Sub Regionalism Politics in Odisha and Demand for Koshal State

Dr. Dasarathi Bhuiyan, Assistant Professor, P.G. Department of Political Science, Berhampur University, Odisha

Abstract: This paper examines the rise of regionalism in Odisha. As a state, Odisha is one of the most backward regions in India. The process of development becomes extremely significant in the context of intra-regional disparities. Against this backdrop, regionalism continues to thrive in western Odisha due to regional cleavages and prevalence of socio-economic disparities and political inequalities.
Key words: historical experience, cultural practices, dialectal/speech forms

I. Introduction

The present state of Odisha contains three geographically distinct regional units, namely, coastal belt, southern and western region, which differ in respect of historical experience, cultural practices, dialectal/speech forms, political advantages and socio-economic development. After the reorganisation of districts in Odisha in 1993 the coastal region comprises the new districts of Balasore, Bhadrak, Cuttack, Jajpur, Kendrapara, Jagatsinghpur, Puri, Khordha, Nayagarh, the south Odisha comprises of Ganjam, Gaiapati, Kandhamal, Koraput, Rayagarda, Nawarangapur, Malkangiri; whereas the western region covers the new districts of Balangir, Sonepur, Kalahandi, Nuapara, Boudh, Kandhamal, Sambalpur, Bargarh, Jharsuguda, Deogarh and Sundargarh. Gradually, regional discontents grew in the western region as it continued to lag behind the coastal belt in matters of socio-economic, political and cultural development.

II. Political cleavage:

It is another vital factor that facilitates regional difference between the coastal and western regions. This regional polarisation of politics was very much reflected in the elections to the Odisha Legislative Assembly. As discussed above during the 1950's the regional political parties, namely, the Ganatantra Parishad (GP) and later the Swatantra party polarised politics in Odisha along regional lines. The Congress was seen as a party largely identified with the interests of coastal Odisha, and the GP/Swatantra was associated with the interests of western Odisha. From 1952 to 1974, the Congress and its splinter groups Jana Congress and Utkal Congress secured maximum seats from coastal districts, while GP/Swatantra scored very well in the western region (Ray 1974). But during J.B. Patnaik's rule in the 1980s, the Congress leaders from coastal area dominated government and politics in Odisha, while the leaders from the western region were completely sidelined. Congress favouritism towards coastal Odisha resulted in regional factionalism within the party. During the BJD government of Naveen Patnaik from200 to 2019 the western Odisha was identified with BJP and Congress.

In terms of representation in government and in decision-making

bodies, the western region always lags behind the coastal area. The post of Chief Minister of Odisha has mostly been monopolised by coastal Oriya leaders. Only two persons from the western region, namely, R. N. Singh Deo and Hemananda Biswal, held the post of Chief Minister for a brief period. Again, the western region has been poorly represented in the state's Council of Ministers except for the brief coalition periods in 1959, 1967 and 1971. Moreover, in the state bureaucracy, judiciary and police the share of western region remains comparatively low.

The origins of regional discontent in the western region date back to the agitation against the displacement of people and the loss of land and property due to the construction of Hirakud Dam and Rourkela Steel Plant and the rise of the regional political party, the Ganatantra Parishad (GP), also significantly contributed to the origins of regional discontent in western Odisha. In the western region, people were leaving in an abominable condition. Most of the princely states were outside the pale of modern civilization. High schools were non-existent. Outside newspapers were not allowed. Khadi and Gandhi were banned and everything was done to see that the "subjects' did not establish contact with Gandhites in the British Odisha. The rulers were regarded as the 'moving incarnation of Lord Vishnu' who must be worshiped by the people whenever he would come out of his palace. Some of the rulers were notorious for their savagery. There were, however, a few enlightened ones- just exceptions proving the rule. But the people in the native states expectedly did not remain unaffected by the goings on in the neighbouring British Odisha. Gradually,

political consciousness dawned on them and they could realize their helpless position under the feudal lords**. (Sunit Ghosh, p, 59)**

The congress leaders of the time, Mahatab in particular, had been pleading for the merger of the 26 Native States with the British Odisha in the common interest of the people of both the areas. He was appointed the chairperson of the committee, which All India State Peoples' conference had set up to go into the grievances of the people of the Odisha states. Before this, taking advantage of the new situation a section of Odisha rulers under the leadership of Rajendra Narayan Singhdeo, the late Maharaja of Balangir-Patnagarh, in company with the British political Agent was trying to form a political unit of Odisha and Chatisgarh states within the Indian Union. The Maharaja of Patna had propounded a theory that the Odisha states and the present district of Sambalpur were not parts of Odisha but they at one time formed the so-called Koshala territory. According to his plan, as soon as the Eastern States Federation would be able to stand on its feet, Sambalpur and Angul would join the Federation. In order to have it done it was found necessary to work up the feeling of separation in Sambalpur. At that time i.e. in 1946 preliminary survey work of the Mahanadi (HIRAKUD) valley project was going on in Sambalpur. The project necessitated acquisition of more than one hundred villages. Land acquisition on such a scale necessarily created resentment amongst the people whose lands were being acquired. But this was made an issue for separation of Sambalpur from Odisha. Hare Krushna Mahatab, who was then the prime minister of Odisha, wrote to the governor of Odisha, C.M .Trivedi on

October12, 1946, "I am getting information that the Maharaja of Patna is organizing and directly conducting the agitation against the Hirakud project at Sambalpur .His ultimate aim is to amalgamate Sambalpur in his Patna state. He is dreaming of the old days of Patna of the 16th century". What the Maharaja of Patana was dreaming was anybody's guess. But there were evidences that he was not in favour of merger of the Odisha states in the British Odisha and he was actively consolidating the princes to withstand the pressure from the Congress rulers in the provinces. Actually, the Mahatab-Singh Deo rivalry, which lasted particularly until 1967, can be traced to those days of merger and anti-merger agitation in the late forties. Singh Deo had brought out a newspaper; called 'Patna Dipika', which was mouthpiece of the campaign for the separation of Sambalpur from the rest of Odisha.

The deputy Prime minister of India and Home minister of India Sardar Ballav Bhai patel, visited Odisha and persuaded the rulers of the Native to sign Instruments of Accession to the Indian Union. Twenty-five states including Saraikela and Kharswan, signed the Instrument of accession on 14 December 1947, and merged with Odisha on January 1, 1948. Only Mayurbhanja stood aloof, but that state also merged with Odisha on January 1, 1949. Saraikela and Kharaswan were transferred to Bihar in May 1948, where they remained ever since. The leaders of the Praja Mandals of the Native States who were counterparts of the Congress swelled Congress strength by joining it. **(S.C.Das,Government and Politics in Odisha, Indian Journal of Political Science,October-December,1965,p,89)**

After the merger of princely states, the rulers lost all their powers, retained some personal privileges, and received pensions. Obviously, the merger did not set at rest all the problems. Divested of power, the princes were naturally sore about the Congress rulers of the province. So also was a sizable and vocal section of people in the states who joined hands with the princes to new outlets for their political existence. They resented the posting of officers in the states from outside and regarded the merger as a kind of 'military occupation'. The economic situation in the western region also deteriorated immediately after the merger. For example, up to December 12, 1947 rice was selling at eight seers (a measure of amount) a rupee in Balangir. On the next day, it was two seers a rupee because of the imposition of control prices then in vogue throughout Odisha. In some states, medical facilities were free. However, after the merger this facility was withdrawn. In Balangir there was a good x-ray equipment of the siemens company .one of the only three in India, got during the Jubilee celebrations and that was left uncared for. Other equipments were taken away. The provincial administration did not care for the people. The bureaucrats deputed from Cuttack, then capital of Odisha, behaved like alien conquerors. All this wounded the feelings of the intelligentsia. Previously, they had direct approach to the Raja and could get their remedy. But the remedy was now too far away. Bribery and corruption became rampant and conspicuous. The educated people felt the need of a party. They approached Rajendra Narayan Singh Deo, and

wanted him to start a party since he had plenty of administrative and political experience. Police firing in Sareikela, kharaswan and other places almost convinced them that they would not get justice from the Cuttack rulers. After a lot of persuasion R. N .Singh Deo Willy-nilly nodded his assent to the proposal. Soon a party called "Kosal Utkal Praja Parishad" with its headquarters Sambalpur was started. The Parishad leaders wanted the right of self-determination. They had their own Prajamandals for getting popular rule in the state and their effort succeeded largely. They did not want to be dictated to by outsider Congress Prajamandalists. The membership of the parishad consisted chiefly of the Prajamandal seeders and anti merger agitators. Balangir was the headquarters. Branches of the Parishad were opened in Kalahandi, Sonepur ,Gangpur, Bonai, Keonjhar, Athamallick and Baudh and paid workers were busy propagating the party's ideals vilifying the Congress Government and Government employees and canvassing support from the states people who were advised to vote for the Parishad candidates in the next General Election.

R.N. Singh Deo was not initially very much enthusiastic about taking part in active politics. A quite type of man, he was considering to lead a non political life after the merger but a minor incident at this time brought him in the state's post-independence [political scene in a big way. At the same time of merger, Patel advised Mahatab, then the chief minister, not to ride roughshod over the princes. Soon after the merger Mahatab, government forgets the assurance Patel had given to the rulers. When Patel came to Cuttack at a later date, Singh Deo

made certain complaints against Mahatab. Patel reportedly rebuked Mahatab before Sing Deo and others. While coming out of the meeting room Mahatab angrily warned Singh Deo not to challenge his leadership and told him rudely that if he ever dared to contest an election in the hill districts Mahatab would see that Singh Deo drew a blank. Without making a fuss Singh Deo accepted the challenge. The immediate upshot of this quarrel between the two political stalwarts of Odisha was the birth of the Praja Parishsd which was later rechristened as Ganat6antra Parishad in 1950 and was made a full-fledged state-based political organization. The Parishad was actually recognized as the opposition party in the state legislature and effectively challenged the supremacy of the Congress party in Odisha in Hill districts. The Parishad later merged in the Swatantra Party in 1962.

III. Electoral politics in the lines of regions:

Ever since the general elections in 1952 the Congress had been trying to make dents in the Ganatantra Parishad/ Swatantra strongholds in Western Odisha. The realities of electoral politics have therefore, impelled both Congress and Ganatantra/Swatantra party to evolve suitable strategies for moving across their traditional organisational boundaries. Several inferences may be made. In the 1952 and 1956 elections the Ganatantra Parishad had become the major opposition party in Odisha. The Congress had the best performance in 1961 elections, while the outcome of the 1967 elections was most favourable to the Swatantra party. Apart from its spectacular success in the Cuttack area in 1961, the Congress party-was able to make serious dents into Swatantra

strongholds. However, for the Swatantra party its performance in the Cuttack area was never impressive.   Since the Congress under the dynamic leadership of Biju Patnaik appeared capable of fulfilling the demands, an important part of the Western Odisha electorate voted for the party, besides, the organisational offensive of the Congress yielded rich dividends. Besides, the party's exclusion from power for a long period, except for a short spell after the 1967 elections, denied it the necessary credibility with predominantly mercenary voters of the Cuttack area for whom the distribution of material benefits was the main consideration. In the 1971 elections the desertion of the Biju Patnaik faction enormously weakened the Congress position, particularly in the Cuttack area. The Utkal Congress of Biju Patnaik captured 25 seats in the Cuttaek area and 6 seats in Western Odisha. In the 1974 elections, the Congress for the first time since the 1952 elections came to derive its support equally from both Cuttack and Western Odisha. In both areas the Congress was able to capture the majority of seats. In the Cuttack area the party secured 45 seats out of 94, while the constituents of the Pragati Party, the Swatantra, the Utkal Congress and the SSP, got 6, 27 and 2 seats, respectively. Out of 52 seats in the Western Odisha districts (the ex-princely districts), the Congress captured 24, and the Swatantra party and the Utkal Congress secured 16 and 6 seats, respectively. Compared to the 1971 elections, the number of Congress seats was marginally higher in the Cuttack area (45 against 40), while in Western Odisha Congress seats more than doubled (from 11 to 24). Thus the gain for Congress occurred at the expense of the Swatantra rather than the Utkal Congress. Thus it can be noted here that

western Odisha based political parties had have a low influence in the coastal region.

iv.   Non-Political Factors:

To comprehend the political dimensions of life it is necessary to have a look at non-political development and the population composition. This is because the non-political factors have had an important role in shaping sub-region al political behaviour.

It is, therefore, found that there are some basic differences between the Cut-ack area and Western Odisha. Superimposed upon these differences is the legacy of suspicion and hostility between the two areas. the small middle class in Western Odisha is not favourably disposed towards the *Katakis,* since they feel that the entry of the latter would imperil their position. Actually, this small middle class, whose interests roughly coincide with those of the dispossessed rulers, plays a key role in electoral politics. For all practical purposes, it constitutes an important 'reference group' for the uneducated voters.

V. The cultural specificities:

The cultural specificities of western Odisha also keep alive regional cleavage in Odisha. The culture of western Odisha, popularly called the Sambalpuri culture, is influenced by tribal cultures to a great extent. The tribal influence is clearly evident in the speech pattern, food habits, beliefs, customs, tradition, dance, drama, music, fairs and festivals of western Odisha. Folk songs like 'Rasarkeli', 'Dalkhai', 'Jaiphula' and the regional festivals like 'Nuakhai' and 'Puspuni' help a great deal in the assertion of western Odisha regional identity.

VI.   Language Specification:

The people of western Odisha speak a mother tongue which is called Sambalpuri. It differs from the standard Oriya speech spoken by the coastal Odisha people. The western Odisha people consider Sambalpuri as a distinct language in its own right; but in official and popular parlance it is perceived as a dialect or a regional variation of Oriya language (Joshi 1983). Sambalpuri language provides a typical environment and a sense of solidarity among western Odisha people and defines a line of separation from the mainstream coastal Odias.

VII.   Regional   socio-economic disparities:

Besides political cleavage, regional socio-economic disparities played a crucial role in the growth of regionalism in Odisha. The western region experienced very low level of socio-economic development since colonial period. The western region, by and large, lags behind the coastal area in the fields of agricultural development, irrigation, education, transport and communication, employment and occupation.

The western region is larger in size, but it accounts for only 26.53 percent of the state's population which stands at 36804660 as per the 2001 census; the relatively smaller coastal region, on the contrary, accounts for 47.82 percent of the population. In western region 48.47 percent of people belong to SC&ST, while the coastal region accounts for only 23.95 percent SC&ST people (Census of India 2001). The larger concentration of backward people in the western region reveals a significant dimension of regional poverty in Odisha.

In terms of agricultural intensity the shares of coastal and western regions in 2001 were 164 percent and 145 percent respectively. Since intensive cultivation depends upon a variety of factors like irrigation, climate, topography, etc., low agricultural intensity in western region indicates an overall low agricultural development there.

In the case of irrigation the western region barring few areas lags far behind the coastal belt. In 2001, while the gross irrigated area in coastal area was 47 percent, the share of western region was merely 24 percent.

A relatively higher work participation in the western region does not necessarily show a healthy economy because in the evolution of the economy a lower proportion of the population should be engaged in work. A smaller percentage of workers in coastal region indicate a better state of economy as lesser proportion of workforce is in a position to support larger dependency. As regards workers engaged in registered factories, disparities seem to be more intra-regional rather than inter-regional. Balangir, Kalahandi, Nuapara, Sonepur, Boudh and Kandhamal in the western region are industrially very poor districts.
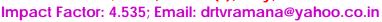
VI.   Education And Literacy:

As far as literacy is concerned, western region lags far behind the coastal area. In 2001, the rate of literacy in coastal region was 68.83 percent and in western region 57.77 percent, while the state showed an average literacy of 63.08 percent (*Ibid*).

Ironically, primary level educational institutions are relatively more in the western than the coastal region.

However, the coastal region is better served by secondary and graduate and above level educational institutions. In 2001 as compared to 141 primary schools per one lakh population in western region, there were 96 primary schools in coastal area. But at the secondary level, while coastal area had 19 institutions per one lakh population, western region had only 17; the figures for the graduate and above level were 2.04 and 1.81 per one lakh population in coastal and western region respectively (*Ibid*). The better infrastructure at the primary level in western region has not been translated into better response to literacy. This contradiction can be partly attributed to the history of education and the existing socio-cultural and economic realities. Further, the larger concentration of tribal and backward caste people also accounts for the low response to education in the western region.

VII. Disparities In Infrastructure:

In the areas of education, healthcare, communication and rural electrification disparities between the two regions are remarkable. The rate of urbanisation in both the regions is more or less same. Except the urban areas like Sambalpur and Rourkela the remaining parts of the western region are highly rural. It follows from the above discussion that barring notable exceptions like primary schools and health care, regional imbalance between coastal and western regions of Odisha exists in agricultural development, education, employment, transport and communication and industrial development. Moreover, in the western region the inter-district variations are very alarming. Districts like Kalahandi, Nuapara, Balangir, Sonepur, Boudh and Kandhamal epitomize the poverty of western Odisha.

The concentration of huge tribal and backward class people in these districts aggravates this situation further.

a. Health Care:

In the area of healthcare facilities the western region is relatively better served as compared to the coastal area. In 2003 the number of hospitals and dispensaries per one lakh population in coastal and western regions were little above 4 and 5 respectively, while the state had an average of 4 per one lakh population. Similarly, the doctor-population ratio in 2003 for coastal region was 13 doctors per one lakh population, for western region it was 14, while the state showed an average of 13 doctors in the same period. The hospital beds available per lakh population also revealed a similar trend (*Ibid*).

b. Transport:

Road density constitutes an important indicator of infrastructure development, and in this respect the two regions show wide disparities. As per 2001 census, the coastal region is better connected by roads as indicated by higher road density, i.e., 164.8 km per 100 sq. km compared to 139.1 km in western region which is below the state average of 136 km. In the case of rail connectivity, the disparities between the two regions are not substantial. In 2001 the railway route length per 100 sq. km. of area in coastal region was1.86 km. compared to the 1.58 km. average in the western region.

c. Electrification:

In the area of rural electrification, the regional gap between coastal and western regions is significant. In 2003, the figures of rural electrification for coastal and western Odisha were 85.3 percent and 76.3

percent respectively, while the state showed an average of 77 percent for that period (Districts at a Glance 2006). The situation regarding rural electrification remains precarious in Kalahandi, Nuapara, Sonepur, Boudh and Kandhamal districts of the western region.

VII. AUTONOMIST AND SEPARATIST:

From the above discussions it is clear that the regional socio-economic disparities along with political polarisation and socio-cultural cleavages provide a suitable platform for the growth of regional consciousness in western Odisha. The geographical, cultural, social, language peculiarities and the historical specificities of the western region provide further impetus to it. In this backdrop, two types of trends are broadly noticed in western Odisha: 'autonomist' and 'separatist'.

(a) The Demand of Autonomist:

The autonomists demand for greater regional autonomy and equal development; but the separatists advocate for separate provincial statehood. The autonomists raised different kinds of regional demands from time to time. Issues like promotion of education, culture, industry and employment figured prominently in regional demands. Some of these demands focus on: reservation of third and fourth grade services for local people, administrative and judicial decentralisation, periodical sessions of Odisha Legislative Assembly and Odisha Public Service Commission in western region, reservation of seats for local students in medical and engineering colleges situated in the region and rehabilitation of persons displaced by

Hirakud dam project and Rourkela Steel Plant (Nanda 2007). The establishment of the programme production centre at Sambalpur TV centre and the opening of a circuit court of the Odisha High Court in the western region are two other long standing regional demands of serious concern. It may be noted that Sambalpur TV centre in western region only relays the programmes produced at Cuttack and Bhubaneswar which mostly reflect the language, history, culture and agricultural practices of the coastal region. The demand for circuit court also receives strong oppositions from the Bar Associations in the coastal region. It is also alleged that the state government has done very little for preservation and promotion of Sambalpuri speech and culture of western Odisha. In protest against the official discrimination, 'Sampalpuri Lekhak Sangh', and 'Koshali Bhasa Sahitya Parishad' demanded the following: (a) recognition of distinct status of Sambalpuri language, (b) government patronage to develop Sambalpuri literature; (c) promotion of Sambalpuri cultural tradition; and (d) more TV and Radio programmes in Sambalpuri language (*Ibid*). Some autonomists pressed for a regional development council for western Odisha. The development council demand aimed at decentralisation of political, legislative, administrative and financial powers and ensuring regional financial autonomy and authority (Pati 1995). Subsequently, the Western Odisha Development Council was established at Bolangir in 2000. The autonomists, on the whole, strive to fulfill regional aspirations of western Odisha within the framework of regional autonomy in the state of Odisha. They strongly maintain that the distinct regional identity of western Odisha should be recognised by the state

government and the people of coastal Odisha.

(b) The Demand of Separatists:

The separatists, on the other hand, demand for a separate provincial state for western Odisha. Initially, the demand was made on the grounds of economic backwardness and distinct regional identity. But in recent times, the separate state demand has been made on the basis of a separate regional nationalism called 'Koshali nationalism'. The separatists maintain that the people of western Odisha belong to Koshali nationality which is different from the mainstream Oriya (Utkal-Kalinga) nationality. The shift in emphasis has been made precisely because: (a) distinct regional nationality in India is considered to be an important basis of province formation and, (b) collective definition of identity in regional nationalistic terms involves practical advantages. The existence of a separate Koshali nationality according to them logically implies the right to internal self-determination like several other nationalities in the Indian Union.

To realise their goal, some separatists, led by P.R. Dubey, an advocate from Sambalpur, launched a Koshal party in 1991. He undertook a 'Koshal Jana Jagaran Yatra' throughout western Odisha to mobilise support for the separate state. Some other organisations like 'Koshal Sangram Parishad', 'Koshal Liberation Front', 'Koshal Bhumi Mukti Sangathan' and the 'Western Odisha Liberation Front (WOLF)' strongly support the movement for separate Koshal state. Subsequently, in 1992 the first 'Koshal Sammelan' was held at Bolangir to popularise the notion of Koshali regional nationalism. A resolution supporting the separate state demand and a map of the proposed Koshal state was approved at this meeting. (Koshal Sammelan 1992). In the second 'Koshal Sammelan' at Sambalpur in 1993 the idea of Koshali nationalism was placed in more explicit terms vis-à-vis Oriya nationalism. It is stressed at this meeting that the merger of western Odisha (Koshal) region was done in violation of the linguistic principle of province formation in India (Koshal Sammelan 1993).

To define the boundaries of Koshali nationality the separatists use selective historical, linguistic and cultural symbols. The ancient and medieval glories of Koshal-Hirakhand kingdom (Senapati and Mohanty 1971) are used to provide historical roots and nostalgia to Koshali identity. As regards linguistic boundary emphasis is placed on Koshali language, which is a new nomenclature for Sambalpuri speech of western Odisha. The separatists stressed that the Koshali (Sambalpuri) language is a complete language with an independent grammatical structure and alphabet of its own. In their perception both Oriya and Koshali languages have originated from Sanskrit via 'Ardha Magadhi' and 'Koshali Bibhasa' (Joshi 1984). It is also argued that Koshali can be written in either Oriya or Devanagri script.

In the cultural sphere, symbols like 'Sakti' worship and observance of regional festivals like 'Nuakhai', 'Puspuni' and 'Dalkhai' have been widely used to distinguish Koshali culture of western Odisha from mainstream Oriya culture. In addition, the rich cultural heritage and folklore of western Odisha is highlighted to provide a distinct cultural basis to Koshali nationality. The members of the second 'Koshal

Sammelan' also submitted a memorandum to the President of India urging him to grant provincial statehood to western Odisha on the basis of the separate Koshali nationality claimed by them. The memorandum emphatically states that the movement for separate Koshal state is not a struggle against regional imbalance; it is rather a struggle for preservation of Koshali nationality through provincial self-rule within the multinational framework of the Indian nation-state (Koshal Sammelan Memorandum 1993). In support of their argument, they referred to the implementation of the linguistic reorganisation of states which satisfied the regional-national aspirations of many Indian nationalities. Recently, the 'Koshal Sammelan' is rechristened as 'Koshal Mahasabha' and under its banner the agitation for separate Koshal state is going on in some pockets of western Odisha.

IX. Conclusion:

The leaders of coastal Odisha, however, dismiss the Koshal state movement as a non-issue raised by a few disgruntled politicians who have no social or political base in western Odisha. But whatever way one may judge it, the fact remains that the mobilisation for Koshal state poses internal threats to the unity of Oriya nationality and the integrity of Odisha state.

The study of nationalism and regionalism in the context of Odisha suggests some broad generalisations having far-reaching socio-political significance. First of all, the study reveals that in multinational countries such as India regional nationalism clearly differs from regionalism and macro-political nationalism in both content and goal. It

also highlights that in India people's identity basically operates at macro, meso and micro levels. The macro identity operates at the overarching Indian nation-state level and it represents all-India political nationalism; the meso identity reflects regional-national identity and it focuses on loyalty to one's culture, language and homeland; finally, the micro identity embodies local-regional interests and it emphasises equality and removal of regional imbalance.

The case of Odisha further points out that all forms of nationalism and regionalism in multicultural/multi-national countries emerge in the context of identity and equality. In some cases people call for equality on the basis of a pre-existing identity; in some other cases a new identity is constructed for equality. In the case of Odisha, both integrative and alienative processes are at work. The integrative process operates in terms of Oriya nationalism and mainstream Oriya nationality, while the alienative process operates in terms of crystallisation of parallel regional nationalism. The latter is clearly evident from articulation of separate Koshali regional nationalism. The alienated group poses potential threats to the unity and integrity of the state. It may, therefore, be realised that a united Oriya nationality and an integrated Odisha state cannot be built within the multi-national framework of India by perpetuating the dominance of the mainstream coastal region and undermining the importance of the peripheral western region. For one thing, the concept of Oriya identity and the state of Odisha cannot be identified only with a particular section of Oriyas or a particular region of Odisha.

References:

- Cohen, B.S. 1967. 'Regions Subjective and Objective: Their Relation to the Study of Modern Indian History and Society' in R.I. Crain (ed.), *Regions and Regionalism in South Asia: An Exploratory Study.* Duke University Press, pp. 104-36.

- Desai, A.R. 1966. *Social Background of Indian Nationalism.* Bombay: Popular Prakashan.

- Government of India 2001. *Census of India*, Odisha (Series-22), New Delhi.

- Government of Odisha 2005. *Statistical Abstract of Odisha*, Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Bhubaneswar, Odisha.

- Government of Odisha 2006.*Districts at a Glance*, Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Bhubaneswar, Odisha.

- Joshi, P.D. 1983. 'Swatantra Koshali Bhasa (Oriya)', *Saptrashi*, Vol.12 (11), pp.1-6. 1984. 'Swatantra Koshali Bhasa (Oriya)', *Saptarshi*, Vol.13 (9), pp8-14

- Koshal Sammelan 1992. *Resolution of the First Koshal Sammelan*, 29 March 1992.

- Mahtab, H.K. 1972. *Beginning of the End.* Cuttack: Friends Publisher.

- Mishra, P.K. 1983. *Odisha (1900-1936): A Study in Political Development.* Calcutta: Punthi Pustak.

- Mohanty, Nibedita 1984. *Oriya Nationalism: A Quest for United Odisha.* New Delhi: Manohar.

- Nanda, Subrat K. 2007. *Nationalism and Regionalism in India: The Case of Odisha.* Delhi: Kalpaz Publications.

- Oommen, T.K. 1997. *Citizenship, Nationality and Ethnicity: Reconciling Competing Identities.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

- Pati, P.K. 1995. *Draft Constitution of the Western Odisha Autonomous Development Council*, Sambalpur.

- Patra, K.M. 1971. *Odisha under the East India Company.* New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharilal.

- Pradhan, S. 1986. *Agrarian and Political Movements: States of Odisha (1931-1949).* Delhi: Inter India.

- Ray, Amal 1974. 'Sub-regional Politics and Elections in Odisha' *Indian Journal of Political Science*, Oct-Dec, pp.340-42.

- Senapati, N. and B. Mohanty (eds.) 1971. *Odisha Ditrict Gazetteers: Sambalpur*, Cuttack.

- Smith A.D. 1998. *Nationalism and Modernism: A Critical Survey of Recent Theories of Nations and Nationalism.* London: Routledge.