Regionalism and Indian Politics

Regionalism is the expression of a common sense of identity and purpose by people within a specific geographical region, united by its unique language, culture, language, etc. In a positive sense, it encourages people to develop a sense of brotherhood and oneness which seeks to protect the interests of a particular region and promotes the welfare and development of the state and its people. In the negative sense, it implies excessive attachment to one’s region which is a great threat to the unity and integrity of the country. In the Indian context generally, the term 'regionalism' has been used in the negative sense.

History of Regional Movements in India

The roots of regional consciousness in India can be found in the colonial policies. Differential attitudes and treatment by the British towards princely states and those of the presidencies developed regionalist tendencies among them. British exploitative economic policies completely neglected some regions, giving way to economic disparities and regional imbalances. On the other side, the Indian national movement furthered a pluralistic idea of India. The history of regional movements in India can be traced back to the 1940s Dravida Movement or the Non-Brahmin movement that started in the present day Tamil Nadu. Later, the movement was resulted into the demand of a separate and independent Tamil state. This, in turn, led to several other parties like the Telugu Desam Party (TDP) springing up in the Andhra region, with the demands of separate statehood. The decades of 1950s and 1960s witnessed intense mass mobilisation, often taking on a violent character for the demands of statehood. In 1954, the revolt for the separate state of Andhra for Telugu - speaking people spearheaded by Potti Sri Ramulu and his eventual death triggered the wave of political regionalism in India with many princely states and other states making a demand for a separate state. This resulted in formation of the States Reorganisation Committee (headed by Faisal Ali) which recommended reorganisation of Indian states on linguistic lines, thus reinforcing the regionalist tendencies. With
the enactment of the States Reorganisation Act, 1956, linguistic states became a reality. During 1970s and 1980s, owing to the intensification of tribal insurgency for separation and statehood, the Union government passed the North-eastern States Reorganisation Act, 1971. It upgraded the Union Territories of Manipur and Tripura, and the Sub-State of Meghalaya to full statehood, and Mizoram and Arunachal Pradesh (then Tribal Districts) to Union Territories which became states in 1986. The decade of 2000s, witnessed vigorous movements for the creation of separate states due to a rising sense of regional deprivation. It resulted in the formation of the three new states – Chhattisgarh out of Madhya Pradesh, Jharkhand out of Bihar and Uttarakhand out of Uttar Pradesh. The latest addition to this is the state of Telangana created by the division of Andhra Pradesh in 2014.

**Types of Regional Movements**

Secessionism is a form of regionalism that involves militant and fundamentalist groups advocating a separation from India on the basis of ethnicity or any other factor. Isac Muivah’s National Socialist Council of Nagaland, the Islamic fundamentalist groups in J&K, ULFA in Assam are examples of such an extreme dimension of regionalism. Separatism is a demand for separate statehood within the Indian Union. Many times, linguistic or ethnic minorities within the states come together and unite against the majority community in that state. This kind of sub-regionalism was validated by the State Reorganisation Act of 1956. The most recent examples include the formation of Uttarakhand, Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, and Telangana. Meanwhile, there have been many demands including the creation of Bodoland for the Bodo-speakers in Assam; Gorkhaland for ethnic Gorkha (Nepali) people in West Bengal; a Bundelkhand state (covering part of Madhya Pradesh and part of Uttar Pradesh) for promoting the development of the region. Demand for Full Statehood, the union territories have been forwarding such demands like the NCT of Delhi. Most of
such demands have already been accepted. In 1971, Himachal Pradesh got the status of a full state and thereafter Manipur, Tripura, Mizoram, Arunachal Pradesh (former NEFA) and Sikkim got full statehoods. The Demand for Autonomy, since 1960’s, with the emergence of regional parties, the demand for state autonomy has been gaining more and more strength due to the central political interferences. In Tamil Nadu the DMK, in Punjab the Akali Dal, in Andhra Pradesh the Telgu Desham, in Assam the Assam Gana Parishad, the National conference in J&K and in West Bengal the Forward Bloc have been continuously demanding a larger share of powers for the states. Demand for Regional Autonomy within a State, in some of the states, people belonging to various regions have been demanding recognition of their regional identities. The genesis of such demands lies in the regional imbalances resulting from inefficient planning for instance in J & K, the Ladakhis are demanding a regional status.

Reasons behind Growth of Regionalism in India

- Historical and geographical isolation
- Lop-sided development
- Continuous neglect of a region
- Insider-outsider complex that nurturers nativism and son-of-the-soil ideology
- Internal colonialism, i.e., despite being rich in natural resources some regions remain economically underdeveloped.
- The reasons being either ill-conceived top-down approach or survival of one region at the cost of the other region. Chhota Nagpur plateau is an example of this type of underdevelopment.
- Political vested interests can accentuate and exploit regional loyalties.
Reaction to an imposed ideology that can make its appearance as a reaction against the perceived imposition of a particular ideology, language or cultural pattern on all people and groups.

Linguistic aspirations that have remained a formidable basis of regionalism.

Expression of ethnicity.

Impact of Regionalism on Indian Polity

- Rise of regional parties.
- Re-focus on regional issues.
- Regionalist tendencies often stir inter-state hostility as its spillover effect.
- Regional movements often result in violent agitations, disturbs not only the law and order situation but also have negative implications on the economy of the state as well as the nation.
- Regionalism sometimes undercuts the national interest by being a hurdle in international diplomacy.
- For instance- the opposition of regional/state parties of Tamil against the stand of the central government had a direct implication on the relation of India with Sri Lanka.
- The disagreement of political leadership in West Bengal with the central government over the Land Boundary Agreement and Teesta River Water sharing treaty with Bangladesh resulted in increased tensions between the two nations.
- Regionalism can become a shield for militancy, extremism to create an internal security threat. Kashmir militancy is an example of this type of regionalism.

Regionalism vs. Nationalism

Nationalism is a sense of belonging to one nation, a feeling one shares with all the citizens of the country regardless of their caste, creed, culture, religion or region. This association with a nation is
the primary mode of identification for a person and every nation encourages its citizens to take pride in being its citizen. However, when people begin identifying more strongly with their region than with their nation, it is alleged that nationalism is undercut by a sense of regionalism. While a nation tries to establish harmony between all its citizens by uniting them through a constitution, national symbols, and songs, regionalism glorifies the heritage of only one particular region and of one culture. This leads to the formation of multiple communities within one nation and restricts the efforts of national integration.

Parochial regionalism poses a threat to the sovereignty of the nation. The anti-migrant or anti-Bihari stance of the Maharashtra Navnirman Sena (MNS) which opposes the employment and residence of non-Maharashtrian people in the state of Maharashtra is a prime example of negative regionalism. Regionalism beyond a point can lead to secessionism, such as strong regionalism in Punjab ultimately resulted in the growth of Khalistani terrorism. Regionalism often promotes Vote-Bank politics, thereby weakens the national integration. Regionalism can weaken the time tested fabric of 'Unity in Diversity', if promoted in an ultra manner.

Positive regionalism promotes a sense of pride in connecting to one’s roots and culture. It has been noticed that often regional movements have helped the art and culture of many neglected regions to flourish by increasing their exposure through local emphasis. Therefore, in principle, regionalism need not be regarded as an unhealthy or anti-national phenomenon, unless it takes a militant, aggressive turn to encourage the growth of secessionist tendencies.

Constitutional Safeguards Against Separatist Tendencies

- Indian Constitution provides various institutional arrangements to resolve such problem, including the threats posed by violent regionalism.
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- **(STUDY MATERIALS)**

- The provisions of the fifth and sixth schedules of the Indian constitution have been applied by the government with intended objectives of constraining ethnic separatism and tribal alienation in different regions, particularly in the North-east.

- Also institutionally, the government has become more receptive to the creation of an autonomous regional council or district council for the people of ethnic enclaves.

- The state language policy has been fine tuned to accommodate the claims of various dialect or language groups. This has been done by:
  - By including the major languages in the eighth schedule, and
  - Granting official recognition to culturally significant languages of the state as the language of education and official transaction.

- All these policies have a significant impact on integrating the diverse regional communities within the mould and measures of Indian nationalism.

**Way Forward**

- Unity in Diversity ethos needs to be preserved for the pluralistic character of the Indian nation state.

- The accommodation of multiple aspirations of a diverse population is necessary.

- Formation of the NITI Aayog has been a positive step to enhance co-operative federalism by fostering the involvement of the State Governments of India in the economic policy-making process using a bottom-up approach.

- While a number of steps such as the launch of centrally sponsored schemes, incentives to private players for development in backward states have been taken by the government for inclusive development, there is a greater need for their effective implementation.
There is a need to increase the level of social expenditure by the states on education, health, and sanitation which are the core for human resource development.

Introducing a system of national education that would help people to overcome regional feelings and develop an attachment towards the nation can act as a long-term solution to the problem of sub-nationalism.

While the National Integration Council was set up in 1961, there is a need to utilise its potential more effectively.

Schemes like "Ek Bharat-Shreshtha Bharat" have been launched by the GOI to celebrate unity in diversity culture of the nation and to strengthen sentiment for National Unity between the citizens of states, is a welcomed step.

National unity is not impaired if the people of a region have genuine pride in their language and culture.


**Some Case Studies**

**Bodoland Demand in Assam**

Recently Bodos reiterated the demand for separate Bodoland state. Due to state assembly election in Assam this year, the demand for Bodoland is getting momentum.

Bodoland is the entrance to North East. It comprises the area north of Brahmaputra river in eight districts of the current State of Assam, namely Kokrajhar, Dhubri, Bongaigaon, Barpeta, Nalbari, Kamrup, Darang and Sonitpur districts. The region is predominantly inhabited by indigenous Bodo people.

*Evolution & Reasons for demand of separate state:*
Early in 1960s, political party Plains Tribals Council of Assam (PTCA) observed that most of the bodo areas gradually being acquired by rich landlords or new immigrants through illegal means. There was a little or no economic aid from the central government. Social infrastructure like schools, colleges and hospitals were poor. Even roads were not there to connect bodo areas to main cities of Assam. Thus party asked for Udayachal as a union territory to be carved out of Assam. However demand never fulfilled. Even funds for tribal development were diverted & misused and in 1980 Meghalaya was carved out of Assam for the similar reasons. Thus discontent grew among bodo people for their neglect by successive state & central governments.

In late 1980s the agitation for separate land was taken by All Assam Bodo Student Union (ABSU) in their hand. ABSU and Bodo political parties jointly demanded a separate state, called Bodoland. However in 1993 an administrative district named Bodoland Territorial Area Districts were formed which is looked after by Bodoland Territorial Council (BTC). The council is responsible for development in the area of economic, education, preservation of land right, linguistic aspiration, socio-culture and ethnic identity of Bodos and above all to speed up the infrastructure development of communities in the BTC area. This council consists of the member of all communities of the area. However, there are growing concerns that the council was created not for the development of the area but to divide the bodos in name of caste & community.

Now, there are several political parties like All Bodo Students Union (ABSU), Bodoland People's Front (BPF) & several armed rebellion organisation like Bodo Liberation Tigers (BLT). They are divided & have difference of opinion on the issue. This caused violence in the area. Till now 7000 people have died in the violence & near 70000 are displaced. Many people both Bodo & Non Bodo are still living in refugee camps and agitation for separate state is still continued.
Thus both Central & State government need to negotiate with political parties in the region, however negotiations alone will not solve the issue without actual development on the ground like special care to be take for social needs as education, health & ensure the security of their distinct identity. Government need to create job opportunities for the youth in the region to mainstream them with rest of the state.

Case Study 2: Vidarbha demand in Maharashtra

The voice of the people of Vidarbha, which form the eastern part of Maharashtra, for creation of an independent state, was raised for the first time over 100 years ago. Its former name was Berar & after falling to British in 1857, a separate state named Central province & Berar was formed with Nagpur as its capital. Currently region comprises Nagpur & Amravati division of Maharashtra which include 11 districts of the Maharashtra. It occupies 31.6% of total area and holds 21.3% of total population of Maharashtra.

Evolution of Demand:

After Independence JPV committee leave it to the people of Berar to opt for a separate state, however at that time Nagpur region was prosperous than western Maharashtra except Mumbai so western & Konkani leaders oppose the idea of creation of separate Vidarbha state. On 28th September 1953, an agreement was signed what came to be known as the Nagpur Agreement. Leaders of Vidharba agreed for a united Maharashtra on the basis of a common language. However, the agreement was subject to certain conditions and those were; funds allocated for development would be in proportion to the population in each region of the state, with special attention given to backward parts of each region. Education and employment in government services would be open to all people from all parts of the state and the state assembly would hold at least one session every year, of at least six week duration in Nagpur, to focus on various issues pertaining to Vidarbha.
However, Vidarbhite leaders at that time, like M S Aney and Brijlal Biyani, submitted a memorandum to the State Reorganisation Commission (SRC) for a separate Vidarbha State. The Fazal Ali SRC, after considering these memoranda and all other related aspects, favoured a separate Vidarbha State with Nagpur as capital in the year 1956.

But Vidarbha was made part of the new state of Maharashtra in 1960 by the central government, favouring the "One language - One state" principle.

**Is this demand justified?**

Although Vidarbha is endowed with mineral and forest wealth and fertile soil, it has always remained one of the poorest regions of Maharashtra, infamous for the suicides of cotton farmers. This is despite Vidarbha generating more than 30% of Maharashtra's power and having all of its coal deposits.

According to the state's economic survey for fiscal 2013, out of 11 districts in Vidarbha, only one had more average per capita income than the state average—Nagpur at Rs.1.06 lakh versus Rs.95,339. The region lacked in development & investment compared to the western part. This region supplies electricity to the western part & itself faces severe power cuts.

In recent time when Telangana was created, the more than 65 organizations have joined together, demanding the separate Vidarbha state. However, the demand is fading away.

Meanwhile, Shiv Sena argued for the Samyukta. It argued that that Marathi-speaking people shouldn't be divided.

Taking all these factors into account, Vidarbha makes an economic sense due to unequal development but lacks political backing.
Case Study 3: Uttar Pradesh: Game of dividing politics

After separation of Uttarkhand, the hilly districts of the state from Uttar Pradesh in year 2000, the demand of dividing it further into smaller state was raised. In year 2011 Mayawati Government proposes the division of the state into four smaller states namely Paschim Pradesh i.e. western part of state comprising 22 district, Awadh Pradesh i.e. central part comprising 14 district, Purwanchal i.e eastern part comprising 32 district and Bundelkhand i.e. southern part comprising 7 district. However resolution was turned down. It was argued that Uttar Pradesh (having highest population & large area) can be better managed & developed by dividing into small parts. Several parties like Lokdal also demanded previously the separation of Harit Pradesh from Uttar Pradesh. There is a need to have a detailed & rational analysis of the division of states further into smaller states. People need to understand whether such move is politically motivated or there is really a negligence of a part of state with needs separate attention, resources & have potential to develop its own. Like Bundelkhand is the case in UP which is economically & socially backward. It needs the support from prosperous parts of the state. However its independent growth is possible only if its own resources could have been be pondered upon. Uttar Pradesh is a play ground of regional political parties which use their own divisive politics of caste, religion & community to gain voters confidence & acquire power. It is argued that major parties have their dominating area in the state which they want to secure for forever so they want division of the state. If such is the case then it would be injustice with the people of the state if it is divided only for the short term political gains.

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