demands where the national as well as local congress parties have been taken an active part. The linguistic demarcation of states was based on ethno-regional connotation which established India's diversity in to a meaningful era. This movement has influenced the 'Sons of the Soil' demand also. On the basis of which the movement of Shiv Sena in Maharashtra, the Assam movement had take place. He argued that these native forces had changed the nature of Indian political process gradually where the regional political parties also established their support base through the several regional movements like The Akali Dal, DMK, AIADMK, Telegue Desam political parties. Henceforth the political environment of one -party domination has replaced by the multi-party domination. In these ways the Indian political system has been ethicizing. Atul Kohli in his 'crisis of Governability' has focused the difficulties of a democratic country to govern. He argued that, often the governing inefficiency may responsible for political instability in a stable democracy also. He noticed the trend of extreme power concentration in the era of congress regime on the one hand and the organizational weaknesses of contemporary Indian political parties on the other were the causes of the crisis of governability in particular. This particular problem is instigated by the tremendous cultural diversity in general. Hence the country often demands well-developed parties emerge from below instead from above.

In 'India against itself Assam and the Politics of Nationality', (1999) Sanjib Baruah argued that, since independence India successfully handled several ethno-regional conflicts through its multi- ethnic polity which makes the country cable for nation building. But on the

country he emphasized that, in the country often take a narrow outlook which makes the status of northeast region specially Assam as an isolated land. The ethnic turmoil especially the problems of immigration make the state of Assam as inferior as possible. He focused on the weak federal structure as well as the strong centralized tendency of India. In this content he favored a loosely organized federation along with more diffusion of power.

In 'Working a Democratic Constitution: The Indian Experience' (1999) Granville Austin has discussed about the federal process in India in different phases. He identified the periods as since 1966 (over centralization); the period 1971-1984 (personalization of politics); since 1985 (power has been started to re distribute). The growing regionalization of power resulting from congress hegemony in Indian politics has been highlighted in his work. He focused on Nehruvian constitutional federalism as well as Indira's centralized federalism along with the regionalized federalism in Janata phase. He argued that in a conflicting trend of centralization vs. decentralization in the environment of growing socio-political awareness of the country may changed the countries need also which indicated the centre-state changing power equation. When he seeing the trend of federalism as a 'seamless web'.

'The success of India's Democracy' (2001) edited by Atul Kohli has introduced a resembled of scholarly works regarding the changing nature of India's Democracy. The main theme of this book was to search the basic root of democracy in India as developing as well as ethnically diversified country. The book has highlighted that how the power conflict of the country's political process has been restructured by a delicate balance between centralizing and decentralizing forces which contributed in the growth of democracy. The book highlighted the journey of democracy in India through the different socio-political as well as economic constraints like tremendous poverty, coalitional instability, regional problems, caste as well as regions conflicts and to find out how the democracy successfully represented the multicultural diversity under the motto of 'Unity in Diversity' is the motive of this work edited by Kohli. He argued it is the federal spirit which worked as a multicultural force within the framework of a centralized state where the federal structure of the country had strengthened the regional accommodation in particular. The book also analyzed the emergence of 'right-wing religious nationalism' in India against the fragmentation of a centralized state resulted from excessive regional accommodation. In 'Center-state' relations' James Manor argued that, In Indian's federal process the central-state relations quite manageable through the bargaining approaches of the states and the accommodationist approach of the center. To him the separatist tendencies of the regions are controlled within a

‘sizable Indian States’. In ‘India’s federal design and multicultural, national construction’ Jyotirindra Dasgupta argued that, in 1990’s federal experiment of India has offered a new modal ethno federation. He observes that often the conformity of multi federalism to nationalism is not possible in India, because of extreme cultural differences. He argued that the quality of autonomy must be evaluated in a federal design which indicates the role of a region to sustain in a national matrix of a country in changing circumstances. The age of coalition may balance the federal equation in respects of states autonomy. He emphasized the linguistic states as a mode of ‘regional autonomization’ in federal politics in India. So far as the durability of the Indian federation is concerned he established some crucial steps of a multicultural society like democratic participation; integrative processed in multi-cultural politics; combine development of democratization and federalization. He focused on the inclusionary political culture of a multi-federation through interactive opportunity along with legal flexibility as a societal process of federalism.

In ‘Autonomy Movements and Federal India’ (2002) Bhupinder Singh argued that federalism has been implemented on the framework of justice which is not beyond the legal political structure of a country. He gives emphasis on a ‘Vertical tiered federal structure’ like village panchayats, district panchayats, state legislature and national parliament. To him the regional autonomy is belonged in the intermediate level between state and district. In this way the federal spirit can be maintained within the constitutional encirclement which widening the democratic process of the country. He focused on a ‘strong stable federal framework of basic institution’. He has argued that a modern state must be stand for a ‘distributional coalitions’ instead of a ‘dominant coalitions’ which run by a ‘voiceless majority’.

‘Indian Federalism in the New Millennium’ (2003) edited by B.D.Dua M.P.Singh was another contribution in the field of federalism. The study has argued regarding the quality of Indian federalism an integrating force for accommodating the socio political changes since Independence. Though the centralize dogma as well as the changing nature of party system has affected the country’s federal system which often leaning to the process of confederacy. The economic reform 1990 as well as the state based political parties was the significant parts of greater federalization of India political process. In this volume, while Douglas V. Verney in his ‘understanding India as a Federation’ has analyze the uniqueness of India federalism by representing it as a parliamentary federative, on the other hand Meena Varma in her “India: challenges of Nation Building in a Federal society” has argued that in a

plural society the challenges will be tackled through the federal means only. She referred India as a 'multi-ethnic federal nation-state'. In 'India: Ethnicity and Federalism' A.S. Narang observes 'veritable ethnic resurgence' in the country due to congress excessive centralization as well as the formation of linguistic states, which introduced new trend in the politics process of the country. Ajay Kumar Singh in his 'Federalism and state formation' has developed a model which intended to establish a federal nation over plural polity. He discuss about the problems of state formation after the linguistic formations. Akhtar Majeed in his 'Indias Fedaral Structures: Some Inbuilt Strains' has highlighted major federal constrains. He argued that a proper cooperative federalism has not been develop in India due to the centralize nature of Indian federalism which increased the lack of confidence of the states gradually. In 'Globalization and Indian federalism' Reeta C. Tremblay has highlighted the dual effect of globalization over federal system where on the one hand economic strength of local sector was increased in a nation state, inspired by the process of globalization. But the growing regional disparities often move towards enhancing the role of central government on the other.

In 'Federalizing India in the Age of Globalization' (2003) M.P.Singh Rekha Saxena has tried to establish a modern federal theory in the arena of comparative government and politics of India. The book also analyzed the relationship between federalism and multiculturalism. It has highlighting the two major source on which the success as well as stability of federalism may depend, like demographically and electorally predominating nature of the people of national or ethnic community and the practice of federal governance on accommodation multiculturalism. They also analyzed the effect of the globalization of the Indian economy over the federal setup in general.

In 'Federalism and Ethnic Conflict Regulation in Indian and Pakistan' (2007) Katharine Adeney sees federalism as a strategies for managing diversity. He argued that the institutional structure of federalism is important in a democratic state. Federalism is perfectly compatible with liberal Democracy. He discussed four strategies of state to regulate the diversity like Assimilation (maintain identity in the personal sphere) Integration (all are equal within a state); Multiculturalism (protect personal identities and institutionalized them in public sphere, manifestations of multiculturalism); Segregation (it seek to maintain ethnic differences). To him ethic differences are not always the causes of ethnic conflict but the problem is the denial of accommodation or recognition.

In 'Politics in India' (2010) Niraja Gopal Jayal Pratap Bhanu Mehta have highlighted the federalization of political process in India for the sake of regional interests, since independence which was unitary in nature. They represent a power sharing model for Indian federation like Vertical way where powers on any specific matter, either one of the three level of government (centre/state/local).Horizontal way where power sharing was operated between the branches of government (central & state).Transversal way where power sharing was operated between centre and states; between the states. Moreover the structural asymmetry in different states in a federation had also left a deep impact. To them, besides more financially strong central government there was a major differences between the states of India on the basis of their fiscal capabilities and developmental potential. So, there is a need to reform of inter-state mechanism of coordination and equalization. They argued that there was no contradiction between region and nation as the regions were emerged as a nursery of the nation.

In 'Federalism in Asia' (2010), Harihar Bhattacharyya has described federalism as a political principle which intended to accommodate several ethno-regional demands within the states and outside also for maintain the unity of the country. He also focused on the influence of the globalization over the process of federation building due to the 'decline of nation-state'. He identified the combination of shared rule and self rule as requirement of federalism because self – rule at the regional level has been produced a proper federalism. He argued that, as we are live in an age of diversity, and diversity is the basic over whom the palace of politico – federalism has been constructed. He argued that as a method of power sharing federalism and democracy are conjugated. But he observed that, even in democratic federation the process of federalization has been failed. Hence he argued that the success of a federation is depend on the political culture of people in the social, historical, cultural and political context of a country as well as the nature of diversity.

'Ethno nationalism in India A Reader' (2010) edited by Sanjib Baruah is one of the significant contribution in India politics. This volume deals with ethno nationalism as a political phenomenon including nationalism, ethnic insurgency , regionalism, multiplicity of language, caste, tribes more over India's largest diversity. Paul R. Brass in his 'Ethnic interests, Popular passions, and Social power in the Language Politics in India' has focused on language conflict in India. The federal units of India have carried out the dominant languages like Hindi and English. He argues that the language plays important roles which influence the ethno national instinct. On the other hand, he shows the religion based solitary

is stronger than language based solidarity in northern India. But there was an opposite story in southern India where Tamil language played a dominant role. He showed that how the language helps to make one religion to go for a separatist movement by cited an example like Hindi – Urdu conflict in north India was turned in to Hindu-Muslim conflict and resulting Muslim separatist movement, the partition of India and the creation of Pakistan. Atul Kohli, in his ‘Can democracies Accommodate Ethnic nationalism? Rise and Decline of self – Determination movements in India’ argued that the ethno-national movement in India is either accommodative or secession potential in nature are it is depend on the willingness of political authority. Hence the ethno national movement in India followed an ‘inverse “U” curve’, which needs an ‘institutionalization’ of political authority in particular. He identified the period from 1950 to 1964 as a well institutionalized period. This Nehruvian period was quite flexible towards the accommodation of the demand of self-determination. On the other hand the period under the leadership of Indira Gandhi was quite unaccommodative. However he argued that in a democracy, the ethno-national unrests were inevitable but these are minimized through the accommodative style of ruling also.

In ‘Indian Politics Constitutional Foundations and Institutional Functioning’(2011) M.P. Singh Rekha Saxena have argued that having the experience of colonization & partition India has needed a strong parliamentary central government but on the contrary because of immense diversity, there was a need of federal mode of integration of states through regional autonomy. In India, there was a combination of legislative supremacy (parliamentary form of government) and decentralization of power (federal form of government). They observed that dominance of central government in many sphere in India Constitution, some time called ‘withering away of federalism’. But the transformation of Indian one party system to regionalized multiparty system characterized India Political system as a quasi-federation. However the Indian Federalism is still in the process of evaluation.

The book ‘Accommodating Diversity Ideas and Institutional Practices’ (2011) edited by Gurpreet Mahajan has analyzed how the cultural distinctiveness of a plural society are accommodated? How the democratic process channelized this multiculturalism? The work emphasize on an institutional arrangement of the country within the broad framework of diversity. As this process of ‘accommodation is an ongoing process’ Gurpreet Mahajan argued that, the existence and evolution of different cultures has invited the people of the country to rethink and reassess in order to protect the cultural diversity. He argued in favor of the suitable multicultural policies which were intended to promote the policy of integration

into the main stream instead of the policies of segregation. In 'Multiculturalism and Diversity: Value to be promoted or problem to be managed?' Sara Joseph has argued in this edited volume that, in a plural society, cultural empowerment is possible through promoting 'inclusive growth' in the democratic process. To her, to established a 'more just and equitable society' the volumes of multiculturalism should be maintained through protecting the diversity with proper respect as identifying it as a reactionary political forces.

'Federalism' (2011) volume I 'Historical and Theoretical Foundations of Federalism'; volume II 'Alternative Models, constitutional Foundations, and Institutions Features of Federal Government'; volume III 'Models of Individualism, communalism and Multi-nationalism in Federal Governance' edited by John Kincaid was significant work in the field of federalism. In this work besides the historical foundation of federalism Kincaid represented federalism as a mode of governance in a plural country which is closely associated with the notion of multiculturalism. 'The ends of federalism' written by Martin Diamond in this edited volume I, of 'Federalism' has focused on the modification of federalism in order to preserve it. When he argued that the effectiveness of federalism was examined in the way that how far it is capable to meet the ends, how far it is serve for the verities of ends in a political system which varied in different countries. 'Federalism, Federative systems and Federations: The United States, Canada and India' written by Douglas V. Vereny in this edited volume II of 'federalism; has described 'federalism' as an institution of government in this particular context it is differ from another 'isms' which were the part of political theory. He represents the term 'federation' as a species of federative system of government where the regional government is not subordinate to national government. He observed that in Canada as well as in India there was a contradiction between the 'federative' as well as parliamentary character of the political system from which often an innovative concept of federalism of their own have been emerged in both the countries like 'quasi – federations'; quasi - federation to confederacy; quasi – federation to federation. 'Re thinking Federalism' written by Robert P. Inman and Daniel L. Rubinfeld in this edited volume III , of 'Federalism' has analyzed the contemporary debates regarding Federalism. It has been argued that the federalism as an institution has contained skill full 'allocation of national resources' as well as 'political participation' along with 'the sense of democratic community' which protect the basic 'liberties and freedoms'.

Rutledge Handbook of Regionalism and Federalism (2013) edited by John Loughlin, John Kincaid and Wilfried Swenden has introduced a resembled of scholarly works regarding

the nature of federal structure, role of political parties, territorial politics in regionalized system e.t.c

In 'Fiscal Federalism in India' (2014) Dr. Kumar Rekha has given emphasis on the union state fiscal relation in India without which the federal development of a country is feasible. She argued that, in a proper federal context the fiscal interaction had been played a crucial role which ensure the balance of inter regional development in general. Analyzing the process of fiscal decentralization in India is the basic concept of her book.

In 'Conflict Resolution in multicultural societies the Indian Experience' (2014) Jhumpa Mukherjee has focused on the process of 'multicultural decentralization' which closely associated with the 'Identity based autonomy' as well as the devolution of powers for the purpose of resolving ethnic conflict and to established a stable society. She emphasized the multicultural decentralization as a 'modified neo – institutionalism' which established India as an integrated democratic country. This model has an aim to arranging socio culture space for distinct cultural groups and communities and to 'protecting them constitutionally and institutionally' as a democratic manner.

In 'Federalism and Regionalism in India Institutional Strategies and Political Accommodation of Identity (2005) 'Harihar Bhattacharyya has argued over the absence of a uniform applicability of federation as a pure model rather to him it is based on circumstantial necessities of shared rule and self rule in general.

1.8.Research Objectives

- 1.To look into the nature of federal arrangement in India
2. To look into the asymmetries and on the the growth and flourishing of regionalist tendencies within the Indian Polity?
3. To look into the impact of regionalism on Indian Federal Politics
4. To look into the nature of sub-regional demands and its impact
5. To look into the different kinds of accommodation and management arrangements of sub-regionalism
6. To look into an alternative way of designing another arrangement for managing the sub-regional demands

1.9. Research Questions

1. What have been the federal arrangements in India?
2. What has been the impact of asymmetries on the growth and flourishing of regionalist tendencies within the Indian Polity?
3. What has been the impact of regionalism on Indian Federal Politics?
4. What has been the nature of sub-regional demands and their impact on the Indian polity?
5. What were the different kind of arrangements of management and accommodation of sub-regional movements?
6. What has been the alternative way of managing the sub-regional demands?

1.10. Research Methodology and Sources of Data

The present study is a qualitative research work. In order to uncover trends in thought and opinions, and dive deeper into the problem and fulfill the research objectives the present study has adopted multi-variant methods. In the present study historical approach has been used in order to find out the evolution of federalism and regionalism in India. The descriptive and analytical approach has been used in the present study in order to respond to the research questions relating to regionalism and its impact on the political system in India. The method of content analysis has been applied in order to examine the texts and documents relating to the research problem. The comparative method also has been used in order to probe deeper through comparing different cases.

Both primary and secondary sources of data have been used methodically in order to locate the major objectives of the present research work. The secondary sources constitute the major part of the study. The books, journals, articles, periodicals, news paper and the help of internet constitute the secondary sources. However the primary sources explicitly support the present research work. Like, various documents from different block of Darjeeling Hill, Telephonic conversation with officials, office of District Magistrate, Darjeeling, Telephonic conversation with Gopinath Das, Ex- Minister, Panchayat and Rural Ministry, Government of Assam, Telephonic conversation with Amar Singh Rai, MLA, Darjeeling Constituency. Interview has been taken Bangshi Badan Barman, leader Greater Coochbehar Movement, Cooch Behar and Chandan Bramha Ex- Transport Minister, Government of Assam.

1.11. Limitations of the Study

Like every Study this research study has also certain limitations. The research does not study several newly emerging sub- regional movements in different states in India other than West Bengal.

1.12. Organization of the thesis

The present study seeks to analyze federalism and regionalism but more on regionalism as a process of federation building through accommodating country's age long diversity which has started out from the simultaneous centripetal confinement of British colonialism as well as the centralized hegemony of newly independent India along with its impact on Indian political process. The present study has segmented in to seven chapters including the introductory chapter. Chapter two has discussed the federal experience in India prior 1977, Chapter 3 has discussed the federal experience in India since 1977, Chapter 4 has discussed the nature and manifestations of regional autonomy movements in Indian federation, Chapter five has discussed the politics of coalition as well as the growing power of regional political parties in India, Chapter 6 has discussed federalism and regionalism in Indian political process and Chapter seven has made the concluding observation with some probable measure.