

**CREATION OF SMALL STATES IN INDIA: THE
ADMINISTRATIVE AND DEVELOPMENTAL
PERSPECTIVE**

BY
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THESIS SUBMITTED TO
GOA UNIVERSITY

IN FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT FOR THE
AWARD OF DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN
POLITICAL SCIENCE

UNDER THE GUIDANCE
OF
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DECLARATION

I declare that the thesis entitled “*Creation of Small States in India: The Administrative and Developmental Perspective*” submitted by me for the award of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy of Goa University is my own work. I have duly acknowledged all the sources used by me in the present work. The thesis has not been submitted for any other degree of this University or any other University.

Place: Goa University

Date: 14th November 2019

[Sara Mahima George]

CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the thesis entitled “**Creation of Small States in India: The Administrative and Developmental Perspective**” is a record of the research work done by Sara Mahima George during the course of her Ph. D.

It has not previously formed the basis for the award to the research scholar for any Degree, Diploma, Associateship, Fellowship or other similar titles.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

“Gratitude is the fairest blossom which springs from the soul!”

- Henry Ward Beecher

The present doctoral thesis in its present form owes its existence to thought provoking intellectual contributions and moral support from various individuals. At the outset therefore, I wish to express my heartfelt gratitude towards each one of them.

First and foremost, I wish to express my heartfelt and sincere gratitude to my Guide, Dr. Rahul Tripathi, Professor and Head, Department of Political Science, Goa University, for his valuable guidance, advice, suggestions, inspiration and motivation at every step of this thesis right from its inception to its culmination. I also express my sincere gratitude to Dr. Prakash Desai and Dr. Alaknanda Shringare, Professors, Department of Political Science, Goa University for their intellectual inputs at various stages of my thesis. My heartfelt gratitude to my subject expert at my Annual Presentations, Dr. Suresh Shanbhogue, Director of Civil Aviation, Government of Goa for his precious inputs and suggestions.

There are a number of individuals who assisted me with personal interactions in the various states that I visited during the course of my study. I place on record the help rendered to me by Dr. Annapurna Nautiyal, Department of Political Science, Hemvati Nandan Bahuguna Garwhal University, Srinagar, Uttarakhand and my friends Girish Chandra and Naveen Nautiyal, research scholars at the same University. I express my gratitude to Dr. Avinash Sharma, Azimji Premji Foundation, Srinagar for his valuable inputs.

My visit to Raipur, Chhattisgarh was fruitful because of the help received from Mr. Ajay Madhukar Kale, Mr. A.S. Kalake, Mr. Arun Twigedi, Dr. Bino Jose, Mr. Ashish Lal, Dr. Chandrakant Swain, Librarian at Indian Institute of Management, Raipur; Mr. Sanjay Tiwari and Mr. Suresh Sahu from the Azimji Premji Foundation, Raipur.

The field inputs from the state of Jharkhand were obtained chiefly through the help rendered from all those who participated in a round table session in April 2017 at Ranchi University, co-ordinated by my esteemed Guide, Dr. Rahul Tripathi. I express my sincere gratitude to all those who participated in the round table session and rendered their valuable inputs.

I place on record the valuable contribution of Dr. Kanthika Sinha Kherkoff, Director-Research ADRI [Asian Development Research Institute], Ranchi. My sincere thanks to ADRI, Patna and Dr. Kathinka Sinha Kherkoff for inviting me to make a presentation on “Small States in India” at the International Conference at Patna on the theme “Bihar and Jharkhand: Shared History to Shared Vision”.

I also express my sincere gratitude to my friend Ajit Handa for his valuable help in gathering data from personal interactions in the state of Jharkhand. I express my sincere gratitude to Dr. Ashutosh Kumar, Professor and Head, Department of Political Science, Panjab University and Dr. Amit Prakash, Professor, Centre for Law and Governance, Jawaharlal University, New Delhi for their thought-provoking intellectual inputs towards my thesis. My heartfelt gratitude to Professor Debasis Patnaik from the Department of Economics at BITS Pilani, Goa Campus for his valuable inputs towards my research.

I express my gratitude to all those who contributed field inputs by responding to the questionnaires circulated in the three states. My sincere thanks to my friend King David Kweku Botchway, Research Scholar [Economics] at BITS Pilani, Goa Campus, for helping me with the preparation of figures in Chapter Four of this thesis. A special word of gratitude to my friend Sally Cabral for helping me in the formatting of the thesis. I am thankful to all my friends in the teaching profession and my well-wishers who have played some role or the other in shaping my thesis.

This work would not have been possible without the constant moral support and encouragement received from my family, my husband Rejy, my daughters, Karen and Keziah, my mother Lissy, my sisters Divya, Karuna and Irene and my brothers-in-law Vishwajit, Manoj and John. The support of my family throughout this journey has been immense and words are not sufficient to express my gratitude to them.

Last, but above all, my gratitude to the God Almighty for being my constant companion throughout this journey.

[Sara Mahima George]

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AIIMS	All India Institute of Medical Sciences
AJSU	All Jharkhand Students Union
ASHA	Accredited Social Health Activist
BJP	Bharatiya Janata Party
BSP	Bahujan Samaj Party
CAGR	Compounded Annual Growth Rate
CBSE	Central Board of Secondary Education
CCE	Continuous and Comprehensive Evaluation
CCTVS	Closed-Circuit Televisions
CDAC	Centre for Development of Advanced Computing
CHCs	Community Health Centres
CHGH	Chhattisgarh
CP	Central Provinces
CSDS	Centre for the Study of Developing Societies
CNC	Coorg National Council
CPI	Communist Party of India
DEEKSHA	Dedication to Enhance Education through Knowledge, Skill and Habit Assessment
EEB	Educationally Backward Blocks
GNLF	Gorkha National Liberation Front
GSDP	Gross State Domestic Product
GTA	Gorkhaland Territorial Administration
Ha	Hectares
IIEs	Integrated Industrial Estates
IL and FS	Infrastructure Leasing and Financial Services
INC	Indian National Congress
IPC	Indian Penal Code
IRBs	Indian Reserve Battalions
IT	Information Technology
JATI	Jharkhand Adventure Tourism Institute

JEPC	Jharkhand Education Project Council
JKHD	Jharkhand
JMM	Jharkhand Mukti Morcha
JD [U]	Janata Dal [United]
JVP	Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Patel and Pattabhi Sitaramayya
JSAC	Jharkhand Space Application Centre
JVM [P]	Jharkhand Vikas Morcha [Prajanantrik]
KGs	Kilogrammes
KGBV	Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalaya
KMs	Kilometres
KRMM	Kodagu Rajya Mukti Morcha
LIWAK	Liberation Warriors of Kodagu
LLA	Learning Level Assessment
LWE	Left-Wing Extremism
MNREGA	Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
MP	Madhya Pradesh
MPCE	Monthly Per Capita Expenditure
MSDP	Mobile e-governance Delivery Platform
MSMEs	Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises sector
NDA	National Democratic Alliance
NDML	National Database Management Limited
NES	National Election Study
NFHS	National Family Health Survey
NIC	National Informatics Centre
NITI	National Institution for Transforming India
NKN	National Knowledge Network Hub
NPEGEL	National Programme for Education of Girls at Elementary Level
NSSO	National Sample Survey Office
OBC	Other Backward Classes
OFC	Optical fibre cable

PARFI	Pan IIT Alumni Reach for India
PHCs	Primary Health Centres
PMM	Poorvanchal Mukti Morcha
PRBM	Poorvanchal Rajya Banao Manch
RCC	Reinforced Cement Concrete
RCHP	Reproductive and Child Health Programme
RIMS	Rajendra Institute of Medical Sciences
RJD	Rashtriya Janta Dal
SAIL	Steel Authority of India Limited
SIDCUL	State Industrial Development Corporation of Uttarakhand
SP	Samata Party
SRS	Sample Registration Survey
SSA	Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan
TDP	Telugu Desam Party
TRS	Telangana Rashtra Samiti
UEPPCB	Uttarakhand Environmental Protection and Pollution Control Board
UKD	Uttarakhand Kranti Dal
UKHD	Uttarakhand
USSS	Uttarakhand Sanyukta Sangarsh Samiti
UP	Uttar Pradesh
VSAT	Very Small Aperture Terminal

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The present chapter seeks to put the issues of reorganization of states in India in perspective and looks at the present context. The process of state formation in India has a long history. With the continual emergence of separate statehood movements across the country, the demands for new states continue to intensify in the present times. The chapter then proceeds to explain the scope of the research, the hypothesis, the objectives of the research, the basic research questions, the research methodology followed, the survey of existing literature on the theme and the gaps in the existing literature. It also introduces the titles of the chapters and carries a brief summary of each chapter of the thesis.

1.1 REORGANIZATION OF STATES IN INDIA: PAST ISSUES AND PRESENT DILEMMAS

India was ruled by various ethnic groups during the course of its history each imposing their own administrative demarcations in the respective areas under their control. The erstwhile French and Portuguese colonies in India were merged into the Republic comprising the Union Territories of Pondicherry, Dadra and Nagar Haveli, Goa, Daman and Diu. The States Reorganization Act was passed in 1956. Thereafter, numerous new states and union territories were carved out of standing states. Language seemed to be the crucial factor guiding the reorganization of states during that phase. The state of Bombay was fragmented into the linguistic states of Gujarat and Maharashtra on 1st May 1960 under the Bombay Reorganization Act¹. Nagaland was made a state on 1st December 1963. The

¹The Bombay Reorganization Act made provision for the reorganisation of the state of Bombay and related matters. The Act was enacted by Parliament in the year 1960. The Act created two linguistically equal states of Maharashtra and Gujarat. Maharashtra consisted of majority of people who spoke the Marathi language and the state of Gujarat pre-dominantly comprised of people who spoke the Gujarati language. The state of Bombay was home to linguistic minorities which comprised nearly 49% of the population including Gujaratis besides tribals and other migrants. This made the Gujaratis to demand their own separate state in 1960 [Bhattacharya, 2019].

Punjab Reorganization Act of 1966² separated Punjab on the lines of language thereby creating a new Hindi speaking state of Haryana on 1st November 1966. This was done by transferring the northern districts of Punjab to Himachal Pradesh and designating Chandigarh, the shared capital of Punjab and Haryana, a Union Territory. Statehood was granted to Himachal Pradesh on 25th January 1971. Manipur, Meghalaya and Tripura were conferred statehood on 21st January 1972. The Kingdom of Sikkim acceded to the Indian Union as a state on 26th April 1975. In 1987, Arunachal Pradesh and Mizoram became states on 20th February which was followed by Goa on 30th May. Goa's northern enclaves of Daman and Diu became a separate Union Territory.

Initially the demands for new states were raised on the basis of language, as a result of which the States Reorganization Commission created states on linguistic lines. However, gradually when the creation of states on linguistic basis started to fall apart, a trend of creation of separate states began to be initiated on the basis of developmental issues. In the year 2000, three new states were carved in the Indian Union. Chhattisgarh [1st November 2000] was created out of eastern Madhya Pradesh. Uttaranchal [9th November 2000] later renamed Uttarakhand, was created out of the hilly regions of northwest Uttar Pradesh. Jharkhand [15th November 2000] was created out of the southern districts of Bihar. The Union Territories of Delhi and Puducherry were given the right to elect their own legislatures and they are now counted as small states. The campaign for Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh had the strong support of the tribals who felt that they were not getting their rightful share from the people of the plains. Those demanding a separate state of Uttaranchal which was predominantly a hilly region and home to many tourist and Hindu pilgrimage centres wanted to be independent from the gigantic parent state of Uttar Pradesh.

In recent times the movement for new states appears to be gaining momentum. The state of Uttar Pradesh itself is witnessing several movements demanding the creation of new states namely Purvanchal³, Harith Pradesh, Braj Pradesh and Awadh Pradesh. There is also a demand for Bhojpur⁴ from Eastern Uttar Pradesh, Chhattisgarh and Bihar. In Orissa there

²The Punjab Reorganization Act divided the province between Punjab and Haryana. Certain portions comprising the mountainous regions were transferred to Himachal Pradesh [Singh, 2000].

³Purvanchal consists of the eastern part of Uttar Pradesh and the western part of Bihar. This region is inhabited by people who speak the Hindi language along with its dialects Bhojpuri and Awadhi.

⁴The Bhojpuri region primarily speaks the Bhojpuri language.

has been the demand for the state of Koshalanchal⁵ to be carved out of Western Orissa. The people around Darjeeling and the Duars ⁶ in North West Bengal have been voicing the demand for a separate state of Gorkhaland⁷ for themselves to preserve their Nepali identity and also to improve their socio-economic conditions. There is the demand for Mithilanchal⁸ from North Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal. Vidarbha⁹ in eastern Maharashtra has been another area demanding separate statehood. Vidarbha has been the melting pot of Telugu speaking people from the south, Hindi speaking people from Central India and the tribal people from Chhattisgarh. In Karnataka, the district of Coorg has been demanding separation from its parent state, Karnataka. Thus, the demands for new states continue to intensify in the present times.

1.2 SCOPE OF THE RESEARCH

State creation and state formation in the Union of India has been an evolving process, particularly since the independence of India from its colonial masters. Over the years, the factors that have propelled separate statehood movements in India demonstrate that the demands are linked to specific problems faced by the regions demanding separate statehood. In the light of this background, it becomes essential to highlight the context in which separate statehood movements emerge and the performance of the new states after the movements for the same have emerged successful. In this direction, there is a need to explore whether bifurcation of states plays an essential role in resolving the problems that the region faced in its pre-statehood form. There is also a need to examine the developmental experiences of the newly created states for some important inferences on policy and to know whether small states contribute to better governance and administration.

⁵The demand for Koshalanchal or a separate state of Koshala to be carved from the western part of Orissa is on the basis of a distinct culture, art and language that this region claims to possess.

⁶The Duars refer to the floodplains and foothills of the eastern Himalayas in North-East India around Bhutan.

⁷Gorkhaland consists of the hill regions of the Darjeeling district and the Kalimpong and Duar areas.

⁸The demand for a state of Mithilanchal has been demanded by people speaking the Maithili language.

⁹The Vidarbha region consists of the Nagpur division and the Amravati division.

1.3 HYPOTHESIS

Bifurcation of the states alone is not a prerequisite for better development and administration of a state. The progress of a new state carved out of a larger parent state also depends on various qualitative and quantitative parameters. The qualitative parameters include factors such as protection of human rights, law and order and political stability in the new state. The quantitative parameters include crucial parameters such as education, sex ratio, labour/employment, agricultural production, power/electricity, irrigation potential, transport, communication, industrial growth, tourism and gross state domestic product and growth rate of the same. It is by the performance of a new small state on these parameters that its progress and development can be gauged.

1.4 BASIC RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. What is the difference between the past and the present statehood movements in India?
2. Is there a link between the size of a state and its administrative and developmental efficiency?
3. What are the advantages and disadvantages of small states in India?
4. What are the critical factors shaping governance and development in small states?

1.5 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The research has followed a descriptive and analytical approach using qualitative as well as quantitative parameters to address the basic research questions. A comparative reference across time and space with regard to the three states in question was done in order to arrive at some generalizations with regard to development and governance of small states. Data was collected from both primary as well as secondary sources. Data collection from primary sources included personal interviews, the responses of which were obtained through structured questionnaires. The secondary sources that were used in collecting information include books, journals and web sources.

1.6 LITERATURE REVIEW

A literature review from various sources [including books and articles] identified various factors guiding movements for separate statehood within the Indian Union. The literature reviewed from various sources has been categorized into various themes as follows:

The Case of Chhattisgarh

Regional disparity existed in the state of Chhattisgarh on account of factors such as geography, infrastructure, politics, poor governance, lack of regional planning, lack of land use policy and Maoist violence [Yadav, 2010, Pp 616-638]. Although Chhattisgarh comprised 32% of Adivasi population, the idea of statehood did not take birth in the predominantly tribal regions. The idea of statehood arose primarily in the plain areas. These areas have a smaller population of Adivasis and a greater concentration of middle and lower castes categorized as OBCs [Tillin, 2013, Pp109-208].

The Case of Jharkhand

Among the different regional movements for autonomy, Jharkhand movement is the oldest one [Ekka and Sinha, 2004]. According to them, the reasons behind the claims for separate state for Jharkhand include preservation and protection of their identity/nationality, exploitation of Jharkhandis by the outsiders, land alienation by outsiders and government, industrialization leading to displacement of locals, immigration of a large number of outsiders leading to outward migration of locals, mismanagement of forests and preservation of local languages and culture.

The centralizing trend in Indian federalism is to be held responsible for the rising regional aspirations. There is a need for greater decentralization and devolution of power to make people their own masters [Ghosh,1998]. The pessimistic manipulation of the state's people by the political class of Jharkhand on the domicile policy issue is furthering resentment and distrust, especially between the tribals and non-tribals. These leaders are raking up the "outsiders" issue to divert attention from corruption and poor governance that they have

subjected the state to [Kumar, 2014, Pp 21-22]. On the onset of the 1950s decade, the development profile of the region of Jharkhand was better than Bihar as a whole, but gradually deteriorated over the years. It soon reached a point when the growth of development opportunities in the region became stagnant at best and negative at worst. Therefore, with the passing years, the issue of poor performance of the public-policy delivery mechanism further entrenched the links between the issue of a separate state, the Jharkhandi identity, and the development issues [Prakash, 2001, Pp 298-300]. The tribal aspiration for autonomy in Jharkhand was first dragged on to a regional platform which enabled the execution of an inverse ideological somersault- the construction of nationality on the basis of region. Today, the Jharkhand nationality question is discussed as if it were a part of geography and not of socio-political anthropology [Raj, 1992, Pp 200-203].

The Case of Uttarakhand

The movement for Uttarakhand was based on a unity of interests between people of the 'pahar' region. However, ironically, statehood has broadened the 'pahar-maidan' conflict and has thrown into oblivion the long history of participatory movement the region has seen as well as any moves towards sustainable development [Jayal, 2000, Pp 4311-4314]. The chief motivation for the Uttarakhand movement was the urge to give a new path to the task of nation building and development by consolidation at the local level of region. It will be an injustice to limit the scope of this movement for multi-directional change to a nominal programme for creating a separate state [Joshi, 1999, Pp 3489-3490]. According to Paul R. Brass, there are four definite conditions that the central government would have followed in the process of creating new states in the post- independence period. The conditions which conventionally seem to have guided the politics of reorganization of the states in the 50s and 60s include the non-secessionist character of the demand, the non-communal principle, non-opposition from possible opposing inhabitants in the rest of the parent state and the popular strong support for the demand from the major section of the people in the area. If these four criteria were applied to the situation in Uttarakhand it appears that all the four conditions have been fulfilled [Kumar, 1998]. A significant section of people within the region of Uttaranchal were concerned not just with the issue of capturing political and administrative power, but also with altering the dimensions of power in the region. A strong belief was in existence amongst many people in the hilly region, that local people

should not merely obtain a larger share of the domestic and commercial prospects in the hills, but also that the resource utilization which guides their livelihoods should be sustainably managed. This demands that politicians and bureaucrats be more receptive, responsible and available to the people of the region. Geographical distance and proximity were key ideas guiding the idea of separate statehood within the region [Mawdsley, 1999, Pp 101-112]. The demand for a separate state of Uttarakhand was not only a political demand, but also based on the economic necessity of the people of the region [Nautiyal, 1996, Pp 7-12].

The Case of Telangana

Telangana is in many ways a typical sub-region. Sub-regionalism may be considered a by-product of modernization if it is the result of economic imbalances between historically defined sub-regions. The troubles in Telangana seem to be indicative of a new force of sub regionalism in many parts of India. This agitation could well spark off separatist movements in Rayalseema, Vidharba, Mararthwada and various other places. The growth of sub regional localism was obscured by the struggle for linguistic states and did not become obvious and challenging until the new linguistic states became settled and the boundaries fixed. Sub regional conflict of this sort can cut across the caste and factional conflicts which have found to be characteristic of Indian state politics, and also the class conflicts which Indian Marxists are always hopefully claiming to discover. Sub-regionalism may therefore be yet another indication of the declining political influence of caste [Forrester, 1970, Pp 5-21]. The issue of a separate state for Telangana would continue to fester even as the central government led by the Congress continues to procrastinate on a decision on it. The Congress electoral calculations, which seem to govern its attitude toward the issue, cannot afford to continually ignore the popular aspirations of the people in the region, as further dithering only complicates the political situation in both Telangana and in coastal Andhra [Gudavarthy, 2013]. The roots of the Telangana people's movement for a separate state can be attributed to a historical context, which includes a developmental model pursued by the ruling classes both in Andhra Pradesh and the centre. The ongoing movements in Telangana attempts to resolve such contradictions through the formation of a separate state [Hargopal, 2010, Pp 51-60]. The internal boundaries within the Indian Union indicate how the central government recognizes ethnic and linguistic realities.

Through the example of the movement of the creation for Telangana, an analysis has been made of the limits of the Indian administrative framework and its linguistic foundations, the issues at stake and the likely impact of these changes [Hohler, 2013, Pp 31-35]. From the historical point of view, the emergence of the current separate Telangana movement of Andhra Pradesh is a testimony to the failure or even death of regional historiography or history consciousness, out of which the Telugu people's identity once sought to evolve [Keiko, 2010, Pp 57-63]. Identifying and redressing the grievances of Telangana is a twofold challenge: countering crisis-ridden state cultures of neo-liberal populism and harnessing the global city region of Hyderabad towards more equitable development [Maringanti, 2010].

The new state of Telangana was predicted to be created on capitalist terms. The declaration was made on the premises of electoral compulsions of the Congress party that pledged to abandon the nominal socialist agenda, which characterized the earlier aspirations for a separate state [Maringanti, 2013]. The roots of a separate state of Telangana can be traced to a long-standing demand for autonomy in social, economic and political matters [Melkote et.al., 2010, Pp 8-11].

From the year 2000 onwards, Telangana had come to occupy centre stage in the politics of the state of Andhra Pradesh with elections won and lost over this issue. At the heart of the problem lies the city of Hyderabad, which lies in the middle of Telangana but is claimed by both states. There are complex issues and underlying causes behind the demand for a new state of Telangana which include the historical differences between the regions, the economic and political empowerment that the people of Telangana aspire to, and the cultural disparities they have with people from Andhra and Rayalaseema [Nag, 2011]. One of the most contentious issues in the formation of Telangana has been the issue of the revenues of Hyderabad and its contribution to the wealth of Andhra Pradesh. According to some reports the share of Hyderabad in the state's total revenue is 74%. This has been the key issue revolving around the demand for a special status to Hyderabad and allowing it to claim a share of its revenues to the residual state [Pingle, 2013, Pp 10-12]. The history of the Telangana movement could be interpreted as a failed experiment in uniting regions with varied history, differences in economic development and the select few with different capacities and conflicting goals. In the light of this background, the common language was

unable to unite the dual regions even after a very long period of time [Pingle, 2009, Pp 297-314].

The insecurities in Andhra Pradesh over the issues of sharing of Krishna and Godavari waters, government jobs, personal safety, state assets and liabilities, and Article 371 [D] are generally not based on a consciousness of the measures that can be taken to alleviate them. The actual issue of tussle or conflict revolves around the means of demarcation of the state and the impact of Hyderabad on the power bases of the two dominant castes of the state, the Reddys and Kammas [Pingle, 2013]. The origins of the demand for a separate state of Telangana can be traced to more than half a century back in the methodical and extensive ill-treatment of this region by the dominant privileged few of Andhra Pradesh and by the state government which have been in power over the years. The economic path adopted by successive governments resulted in the conversion of Telangana into an internal colony. Consequently, its resources were diverted and used for the development of other regions. The movement for separate statehood is in reality an articulation of the demand for a fair share of the region in the resources. It is the consequential result of injustice against this region by the governments which have been in power in Andhra Pradesh. The only solution to these grievances is expected to be separation of the Telangana region from Andhra Pradesh [Ram, 2007, Pp 90-94]. The tribal people of the region of Telangana feel that they have been constantly in a state of neglect and deprivation of their legal rights right from the time that the region was ruled by the Nizams. Thereafter the popular governments which were in power in Andhra Pradesh which were dominated by the upper castes and landlords continued the practice of exploitation [Ramdas, 2013, Pp 118-21]. The relationship between the city of Hyderabad and the people of Andhra Pradesh is visible in the form of revenues to the government, jobs to people, opportunities for business and an effective destination for higher education. Therefore, the governments should be cautious in guaranteeing equal treatment to all the regions of Andhra Pradesh while working towards the plan of bifurcating the state [Rao, 2013, Pp 39-43].

According to the Srikrishna Committee's Analysis, a separate state of Telangana can be an effective state. Besides, a sizeable section of the people in the region support statehood for the same [Rao, 2011, Pp 33-36]. A large section of tribals do not have the elementary requirements and live in deplorable conditions. Despite, a significant increase in the distribution of funds for tribal areas, most tribals were unable to harness the gains on

account of the corruption prevalent among officials and faulty implementation of the schemes of tribal development. In addition, most of the tribal areas do not have sufficient communication and infrastructure facilities. It is predicted that the life of tribals in a new state would improve along with improvement in governance [Reddy, 2014, Pp 76-77]. The movement for a separate state of Telangana has been welcomed by the intelligentsia as the expression of democratic interests of the people of a region against political domination and economic exploitation. The identity of the region of Telangana identity is a mixture of fact on the one side and half-truths, prejudices and false hopes on the other side. Apart from intellectuals, the rebirth of the identity of the region has been propagated by the opportunism of political parties and specifically the unjustifiable inaction of the left [Srikanth, 2013, Pp 39-45].

The by-elections that were held in the 12 assembly constituencies were an indication that the demand for separate statehood has begun to occupy centre-stage in the political discourse of the region. Social classes and groups have abandoned older political affiliations and amalgamated around candidates who unconditionally support the demand for separate statehood [Srinivasulu and Satyanarayana, 2010, Pp 12-14]. Despite the widespread support towards the Telangana cause in Andhra Pradesh, there appears to be a stalemate over statehood for the region due to the connection between the state and the Seemandhra oligarchy which is apparently backed by the mafia. The Telangana movement is the only solution towards altering the apparently negative patterns of power and control in the state. If the movement fails to achieve the desired purpose, it would give opportunities for the forces of lawlessness leading to new and disastrous impact for the ordinary people [Vijay, 2012, pp 22-25]. From the perception of history, the emergence of the movement for Telangana movement in Andhra Pradesh bears witness to the lack of success or even death of regional historiography or history consciousness which formed the very basis for the identity of the Telugu people to evolve [Keiko, 2010, Pp 57-63].

The Case of Separate Statehood Movements in Uttar Pradesh

The issue of division of states should be addressed according to local demands, cultural issues and most importantly economic viabilities of such states [Bhushan, 2011]. One possibility based on the issues faced by the state of Uttar Pradesh since the early 1990s

could be that this large state was propelling towards larger-caste based mobilization and disintegration combined with the communalization of politics. The decade of the 1990s was marked by primeval characteristics igniting state politics. In the decade of the 2000s, primitive identities were replaced by speedy but socially inclusive growth, economic transformation, increased participation and upgraded governance. Whether this shift will have an effect on depoliticizing identity politics remains to be seen. However, novel political structures can be witnessed in Uttar Pradesh which are visibly varied from those of the 1990s and have created avenues for a new type of democratic politics, the dimensions of which are yet to be understood and investigated [Pai, 2013, 261-269]. The discussion over small state as a model of development has again come to the forefront in the light of emergence of regional identity versus development debate. The demand for a separate state of Poorvanchal in Uttar Pradesh is rational and practicable. The demand for a separate state on the basis of developmental and administrative concerns does not constitute the demand for separatism. It is not external to the domain of India's federal structure or constitutional pattern. On the contrary, it may fortify the unity of the country by facilitating equitable growth and may offer solutions to crucial issues such as naxalism [Pandey, 2008, Pp 341-354]. The demand for a separate state of Harit Pradesh in Uttar Pradesh is inter-connected to the politics of region and caste in Uttar Pradesh and is also led by a section of the Jats of Western U.P [Singh, 2001, Pp 2961-2967]. The economic viability of any newly carved out state is a vital factor. The size of the state is not so much important as the governance of the newly created state [Talukdar, 2011]. Farmer's suicides in the region of Bundelkhand are the consequence of many years of neglect of the agricultural and industrial sectors. The demand for a separate state merely aims to achieve political aspirations and offers no solution to the various problems of the farmers of the Bundelkhand region. [Verma, 2011, Pp 10-11].

The Case of Vidarbha

Successive governments in the state of Maharashtra have not done much to solve the problem of Vidarbha's economic underdevelopment. This is despite the fact that there are several provisions guaranteed by constitutional and other declarations. Several political and economic compulsions have been influencing the demands for separate statehood of Vidarbha [Kumar, 2001]. The recent demand claiming separate statehood for the Vidarbha

region in Maharashtra portrays a sharp contrast to the aggressive agitation in the neighbouring state of Andhra Pradesh for a separate Telangana State. This is despite the fact that the demand is older and supported by a favourable endorsement by the States Reorganization Commission in 1955 [Kumar, 2013]. The state of agricultural development in Maharashtra over the last three decades has not been balanced across regions. The region of Western Maharashtra has been much ahead as compared to other regions on major developmental parameters. The lack of success of the Marathwada and Vidarbha regions to draw a large share of the state's resources is chiefly on account of the lack of a well-expressed structure of groups and unions in these regions [Mohanty, 2009, Pp 63-69]. There is a need for developing the Vidarbha region within the state of Maharashtra. A time specific development plan for the Vidarbha region in the next years is essential in order to eliminate the feeling of economic injustice suffered by Vidarbha [Pitale, 2009, Pp 281-295]. The stagnation of Vidarbha's agriculture and the consequent adverse impact on its farmers, which is proved through the high rates of suicides, has been explained in terms of inheritance, a disjointed society, partisan politics, insufficient agricultural institutions, a development logjam and a punitive terrain. The contrast between the patterns of agricultural growth of the Saurashtra and Vidarbha regions brings to the fore new issues about this received perception. On the parameter of "development depressants" the condition of Saurashtra was in fact worse than Vidarbha. However, since 1990, and particularly after the year 2002, agriculture in Saurashtra has witnessed unexpected growth, unaffected by the development depressants. The contrast between the two regions also questions the conventional concept that increasing public investment in agriculture is the only way to speed up the growth of agriculture. Saurashtra's agricultural boom has not been spearheaded much by public investment. Rather it is smart, farmer-friendly government policies that have inspired the formation of private capital in agriculture. Vidarbha has been at the receiving end of doles, packages and a lot of promises. The factors which will bring about vitality is practical, dynamic and farmer-friendly governance of its agricultural economy [Shah et. al, 2014, Pp 86-93].

The Case of Coorg [Kodagu]

Although the movement demanding a separate state of Coorg appears to be gaining impetus, it draws support from a limited social base which constitutes the ethnic Coorgis,

large landlords and the planters. This is responsible for its narrow agenda which may in the long run lead to the opening up of space for other conflicts to emerge in Coorg [Assadi, 1997, Pp 3114-3116]. The necessity of the present times is to depict the energies and resources for the development of the district and robust political will on the part of both - state and central- governments. All demands which have been put forward by the Coorg National Council, with the exception of the demand for restoration of statehood, are worth considering by both the State and the Central Governments [Somaiah, 2007, Pp. 377-395].

The Case of the North-East

In the Darjeeling district of West Bengal, the intricacies of the ethnic problems were entrenched in the claims and the consequent movements for self-government which came to the fore at regular intervals. The path of this interconnection can be analyzed in detail only if a systematic exposition of the various historical stages of the whole process is carried out. The issue of ethnic identity of the Nepali community of Darjeeling is primarily a domestic issue which is related to the overall problem of imbalanced development of different nationalities in India. The constructive alternative is to tackle the same problem on the grounds of national unity based on the dual procedures of class struggle and democratic decentralization of power [Dasgupta, 1999, Pp 47-68]. The roots of separatism in North East region can be traced both internally and externally of the region. The origins inside the country have to be drawn to the colonial and post-colonial activities of the state which have had an impact on the tribal way of life in North East India. It is essential to carefully scrutinize the methods adopted by the state to tackle the problem of the region [Datta, 1992, Pp 536-558]. In the case of the Nagas, the right to self-determination cannot be said to be total. The demand for the same cannot be granted at the cost of integration of land, political solidity and state authority [Kaur, 2006]. Even after seven states were created in the north-east to fulfil the ethnic aspirations of the local people, the north-east continues to be in mayhem. There is a demand for more balkanization which will have the consequent impact of the creation of very small and totally unfeasible states. The existing states seemed to have failed to provide the elementary needs of the people [Jayanta, 1999]. The machinery which was formulated for coordinating the activities of various components in North-East India has proved to be insufficient and ineffective. The situation in the North East India is intricate. Of all the regions in India, it is the most polyglot. Certain political scientists may,

therefore challenge the capability of the institutions created to solve the problems of the region [Rao, 1972, Pp 123-144].

Regionalism and Regional Inequality as Causes for Separate Statehood Movements

Even though, the Finance Commission and the Planning Commission of India made several attempts to eliminate regional inequality, the fact is that regional disparity has continued. Not only are there disparities in development at the All-India level there are also disparities which exist within each state. This inequality has given birth to sub-regional movements for separate states within the Indian Union, or increased self-governance for the sub-regions within the prevalent states. It is on account of these regional feelings that the states of Uttaranchal, Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh were created out of the larger states of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Madhya Pradesh even though the tribal and linguistic factors were also crucial [Chandra et.al, 2008]. The major issues of disagreement between the nationalists and the regionalists include educational policy, distribution of resources, planning, policy of language, electoral competition and mass media control [Dhal, 2004, Pp 209-211]. The Khalistan movement which demanded a separate state for Sikhs was the result of a variety of social, economic and political issues that resulted in an increasing sense of estrangement among the Sikh community in India. The failure of the state to solve the political and economic problems of the Sikhs enabled the rise of militancy and the movement for a separate state broadening the gulf between the Sikhs and the Indian State for about a decade before normalcy gradually returned in 1992 [Jetly, 2008, Pp 61-75]. The process of nationality formation in India has echoed itself in various dimensions. These include the growth of respective vernacular literature, demands to declare certain languages as official languages of specific locations, movements of backward nationalities to separate from a progressive nationality and gain their own unique recognition, the movement of a particular nationality group, which was segregated from the parent nationality and was living amongst a different cultural group as a result of administrative integration to re-join the cultural mainstream and finally, the movement of groups which are still at a tribal stage of progress but have struggled against the exploitation and encroachment of outsiders to have their own distinct locale with the purpose of reducing exploitation and encroachment. New demands and aspirations continue to emerge. Some of these demands even included the demand for complete independence, not merely self-governance. The issue of Indian nationality cannot

be studied by excluding these dimensions because the integration of this process can alone determine whether India has been a nation- in- the –making or a nation-in-the-unmaking [Nag, 1993, Pp 1521-1532].

The demand for reorganization of states and subsequent formation of new states have to be perceived primarily as issues that are emerging because of the issue of regional injustice. Most of the attempts to conceptualize the notion of justice emphasize ‘individual’ justice rather than themes of ‘regional’ injustice. There is no guarantee that the creation of new states will provide a long-lasting solution to the problem of regional injustice [Panchmukhi, 2009, Pp 200-238].

The formation of one or two separate states by itself cannot provide a solution to the problem of regional imbalance and neglect. There is a need for continuous effort to be made towards this direction. Adequate decentralization of power and resources to the Zilla Parishads and lower levels alone is essential to provide a solution to this problem [Rath, 2009, Pp 193-197]. The Constitution appears to have ignored the non-legal, primeval and provincial factors in the growth and development of regionalism in India. Therefore, when the constitutional process commenced, a process of regionalization along primitive lines was also set into motion. This regionalism which was external to the Constitution was influenced not merely by primitive factors such as caste, language, minority groups, sub-cultures, and most importantly the economic conditions prevalent among the various regional communities. The emergence of various attitudinal sub-cultures followed as an automatic response to the influence of colonialism and influenced the future course of social and political movement. Nothing can better illustrate the general process of regionalism with its sub-regional manifestation in contemporary Indian polity than Telangana [Reddy et al., 1979, Pp 3-9]. The Indian State is a Leviathan characterized by division. Its failure in the realm of development is the outcome of interactions between the centre and local units and the political choices made by elites at the regional level [Sinha and Wadley, 2005].

Federalism: A Cause for Imbalanced Regional Development

The problems of regional development can be classified into under-development/ non-development and over development. These problems can be tackled by coordinating the implementation of national plan on the regional level and also by creating regional governments [Barrington]. To the question whether federalism fosters or inhibits secession the answer appears to be in the affirmative. Federalism offers institutional resources to enable them attain their goals. However, their goals are only to a narrow extent affected by the institution of federalism. Federalism is not likely to hold an unjust regime together. Neither is it unlikely to separate a regime [Cameron, 2010]. There appears to be a centralist bias in federal relations. The Constitutional provisions guarantee balanced allocation of resources between the centre and state. However, in actual practice it is the centre which plays the role of the active agent in the federal structure. The solution to this problem is provision of an alternate frame in terms of redistribution of financial and monetary powers, restructuring of the Planning Commission, the Centre becoming the co-coordinator but not the arbiter and putting the responsibility on the states [Mitra, 1987]. The best approach to be adopted towards reorganizing states would be to examine each case on the basis of its advantages. Any initiative towards a once-for-all reorganization of states across the country on the basis of a pre-determined set of conditions is likely to be artificial and illogical and therefore unstable [Rao, 2005]. It is evident that the planning process has not benefitted all the regions of the country equitably. As a result, there are significant variations in the standards of living and development among various regions and sub-regions of the country. The problem of regional imbalances can be resolved effectively only when the current piece-meal and temporary outlook is replaced by detailed regional planning on successive lines [Singh, 1981].

Statehood Movements in India: Implications

The new states which were formed in 2000 were not formed on the basis of a distinct language-based culture. This was the very principle that guided the establishment of states during the formative phases of the Indian Union in the 1950s and 1960s [Bose, 2013, Pp 90-92]. The differentiations in culture and society that sustain regionalism in India continues to exist in a number of states. With increased political consciousness and

aggravated competition, demands for the formation of new states or for self-governing regions within states remain a catalytic agent for social strife. The movements for separate statehood vary greatly in terms of the support and strength that exist across the country and constantly involve depressed regions. These depressed regions include the tribal areas in Central and Eastern India; the eastern districts of Uttar Pradesh; the Saurashtra region of Gujarat; the Vidarbha region of Maharashtra and the Telangana region of Andhra. The demand by some people in Haryana claiming the adjoining districts of Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh for the purpose of creating Vishal [greater] Haryana is marked by a somewhat different character [Hardgrave and Kochanek, 2007]. While formulating any pattern to tackle the issue of reorganization of the Indian federation, there are four factors that have to be borne in mind. These factors include the constitution of a permanent State Reorganization Commission, amendment of the Constitution to guarantee that the demand for a new state originates from the state legislative assembly and not at the central level, examination of economic and social feasibility rather than political contemplations and clearly defined safeguards to promote democratic concerns like development and governance in place of religion, caste and language as lawful grounds for a new state [Kumar, 2010]. The dual issues of identity and development are often signals of the untying politics in the federal structure of the country. Regions within the states are not just politico-administrative instituted constructs but are also imaginary or included among others in historical, geographic, economic, sociological or cultural perspectives. Regions are a separate analytical section for a detailed investigation of the democratic politics of identity and development unfolding at the state level [Kumar, 2011]. The formation of new states will not automatically generate development of a specific region. Nevertheless, it guarantees a better expression of regional political and social ambitions and brings the structures of government and administration nearer to hitherto areas which have been deprived [Kumar, 2002]. Even in the case of economies, there is a refusal to yield arguments against the idea of a small state world. This is because even in the domain of economics, the only problem of importance seems to be the issue of disproportionate size suggesting as its solution not growth but the prohibition of growth, not unity but division. As and when the size of the productive unit grows, its productivity finally starts to diminish until instead of generating energy it puts on fat. The law of diminishing productivity imposes barriers to the size of everything [Kohr, 1986]. The contemporary demands for new states spread across the Indian state are not indispensably based on the intricacies of language or culture but on the basic premise of under-development and increasing disparity

between regions within existing linguistic states [Oomen, 2005]. The past experiences which recommend that the concept of small is beautiful seems to be imaginary. The need of the hour is to focus more on development of the states which are already in existence. It does not matter whether the state is small or large. Rather what matters is, a durable political motivation to govern with full honesty and sincerity. Development is dependent on a conducive atmosphere and this needs to be created by both leaders and citizens [Sharma, 2003, Pp 3973-3975]. The issue of creating new states has generally been perceived as a design of political timing. Local leaders who express their voice either in favour of or against separate states are often viewed as performing without intent and merely playing politics [Tillin, 2011, Pp 34-38].

The Reorganization of States in India

India will have to continue to exist with its problem of language and its sub-nations for some years to come. Reorganization of states may ease the prevalent situation for the transformative phase. However, in the ultimate analysis it is only the accentuating connection between the composite fragments of the country that will strengthen the sometimes-risky unity of India. The basic purpose of reorganizing states was administrative in nature. It was also essential to redraw the boundaries of states as for several years, the idea of linguistic states had been expressed as one that would become a certainty with the attainment of independence. Since there is a definite plan of reorganization, it is essential that it is carried out with promptness and determination because as the Commission's Report has pointed out, further delay of a general reorganization of states will lead to dissatisfaction and disappointment [Arora, 1956, Pp 27-30]. The separation of India into provinces during the British rule was accidental. The purpose of the division was to preserve the authority of the British Government. In the process of carrying out this exercise, old frontiers were done away with and new provinces were formed without taking into account the natural loyalties and common economic interests [Grover, 1994, Pp 94-95]. Lessons ought to be learnt from the functioning of the smaller states before taking a decision on the future demarcation of the country. The temporary approach adopted in finding a solution to this matter will prove counter-productive since the deprived regions of the states which are backward have suffered for decades and their development cannot afford to wait any longer [Kumar, 2011]. There is a change in attitude that can be observed

among the Indian ruling elite. This is reflected in the fact that they no longer treat the issue of states' reorganization as the development of parochial identities. Various regions established their identity on the foundation of language, culture, administrative lucidity, economic development, or the apparent deficiency of the same. In the course of time there has been the recognition that the reorganization of states results in good governance if such reorganization arises from administrative expediency, economic practicability, similarity in developmental needs of a sub-region, and cultural-linguistic affinity [Majeed, 2003]. Experience has conclusively proved the fact that the states which are based on the basic premise of language have in the course of time become prejudiced, antagonistic and expansionist in character. The reorganization of states in India should be based on the following factors: any plan of reorganization should not harm the unity of the country, each state should have sufficient financial resources to sustain itself and develop its economy, the state should enjoy administrative convenience, the wishes of the people to the extent that they are objectively ascertainable and do not contradict with the larger interests should be taken into consideration, the states must be of sufficient size and finally language alone should not be the basis of reorganization [Rao, 1994, Pp 21-45]. After the State Reorganization Commission put forward its proposals in the year 1956, the territorial demarcations of the states in India were drawn once again. But within ten years, the conditions of geo-linguist and cultural-ideologic conditions could not be considered enough for the future division of states. With the formation of three new states [Chhattisgarh, Uttarakhand and Jharkhand], new magnitudes and views about the formation of states as a crucial political practice have come to the forefront yet again in contemporary India. They discourse a number of important topics connected to the reorganization of states and its effects – issues of underdevelopment, size, political participation, governance, cultural identities – and also evaluates the demand for states of small size. It focuses on various states, their historical and contemporary path culminating in the demand for territorial redrawing and thus recognizing explicit political and cultural resources, and individualities in the regions and sub-regions of states in the country [Sarangi and Pai, 2011]. Many princely states lost their individual identity after they were merged with the Indian Union. The amalgamation of princely states with the Indian Union was also essential to attain harmony in the administrative process. Apart from the requirement for sound administration, the assortment of princely states could threaten the political unity and security of the country. The territorial integration of princely states took three forms which consisted of merger with the adjacent provinces, grouping of certain states into separate

units and conversion of certain states into centrally administered areas. The policy of unification served a great cause. It united the whole country into one political structure, and did away with many administrative shortcomings and financial imbalances. This created a favourable environment for economic planning on a large scale. The financial integration of states helped to achieve the execution of a coordinated economic policy [Sharma, 1967, Pp 236-241]. Any further reorganization of states should be based on the foundation of a “cosmopolitan model of democracy” and should be fastened in the theories of constitutionalism, consociationalism and multiculturalism [Singh, Pp 70-75]. The reorganization of states or creation of smaller states cannot be considered as a definite remedy for the weaknesses of our political system. However, new states need to be permitted gradually. Besides, the demand for the creation of a new state will have to be thoroughly studied as to what such region is being deprived of by being the part of a large state and what probable benefits will ensue to the people if at all separate state is created for them [Talukdar, 1996, Pp 39-45]. The existing explanations for the redrawing of territorial boundaries in India draw correspondingly on aspects relating to sociology, federal electoral politics, political economy and efficiency of administration. It is worth observing that some of the most dynamic ‘movements’ for the formation of separate states in recent years have been observed in ‘linguistic states. These include the movements for the state of Telangana in Andhra Pradesh and Gorkhaland in West Bengal. The future of these demands depends on the intermingling of conditions at the sub-state, state and federal levels. Those who support the notion that new or smaller states are advantageous for the purpose of economic development have pinned their attention on the growing rates of economic growth seen in the newly created states, particularly in Chhattisgarh and Uttarakhand, as well as post-bifurcation Bihar since their formation. However, beyond headline growth figures, the experience of all the three new states raises doubts about the patterns and spatial geography of economic growth since liberalization and its resulting exclusions [Tillin, 2013, Pp 10-11, 185-208]. Empirical studies have proved that regions that constituted large states had high rates of economic growth once they became separate states. This applied to Haryana after separating from Punjab. The creation of Chhattisgarh and Jharkhand made the necessary difference to the economic development of these regions which were neglected otherwise. The other advantages can be observed with regard to improvement in the quality of administration, accessibility to citizens and representation at the grassroots level in democratic institutions. The country should adopt the reorganization of states to ensure that the development of all regions in the country takes place particularly

the areas which have remained backward even after several years of political independence. The risk does not lie in creating small states. It lies in the increasing feeling that politics is a way of making easy money [Timble, 2011, Pp 12].

1.7 KEY OBSERVATIONS EMANATING FROM THE LITERATURE REVIEW

After independence, the princely states were merged into the Indian union [Grover, 1994, Pp. 94-95]. Subsequently, in August 1953, the Prime Minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru appointed the States Reorganization Commission [SRC] which submitted its report in October 1955 [Sharma, 1967, Pp. 236-241]. With the formation of three new states [Chhattisgarh, Uttarakhand and Jharkhand], new dimensions and perspectives about state formation as a critical political practice have surfaced yet again in contemporary India. [Sarangi and Pai, 2011]. The people's demand which was expressed through democratic channels contributed greatly to the creation of Chhattisgarh. Although Chhattisgarh is 32% adivasi population, the idea of statehood was not born in the predominantly tribal regions. The idea of statehood arose primarily in the plain areas. These areas have a smaller population of adivasis and a greater concentration of middle and lower castes categorized as OBCs [Tillin, 2013, Pp. 109-208]. As regards Jharkhand, the demand for a separate state was spearheaded mainly by the tribals, who had dreamt of a separate homeland for centuries. Among the different regional movements for autonomy, Jharkhand movement is the oldest one [Ekka and Sinha, 2004]. The claims for separate statehood for Jharkhand can be attributed to factors such as preservation and protection of local identity/nationality, exploitation of Jharkhandis by the outsiders, land alienation by outsiders and government, industrialization leading to displacement of locals, immigration of a large number of outsiders leading to outward migration of locals, mismanagement of forests and preservation of local languages and culture. At the start of the 1950s decade, the development profile of the region of Jharkhand was better than Bihar as a whole, but gradually deteriorated over the years. It soon reached a point when the growth of development opportunities in the region became stagnant at best and negative at worst. Therefore, with the passing years, the issue of poor performance of the public-policy delivery mechanism further entrenched the links between the issue of a separate state, the Jharkhandi identity, and the development issues [Prakash, 2001, Pp. 198-200]. The chief inspiration behind the Uttarakhand movement was the impulse to give a new direction to

nation building and development by strengthening them at the local regional level [Joshi, 1999, Pp. 3489-3490]. The movement for Uttarakhand was forged on a unity of interests between people of the 'pahar' region [Jayal, 2000, Pp. 4311-4314]. Besides the demand for a separate state of Uttarakhand, Uttar Pradesh has also witnessed other movements for separate statehood such as Poorvanchal, Harit Pradesh and Bundelkhand. The demand for Harit Pradesh is intertwined with the politics of region and caste in U.P and also spearheaded by a section of the Jats of Western U.P [Singh, 2001, Pp 2961-2967]. Farmers' suicides in Bundelkhand are a result of several years of neglect of the agricultural sector and industrial backwardness. The demand for a separate state only seeks to satisfy political ends and is no solution to the multiple problems of Bundelkhand's farmers [Verma, A.K. 2011, Pp. 10-11]. The movement for a separate state of Telangana was an outcome of injustice meted out to the region by the successive governments in Andhra Pradesh. Separation was seen as the only answer to these grievances [Ram, 2007, Pp 90-94]. The roots of a separate state of Telangana also go back to a long-standing demand for autonomy in social, economic and political matters [Melkote et al., 2010, Pp 8-11]. The demand for a new state had in its background, complex issues and underlying causes- the historical differences between the regions, the economic and political empowerment that the people of Telangana aspire to, and the cultural disparities they had with people from Andhra and Rayalaseema [Nag, 2011]. The main reason for the demand for statehood for the eastern region of Vidarbha in Maharashtra is the economic and developmental neglect by Maharashtra which has left the region backward [Chitre and Tilak, 2009, Pp 7]. In present times, the focus of the agitation for a separate Vidarbha State has shifted from 'cultural identity' to 'development'. The feeling of relative deprivation among the people as well as leaders from Vidarbha has further intensified [Dhanagare, 2010]. In the case of Coorg, the Kodavas argue that their nation has been conquered, and that is the basis of the modern nationalist movement [Minachan, 2002]. Although the movement for a separate state of Coorg appears to be gathering momentum, it draws support from a narrow social base- ethnic Coorgis, large landowners and the planters. This accounts for its limited agenda which may in the long run simply provide space for other conflicts to emerge in Coorg [Assadi, 1997, Pp 3114-3116].

It is because of regional feelings that Uttarakhand, Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh were created out of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Madhya Pradesh, though the tribal and linguistic factors were also important [Chandra, Mukherjee and Mukherjee, 2008]. None of the new

states formed in 2000 was on the grounds of a distinct language-based culture- the principle that guided the establishment of states during the formative phases of the Indian Union in the 1950s and 1960s [Bose, 2013, Pp. 90-92]. While the creation of new states will not automatically spur development of the particular region, it makes possible a better articulation of regional political and social aspirations and brings the structures of government and administration closer to hitherto neglected areas [Kumar, 2002]. Lessons need to be taken from the functioning of the smaller states before deciding on the further reorganization of the country. Ad-hocism in this matter is going to be counter-productive. The backward regions of the backward states have suffered for decades. Their development cannot wait [Kumar, 2011]. Gradually, it has been recognized that the reorganization of states leads to good governance if such reorganization stems from administrative convenience, economic viability, similarity in developmental needs of a subregion, and cultural-linguistic affinity [Majeed, 2003, Pp 83-89]. Language alone should not be the basis of reorganization [Rao, 1994]. Demand for the creation of a new state will have to be examined of what such region is being deprived of by being the part of a big state and what possible benefits will accrue to the people if separate state is created for them [Talukdar, 1996, Pp 39-45].

1.8 PRELIMINARY GAPS IN THE LITERATURE REVIEW

The survey of literature draws attention to the fact that there is lack of sufficient literature on the influence of size on the potential development of a state. The literature survey also points out to a lack of comparison between the development of large sized and small sized states. The existing literature fails to trace the viability of new small states in terms of administration and development. It is these gaps that the present research has sought to address.

1.9 CHAPTERIZATION

CHAPTER II: Origin of Statehood movements in India

Chapter II outlines the origin of statehood movements in India. It describes the consolidation of the British empire in India, the process of state formation post-independence, the linguistic basis for reorganizing states in India, the demands for creation of new states and the provisions incorporated in the Constitution for state formation in India post-independence.

CHAPTER III: Statehood Movements in Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand and Uttarakhand

Chapter III traces the historical background of the states of Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand and Uttarakhand. It describes the evolution of the separate statehood movements in each of the three states and ultimately the creation of the new states from their parent states. It also includes a brief description of other contemporary movements for separate statehood in India

CHAPTER IV: Post-Statehood Performance and Evaluation: Comparison of the Three States

Chapter IV provides a post- statehood comparative analysis of Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand and Uttarakhand. In order to collect data and evaluate the performance of the three states, certain qualitative and quantitative parameters have been used. This chapter also identifies some of the challenges faced by the three states post their creation in 2000.

CHAPTER V: Conclusion and Policy Suggestions

The final chapter of the thesis provides an overall conclusion to the thesis and also incorporates certain policy suggestions which if implemented in the three states would enable them to emerge as model states for similar small states which are likely to emerge in the future.

CHAPTER II

ORIGIN OF STATEHOOD MOVEMENTS IN INDIA

Chapter II outlines the origin of statehood movements in India. It begins by a description of the consolidation of the British empire in India. It further describes the process of state formation in Independent India, particularly throwing light on the recommendations of the State Reorganization Commission. This chapter also highlights the linguistic basis for the reorganization of states in India which was not new in the case of India. It proceeds to outline the further demands for creation of new states in India. This was particularly because the formation of states by following the linguistic criteria did not offer a sustainable solution to region specific problems within existing states. The final part of Chapter II describes the Constitutional provisions which are relevant for state formation in independent India. Articles 1 to 4 in Part I of the Constitution of India in particular deal with the provisions relating to the creation of states within the Union of India.

2.1 INDIA UNDER THE BRITISH

The British who at the onset came to India as traders succeeded in rapidly identifying the weaknesses of the Indian rulers. They made their silent observations and gradually began playing politics subsequently resulting in a critical role for them in the affairs of Bengal. The battle of Plassey practically sealed the fate of the Nawabs of Bengal¹⁰. The East India Company took over the rulership of the area after the grant of Diwani of Bengal and Bihar to them. The British started constructing their empire around the territories of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. This resulted in the establishment of three original British Indian Provinces. As the British continued to acquire new territories an increased number of British Indian provinces began to be structured. The areas in the central part of the country

¹⁰The battle of Plassey was fought on 22nd June 1757 between the British East Company on one side and the Nawab of Bengal, Siraj-ud-daulah and his French allies on the other side. In this battle, which was fought on the banks of the river Hooghly in present day West Bengal, the British forces led by Robert Clive defeated the coalition force consisting of the Nawab of Bengal and the French. This battle enabled the British to strengthen their status initially in Bengal and later in the rest of the territory of India.

formed a part of the Central Provinces. The territories of Agra and Oudh were amalgamated to form the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. The United Provinces of Agra and Oudh was renamed the United Province in 1835 and changed to Uttar Pradesh in 1951. After Sindh was annexed in 1943, it was merged with Bombay Presidency. The consolidation of the British empire in India can be divided into two phases. The first phase consisted of forming bigger states and in the second phase, bigger states were bifurcated into smaller ones. The British practice of imperialist expansion resulted in expansion of the territory of British India. The general practice followed by the British after conquering a new territory was to place it under a Chief Commissioner. If it grew in size and importance, it was elevated to the position of a Lieutenant Government. Under the British rule, provincial or local government in India was of three types – Governorship, Lieutenant Governorship and Chief Commissionership.

The origin of the first type of provincial governments can be traced to the presidency form of government. Prior to the Regulating Act of 1773¹¹, there existed three presidency governments, namely the governments of Fort St. George in Madras, of Bombay and Fort William in Bengal. Each of them had a ‘President’ and thus each of it was known as a ‘Presidency’. There was in existence a council which enjoyed the status of equal rank and authority, appointed by the company. Other powers were delegated to it by the initial charters of the Crown and Parliament. In this administrative capacity, the President came to be known as the Governor. Gradually, the Presidency became a territorial concept.

After the Charter Act of 1833¹² was passed, the central control became comprehensive and effective. It created a Government of India which was separate and distinct from the Government of Bengal and reorganized the existing centrally administered territories into two separate charges. The Act of 1833 did not make any amendments in the territorial locale of the subordinate Presidencies of Madras and Bombay. Gradually, the British rulers began to understand that it was very difficult to exercise exhaustive control in a vast

¹¹The purpose of the Regulating Act, 1773 was to consolidate the power of the management of the East India Company over India. The Act laid the founding basis for a centrally controlled administration in India. The status of the Governor of Bengal was raised to that of the Governor-General of Bengal. The Act made the provision for four personnel to assist the Governor-General in the discharge of his duties.

¹²The Charter Act of 1833 was also known by the names Saint Helena Act 1833 and the Government of India Act 1833. One of the significant provisions of this Act was the change in status of the position of the Governor-General of Bengal to the Governor-General of India.

continent like India which was distinctly characterized by social and economic disparities. This eventually gave rise to the desire of establishing a federal form of government.

The territorial expansion carried out by the British resulted in the addition of large portions of land to their already growing territory. Therefore, in 1836 in order to accommodate the overgrowth, a separate Lieutenant Governorship was created for the North-Western Area, which finally turned out to become the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. In 1853, a Lieutenant Governorship was created for Bengal to provide relief to the Governor-General from the task of local administration and to enable him to focus on the broader task of supervision of British India. Within the unitary structure, the basis of units remained administrative in nature. There was no constitutional provision incorporated providing for changes in the boundaries of various units.

In 1858, power was transferred from the East India Company to the British Crown. Consequently, the British realized the urgent need for decentralized administration. The first step towards the process of decentralization began in 1861 when subordinate legislative councils were set up initially in Madras and Bombay and later on in other provinces. The function of the Legislative Councils was limited to drafting laws. They did not exercise any powers over the executive. In 1909, the Morley-Minto Act¹³ was passed and for the first time the principle of decentralization and devolution of power was accepted to a minor extent. Besides the convenience of administration, several other factors began to play a role in the issue of territorial rearrangement. These factors included economic development, defence requirements, language, race, culture, history, land tenure and popular feelings. However, it appears that the primary factor which caused the British rulers to demarcate states was convenient administration.

When the British government appointed Montague-Chelmsford Commission¹⁴ came out with its report in 1918, it conscientiously decided to continue following the prevailing administrative basis of territorial division by rejecting the idea of division on the basis of

¹³The Morley-Minto reforms were drafted by John Morley, the Secretary of State and Lord Minto, the Viceroy. The aim of this act was to increase the aspect of representation in the Indian legislatures and to increase their powers. In this act, it was recommended that the official majority should be preserved in the central legislatures and a non-official majority should be maintained in the provincial legislatures. The reforms made special provision for the representation of the professional class, the land-owning class, the Muslims and the commercial class of the Europeans and the Indians [Srivastava, 2013, Pp 197].

¹⁴The reforms proposed by the Montagu-Chelmsford Commission were implemented in the Government of India Act, 1919.

language as impractical. The report identified the fact that the character of existing administrative units was artificial and not convenient. For the first time, Section 52-A of the Government of India Act of 1919, while providing for local governments, made constitutional provisions for altering the boundaries of the units. By 1919, the territory of British India included fourteen provinces [excluding Burma] which were divided into Presidencies, Lieutenant Governorships and Chief Commissionerships. Besides these units, there were states in India which could be grouped into eight more or less diverse blocks. However, there was no concept of local government in British India. The structure of territorial division remained unitary and the basis of organizing units continued to remain administrative. The entire process of the territorial organization of India was carried out in a manner that suited their administrative convenience. Cultural and linguistic factors were never taken into consideration in segregation of provinces. In any case, the British followed the policy of divide and rule. Therefore, it served their purpose better, to keep the provinces divided rather than united. Given the fact that the British were India's colonial rulers, it seems justified that they took into consideration only matters of administrative convenience while carrying out the task of organization of territories in India.

The first attempt made by an Indian to suggest a change in the procedure of changing the boundaries of the provinces was made by A. Rangaswami Iyengar,¹⁵ General Secretary of the Indian National Congress in a Draft Constitution of the India Bill in 1927 which was referred to as 'Alteration of Limits of Provinces'. The said change was to be implemented with the consent of the Legislatures of the provinces which were affected. The Nehru Committee which was constituted to draft a Constitution for India, submitted its report in 1928. The Nehru Committee also made a reference to the draft prepared by A. Rangaswami Iyengar. The Committee made a recommendation in its supplementary report that establishment of a federation would provide the constitutional remedy towards solving the twin problems of autocracy and compartmentalization from the political life of India. The Muslim league met at Delhi in December 1928 and on 1st January, 1929 adopted a consensual resolution demanding federal system. The Simon Commission¹⁶ in its report

¹⁵A. Rangaswami Iyengar who was a lawyer and journalist participated in the proceedings of the Central Legislative Assembly. The Central Legislative Assembly was the constituent lower house of the Imperial Legislative Council of the British. It was equivalent to a people's house. The establishment of this Assembly was the outcome of the Government of India Act, 1919.

¹⁶The Simon Commission consisting of seven members was chaired by Sir John Simon. The Commission submitted its report to the British Government of India on 27th May, 1930. The report was not well-received

suggested the necessity for changing the structure and basis of territorial division on an immediate basis.

The Government of India Act of 1935,¹⁷ recognized three classes of composite units namely Governor's Provinces, federating Indian States and Chief Commissioners' Provinces. The federation for the Provinces was different from that of Indian States. The provinces were allotted a huge number of subjects. The states had power over a large number of subjects. This limited federation was also to be under the control of the British Government in many matters. Ultimately, the suzerainty of the British Government over the Indian states had to be maintained. The Indian Provinces silently backtracked on the federal scheme and as a result in a matter of time, the All-India Federation became a forgotten concept. The basis of territorial units continued to remain administrative. Section 290 of the Government of India Act of 1935 provided for a constitutional arrangement to recognize the boundaries of the units which had been created by British India. This section made provision for His Majesty to, by Order-in-Council to either increase or reduce the area of any province or to make changes in the boundary of any province [Sharma, 1995, Pp 204].

India under the British had three types of provinces, namely the Governor's provinces, the Lt. Governor's Provinces and the Chief Commissioner's Provinces. The basic purpose for reorganization of territories was the promotion of the imperial interest of the British colonial rulers. They were never guided by the scheme of development and welfare. Assam was created out of the Presidency of Bengal in 1874 as a Chief Commissioner's Province and it was amalgamated with the newly created province of East Bengal in 1905. However, the status of Assam was restored after the termination of the partition of Bengal in 1911. The Bengal Presidency was again divided in the year 1912. A new state of Bihar and Orissa was carved out of the same Presidency in that year. The creation of a new province of Bihar was notified on 23rd March 1912 and the new province became operational on 1st April 1912. The year 1937 saw the birth of the states of Orissa and Sind. In the same year, Burma was detached from India. Orissa was carved out from the provinces of Bihar and Orissa and the Muslim majority province of Sind from the Bombay Presidency. At the time of Independence, India consisted of the provinces of Assam, Bengal, Bihar, Bombay, Central

by the Indian leaders because it recommended a limited transfer of power in the provinces coupled with several limitations [Hart ed., 1994].

¹⁷One of the most significant provisions of the Government of India, Act 1935 was granting to a large extent self-governing powers to the provinces which were a part of British India.

provinces, Madras, North-West Frontier Province, Orissa, Punjab, Sindh and United Province.

The modern historical process of the construction of nationality in India began in the last quarter of the 19th century. The Lucknow Conference of the Indian National Congress accepted the principle of federalism in 1916 [Singh, 2008]. It was at this conference that the federal principle at the outset was acknowledged as the future political course of direction for India and was thereby included in different political and constitutional programmes [Roy and Singh, 2017]. The 1920 session of the Congress held in Nagpur accepted the provision of creating provinces on the basis of language. A series of memorandums were submitted to the British Government of India and the India office in London for recognition of the nationalities of Oriyas, Kannadas, Andhras, Tamils, Bengalis and Jharkhandis. Subsequently, linguistic states were created based on such criteria.

The 1942 “Quit India” Resolution of the Congress promised that the largest measure of autonomy would be ensured for the federating units. The British transferred power under the Government of India Act 1947 to the Constituent Assembly which was dominated by the Indian National Congress. In the same year, the British sovereignty of the British Crown over the native Indian states also failed. In the course of time, three categories of states out of the British India provinces and the native states were created by the Constituent Assembly of independent India. These categories were called Part I states [formerly British India provinces], Part II states [formerly smaller native Indian states that did not pose any obstacle in joining the Indian Union] and Part III states [formerly native Indian states such as Jammu and Kashmir and Hyderabad whose integration proved to be a tedious affair]. The creation of some new provinces by dividing the Bengal Presidency by the British rulers around the first decade of the 20th century in response to popular demand marked the commencement of the large-drawn out process of territorial reorganization in modern India. Following the coming into force of the Constitution of India in 1950, there was a quantitative increase in such popular demands and movements [Singh, 2008].

During the British rule, the Congress Party had advocated the re-division of India by following the criteria of language. The British had organized the then “provinces” [of British India” excluding the princely states] to serve a dual purpose, namely, first, to defend the direct authority of the highest power in areas of vibrant economic and strategic importance and second, to fill the political void arising out of the destruction or breakdown

of former domains. The first objective was obviously the primary one and it was this process that inevitably led to the formation of units with no natural like-mindedness. As early as 1905, the Congress Party had supported the principle of creating states using the linguistic criteria when it opposed the bifurcation of the Bengal province. After 1921, the Congress Party rejected the British provinces as its units and created, for its own procedures, regional units which were generally linguistic in character. Officially, the Congress Party endorsed the linguistic criteria in 1928 when it acknowledged the Nehru Report which advocated that the Congress Party include the establishment of linguistic states as part of the Congress Party's stand. In 1946-47, the party's election manifesto stated in specific terms that in so far as it was practical, the linguistic and cultural basis needed to be followed in the process of formation of states.

In the process of preparing the draft of the Constitution for future independent India, the problem of reorganization was seriously considered by Sir B.N. Rau who was a noted jurist and Constitutional Adviser to the Constituent Assembly. In his paper titled 'Outlines of a New Constitution' in January 1946, B.N. Rau incorporated a scheme of territorial units in India and provided for a procedure to alter the boundaries of the units. The plan envisaged that the territories constituting the federation are to be in three groups. The first group, group 'A', comprised of the central region: that is, the existing British Indian provinces of Madras, Bombay, the Central Provinces and Berar, Orissa, the United Provinces, Bihar, Delhi, Coorg, Panth-Piploda and Ajmer-Merwara. The second group, group 'B' included the frontier regions, that is, the existing British Indian Provinces of the Punjab, the North-West Frontier Province, Sind and British Baluchistan on the West and Bengal and Assam and the Andaman and Nicobar Islands in the East. Group 'C, which was the third group, comprised the existing Indian States. In the proposed Constitution, B.N. Rau incorporated a very simple scheme of altering the boundaries and reorganizing the units. The power to do so was given to the representatives of the concerned Province [Sharma,1995].

The Cabinet Mission Plan¹⁸ of 1946 attempted to distance itself from the idea of a federation and proposed a virtually impractical plan of a 'Triarchy' wherein the entirety of governmental powers would be divided between three stages of government, namely, a

¹⁸The purpose of the Cabinet Mission which was initiated at the insistence of the erstwhile Prime Minister of England, Clement Atlee was to have productive deliberations on the method by which power should be transferred from the ruling British government to the potential political administrators of India. The apparent objective of the Cabinet Mission was to secure the unity of the country and ultimately grant it independence.

central government, three group governments and several hundred regional governments. When the Constituent Assembly met, it was soon revealed that this proposal had no takers. Nevertheless, the process still evolved on its own terms and instantly gave place to the Mountbatten plan when a federation of India once more took root. The 'Mountbatten plan' or the 'June 3rd plan' as envisaged by Lord Mountbatten settled the issue of partition eventually. To give effect to that plan, the British Parliament introduced a Bill known as the Independence Bill. The bill was introduced in the House of Commons on July 4th, 1947. It was ultimately enacted on 18th July and it constituted two Independent Dominions of India and Pakistan which came into effect from 1st August, 1947.

2.2 STATE FORMATION IN INDEPENDENT INDIA

The basic objective behind the British division of Indian Territory was administrative and commercial ease. The demarcation of Indian territory into provinces during the rule of the British was unplanned and seemed to have no roots in previous Indian history. In the process of carrying out this task, previously existing boundaries were altered and at times retained with minuscule changes in the structural properties. Post the independence of India from its colonial masters, the princely states were amalgated with the Indian union [Grover, 1994, Pp 94-95].

Although many princely states showed signs of losing their individual identity after their amalgamation with the Indian Union, the integration of these states with the Indian Union was unavoidable as this exercise was essential to serve the purpose of achieving an effective and efficient administration. On the other hand, the multiplication of princely states could threaten the political unity and refuge of the country. The political unification of princely states with the Indian Union brought the whole country under one political umbrella, and detached several administrative limitations and financial disparities. This paved the way for creation of a conducive environment for broad-based economic planning and enabled the execution of a coordinated economic policy.

When India attained independence, it inherited the territorial boundaries which had already been created by the British. Moreover, after independence Nehru and other leaders gave utmost urgency to the concerns of security and stability of the country. In the process, they

accorded a low significance to the mission of redrawing India's administrative map [Chandra and Mukherjee, 2008]. It appears that the first government of independent India wanted to push all other issues to the background and concentrate on the mission of securing the unity and security of the country. However, despite the dedicated labour of the government, by the late 19th and early 20th centuries the rise of proto-nationalism had begun to manifest itself in the form of religious and regional linguistic sentiments. Under such circumstances, the Constituent Assembly of India was subject to tremendous pressure to redraw India's internal borders.

The first Prime Minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru played a great role in constructing the territorial map of India after independence. Nehru wanted to build an administration which focused on the task of economic and social development of the newly born nation. The most pressing challenge of the new government was to include the varied structures of administrative and political development of the princely states which numbered around 560 at the time of independence. These included the former British provinces. Although the provinces were granted some amount of provincial self-autonomy before the independence of the country, they were characterized dominantly by authoritarian governments. The two types of administrative units were reconciled by assimilation of the princely states with the provinces or in small groups and carving three categories of states enjoying varying degrees of autonomy from the central government. The categories of states were known as part A, B and C states. Different kinds of agreements were entered into with the princely states of Hyderabad and Jammu and Kashmir. Several princely states lost their distinct identity after their merger with the Indian Union. In order to achieve harmonious administration, the integration of princely states with the Indian Union was of extreme necessity. The existence of a number of small states had the effect of multiplication of governing agencies. The administrative rules of each state were distinctly varied from its neighbouring state. This ended up in creating barriers between one unit and another. In the light of this background it was not possible to launch any comprehensive or detailed economic planning. Ironically, a broad-based economic policy for the country at this stage was essential to carry on the task of economic progress. A competent administration was also a necessary requirement in order to realize the fullest potential of natural resources and to secure cooperation in the production of new materials. On the other hand, there was a realization that the multiplicity of princely states could pose a serious threat to the political unity and security of the country. The existence of two political systems could create a wide gap between the states

and neighbouring provinces and could also lead to misunderstanding at any time among the people residing in various parts of the country. The provinces marched ahead in the development of democratic institutions whereas the states were still continuing with autocratic institutions. Therefore, the integration of states was of prime importance to achieve political uniformity in the country. The territorial assimilation of princely states took three forms, namely, merger with the adjacent provinces, grouping of certain states into separate units and transformation of certain states into centrally administered areas.

The process through which the states were adjusted into the new constitutional structure involved two steps. In the first place, it involved the accession of the Indian states to the dominion of India. In the second place, it marked the transformation process consolidating small states into viable administrative units. This also set into operation the process for the development of democratic institutions and accountable governments in the states. The policy of integration served the great purpose of uniting the entire country under the auspices of a single political framework, and removed numerous administrative flaws and financial disparities. This created a favourable atmosphere to coordinate economic planning on a largescale basis. The financial integration of states consequently helped to implement a coordinated economic policy.

In the period immediately following independence, India continued to retain most of the administrative pattern which was established by the British. The first map of India after independence did not alter the boundaries of the provinces of British India, with the exception of the merger of their territories with the territories of the princely states. However, the language issue did not settle. The speakers of Telugu, Malayalam, Kannada and Marathi languages began vocally putting forward the demands for separate statehood. In November 1947, the Nehru Government appointed the Linguistic Provinces Commission led by Justice S.K. Dar to study the practical possibility of linguistic provinces. In December 1948, the Dar Commission¹⁹ reported to the Constituent Assembly. Not only did the Dar Commission express itself strongly against any reorganization being carried out in the existing circumstances, but also held that the formation of provinces exclusively or even

¹⁹The Dar Commission was appointed to contemplate on the protest for redrawing the boundaries of states on the basic premise of language. The report of the Dar Commission characterizes the first attempt by the Indian government post-independence to get involved in the task of reorganizing states on the basis of language. The Dar Commission report gave priority to Indian nationalism as the basic principle in the decision-making process. According to the Commission, regional aspirations posed a danger to the nation and therefore need to be subdued [Cohen, 2014].

mainly on linguistic considerations would be injudicious. According to the Commission, in the formation of provinces the emphasis should be primarily placed on administrative convenience. The Commission stressed that everything which contributed to the growth of nationalism had to move forward and everything which hampered it, had to be rejected or should be overthrown. In the words of the Dar Commission: “the formation of provinces on exclusively or even mainly linguistic considerations is not in the larger interests of the Indian nation and should not be taken in hand.” The Commission also endorsed the view that the question of linguistic states should be set aside for ten years. The Dar Commission listed certain “generally recognized” tests which a linguistic area must satisfy before it could be formed into a province. These included the tests of geographical contiguity and absence of pockets and corridors, financial autonomy, administrative convenience, capacity for future development and a large measure of agreement within its borders and amongst the people speaking the same language in regard to its formation. However, care has to be taken to ensure that a new province should not be forced by a majority upon a substantial minority of people speaking the same language. The suggestions given by the Dar Commission were rejected by a large section of political parties who wanted states in India to be reorganized [Rao, 1994].

After the Dar Commission had submitted its report, the Indian National Congress appointed at its Jaipur Session, the JVP Committee in December 1948, comprising of Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Patel and Pattabhi Sitaramayya, the President of the Indian National Congress to examine the question afresh. The JVP report did not in any way alter the official Congress party stand on the issue of linguistic states. However, it did express its concern for administrative, financial and economic issues that were side-lined by the linguistic issue but were nevertheless important and intimately connected with it. The JVP Committee was the first Congress body to sound a note of warning against the linguistic principle. It highlighted in its report a number of significant matters. Firstly, that when the Congress party had given the seal of its approval to, the general principle of linguistic provinces it did not have to handle the practical application of the principle and hence it had not considered all the implications and consequences that arose from this practical application. Secondly, that the primary consideration must be the security, unity and economic prosperity of India and every separatist and disruptive tendency should be rigorously discouraged. Thirdly, language was not only a binding force but also a divisive one. Finally, the old Congress policy of having linguistic provinces could only be applied

after careful thought had been given to each individual case. This task had to be carried out without creating serious administrative inconveniences or mutual conflicts which would endanger the political and economic stability of the country.

The JVP Committee's report was adopted by the Congress Working Committee in April 1949. Since the adoption of the report, the Congress has generally adhered to the views expressed in this report. The Congress manifesto which was issued in 1951, enunciated that that the reorganization of states would ultimately depend on the desires of the people who would be affected by the same. However, it also expressed the view that besides linguistic factors, other factors- economic, administrative and financial- also needed to be taken into account while considering the issue of reorganization of states. As a practical example, the Congress agreed to the formation of the Andhra State because the Andhra Provincial Congress, the Tamil Nadu Congress and the Madras Government had agreed to it, but withheld support to the proposal for the formation of a Karnataka State because there was lack of unanimity among the great majority of the people including the people of Mysore State on the issue. The Congress stood by its position at its Hyderabad Session in January 1953 and at Kalyani in January 1954, that in considering the reorganization of States, all relevant factors should be borne in mind, such as the unity of India, national security and defence, cultural and linguistic loyalties, administrative convenience, financial considerations and economic development both of the states and of the nation as a whole.

The JVP Report was followed by widespread movements all over the country. The JVP Committee had suggested that a commencement could be made with Andhra. The Committee had however suggested that disputed areas should not be included in the new provinces. A separate state of Andhra Pradesh came into existence in October 1953 with Telugu as its language. However Madras city which was a disputed area was not to form part of Andhra State. The Prime Minister made it vocal in his statements in Parliament in December 1952, that the Government could proceed with the formation of the Andhra State only by adhering to the principles of the JVP Committee. After the unfortunate death of Shri Potti Sriramulu²⁰, the Government of India announced its decision to establish the State of Andhra "consisting of the Telugu speaking areas of the present Madras State but

²⁰Shri Potti Sriramulu who was a popular Gandhian undertook a fast unto death demanding a separate state of Andhra in 1952. Subsequently, in the process he lost his life. Language riots erupted following his death. Ultimately, the Prime Minister announced the formation of a separate Andhra State [Jayal, 2006, Pp 44].

not including the City of Madras”. On 10th August 1953, a bill was introduced in the Lok Sabha to provide for the formation of the Andhra State. The state of Andhra, which according to the statement made by the Deputy Home Minister in Parliament on 17th August 1953, was a province which approximated as much as possible to a linguistic province came into existence on 1st October 1953. The state of Tamil Nadu with Tamil as its language also was born in 1953. While the Congress Party officially supported the creation of linguistic states, other major political parties had also accepted the principle. The Socialist Party, the Kissan-Mazdoor-Praja Party, the Communist Party and the Hindu Mahasabha had all included the concept on similar lines in their respective election manifestoes.

In August 1953, Nehru appointed the States Reorganization Commission [SRC] which submitted its report in October 1955. The Commission consisted of three members – Justice Fazl Ali²¹, Dr. H.N. Kunzru²² and K.M. Pannikar²³. The mandate followed by the Commission was that it would make a deep study of the conditions of the problem, the historical premise, existing situation and the influence of all significant and related factors. They would freely consider any proposal pertaining to such rearrangement of states. The expectation of the Government of India from the Commission was that rather than going into details, the Commission would make suggestions with regard to the broad principles [Bhattacharya, 2019, Pp 87]. The Commission conducted a fact-finding survey covering 104 places. It received and examined 1,52,250 documents from various organizations and individuals in the process of preparing its report. The Commission while framing its recommendation was guided by several considerations which included preservation of unity and security of India, linguistic and cultural homogeneity, financial, economic and administrative considerations, and the successful working of the national plans. The Commission gave due contemplation to economic and administrative factors. However, it proposed that linguistic principles ought to be followed in redrawing of state boundaries. The Commission sought a balanced approach between regional sentiments and national interest. The Commission rejected the theory of “one language, one state”, but recognized “linguistic homogeneity as an important factor conducive to administrative convenience and efficiency....”. It opined that a balanced approach would have greater concern for the

²¹Justice Fazl Ali was the chairman of the States Reorganization Commission. Justice Fazl Ali was a judge of the Supreme Court of India during the years 1951-52 [Nariman, 2013].

²²Hridya Nath Kunzru was a member of Parliament. He served in numerous legislative bodies at the Provincial and Central level for almost 40 years.

²³ K. M. Pannikar served as a member of the Rajya Sabha and a diplomat, besides being a Professor, editor of a newspaper, historian and novelist.

wellbeing of the people and the development of the country. It required the sole factor of the stability of the country to be borne in mind as India had to think in terms of enduring political units. Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, the Home Minister at that time held that “The main central pivotal object is the establishment and achievement of a Welfare State- the maintenance, preservation and promotion of Unity of India. After all no state can derive its strength or sustenance if India is not by itself strong and able to nurse and nourish itself. The stability of the Union is another important factor contributing to further social and economic reforms”. Mahatma Gandhi had also warned against provincialism because according to him “If each province began to look upon itself as a separate sovereign unit, India’s independence would lose its meaning and with it would vanish the freedom of various units as well”. Thus, the principal task was to foster the feeling of Indian nationalism among all regions. The States Reorganisation Commission felt that unity of the country has to be worked out in harmony and not forced on its units. In this way, the most essential contemplation for the Commission was the commitment towards the preservation and strengthening of the integrity and security of India.

The Commission recommended that the map of India has to be redrawn to include a total number of 16 states in contrast to the existing number which stood at 27. It endorsed the view that the North-East Frontier Agency²⁴, the islands off Indian shores and Delhi should be placed under federal control. However, among the 16 states proposed by the Commission, only two were to be bi-lingual, viz. Punjab and Bombay. The Commission also suggested that out of the present Hyderabad State, three states have to be formed to accommodate the people speaking Malayalam, Kannada and Marathi languages. After the report of the States Reorganization Commission was published, the Congress party was pressurized by various disgruntled groups, especially the groups from Maharashtra which had amalgated under the umbrella of the All –Party Samyukta Maharashtra Parishad and led by a previous General Secretary of the Congress Party, Shankarrao Deo. The demand for a Samyukta Maharashtra²⁵ [United Maharashtra] gained the support of the Maharashtra

²⁴The North-east Frontier Agency includes the mountainous regions inhabited by tribals which lie between the north and east of Assam and the Tibetan frontier. It also includes the far-reaching portion of the Indo-Burmese frontier, lying beyond Nagaland and corresponding to the northern border of Burma with Tibet [Rose and Fisher, 1967].

²⁵The demand for the creation of Samyukta Maharashtra was initially raised by certain Marathi speakers during the inter-war years. Subsequently the demand for the same was continuously raised by politicians speaking the Marathi language since the mid-1940s. creation of the Bombay Province was regarded as a sole domain for speakers of the Marathi language within a newly independent nation, to which they would owe their allegiance and in which their specific interests would be served to the maximum [Godsmark, 2018].

branch of the Congress Party and also had the patronage of the Communist Party and the Hindu Mahasabha. The Samyukta Maharashtra group demanded that a separate Maharashtra State be created with the city of Bombay as its capital. This demand was however contested by the Gujarati speaking people who made a crucial contribution to trade and commerce in Bombay. They demanded that Bombay city be excluded from the Maharashtra State and this demand enjoyed the univocal support of the Bombay section of the Congress Party. The All-India Congress party executive tried to arrive at a resolution of the problem by proposing that the existing Bombay State be divided into two new states, namely Maharashtra and Gujarat. The city of Bombay was to comprise a federally administered area. However, this plan did not earn the acceptance of the Maharashtra community and resulted in large-scale rioting amounting to bloodshed and destruction of property in Bombay city.

The States Reorganization Act was passed by Parliament in November 1956. This Act created 14 states and 6 centrally administered areas in the Union of India. Under this Act, Telangana was transferred to Andhra. The state of Kerala was created by integrating the Malabar district of the Old Madras Presidency with Travancore, Cochin. Certain areas which comprised of people speaking the Kannada language in the states of Bombay, Madras, Hyderabad and Coorg were added to the State. The state of Bombay was enlarged by combining the states of Kutch and Saurashtra and the Marathi-speaking areas of Hyderabad with it. In May 1960, Bombay was divided into Maharashtra and Gujarat. As part of this plan, the city of Bombay was included in Maharashtra and Ahmedabad was made the capital of Gujarat. In 1966, Punjab was bifurcated into Punjab and Haryana with the Pahari-speaking district of Kangra and a part of the Hoshuarpur district being amalgamated with Himachal Pradesh. Chandigarh was declared an Union Territory and made the joint capital of Punjab and Haryana. A large number of linguistic minorities, that is, those who speak a language, other than the main or official language of the state continued to exist in linguistically reorganized states. To meet the challenge, certain

fundamental rights were guaranteed to the linguistic minorities in the Constitution of India [Articles 30²⁶ and 347²⁷].

The task of integrating the tribals into the mainstream was extremely intricate due to the diverse conditions under which they lived in different parts of the country, and their different languages and distinct cultures. Loss of land due to indebtedness, exploitation by middlemen, denial of admission to forest and forest products, and oppression and extortion by policemen, forest officials and other government officials led to a chain of tribal uprisings in the 19th and 20th centuries. In 1987, the North-Eastern Frontier Areas was named Arunachal Pradesh and granted the grade of a separate state in the year 1987. In 1969, Meghalaya was created out of Assam as ‘a state within a state’ which had complete self-governing powers except for law and order which remained as a function of the Assam Government. The state of Nagaland came into being in the year 1963. Nagaland was carved out of the Naga Hills District of Assam. Mizoram emerged as a new state in February 1987. The territorial reorganization of the North-East was different from the rest of India in terms of the criteria followed [ethnicity] and the constitutional progress. However, there was a binding factor in the form of political parties, which primarily had a regional basis and provided the leadership towards the movements for statehood. In these movements, it was not language but tribal ethnicity which was the criteria for the claims for separate statehood [Bhattacharya, 2019, Pp 92].

Since the start, the national government felt that it was their responsibility to overcome the imbalance in regional development. In order to achieve regional equality in progress, the central government used the Finance Commission and the Planning Commission. However, despite the efforts of the Finance Commission and the Planning Commission, regional disparity thrived mainly because of the low rate of economic growth. Besides, disparities in development at the All- India level, disparities also exist within the boundaries of each state. This inequality has led to sub-regional movements for separate states within the Indian Union, or greater autonomy for the sub-regions within the existing states, or at least

²⁶Article 30: Right of minorities to establish and administer educational institutions. All minorities, whether based on religion or language, shall have the right to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice.

²⁷Article 347: Special provision relating to language spoken by a section of the population of a State. On a demand being made in that behalf the President may, if he is satisfied that a substantial proportion of the population of a State desire the use of any language spoken by them to be recognized by that state, direct that such language shall also be officially recognized throughout that State or any part thereof for such purpose as he may specify.

special treatment and protections in matters of employment, education and distribution of financial resources. Such sub-regional feelings formed an integral part of the movements for Telangana in Andhra Pradesh, Vidarbha in Maharashtra, Saurashtra in Gujarat, Bundelkhand in Uttar Pradesh, Darjeeling district or Gorkhaland in West Bengal, Bodoland in Assam, and the areas consisting of the old princely states of Orissa. It is these regional feelings that played a dominant role in the creation of Uttaranchal, Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh from Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Madhya Pradesh respectively, though the tribal and linguistic factors were also important. The people of the Chhattisgarh region of Madhya Pradesh felt that a separate state was essential for the purpose of attaining development of the region. The Jharkhand movement for separate statehood was propounded by the lack of development experienced by the Jharkhand region. The primary inhabitants of this region were the Adivasi population. The States Reorganization Commission enunciated that if the state of Jharkhand was created, it would have an impact on the economy of the existing state. The Commission found no deficiency in the development of the Jharkhand region and saw south Bihar as an industrial complement to the agricultural north Bihar. The Commission did not see any grounds for a separate administrative set-up for the tribal population in south Bihar as they, as they were a numerical minority in the region. Simultaneously it pointed out that the goal of administration and development programmes was the political and economic advancement of the whole population. Therefore, it was generally satisfied with the existing administrative arrangements in the region. With the passing of time, the developmental status of the region of Jharkhand gradually deteriorated and ultimately reached a point where developmental progress in the region became dormant. The Uttarakhand region which consisted of the eight hilly districts which are situated in the central Himalayan Zone figured as the most underdeveloped regions of Uttar Pradesh. During the period of the first five-year plan, the Uttarakhand region did not figure in any developmental schemes initiated either by the Union or State Government. When the period of the third five-year plan began, certain initiatives were taken for the purpose of the development of this region. These initiatives included reducing interregional inequalities by providing various kinds of opportunities, utilizing optimally natural resources, fulfilling the specific needs of the people of the hilly region and increasing the avenues of job-and income generation in the region. Top priority was accorded to the progress of horticulture, diversifying agricultural activities, boosting tourism, promoting animal husbandry, developing minor irrigation projects, promoting forestry, improving the efforts towards soil conservation, developing the local resource base for industries,

augmentation of several kinds of infrastructural facilities such as roads, power, marketing and credit and financial services and provision of basic necessities such as potable water, elementary education and medical facilities [Mehta, 1996, Pp 181-182]. However, these steps did not prove fruitful and the socio-economic profile of the region remained the same. The main force which propelled the discontentment of the Kumaun-Garhwal region could be attributed to their disgruntlement with the reality that the plain areas of this huge state have prospered at the cost of the neglect of the hill people.

2.3 THE LINGUISTIC BASIS FOR REORGANIZATION OF STATES IN INDIA

The idea of the formation of linguistic states was not new in the case of India. After Bengal was partitioned by Lord Curzon in 1905, the leaders of the nationalist movement in India began to attach significance to the process of organizing states using the linguistic criteria for the first time. In the year 1908, Lokmanya Tilak had told the Royal Commission²⁸ that the states constituting the territory of India should be organized by using language as the basis [Benedikter, 2009, Pp 36]. The Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Report [1918] however rejected the idea of linguistic provinces as it felt that the concept of organizing provinces using the linguistic criteria was not practical and insufficient without taking into consideration other crucial factors such as resources, geography and defence [Rajagopalan, 2000]. Annie Besant who was the chairperson of the Congress of the Calcutta Session in 1917 was wary of the idea of the formation of states on a linguistic basis. However, Tilak and Gandhi favoured the idea of linguistic states. Gandhi favoured the use of linguistic sensibilities of the people for the purpose of mass organization. The All-India Congress Committee officially accepted the principle of the 'Linguistic Reorganization of States'²⁹ in its Nagpur Session in 1920. The Congress also accepted the linguistic criteria as the basis of its own organization in 1920. This was implemented by the Congress in order to ensure its standard an effective organization and also to make sure that the Indian National Congress reaches people in their own language [Benedikter, 2009, Pp. 36]. The leadership

²⁸A Royal Commission was appointed by Morley and Minto in 1907. The purpose of this Commission was to provide advice to the British Government in India on the task of decentralization. The Commission did not favour the concentration of power in the hands of the Government of India and recommended the devolution of powers to the provinces [Broomfield, 1968, Pp 37].

²⁹Linguistic reorganization of states in plain language refers to the re-arrangement of the existing states in India using as the main criteria the language spoken by people of a particular region.

of the Congress reiterated its position on this matter before the Indian Statutory Commission of 1927 and suggested the creation of Utkal, Andhra, Sindh and Karnataka on that basis. The idea of Linguistic Reorganization of states earned the strong support of the Nehru Committee of All-Parties Conference in 1928. The Congress in its election manifesto during 1946 promised to create provinces on linguistic and cultural basis.

Post the independence of India from its colonial masters, the position adopted by national leaders on the issue of linguistic reorganization of states changed vividly. The leaders who had previously strongly supported the idea of linguistic states found it an intimidating task to sustain it after independence due to the practical problems of politics and administration. Nehru was against the idea of creation of states along linguistic lines in post-independence India because he had apprehensions that it would lead to the subsequent problem of parochialism and thus threaten national unity. Nevertheless, language is one of the most important characteristics of territorial and national identity and also an important feature of federal regimes. In a country like India characterized by a wide variety of linguistic backgrounds, people are very zealous about their mother-tongue. In 1952, in Madras province Potti Sriramulu fasted unto death in pursuit of a Telugu speaking Andhra state. After his death, Nehru was hard-pressed to agree to the demand of India's first linguistic state, creating the state of Andhra. Although, the central leaders did not want to agree to the linguistic basis for reorganization of states, they had to bow down to the linguistic pressure and thus create the state of Andhra Pradesh. The creation of Andhra Pradesh prompted the demand for reorganization of states on linguistic basis. Agitations in some states flared up. Therefore, the State Reorganization Commission declared that "the task of redrawing the political map of India must, therefore, now be undertaken and accomplished without any unavoidable delay, in the hope that the changes which are brought about will give satisfaction to a substantial majority of Indian people". Nehru was very critical of the tribal attitudes of provincialism [Hardgrave, 1975, Pp 88]. According to him, the only purpose for the formation of states was the administrative purpose. Nevertheless, since one demand was already recognized now, it was quite obvious that other linguistic groups would not settle for anything less. The State Reorganization Commission appointed by Nehru tried to adopt a reconciliatory approach between regional sentiment and national interest. The Commission while presenting its report in 1955 rejected the theory of "one language, one state" but recognized linguistic homogeneity as an important factor conducive to administrative convenience and efficiency. The Commission clearly outlined

that the political demarcations of the Union should be redrawn generally in accordance with linguistic demands. The States Reorganization Act, 1956 provided for 14 states and 6 territories. The boundaries of each state were to be drawn in such a manner that they it would be ensured that they adhere to the region of a dormant language. However as recommended by the Commission, two most sensitive areas – Bombay and Punjab were not considered on linguistic basis. The demands for separate states on the basis of distinct tribal identities including, Jharkhand and Nagaland, were also not heeded. The decisions of the State Reorganization Commission resulted in several agitations for dividing Bombay into separate states of Maharashtra and Gujarat, the creation of a Punjabi Suba, and tribal demands for the creation of new states in India's north-east tribal belt which continued in the 1960s and 1970s.

The division of Bombay into Marathi and Gujarati states was opposed by the States' Reorganization Commission mainly because of the critical question of Bombay city. Although, the Marathi speaking population constituted the largest linguistic group it was perceived that the city's economic stability chiefly came from the Gujarati community. Linguism divided the politics of Bombay. Finally, after large-scale rioting and prolonged agitation, the Congress in 1960 accepted the demand for reorganization. Gujarat and Maharashtra were formed into separate linguistic states and the city of Bombay was included in Maharashtra.

In Punjab, the Akali Dal, the political party which chiefly represented Sikh nationalism had for a long period of time voiced the demand for a Sikh State within the Union of India. It did so after its demand for a separate Sikh nation to be created at the time of partition was rejected. The demand for the creation of a separate state of Punjab was voiced not merely on the basis of the communal factor but also on the basis of the language factor. The issue in Punjab was less of language and more of script and religion. Punjabi is the mother-tongue of both the communities in Punjab- Sikhs and Hindus. However, communal feelings had led to major portions of the Hindu community to relinquish the Punjabi language. They did so by declaring Hindi as the mother tongue for the purpose of census tabulation. Though the two languages appear to possess similarities, there is an inherent difference. The Punjabi language is distinguished by the use of Gurmukhi which is the script of the holy books of the Sikhs. The Hindus in Punjab write in the Urdu or Devanagari Script. Thus, the only means to ensure the safeguarding of the Sikh identity was to create a state in which they

could form a condensed group. Such a group would ensure that the teaching of Gurmukhi and the adoption of Sikh religion is made compulsory. The State Reorganization Commission was apprehensive about the formation of a separate Punjabi state on the basis that it would neither solve the issues of linguism nor communalism, and may in fact on the contrary exacerbate tensions. In the 1956 reorganization of states, the states of PEPSU [Patiala and East Punjab States Union] and the Punjab were combined into a solo state. The Sikhs who comprised just one-third of the population were limited to the western districts. Punjabi and Hindi were both the official languages of the state. After Bombay was divided in the year 1960, the Akali Dal once again initiated the task of agitating for a Punjabi Suba. The struggle which persisted for a prolonged duration did not receive any reply from the government. Ultimately, in 1966, largely as a prize to the sacrificial contributions of the Sikhs in the war of 1965 between India and Pakistan and also partially as an answer to the growing mandate in the Hindi areas for a distinct state of Haryana, the government declared that Punjab would be divided into two components - Punjabi Suba and Haryana, in keeping with the regions of language supremacy. By this plan, the hill districts of the old Punjab became a fragment of Himachal Pradesh. This marked the beginning of the demand for full statehood which was ultimately accepted in 1971. Chandigarh was given the status of an Union Territory and was also pronounced the shared capital of the states of Punjab and Haryana.

2.4 FURTHER DEMANDS FOR CREATION OF NEW STATES IN INDIA

The formation of states by adhering to the criteria of language did not provide a solution in totality to the issue of demands for the formation of new states. In the period immediately following independence, the country was confronted with crisis in the North-Eastern region on account of the secessionist demand which arose in the Naga Hills district. Initially, the Nagas raised the demand for a place in the Union of India within the state of Assam. However, gradually a section under the guidance of Phizo³⁰, comprising mainly the

³⁰Phizo took charge as the President of the Naga National Council at the end of 1949. He assumed the status of Naga leader and the Naga spokesman. In order to give popularity to the concept of Naga independence, he established organizations namely the People's Independence League, the Naga Youth Movement and the Naga Women's Society. The ultimate objective of all these organizations was to achieve an independent Naga state which would consist of the Naga Hills, Tuensang Frontiers and other areas which were the home to Nagas anywhere in India and Myanmar [Zhimomi, 2004, Pp 32-34].

extremists began to demand separation from India. The moderate section on the other hand among the Nagas wanted to stay under India. The movement demanding self-governance in the Naga Hills ultimately culminated in the creation of the state of Nagaland which unlocked the ground for putting forward the demands for the establishment of states of any magnitude and population, overlooking the issue of whether such a state was economically viable or not. Nagaland was declared as the 16th state of the Indian Union on 1st December, 1963 [Kumar, B.B, 1998]. It was the first state of the Indian Union to be formed on a non-linguistic basis. The Mizos followed suit and in the course of time, the Mizo Hills district became the state of Mizoram. The erstwhile Princely States of Manipur and Tripura were converted into full-fledged states of the Union, since the area, population and the economic viability no longer continued to be the valid criteria for statehood. Arunachal Pradesh followed the process of steady and smooth progression. The people of Arunachal Pradesh began to voice their demand for statehood after statehood status was conferred on Mizoram. The Government of India heeded their plea very promptly. The Arunachal Pradesh Bill, 1986 and the Constitution [Fifty-fifth Amendment] Bill, were introduced in the Lok Sabha in December, 1986 and ultimately passed. The state of Arunachal Pradesh was inducted as the 24th state of the Indian Union in the year 1987. The state of Meghalaya evolved after undergoing a lot of trialling. It involved the experiment of creating a state within a state. Nevertheless, it was a nonviolent and wholly legal struggle. Meghalaya was carved out of the state of Assam. The state of Meghalaya was inaugurated on 2nd April, 1970. Sikkim became a state after its fusion with the Indian Union. The Indo-Sikkim Treaty which was signed in 1950 confirmed India's sovereignty over Sikkim. During the pre-independence phase, Sikkim continued as a member of the Chamber of Provinces and therefore under the paramountcy of the British. The state integrated into the Union of India in the year 1975 and thus became its 22nd state. After attaining liberation from its Portuguese colonial rulers on 19th December 1961, 'Goa, Daman and Diu' remained an Union Territory for a sizeable amount of time. Finally, Goa was granted a full-fledged State of the Indian Union in 1987. Meanwhile, Daman and Diu continue to remain as Union Territories till date.

2.5 CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS FOR STATE FORMATION IN INDEPENDENT INDIA

Part I of the Constitution of India deals with the Union of India and its territory. Articles 1 to 4 in particular deal with the provisions relating to the creation of states within the Union of India. Article 1 deals with the name and territory of the Union. It says that the India shall be a Union of States whose states and union territories shall be as specified in the First Schedule³¹. The territory of India shall comprise the territories of the States, the Union Territories specified in the first schedule and such other territories as may be required. Article 2 relates to the admission or establishment of new states. According to this article, Parliament may by law admit into the Union, or establish new States on such terms and conditions as it thinks fit. Article 3 concerns the formation of new States and alteration of areas, boundaries or names of existing States. According to this article, Parliament may by law form a new state by separation of territory from any State or by uniting two or more States or parts of States or by uniting any territory to be a part of any State; increase the area of any State, diminish the area of any State or/and alter the name of any state. Article 4 deals with the laws made under articles 2 and 3 to provide for the amendment of the First and Fourth Schedules, and supplemental incidental and consequential matters. Any law referred to in article 2 or 3 shall contain such provisions for the amendment of the First and Fourth Schedule as may be necessary to give effect to the provisions of the law and may also contain such supplemental, incidental and consequential provisions as Parliament may deem necessary. No such law as foresaid shall be deemed to be an amendment of this Constitution for the purpose of Article 368³².

2.6 CONCLUSION

The initial interest of the British colonial rulers in India was economic in nature. However, gradually they began to be guided by political aspirations. When their political interests became their chief concern, the demarcation of territorial boundaries became inevitable. In the process of doing so, the pivotal factor which guided them was administrative

³¹The First Schedule which was added to the original Constitution of India by the First amendment of 1951 deals with the territories of the 28 states and the 7 Union Territories of the Indian Union.

³²Article 368 of the Indian Constitution deals with the procedure of Amendment to the Constitution of India.

convenience. It appears that the British government was not concerned about linguistic or any other such considerations in the matter of drawing boundary lines for provinces in India. What essentially mattered to them was the convenience of governance and administration. After India attained independence, the Government of India, was primarily concerned about guarding the unity and security of the nation. A lot of time, energy and resources were directed towards the task of internally, securing the unity of the country and externally, protection of the country from possible attacks or invasions from outside. The Government of India at that point of time felt that the issue of reorganization of states was not a matter requiring urgent attention. Moreover, whenever the issue of reorganization of states did come to the forefront, the Government showed no qualms in acknowledging that it did not want to reorganize states merely on the basis of language. Various committees which were appointed by the government also did not much give importance to the criterion of language in the matter of reorganization of states. However, after the demand for a separate state of Andhra Pradesh on the basis of language was conceded to by the Government, several other states were also formed on the basis of language. Language thereby became the chief factor guiding the formation of new states in India in the future. However, this scenario witnessed a change in the course of time and gradually, developmental issues became the foundational essence of the emerging separate statehood movements in the country.

CHAPTER III

STATEHOOD MOVEMENTS IN CHHATTISGARH, JHARKHAND AND UTTARAKHAND

The present chapter begins with a brief description of the historical background of the states of Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand and Uttarakhand. The chapter further proceeds to describe the evolution of the separate statehood movements in each of the three states and ultimately the creation of the new states from their parent states. This chapter also includes a brief description of other contemporary movements for separate statehood in India. These include the case of Telangana, other separate statehood movements in Uttar Pradesh [the demand for Poorvanchal, Harit Pradesh and Bundelkhand], the cases of Vidarbha, Kodagu [Coorg] and Gorkhaland.

3.1 THE CASE OF CHHATTISGARH: HISTORY

Mythology says that Ram, after he was banished from his kingdom into the forest lived in South Kosala, which is present day Chhattisgarh. According to the famous Historian C.W. Mills, during the 10th century A.D. a powerful Rajput family ruled at Tirupuri near Jabalpur. Originating from this kingdom of Chedi, a descendant of the royal family known by the name Kalingraja, settled around the year 1000 A.D., at Tuman, a site which is presently characterized only by a few ruins in the north-east of the erstwhile Laphazamidari of Bilaspur district in Chhattisgarh. His grandson Ratnaraja established Ratnapur which continued as the capital of the territory which in present times constitutes Chhattisgarh. This particular Rajput Family called themselves the Hahihaya dynasty. This dynasty ruled over Chhattisgarh for six centuries. Around the 14th century, it split into smaller parts of which the elder branch continued at Ratnapur, while the younger branch was based in the semi-independent state of Raipur. At the end of the 16th century, it accepted the sovereignty of the Mughals. In Bastar, in the middle ages, Chalukya dynasty established its rule. The first Chalukya ruler was Annmdev, who founded the dynasty in Bastar in 1320.

The Marathas attacked Chhattisgarh in 1741 and annihilated the Hahihaya power. In 1745 A.D., post the conquest of the region, they forcefully removed from office Ragunathsinghji who was the final surviving member of the Ratnapur house. In 1758, the Marathas finally conquered Chhattisgarh after which it came directly under Maratha rule. Thereafter, Bimbaji Bhonsle was appointed the ruler of Chhattisgarh. After the death of Bimbaji Bhonsle, the Marathas adopted the Suba system. The Maratha rule was characterized by arrest and misrule. The Maratha army indulged in massive plunder and openly surrendered the interests of the region to the British. As a result of this, the region became poor and the people began resisting the Maratha rule. The Gonds resisted and challenged the pursuits of the Marathas. This led to several conflicts between the Gonds and Marathas.

In 1818, Chhattisgarh came under some sort of British control for the first time. In 1854, when the province of Nagpur came under the control of the British Government, Chhattisgarh was formed into a deputy commissionership with its headquarters situated at Raipur. The British made certain modifications in the administrative and revenue systems of Chhattisgarh which had an adverse effect on its people. The British invasion was strongly opposed in Bastar by the tribals and the consequent Halba rebellion which lasted nearly five years [1774-1779].

The first war of independence in 1857 was headed in Chhattisgarh by Vir Narain Singh who was a generous zamindar of Sonakhan. In 1856, The British arrested him for plundering a trader's grain stocks and distributing it among the poor during a severe famine. In 1857, Vir Narain Singh escaped from prison and reached Sonakhan where he organized an army of 500 men. A powerful British army was sent to defeat the Sonakhan Army. After a prolonged battle, Vir Narain Singh was arrested and sent to the gallows on 10th December, 1857. He became the foremost martyr from Chhattisgarh in the war of independence [Bhatt and Bhargava, 2005].

3.2 SEPARATE STATEHOOD MOVEMENT IN CHHATTISGARH

The origins of the demand for a separate state of Chhattisgarh can be traced to the early twenties. Though similar demands were expressed at regular intervals, a well-coordinated movement was not visible. Several individuals and organizations emphasized the

Chhattisgarh identity and voiced their perceived marginalization. Protests were organized with mass support. However, these were limited and intermittent. Several all-party platforms were formed and they usually revolved around petitions, public meetings, seminars, rallies and bandhs.

A demand for separate Chhattisgarh was raised in 1924 by the Raipur Congress unit and later on also discussed in the annual session of the Indian Congress at Tripuri. A discussion also revolved around forming a Regional Congress organization for Chhattisgarh. Intermittent attempts to give a call for a separate state of Chhattisgarh continued in the years immediately following independence. In 1955, a demand for a separate state was raised in the Nagpur assembly of the then state of Madhya Bharat. When the State Reorganization Commission was set up in 1954, the demand for a separate Chhattisgarh was presented to it. However, this demand was not accepted on the basis that the opulence of Chhattisgarh would recompense for the poverty of the other regions of Madhya Pradesh. The demands for a separate state were also pushed into the background after Ravishankar Shukla from Chhattisgarh became the Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh. In the mid-1960s, a Congress Member of Parliament from the Rajya Sabha, Khubchand Baghel launched the Chhattisgarh Bhratri [brotherhood] Sangh. At this time there was no leader who was in favour of a separate state. Baghel who was a member of the erstwhile Central Provinces [CP] and Berar Assembly vocally expressed the demand for statehood for the region. Pyarelal Singh who was a freedom fighter and a leader of opposition of the erstwhile Central Provinces [CP] and Berar Assembly also put forward the demand for the same. There were also efforts to develop a Chhattisgarh All Party Manch under the leadership of Pawan Diwan, Chandulal Chandrakar and Ajit Jogi. This platform was later transformed into the Chhattisgarh Asmita Sangathan and later into the Chhattisgarh Rajya Sangarsh Morcha. There were also other initiatives to form morchas and organizations. However, these did not have the support of the masses.

The Sociological origins of the demand for a separate state can be traced to the need felt by the ex-Malgujas [communities of rich peasants, who held the jagirdari rights to collect revenue on behalf of the Maratha and British rulers] to become powerful in terms of numbers in a new state. The ex-Malgujas consisted of the Brahmins and Kurmis. Baghel was a kurmi, and those who were at the forefront of the movement were ex-Malgujas. The

landless labourers' and peasants were unenthusiastic about the formation of Chhattisgarh state.

The eighties marked a pause in activities which were spearheading the demand for Chhattisgarh. In the 1990s, there was renewal in the activities demanding a new state. These activities include the formation of a state-wide political forum, especially the Chhattisgarh Rajya Nirman Manch which was led by Chandulal Chandrakar. Several successful region-wide bandhs and rallies were organized under the banner of this forum, all of which were supported by major political parties including the Congress and BJP. The rallies of the all-party forums were attended by leaders cutting across party lines. The political equations in Parliamentary politics of India played a key role in the creation of Chhattisgarh. The then leader of the Bharatiya Janata Party, Atal Behari Vajpayee promised the people that if they elected the BJP in all the 11 constituencies, a separate state of Chhattisgarh would be created. The BJP won seven seats. Vajpayee repeated the promise in the 1999 elections and blamed the Congress [I] for bringing down the government before the bill could be passed in Parliament.

The second kind of demand which was put forward by the Chhattisgarh Mukti Morcha³³ leader Shankar Guha Niyogi, revolved around the issue of nationality and had its roots in the working masses. According to Niyogi, the Chhattisgarhi identity revolved around the one who earns bread in this region. However, this movement was confined to the Raipur region and particularly among the workers of Bhilai Steel Plant and its mines. However, the movement, suffered a severe jolt following the murder of Shankar Guha Niyogi in 1990³⁴. Though Chhattisgarh Mukti Morcha survived as an organization of workers, it could not become a force to reckon with in the movement for separate statehood.

³³The Chhattisgarh Mukti Morcha was one of the earliest movements in India symbolizing the resistance of people to the government authorities. At a point of time when it appeared that the Central Government wanted to undermine labour laws and restructure labour laws that protected worker's rights, the Chhattisgarh Mukti Morcha strengthened its agitation towards the cause of protection of all workers, including formal, informal and contract labourers [Arundhati Roy, *My seditious Heart. Collected Non-Fiction*].

³⁴Shankar Guha Niyogi apparently lost his life because of his role in the movement championing the cause of workers [Arundhati Roy, *My seditious Heart. Collected Non-Fiction*].

3.3 CREATION OF CHHATTISGARH

The first institutional and legislative step towards the creation of Chhattisgarh was taken by the Congress government of Madhya Pradesh on 18th March 1994 when a resolution demanding the creation of a separate Chhattisgarh was tabled in the house and unanimously approved by the Madhya Pradesh Vidhan Sabha. Both the national parties -the Indian National Congress and the Bharatiya Janata Party- expressed their support towards the resolution. In 1998, the Bharatiya Janata Party led Union Government formulated a draft bill for the creation of a separate state of Chhattisgarh which was sent to the Madhya Pradesh assembly for approval. Subsequently, it was unanimously approved in that very year but with certain modifications. However, the Union Government did not survive and subsequently fresh elections were announced. The new National Democratic Alliance [NDA] government sent the redrafted separate state of Chhattisgarh bill for the approval of the legislative assembly of Madhya Pradesh. It was unanimously approved and then tabled in the Lok Sabha. This bill which aimed at creating a separate state of Chhattisgarh was tabled in both houses of Parliament paving the way for the creation of a separate state of Chhattisgarh. The President of India gave his consent to the Madhya Pradesh Reorganization Act 2000 on 25th August 2000. The Government of India subsequently set 1st November 2000 as the day on which the state of Madhya Pradesh would be bifurcated into Chhattisgarh and Madhya Pradesh.

Several factors can be considered responsible for the creation of Chhattisgarh. Firstly, the long pending demand and the movement for the separate states of Uttarakhand and Jharkhand led to the acknowledgement of the idea of separate states for these two regions which consequently created a sensitive environment for the Prathak³⁵ Chhattisgarh demand. Therefore, the creation of Chhattisgarh coincided with the creation of the other two new states and became a concurrent process. Another crucial factor leading to the creation of Chhattisgarh was the clear recognition of the fact both within and outside Chhattisgarh that it had a distinct socio-cultural identity that had evolved over centuries which needed to be preserved. A consensus had thus evolved and emerged emphasizing the distinctiveness of Chhattisgarh. The people of Chhattisgarh accepted this and saw a separate state of Chhattisgarh as giving expression to this identity. The consensus on the distinctiveness of

³⁵Prathak means separate in the Hindi language.

Chhattisgarh did not remain constrained to its socio-cultural identity. This consensus cut across geographical regions, castes, classes and political parties. The people of this region also realized that a separate state was a basic requisite for development to take place in the region. Thus, the people's demand which was expressed through democratic channels contributed greatly to the creation of Chhattisgarh.

3.4 THE CASE OF JHARKHAND

The state of Jharkhand which came into existence on 15th November 2000 as the 28th state of the Indian Union is primarily regarded as the homeland of tribals³⁶. The tribals in this state had dreamt of a separate state for centuries. According to popular legend, the king Raja Jai Singh Deo of Orissa had professed himself as the ruler of Jharkhand region in the 13th century. The Jharkhand region consisted of the forest belts of the Chhotanagpur plateau and the Santhal Pargana³⁷ which have exceptional cultural traditions. Post the independence of India from its colonial masters, the British, the Jharkhand Mukti Morcha began a periodic agitation which forced the government to establish the Jharkhand Area Autonomous Council in 1995 and finally agree to the creation of a full-fledged State.

3.5 HISTORY

According to renowned historians such as SC Roy³⁸, the Mundas³⁹ were spread all over the North of India in the 3rd Millennium B.C and they were constantly wandering from one place to another. At times natural circumstances forced them to move and at other times they moved due to invasion by people from outside the region. In order to preserve their independence and identity they fled to the hilly regions. At one point of time, they inhabited

³⁶For a major portion of History, Jharkhand was the homeland of certain major Adivasi communities of India which include the Gonds, Santhals, Oraons, Mundas, Khonds, Hos, Kharias, Bhumij and Birhors [Mishra, 2010, Pp 169].

³⁷In the state of Jharkhand, the Santhal Pargana constitutes one of the state's administrative divisions.

³⁸SC [Sarat Chandra] Roy began his studies among the Mundas at the start of the twentieth century. His findings on the Mundas were published from the year 1907 onwards.

³⁹The Mundas who identify themselves as Hodoko which means human being, include a number of distinct tribes settled across the states of Jharkhand, Bihar, West Bengal, Chhattisgarh, Orissa and Assam. The origin of the Mundas can be traced to central or southeastern Asia. They lived in parts of northern India before the ancient Dravidian settlement of the subcontinent [Minahan, 2012].

the area of what presently constitutes Punjab. Later they moved to Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and ultimately, they settled in the Chottanagpur region or Jharkhand. The Oroans who represented the Dravidian tribes were originally concentrated in the Konkan region of what is present-day Karnataka. Later, they moved towards Maharashtra, Bihar and finally to Chottanagpur a few centuries after the Mundas. The Santhal tribe had lived in prosperity for some centuries in the Champ region [now in Chhattisgarh]. Later they moved towards Bhagalpur and finally to Saont in Midnpaur from which they derived the name Santhal. Before the Vedic period, the Adivasis inhabited the Gangetic plains and were an agricultural society. When the pastoral Aryans invaded the Gangetic plains, they succeeded in conquering the fertile areas as they had horses which aided them in their movement from one place to another.

One of the significant characteristics which could be observed with regard to the Adivasis in the course of their struggle with alien cultures was the fact that they were always remotely located from the centre of power. The Aryans were predominantly dominating and aggressive. They were characterized by a monarchical system of governance and a standing army with warrior skills. The Adivasi communities did not have a kingship system, as it was based on hierarchy. Instead of kingship, the Adivasis had coterie groups which later developed into the Khutkati system. The Adivasis did not have a standing army.

The marginalization of the Adivasis continued during medieval times. During this period, the Muslims came to India as early as 711 A.D, as part of a mission led by the Arab General Muhammad bin Qasim. Shortly thereafter, the Sindh area of lower Punjab was merged into the Arab Ummayyad Caliphate⁴⁰. Gradually, the Muslim emperors defeated a number of Hindu Kings. However, they were not interested in conquering the Adivasi areas. Their sole interest in the region was the collection of tax. Even during this phase, the Adivasis followed their own traditional system of socio-cultural and political governance. This laid the foundation for social unification among the Adivasis in Jharkhand. Kingship developed among the Adivasis as a result of the innate need to protect their natural resources and livelihood from external attacks and to pay tax to the more powerful emperors. The kings would appoint someone from amongst their kin to be an agent to collect tax. The revenue thus collected was then used for paying taxes to the emperor. This kingship system was

⁴⁰The Arab Ummayyad Caliphate refers to the rule of a central Islamic leader which was established post the death of Prophet Muhammad.

resisted by the Adivasis. This resistance became more prominent during the British rule in India which resulted in the enactment of the Chotanagpur Tenancy Act⁴¹, the Santhal Parganas Tenancy Act⁴² and the Wilkinson Rules⁴³. These rules and acts recognized the distinctiveness of the socio-cultural and political institutions of the Adivasi people.

With the establishment of the British rule, there was a conscious effort to destroy the traditional Adivasi institution of self-governance and self-regulation, such as Munda Manki [chief] system and the Partha [tradition] system. These representative institutions were uprooted and replaced by a new set of institutions to enable the British not only to exploit the economic and labour resources of the Adivasi communities in the form of land revenue and unindentured labour but also to make these new institutions free from the control of the Adivasi community. Unlike the traditional systems the new system was always based on an individual authority and in several cases hereditary. These offices of revenue extraction were vested with authorities of a feudatory chief or raja. Apart from the system of revenue and labour extractions, a new and bureaucratic civil and criminal administration was also established.

Newly introduced institutions such as the bureaucracy, police and courts not only ruined the Adivasi communities but also wiped out the communitarian principles that pervaded the self-regulatory mechanism of the Adivasi society. In the case of disputes, such as inter-clan clashes, murders or debts the community panchayat laid emphasis on justice rather than judgement or punishment. However, the modern bureaucracy laid emphasis on individualism and impersonality. The Adivasi concept of traditional justice was replaced by the modern notions of crime and punishment. The inability of the Adivasis to understand this subtle but deadly shift often led to dangerous consequences. Rather than endeavouring

⁴¹The Chotanagpur Tenancy Act 1908 was in force from 11th November 1908 onwards. It included among its provisions matters related to the transfers in rayati [peasant] holdings. One of the credits attributed to the Act has been that it has guaranteed the peasants a greater degree of security of tenure with regard to their landlords than what they possessed previously [Vidhyarthi, 1986, pp 102]. This Act permitted a tribal raiyat to transfer his right by sale but needed the consent of the Deputy Commissioner [Prasad, 1981, Pp 234].

⁴²The Santhal Parganas Tenancy Act made provision for transfer of land by a raiyat tribal or non-tribal only to the extent to which it has been conferred and only in favour of another tribal who resides in the same pargana [Prasad, 1981, Pp 234].

⁴³The Wilkinson's Rules were drafted by the erstwhile agent to the Governor-General in the Council of the region, Captain Wilkinson. Under these rules, tribes were accorded certain aspects of self-governance pertaining to matters of civil law. The main purpose of the rules was to provide protection to the tribal system of administration which included the provision that the Deputy Commissioner was able to intervene in the event of illegal transfer or illegal settlement by a village chief in order to protect the interests of a raiyat or tenant [Mukherjee, 2018, Pp 102].

to resolve the cause of enmity between the Adivasi individuals or groups, the modern institutions resorted to stringent action against them. The judiciary and police violated the Adivasi notion of self-respect. The Adivasis were treated as barbarians or savages who were incapable of protecting themselves. The intricate processes and functions of these new institutions, made it difficult for the Adivasis to engage with these institutions on an equal basis. In addition, the Adivasis had to face the hurdle of language. During the colonial period, official work was done entirely in English and in the post-independence era in Hindi. Consequentially, the Adivasis were forced to learn the language of their conquerors and the attached cultural baggage that came along with the language. The other option available to them was to depend on the non-Adivasis in their efforts to seek justice from the modern institutions. In both ways they lost their autonomy, self-sufficiency and self-respect. Subsequently, every Adivasi protest targeted the government institutions of police, judiciary and bureaucracy.

The Adivasi culture defined its customary practices. Oral traditions characterized the communality and commonality of the Adivasis unlike the written script which is predominantly individual and personal in nature. However, the imposition of the written script by the ruling class weakened the Adivasi traditions which were primarily oral. Whatever was oral and unwritten was considered as myths and superstition. As a result, communalism was replaced by individualism. Common property began to be held privately and cooperation gave way to competition. Consensus in decision making was replaced by decisions taken by the majority. Equality among the members of the community was replaced by inequality. After India's independence, the local ruling class which hailed from North Bihar, and whose language was Hindi, systematically imposed Hindi on the Adivasis of Jharkhand. Hindi was made compulsory both at the level of administration as well as in the formal education system. This made it essential for children going to primary school to learn Hindi. The school-going Adivasi children did not fare well because they did not speak it at home, while the non-Adivasi children, whose mother-tongue was Hindi, did much better at school. The utility of Hindi language was also popularized in order to reduce the importance given to the English language. However, this effort of the government in independent India largely failed as the English language continued to hold its sway in colleges and universities. On the one hand, the government patronized Hindi and on the other hand the elite patronized English. The Adivasi languages suffered as a result of this dual language policy followed by the Government of India [Bhatt and Bhargava, 2005].

According to SC Bhat, in the *District Gazetteer of Jharkhand*, in the fifty years following independence, the Jharkhand land and its inhabitants were in a process of being reduced to shambles in several aspects. While the indigenous Adivasis comprised 60 per cent of the population at the start of the last century, at present they constitute a mere 30 per cent of the population. Despite this region having been the richest region in the whole country in terms of natural resources such as timber and minerals, it could not make much advance due to the displacement faced by the Adivasis.

3.6 MOVEMENT FOR STATEHOOD IN JHARKHAND

Among the numerous regional movements which were going on in different parts of the country demanding autonomy, the Jharkhand movement is said to have very early beginnings. Its origins can be traced to the beginning of the second decade of the last century. Since its beginning, the movement has passed through various phases. Gradually it transformed into an organization which came to be known as Unnati Samaj. The Unnati Samaj focused on the cause of improving the economic conditions of the tribals. In the year 1938, Unnati Samaj renamed itself as Adivasi Mahasabha by gathering under a single umbrella various tribal organizations. This period coincided with the acquisition of political ambitions by the tribal leaders and they began contesting elections. The Adivasi Mahasabha found a very strong leadership in the person of Jaipal Singh. It transformed itself into a political party in 1947 opening its door to non-tribals also [Ekka and Sinha, 2004].

After independence, the issue of states reorganization was dealt with expansively by the State Reorganization Commission. The Commission recommended the creation of separate states only on linguistic lines and side-lined other principles such as tribal cultural identities. On the linguistic criterion Jharkhand had not qualified for a new state [Prakash, 2002]. The States Reorganization Commission recognized the fact that the Jharkhand Party had performed well in the election, but pointed out that it had not secured an absolute majority in the region. It also brought to the forefront the fact that besides the Jharkhand Party, no other political party in the region appeared to be in favour of the creation of a separate Jharkhand State. The Commission also emphasized that the tribal population in the region constituted only one- third of the total population and was divided into several linguistic groups. Therefore, in its opinion even if the Adivasis of the state wanted a

separate state, an important issue such as this cannot be decided on the basis of the views of the minority. The Commission further pointed out that the creation of the state of Jharkhand would affect the economy of the existing state. The Commission found no deficiency in the development of the Jharkhand region and saw south Bihar as an industrial counterpart to the agricultural north Bihar. The Commission did not see any grounds for a separate administrative set-up for the tribal population in south Bihar as they were a numerical minority in the region. Simultaneously it pointed out that the goal of administration and various development programmes was the political and economic progress of the entire population. Therefore, it was in essence satisfied with the existing administrative arrangements in the region. From the viewpoint of the State Reorganization Commission, there was no problem with the development profile of the region. The comparative development profile of the Jharkhand region was better than that of Bihar as a whole in the 1950s. It was only from the 1960s onwards that the development of the region suffered an impediment or did not progress at the same rate as of Bihar as a whole.

In the political environment of the 1950s there were high expectations from the leaders of newly independent India. In the light of this background, the leaders of Jharkhand used the arguments of lack of opportunities in the Jharkhand region and subsequent exploitation by Bihar to provide a legitimate basis to their demand for a separate state. Therefore, the issue of development became inescapably linked to the issue of Jharkhandi identity. The development profile of the Jharkhand region as a whole gradually weakened over the years and soon reached a point where developmental progress in the region became stagnant. With the passing years, the issue of poor performance of the public-policy delivery mechanism further widened the links between the issue of a separate state, the Jharkhandi identity, and the issues of development. Several reasons can be attributed to the claims for separate statehood for Jharkhand. These include safeguarding and fortification of the Jharkhandi identity or nationality, protection of languages and culture of the Jharkhandis, exploitation of the local population by the outsiders, land alienation by outsiders and the government, over-exploitation of mineral resources and setting up of giant industries leading to displacement of a large number of locals, arrival of a large number of outsiders compelling the outward migration of Jharkhandis to other states such as West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, Punjab, Haryana and Assam where their condition degraded to slavery, and maladministration of forests.

The parties and organizations which championed the cause of the Jharkhandis included: the Jharkhand Mukti Morcha [JMM], the All Jharkhand Students Union, the Jharkhand Co-ordination Committee, the Jharkhand Party, the Jharkhand Raj Morcha, the Hul Jharkhand Party, the Jharkhand Liberation Front, the Jharkhand Kranti Dal, the Jharkhand Janta Parishad, the Jharkhand Budhijivi Manch, the Jharkhand Quomi Tehrique and the Sadavasi Sadan Sangh.

The Jharkhand Co-ordination Committee was formed in September 1987. On 10th December 1987, the Committee submitted a memorandum to the President of India demanding the formation of Jharkhand state comprising 21 districts of Jharkhand area in accordance with the provisions of Article 2 and 3 of the Constitution of India. The memorandum cited the background of the demand for Jharkhand State. The Jharkhand movement witnessed a rise from September to December 1987 under the leadership of the Jharkhand Co-ordination Committee. After 1989, the Jharkhand Co-ordination Committee was actively involved in deliberations and discussions with the government to find a solution to the problems of the Jharkhand region. These discussions of the Committee with the government led to the formation of the Committee on Jharkhand Matters. However, nothing concrete and consensual resulted from these discussions. The purpose of the formation of the Jharkhand Co-ordination Committee was to unite different organizations which supported the demand for Jharkhandi state. However, in the course of time, the Jharkhand Co-ordination Committee disappeared from the scene because of lack of unity among the various Jharkhandi groups. At the outset of the 1990s, the Adivasi members of Parliament drew the attention of the government both within Parliament and outside it to the incessant deprivation of their people. In 1992, the central government appointed a special commission under the leadership of Shri Delip Singh Bhuriua to make particular recommendations towards self-rule and self-development of the Adivasi people.

The combined efforts of parties led to the setting up of the Jharkhand Area Autonomous Council on 9th August 1995. Since its foundation the Jharkhand Area Autonomous Council hardly did any noticeable work. It was not handed over any administrative or financial power. The Jharkhand Area Autonomous Council Bill, 1994 contained a provision for allotment of 42 state departments to the Jharkhand Area Autonomous Council. But this promise remained on paper and in practice no department was transferred to it by the State Government. For a very long time the Jharkhand Area Autonomous Council was not even

permitted to open its own account. In the absence of any financial and administrative powers the Jharkhand Area Autonomous Council was forced to remain dormant in activity. With the arrest of Shibu Soren and Suraj Mandal, chairman and vice-chairman of the Jharkhand Area Autonomous Council respectively on 5th September 1996 on an alleged bribery charge the Council became like a ship without sails. [Ekka and Sinha, 2004]. Nevertheless, after a very long struggle by the Jharkhandis the state of Jharkhand came into being on 15th November 2000. The birth of a separate state of Jharkhand in 2000 symbolized the culmination of the long-cherished dream of the tribals of South Bihar for a separate state for the Adivasis. The creation of a separate state also implied that the erstwhile state of Bihar had failed to accommodate within its domain the distinct tribal ethnic identity of the Jharkhandis.

3.7 THE CASE OF UTTARAKHAND: HISTORY OF THE STATE

Uttarakhand which was known as Uttaranchal at the time of its creation, was earlier part of the United Province of Agra and Awadh which came into existence in 1902. In 1935, the name of the state was shortened and came to be called the United Province. In January 1950, the United Province was renamed as Uttar Pradesh and Uttaranchal remained a part of Uttar Pradesh before it was bestowed separate statehood on 9th November 2000 as the 27th state of the Indian Union. The Garhwal⁴⁴ Himalayas have manifested remnants of civilization since the beginning of history. The traditional name for Garhwal is believed to have been Uttarakhand and excavations have revealed that it was a part of the Mauryan empire. Uttarakhand also found mention in the seventh century travel account of Huen Tsang. However, it is with Adi Shankaracharya that the name of Garhwal will always be linked. This 8th century spiritual reformer visited the remote snow-laden peaks of Garhwal and established the Joshimath and some of the most sacred shrines including Badrinath and Kedarnath.

The history of Garhwal as one unified region began in the 15th century, when king Ajai Pal merged the 52 principalities comprising the region. Garhwal remained as a unified kingdom

⁴⁴Garhwal currently includes the districts of Chamoli, Dehradun, Pauri, Tehri, Rudraprayag, Haridwar and Uttarkashi [Rawat,2002, Pp 11].

for 300 years with its capital at Srinagar. During the Gurkha invasion in the early 19th century, the British rendered their support to the Garhwalis. In recognition and acceptance of the British help, Pauri and Dehradun were handed over to the British. The early medieval history of Kumaon is the history of the Katyuri dynasty. The Katyuri kings ruled over Kumaon from the seventh to the eleventh century, wielding control over large areas of Kumaon, Garhwal and Western Nepal. After a break of a couple of centuries, the Chands of Pithoragarh became the dominant dynasty. In the colonial period, the numerous districts of present Uttarakhand were ruled by local hill rulers, who owed allegiance to the British. After independence, the two areas were included in Uttar Pradesh despite pleas by their residents that they were culturally and geographically different from people in the plains. The demand for separation stayed alive over the decades as the region remained backward as compared to the rest of Uttar Pradesh [Bhatt and Bhargava, 2005].

3.8 SEPARATE STATEHOOD MOVEMENT IN UTTARAKHAND

The idea of a separate hill state of Uttarakhand was first raised by the veteran Communist Party of India leader PC Joshi in 1952. In 1959, unrest in Tibet resulted in a suppression by the Chinese Communists. The Chinese threat was countered with the militarization of the border and the take-over of large areas of Uttarakhand by the military. The India-China war in 1962 subsequently resulted in increased military development in the Uttarakhand region, leading to dramatic social and economic changes. The late 1960s was characterized by the dispossession of the native Pahari inhabitants⁴⁵ and other Hindi speaking residents by the Punjabi trespassers who apprehended much of the best Terai⁴⁶ land. Successive governments of Uttar Pradesh were influenced by big landowning interests and legalized the land seizures. During this period, the women of the region organized themselves to fight alcoholism in the hills, which was a worrying by-product of development and the worsening economic situation. In 1969, P.C. Joshi and other Kumaoni intellectuals shaped the Kumaoni Morcha group to press the demand for local autonomy. However, bitter political infighting with the Garhwal-based Uttaranchal group weakened the movement.

⁴⁵The Pahari inhabitants consisted of the Bushka and Tharu tribals [Gajrani, 2004, Pp 250].

⁴⁶The Terai area refers to the bottom-most region of the plain area of Uttaranchal. This region is regarded as one of the most prosperous and potential agricultural zones of the country. [*Socio-Cultural Dimensions of Agribusiness Practices in Selected Villages of the Terai Region of Uttarakhand*, Pp 9].

The movement was only lightly and intermittently revived in the following decades. However, before the onset of the Uttarakhand movement which reached its peak in 1994-1996, the case for a separate hill state was more frequently based on the argument that Uttar Pradesh was too large to effectively administer than in any verified claim for, or any argument about the distinctive desirability of Uttarakhand.

In the 1970s the Chipko Movement⁴⁷ spearheaded the demand for forest rights of the Uttarakhandi people. This movement was characterized by marches, demonstrations and spontaneous actions in order to defend the forests. In 1976, student activists formed the left-oriented Uttarakhand Sangarsh Vahini⁴⁸ to combat the liquor and timber mafias. In the Assembly elections of Uttar Pradesh in 1977, a regional party called Uttarakhand Kranti Dal⁴⁹ [UKD] spearheaded the demand for a separate Uttarakhand state. The goal of the party was to liberate the illegally occupied central Terai land from outsiders, to oust the outsiders from the fruit belt and to impose land ceiling laws to prevent exploitation by large farmers. The 1980s were marked by a transformed focus on the anti-alcohol agitation which augmented social tensions between men and women in the hills. Deforestation continued and on the other hand mining interests and dam projects threatened to damage the Himalayan ecosystem. In 1989, several left-leaning organizations assembled to form the Uttarakhand Sanyukta Sangarsh Samiti [USSS] to campaign for autonomy.

It was in the early 1990s, provoked by the attempts of the then Samajwadi Party government in Uttar Pradesh to impose the recommendations of the Mandal Commission⁵⁰ in this region, that the demand for a separate state acquired its familiar form as a political

⁴⁷The Chipko Movement which began in 1973 was a movement led by the peasants in the Uttarakhand region. The aim of this movement was to prevent the felling of trees and to reclaim the traditional forest rights which faced the risk of extinction. One of the significant aspects of the Chipko movement was that it involved the mass participation of women villagers who played a contributory role in the local economies [Blewitt, 2018].

⁴⁸The Uttarakhand Sangarsh Vahini was initially an informal organisation of the inhabitants of the hills who were concerned about the exploitation faced by the hilly regions. In the course of time, it rechristened itself as the Uttarakhand Jana Sangarsh Vahini which was basically a political party which demanded the status of separate statehood for Uttarakhand [Aryal, 2012].

⁴⁹The roots of the Uttarakhand Kranti Dal can be traced to the movement, namely Uttarakhand Rajya Parishad which was formed in 1973. This movement took up the cause of the people of the hilly region for a separate hill state. The movement subsequently produced a political party which was named the Uttarakhand Kranti Dal in July 1979 under the leadership of the former vice-chancellor of Kumaon University [Sati and Kumar, 2004].

⁵⁰The Mandal Commission headed by Bindeshwari Prasad Mandal was appointed by the government of the Janata Party in India under the Prime Ministership of Moraji Desai. The specific function allotted to this Commission was to identify the particular classes in the country which were socially or educationally backward. The most significant recommendation of the Mandal Commission was that for those who constitute Other Backward Classes, reservations should be guaranteed to the extent of 27 per cent of jobs in the Central Government and public sector undertakings.

movement. The incitement was dangerous, not only because a quota of 27 per cent reservation for OBCs in a region where they constitute 2 per cent of the population seemed disproportionate, but also, because this is a region which had for long borne the burden of unemployment, including the serious problem of educated unemployment. The vast participation of students and young people in the mobilization that followed was explained by their fear that the hills would be flooded with 'outsiders' from the plains, leading to a consequent decrease of even such dismal educational and employment opportunities that were available. These reservations were met with violent opposition in Uttarakhand. These measures were seen by the Uttarakhandis as an attempt to colonize the hills by people from the plains, as low-caste Hindus make up a minor percentage of the hill district's population. Demonstrations were fired upon leaving scores of people dead. On Gandhi Jayanti, buses carrying protestors to the capital were stopped in the town of Muzaffarnagar. Subsequent violence included the molestation and rape of dozens of Uttarakhand women by the state police.

In 1995, further investigation revealed the cover-up of the 1994 incidents. However, the Uttar Pradesh Government refused to accept responsibility for the same. The people of Uttarakhand held monthly protest rallies in remembrance of the movement's martyrs. Massive forest fires devastated Uttarakhand in May. In early 1996, the state government apologized to the victims of the 1994 violence and pledged to provide them with compensation. In August of the same year, the new government of India announced its recognition of a separate state of Uttarakhand.

The last phase of the movement for Uttarakhand was unique because of two factors. One, this was the first time that the movement passed from political parties to students and youth, from party offices to campuses in Kumaun and Garhwal divisions. Second, the focus of the movement for separate statehood marked a changed shift from the issue of reservation to other issues. It was not merely the backward masses of the village but also the residents of high-profile tourist centres like Mussoorie and Nainital who kept their party obligations separate and protested in favour of a separate Uttarakhand state. The main reason of the disgruntlement of the Kumaun-Garhwal region was their dissatisfaction with the fact that the plain areas of this huge state have prospered at the cost of the neglect of the people living in the hilly areas. It was also this recognition of a common identity that made possible the forging of a united Uttarakhandi identity among Gharwalis and Kumaonis who had

historically coexisted in a love-hate relationship. Ultimately, Uttaranchal was formally born on 9th November, 2000 as the 27th state of the Indian Union. The creation of Uttarakhand brought to an end the struggle for a separate state. The new state was carved out of Uttar Pradesh, comprising the hill regions of Garhwal and Kumaon. The main inspiration behind the Uttarakhand movement was the desire to give a new direction to nation-building and development by strengthening the movement at the local regional level [Joshi, P.C, 1999].

3.9 STATEHOOD MOVEMENTS IN JHARKHAND, CHHATTISGARH AND UTTARAKHAND: THE ESSENCE

In Chhattisgarh, the movement for separate statehood gained steady pace with the creation of the other two states - Jharkhand and Uttarakhand. The people of this state felt that they had a distinct social and cultural identity which they felt was enough ground for separate statehood. Unsatisfactory level of development was another factor which pushed the movement for separate statehood. The movement for separate statehood for Jharkhand revolved chiefly around the issue of threats to the identity of the Jharkhand population which was predominantly tribal in nature and consequent displacement of the tribal population. Moreover, the benefits of development were not percolating down to the tribals. In Uttarakhand, the movement for separate statehood was primarily guided by the ill-feeling that though the hilly region was contributing in a major way to the overall progress of the state's economy, the benefits were mainly reaped by the plains. Consequently, the hilly regions felt side-lined and were determined to demand their share of benefits which they voiced through the demand for separate statehood. It is significant to note that none of the above three states which were created in 2000 were created on linguistic grounds which had formed the basis for state reorganization in 1956. Rather it was issues of identity and development which provided the impetus for separate statehood movements.

3.10 OTHER CONTEMPORARY MOVEMENTS FOR SEPARATE STATEHOOD IN INDIA

THE CASE OF TELANGANA

Under the British, Madrasapatnam⁵¹ gradually got converted into Madras and became the central point of the British empire in South India. In the process of time, Madras Presidency came to include within its domain the entire English possessions in South India and included the whole of modern-day Tamil Nadu, large parts of present Andhra Pradesh, and many parts of what currently constitute the states of Orissa, Kerala and Karnataka. The Tamil population formed the majority of people who lived in the Madras Presidency and the Telugu speaking people were a close second. The Telugu speaking people of Madras Presidency felt that their cultural and linguistic identity was being side-lined by the Government of the day which they believed showed a partiality towards the Tamils. The Andhra Mahasabha⁵² marked the foundation of a renewed and focused effort to work towards a separate identity and state. On 19th October 1952, a Gandhian, Potti Sreeramulu began an indefinite hunger strike to voice his demand for a separate Andhra State with Madras as a composite part of it. After fasting for a long period of 58 days, Potti Sreeramulu, breathed his last which subsequently triggered off violence in the towns of Andhra. On 19th December, Jawaharlal Nehru finally made a declaration that Andhra would be created immediately. However, this was a partial victory for those spearheading the campaign for a separate state because it would be Andhra without Madras. The state of Andhra came into being with its capital at a place known as Kurnool. However, the creators of Andhra state were not happy. The day Andhra came into existence they started dreaming of making Hyderabad their own. The demand for Hyderabad was not merely an expression of the quest for a capital city. It also represented a visible manifestation of the innate desire

⁵¹The origins of Madrasapatnam can be traced to the year 1644 when a couple of British officers of the British East India Company namely Francis Day and Andrew Cogan chose a strip of beach located near the Bay of Bengal which was uninhabited and built a fort there. The purpose of the fort which came to be known as St. George Fort as envisaged by them was to enable the British to protect their trade on the east coast of India. The construction of the fort also resulted in the mushrooming of settlements surrounding the fort as it encouraged locals to get involved in trading activities. Gradually, these settlements experienced a growth process and included the neighbouring villages. Thus, was born the city of Madrasapatnam which came to be known as Madras and eventually Chennai [Suresh ed., 2016].

⁵²The Andhra Mahasabha was established in the year 1928 under the leadership of Madapati Hanumantha Rao and others. Its objectives included reforming the administrative structure, increasing the number of schools, obtaining concessions for the land-owning class and attaining specific civil liberties. It marked the emergence of a central platform for the emerging democratic vision of the people of Hyderabad state [Sundarayya, 1972 Pp 12].

to carve an amalgamated Telugu state, a search to redraw the past and to re-establish the golden period of the Telugu kingdom. But Nehru was not willing to consider the proposal to fuse Andhra with Hyderabad as a stand-alone exercise. He felt that if such an exercise had to be carried out, it would constitute a part of the entire reorganization of India. With this in mind, in December in 1953, the government set up a commission under the chairmanship of a former Supreme Court Judge, Justice Fazal Ali to examine the delicate issue of reorganization of states of India.

The Commission examined the possibilities of Vishal Andhra⁵³ and found that the proposal had many meritorious virtues. The Commission also envisioned the prospects of carving out a separate Telangana state comprising areas of the state of Hyderabad where the majority of people spoke the Telugu language. The Commission recommended that the ‘unification of Telangana with Andhra though desirable should be based on a voluntary and willing association of people and that it is primarily for the people of Telangana to take a decision about their future’. Telangana area [Telugu-speaking areas] may be incorporated into a separate state which would be known as Hyderabad state, with provision for its unification with Andhra after the general elections likely to be held in about 1961. If the new legislature of the residency Hyderabad state expressed itself in favour of such unification, then Vishal Andhra may be formed. If the public sentiment in Telangana univocally expressed itself against the unification of the two states, Telangana will have to continue as a separate unit.

The leaders of the two regions could not arrive at any formal or informal agreement. Telangana leaders wanted the newly integrated state to be called Andhra-Telangana but Andhra leaders wanted it to be named Andhra Pradesh. Besides, Andhra leaders desired a common High Court for the state at Hyderabad. But leaders from Telangana wanted the Andhra region High Court to continue at Guntur and that for Telangana area to operate from Hyderabad. In the end, the desire of the leaders from the Andhra region prevailed as the state was named Andhra Pradesh. A common High Court was to be located at Hyderabad. The new state came into existence on 1st November 1956 with Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy as the first Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh. The first Chief Minister of Andhra

⁵³The popular demands for the state of Andhra visualized a state of Andhra Pradesh that encompassed in its fold people who spoke the Telugu language from the surrendered districts, the districts of the coastal areas and the Rayalaseema regions composing the Madras Presidency and the Telangana regions under the Indian State of Hyderabad [D’ Souza, 2006].

Pradesh appeared to be distinctly anti-Telangana. He refused to appoint a deputy Chief Minister and pressed more funds for development of Andhra region at the cost of Telangana. Funds meant for Telangana were transferred to the Andhra region.

As regard political parties, the Congress and the Telugu Desam Party [TDP] had always supported the cause of a unified Andhra. The Bharatiya Janata Party when leading the National Democratic Alliance with the government in Delhi made a promise in its manifesto in the 1998 elections towards the creation of Telangana. But the Telugu Desam Party was an important partner in the government and therefore the Bharatiya Janata Party backtracked from its promise on the basis that creation of Telangana is a Bharatiya Janata Party pledge and not an agenda of the National Democratic Alliance. They said they would form Telangana when the Bharatiya Janata Party comes to power on its own. In November 2000, in the span of mere fifteen days, three new states, Jharkhand, Uttarakhand and Chhattisgarh, were carved out of larger states, raising the aspirations of all those who dreamt of a separate Telangana. One such person was Naidu's close associate K. Chandrashekar Rao. However, differences between the two led K. Chandrashekar Rao to form a separate party, the Telangana Rashtra Samiti [TRS] whose sole objective would be to fight for separate statehood for Telangana region [Kingshuk, 2011]. It is the Telangana Rashtra Samiti which championed the cause of agitation towards the creation of Telangana. K. Chandrashekar Rao went on a fast unto death a couple of times to bring to the fore the demand for creation of a separate state of Telangana. However, these efforts of his proved futile. In the 2009 Lok Sabha elections, a bitter campaign was launched by the Telangana Rashtra Samiti against the Congress. The Telangana Rashtra Samiti accused the Congress of betraying the people on the promise of separate statehood. The then powerful Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh from the Congress party, Y.S. Rajashekhara Reddy vociferously opposed the demand for the bifurcation of the state. This was despite the fact that the stand of the Congress High Command was still not clear on the issue of separate statehood for Telangana. The Telugu Desam Party finally gave up its vague stand on the issue and began to overtly support the demand. This enabled the party to enter into an electoral understanding with the Telangana Rashtra Samiti. As regards the left parties, the Communist Party of India [Marxist] continued its opposition to the demand for a separate state. However, the Communist Party of India favoured the creation of a separate state.

It was thought that because of popular support towards the creation of Telangana, the alliance between the Telangana Rashtra Samiti and Telugu Desam Party would be able to sweep the elections in the region as the Congress would lose due its failure to keep its promise. However, as shown by the data of the Centre for the Study of Developing Societies [CSDS] and National Election Study [NES], the Telangana factor did not significantly affect the voting preferences in the region as even among the respondents who preferred the creation of a separate state of Telangana, 33 per cent voted for the Congress. This was mainly due to the popularity of the late Congress Chief Minister YS Rajashekar Reddy. The next Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh K. Rosaiah, a Vaishya did not enjoy community-oriented support and was unable to control forces both for and against Telangana forces even within his own party.

On 30th July 2013, the Congress Working Committee in unanimity passed a resolution to endorse the formation of a separate state of Telangana. After, various stages, the bill was tabled in Parliament in February 2014. In the same month, the Andhra Pradesh Reorganization Act 2014, was passed by Parliament paving the way for the formation of the state of Telangana comprising of ten districts form north-western Andhra Pradesh. After the bill acquired the assent of the President, the state of Telangana was legitimately formed on 2nd June 2014.

It was the socio-economic neglect of the region and lack of concern for the marginalized especially the tribals, which proved to be the guiding force for the movement demanding separate statehood for Telangana. The history of the Telangana movement may be seen as an unsuccessful exercise in integration of regions with different history, disparities in economic development, elites with varying capacities and conflicting goals. The common language was not able to unite the two regions even after half a century [Pingle, 2009].

Post the creation of Telangana as a separate state, the state has witnessed commendable growth. The state has witnessed investments heavily in irrigation and agriculture. The share of Telangana in India's gross domestic product increased from 4.1 per cent in 2014-15 to 4.5 per cent in 2017-18. Most of the growth of the state appears to has been driven by Hyderabad. The capital-city constitutes one-fifth of the state's population and is host to firms which play a crucial role in the services sector of the state and country. Since 55 per cent of Telangana's economy is dependent on agriculture as the chief occupation, countering the problem of droughts remains a perennial challenge. Therefore, the state

government has invested substantially in irrigation and has spent an average of 14 per cent of its budget on irrigation. A considerable portion of this amount has been spent on the rupees 80,000 crore Kaleshwaram project. This irrigation project is the largest in the country and aims at providing water to 1.8 million acres across the state. The state has launched the Rythu Bandhu Scheme which provides farmers who own land with rupees 8,000 per annum for every acre they own. This amount is utilized for the purchase of inputs like seeds, fertilizers, pesticides, labour and other investments during the crop season. The state government spent 8.5 per cent of the state's budget on the programmes for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes who constitute one-fourth of the state's population. During the period 2014-15 to 2018-19, the tax revenues of the state have grown at a compounded annual growth rate [CAGR] of around 25 per cent. Telangana has also performed exceptionally well in the process of implementing central schemes. The previous 10 districts of the state have been reorganized to 31 districts for the purpose of improved administration. Thereby 21 new districts, 25 revenue divisions and 125 mandals were constituted. Looking at the impressive performance of Telangana, post-statehood, it can be safely assumed that statehood has made a positive difference to the state. The state has witnessed growth across various quarters post its bifurcation from its parent state of Andhra Pradesh.

THE CASE OF SEPARATE STATEHOOD MOVEMENTS IN UTTAR PRADESH

Once the process of carving a separate state of Uttarakhand from its parent state Uttar Pradesh was completed, similar such demands for several other states have come to the forefront in Uttar Pradesh. These demands include the demand for Poorvanchal, Harit Pradesh and Bundelkhand. Poorvanchal⁵⁴ [Eastern Uttar Pradesh] was one of the poorest regions of the country before independence and its condition appeared to be the same even after independence. This region has been characterized by unemployment and poverty which has been on the increase. Besides, this region has also been low in industrial development and agricultural output. Though different pressure forums such as

⁵⁴The demand for Poorvanchal has been primarily pursued by Poorvanchal Rajya Banao Manch. This organisation constitutes a marginal political formation with minuscule electoral possibilities. Nevertheless, this organisation drew solace from the support of the erstwhile Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh, Mayawati and the then Prime Minister, Dr. Manmohan Singh [Prakash, 2010].

Poorvanchal Rajya Banao Manch [PRBM], Poorvanchal Mukti Morcha [PMM] and Poorvanchal Sena etc. have been formed to push forward the claims for a separate Poorvanchal state, they have not succeeded in garnering broad support of the masses towards this cause. The demand for a separate state of Harit Pradesh⁵⁵ [Western Uttar Pradesh] began to be raised with regularity in the 1990s. However, this demand had been raised even on earlier occasions but was not followed up. The demands with regard to Harit Pradesh have been put forth from time to time. These include the setting up of a branch of the mini secretariat in western Uttar Pradesh, the setting up of an agricultural university in western Uttar Pradesh, the declaration of Meerut College as University, the setting up of a Bench of Allahabad High Court in Western Uttar Pradesh, and the carving of a separate state of Western Uttar Pradesh out of existing Uttar Pradesh.

The agitation for Harit Pradesh is still in its infant stages. Nevertheless, it has passed through two phases so far. The first phase derived support almost exclusively from a section of the Jat community. The second phase has demonstrated the involvement of other communities and social groups such as students, lawyers, chambers of commerce and traders as well. But the mobilization is still limited to the leadership of various groups and communities. The masses as a whole are yet to be involved. However, it has been observed that people cutting across socio-economic backgrounds prefer a separate state of western Uttar Pradesh as they feel that it would not only empower them to be located closer to the legal and administrative centres of the state but also make available opportunities for employment to all sections of the society.

The Bundelkhand⁵⁶ region of Uttar Pradesh is marked by gorges inhabited by dacoits. It is crammed in between the northern plains and the rocky soils of the Vindhya regions making it unfit for the pursuit of agriculture and industry. The total area is 30 lakh hectares out of which 24 lakh hectares is agricultural land. However, lack of irrigational facilities poses a serious hindrance to cultivation of crops. Some of the large dams like Matatila, Rajghat, Sukhwan-Dukhwan and Dhasan have flooded large portions of the fertile land. Most farmers completely depend on the monsoons for water. Unfortunately, Bundelkhand has

⁵⁵Harit Pradesh constitutes a more prosperous part of Uttar Pradesh. The claims for a separate state have been primarily put forward by Ajit Singh of the Rashtriya Lok Dal [Prakash, 2010].

⁵⁶The Bundelkhand Mukti Morcha took heart from the apparently supportive posture adopted by Mayawati. However, since the movement has failed to secure any political space in the state, there is hardly any possibility of this movement acquiring much political mileage on this issue [Prakash, 2010].

just 60,000 hectares of forest cover which is fast diminishing due to the uncontrolled cutting of trees, and hence this region suffers from scanty rainfall and frequent droughts. Regular droughts, crop failure, scanty rains, poor irrigation facilities, burden of agricultural and private loans, damage to self-respect and worry about their families' future have resulted in farmer's suicides in Bundelkhand. Farmers' suicides coupled with other glitches have led to demands for a separate Bundelkhand state with the hope that separate statehood would end the misery of the farmers and lead to the prosperity of the region.

It is worth noting that while the fundamental factor guiding separate statehood movements in Poorvanchal and Bundelkhand has been the under-development of the region, in the case of Harit Pradesh it is the relative prosperity of this region vis-à-vis other regions that has been the driving force behind the demand for a separate state.

THE CASE OF VIDARBHA

Vidarbha is geographically located on the eastern side of Maharashtra. It encompasses the districts of Buldana, Akola, Amarawati, Yavatmal, Wardha, Nagpur, Bhandara, Chandrapur and Gadchiroli. This region is relatively less developed than Western Maharashtra. As early as 1938, the Central Provinces and Berar Legislature had passed a resolution demanding a separate Maha-Vidarbha state. In the new linguistic reorganization of states in November 1956, the Marathi speaking districts of former Madhya Pradesh known as Vidarbha became an integral component of Maharashtra under "one language, one state formula". As the States Reorganization Commission itself had recommended the creation of Vidarbha State, the demand for Vidarbha state was raised at regular intervals. The leaders of the newly created state of Maharashtra began with great passion to develop all the regions in uniformity, but in the process Vidarbha lagged behind [Pitale, 2009].

It was hoped that people speaking the same language will form interconnected units for speedy and optimum development. But the history of economic development of Maharashtra during the last fifty years has proved otherwise. Some areas, especially Vidarbha, have been systematically neglected as documented by the Planning Commission's fact-finding team report while its resources are used for the benefit of the rest of Maharashtra. The problems of the region in the past in the past and which continues

to this day is not only due to the low productivity of Vidarbha's rain fed rural economy but also the discrimination and inequality between regions in the state [Kumar, 2013].

THE CASE OF KODAGU [COORG]

As early as 1927, the demand for separate statehood for Coorg was placed before the Simon Commission. During the post-colonial period Kodagu Ekikarana Samiti often voiced the demand for separate statehood. The demands at time took the form of opposition towards the inherently colonial attitude of Karnataka and at times the form of opposition towards the celebration of "Rajyotsava Day". Disappointed with the lack of action of successive governments and serious neglect of the area both administratively and politically over the last 44 years, there has been a cry for a separate homeland. The Coorg National Council [CNC] formally called Kodagu Rajya Mukti Morcha [KRMM] and Liberation Warriors of Kodagu [LIWAK] correspondingly are leading a struggle for a separate homeland, a Kodagu state, within the Indian Union, under the leadership of N.U. Nachappa, a lawyer by profession. Their demands related to separate statehood include the demands for the establishment of an self-governing university in Coorg on lines similar to the Aligarh Muslim University or Banaras Hindu University, guaranteeing the Kodavas land, language, culture, heritage, economic and political freedom of their own under the auspices of the fifth schedule of the Constitution and Union Territory status for Coorg as a temporary arrangement if the process at establishing a full-fledged Coorg state were to be a time-consuming affair [Somaiah, 2007].

The Coorgis are looked upon as a people who practice certain social values and codes that have a unique and specific social culture. Hereditary land, mainly 'jamma'⁵⁷ land becomes important for this self-definition, and it also links the issues of culture, ethnicity and so on. Although the movement for a separate state of Coorg appears to be gathering momentum, though at a rather slow pace, it draws support from a narrow social base-ethnic Coorgis, large landowners and the planters thus making only for a limited agenda [Assadi,1997].

⁵⁷The term 'jamma' has its origins in the Sanskrit term '*janma*' which means hereditary by birth. Jamma tenure refers to the holding of the privileged class referred to as Jamma ryots which consisted of the Coorgis, Amma-Coorgis, Heggadas, Aimbakkolas, Airis, Koyavas, Moplas and Gaudas [Rice, 1878].

THE CASE OF GORKHALAND

The movement for separate statehood for Gorkhaland is based on the unique ethnic identity of the inhabitants of this region. The origins of the Gorkhas can be traced to Nepal. The roots of the demand for a separate state of Gorkhaland in West Bengal can be traced to April 13, 1986 when the movement was vocally initiated by Subhas Ghising⁵⁸. It was a tense situation in Darjeeling Hill due to the harassment and consequent driving out of thousands of Nepalis from the North-East, especially from the state of Meghalaya. Since, the area was populated with refugees, Ghising's ideas were able to garner massive support from the masses. However, the movement was marred by violence in which around 1200 persons lost their lives and thousands were injured. Besides, more than ten thousand houses were set afire. On 26th December 1988, the Chief of the Gorkha National Liberation Front [GNLF], Subhash Ghising was able to get the sanction for Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council as a result of the agreement signed between the West Bengal Government, the Centre and the Gorkha National Liberation Front. Ghising had championed the movement for a separate state of Gorkhaland on the basis of the lack of development of Darjeeling Hills. The Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council was intended to provide a solution to provide the problem of underdevelopment of the region.

The Gorkhaland agitation led by Subash Ghising in 1986 by and large succeeded in drawing the attention of major political parties in the country to the Gorkhaland movement. The Communist Party of India [Marxist] led state government perceived the issue as a law and order situation until there was sharp violence in the Darjeeling Hills. As the state government began to lose control over the situation, it decided to enter into a partnership with the Union government to solve the problem. On 8th July 2011, an agreement was signed between the government of West Bengal and the Gorkha Janmukti Morcha on the draft of a new autonomous administrative called the Gorkhaland Territorial Administration [GTA]. On 9th July 2011, the Union Home Ministry also sanctioned the formation of the Gorkhaland Territorial Administration. As a result, on 18th July 2011, the representatives of the union government, the government of West Bengal and the Gorkha Janmukti Morcha signed a Memorandum of Understanding [MOU] on the formation of the Gorkhaland

⁵⁸ Subash Ghisingh founded the Gorkha National Liberation Front in 1980. He was the chairman of the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council during the period 1988 to 2008. He championed the Gorkhaland movement in the 1980s.

Territorial Administration. Gorkhaland Territorial Administration [GTA] is a semi-autonomous administrative body for the Darjeeling Hills. The Gorkhaland Territorial Administration [GTA] replaced the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council which was formed in 1988 and administered the Darjeeling Hills for 23 years. Presently the Gorkhaland Territorial Administration includes three hill subdivisions Darjeeling, Kalimpong and Kurseong and some areas of Siliguri sub-division under its authority.

3.11 REGIONAL IMBALANCE: A FACTOR GUIDING SEPARATE STATEHOOD MOVEMENTS IN INDIA

At the time of independence, the entire country was not uniform in terms of development. The British concentrated on developing areas which were primarily of commercial convenience to them. Thus, the coastal regions of the country were comparatively better off than the hinterland regions of the country. Thus, right from the initial days post-independence, the national government felt that it had to undertake the responsibility of countering the imbalances that existed within the country in terms of regional development. It was believed that central government commissions such as the Finance Commission and the Planning Commission would gradually eliminate the problem of regional inequality. However, despite the best efforts of the Union Government and its commissions, regional disparity continued in the country. Besides, the disparities which existed in development at the All- India level, disparities have also persisted within each state. Disparities aggravated in certain cases where the backward regions did not possess the requisite political influence in decision-making pertaining to investment and provision of employment opportunities [Rao, 2005, Pp 16]. This inequality gave rise to sub-regional movements for separate states within the Indian Union, or greater autonomy for the sub-regions within the existing states. Such sub-regional feelings found its expression in the movements such as Telangana in Andhra Pradesh, Vidarbha in Maharashtra, Saurashtra in Gujarat, Bundelkhand in Uttar Pradesh, Darjeeling district or Gorkhaland in West Bengal, Bodoland in Assam, and the areas consisting of the old princely states of Orissa. It is because of these regional feelings that Uttarakhand, Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh were created out of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Madhya Pradesh respectively, though the tribal and linguistic factors were also important.

3.12 CONCLUSION

All the three states which were created in the year 2000 - Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand and Uttarakhand - have a distinct historical and cultural legacy. The state of Chhattisgarh had a distinct socio-cultural identity. The state of Jharkhand was characterized by a distinct tribal identity. The region of Uttarakhand which was hilly was geographically and culturally distinct from the rest of Uttar Pradesh. The issue of distinct identity along with the lack of development in these regions of the erstwhile parent states were the propelling factors that guided separate statehood movements in these areas. The case of Telangana which was created in 2014 can be explained on similar grounds. It was lack of development in the region under the erstwhile Andhra Pradesh which provided the breeding ground for a strong separate statehood movement in this region. In the docile yet existent movements for separate statehood in Uttar Pradesh, particularly in the regions of Poorvanchal and Bundelkhand in Uttar Pradesh, there is a lack of development basis. The Vidarbha region in Maharashtra has been claiming separate statehood on the basis of the step-motherly treatment that the region has received at the hands of Maharashtra. The region of Kodagu [Coorg] in Karnataka is also claiming separate statehood on the basis of the neglect that this region has experienced in terms of development. The case of Gorkhaland is a peculiar case as it has been claiming separate statehood on the basis of the distinct identity of the inhabitants of this region in West Bengal. Thus, in general it seems that developmental issues have been the backbone of contemporary separate statehood movements in the country. Just like Telangana, which was created on developmental grounds, any new state which is likely to be created in the future will have a developmental basis.

CHAPTER IV

POST STATEHOOD PERFORMANCE AND EVALUATION: COMPARISION OF THE THREE STATES

In order to collect data and evaluate the performance of the three new states which were created in 2000, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand and Uttarakhand, certain qualitative and quantitative parameters have been used. The qualitative parameters which have been used are protection of human rights,⁵⁹ law and order⁶⁰ [measured in terms of violent crimes] and political stability. There are significant reasons for selecting each of the above quantitative parameters. Protection of Human Rights of its citizens is one of the chief responsibilities of modern-day government. A state which protects the human rights of its citizens can be safely said to be advancing ahead. Maintenance of law and order is an essential function of the government. The lesser the occurrence of crimes, the more conducive the environment of a state will be to its progress and development. Law and order in this research has been measured in terms of violent crimes. Violent crimes include murder, attempt to commit murder, culpable homicide not amounting to murder, rape, kidnapping and abduction, dacoity, preparation and assembly for dacoity, robbery, riots, arson and dowry deaths. Lastly, political stability has a tremendous impact on the performance of the state. If a state, particularly a new state has stable governance, the impact on its progress and development will be definitely positive. Political stability, that is in this context, the continuity of the elected government in power for its full term is a key element in determining a state's progress and development.

The quantitative parameters which have been used to analyze the progress and development in each of the three states includes education, sex ratio, labour/employment measured in terms of the total number of workers, agricultural production measured in terms of yield of

⁵⁹According to the United Nations Organization, Human Rights refer to rights which are quintessential to all human beings irrespective of race, gender, nationality, ethnicity, language, religion, or any other status. The concept of Human Rights includes the right to life and liberty, freedom from slavery and torture, freedom of opinion and expression, the right to work and education and so on. All human beings are entitled to these rights without any discrimination.

⁶⁰The Cambridge Dictionary defines law and order as a situation in which the laws of a country are being obeyed, especially when the police or army are used to make certain of this.

total cereals [kg/hectare], power: state wise energy available [in Gwh, electricity], irrigation potential, transport: total road length in kilometres, communication measured as per the number of broadband and internet subscribers, industrial growth measured in terms of number of factories, tourism measured in terms of the number of foreign tourist visits to the state and number of domestic tourist visits to the state, gross state domestic product at constant 2004-05 prices and real growth rate of gross state domestic product at constant prices. The data corresponding to the various parameters have been collected from various secondary sources.

4.1 CHHATTISGARH: POST STATEHOOD PERFORMANCE ON QUALITATIVE PARAMETERS

1. Protection of Human Rights

Table 4.1.1: Protection of Human Rights [Chhattisgarh]

YEAR	COMPLAINTS RECEIVED	CASES DISPOSED
2006-07	3074	2089
2009-10	2107	698
2010-2011	1883	1521

Source: Chhattisgarh State Human Rights Commission Annual Reports, 2006-07, 2009-10, 2010-11).

The Chhattisgarh Human Rights Commission was established on 16th April 2001. As seen in Table 4.1.1, in the year 2006-07, the number of complaints received by the Commission were 3,074 out of which 2,089 cases were successfully disposed. In 2009-10, 2,107 complaints were received out of which 698 cases were disposed. In 2010-2011, 1883 complaints were received out of which 1,521 cases were disposed. Although a large number of cases have been disposed, there were still a number of cases in each of the three years which were not disposed.

In 2006, unarmed non-combatant citizens in the state were subjected to violence. There were accusations that this operation known as Salwa Judum⁶¹ was not a spontaneous citizens' campaign but a government sponsored militarized campaign to forcibly remove people from their villages to the camps. It was a part of the government's anti-naxal operations. For any state to be progressive, protection of human rights is a must. The state's progress and image gets blatantly tarnished if the state itself becomes a violator of human rights which appears to be so in the case of Salwa Judum.

Table 4.1.2: Number of cases registered with the National Human Rights Commission and Transferred to Chhattisgarh State Human Rights Commission

YEAR	TOTAL CASES REGISTERED WITH NHRC	TOTAL CASES TRANSFERRED TO SHRC
2011-12	776	131
2012-13	720	95
2013-14	644	51
2014-15	978	76
2015-16	764	103

Source: National Human Rights Commission, Annual Reports, 2011-2016.

Table 4.1.2 shows the total number of cases registered with the National Human Rights Commission and the number of cases transferred to Chhattisgarh State Human Rights Commission. According to the National Human Rights Commission annual reports from 2011-2016, in the year 2011-12, 776 cases from Chhattisgarh were registered with the National Human Rights Commission, out of which 131 were transferred to Chhattisgarh State Human Rights Commission. In the year 2012-13, 720 cases were registered with the National Human Rights Commission. Of these, 95 cases were transferred to Chhattisgarh State Human Rights Commission. In the year 2013-14, 644 cases were registered with the National Human Rights Commission, out of which 51 cases were transferred to Chhattisgarh State Human Rights Commission. In the year 2014-15, 978 cases were registered with the National Human Rights Commission. Of these, 76 cases were

⁶¹The state government of Chhattisgarh was accused of arming tribals in the name of fighting Maoists through the operation of Salwa Judum. The government sponsored operation appeared to divide the tribal society into villages which supported the Maoists on one hand and those against the Maoists on the other hand [Ramachandran, 2011].

transferred to Chhattisgarh State Human Rights Commission. In the year 2015-16, 764 cases were registered with the National Human Rights Commission, out of which 103 were transferred to Chhattisgarh State Human Rights Commission.

2. Law and Order [Measured in Terms of Violent Crimes]

Table 4.1.3: Percentage Share of Violent Crimes to The Total IPC Crimes in India

YEAR	SHARE OF VIOLENT CRIMES (IN PERCENTAGE)										
	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
All India Avg.	13.1	12.5	11.5	11.4	11.1	10.9	10.8	10.9	10.9	10.9	10.9
Chhattisgarh	11.0	10.8	10.0	10.3	11.0	11.2	10.7	10.4	10.2	9.9	9.2

Source: National Crime Records Bureau, Annual Reports 2001-2011.

Table 4.1.3 shows that there has been a downward trend of the percentage share of violent crimes in the state of Chhattisgarh within the reference period. Just as there has been a decline in the All India average from 13.1% in the year 2001 to 10.9% in 2011, the state of Chhattisgarh has also witnessed a decline from 11.0% in 2001 to 9.2 % in 2011. Though the percentage of violent crimes appears to be reducing with every passing year, the state cannot be said to be completely free from crime. A state needs to be competently free from crime if the environment has to be conducive to progress in all other realms-economic, social and political.

Table 4.1.4: Rate of Total Cognizable Crimes [IPC] in Chhattisgarh during the period 2001-2011.

YEAR-WISE RATE OF COGNIZABLE CRIMES										
2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
184.9	178.1	177.0	189.3	193.2	196.5	196.0	216.4	212.6	224.0	224.0

Source: National Crime Records Bureau, Annual Reports, 2001-2011.

Table 4.1.4 shows the Rate of Total Cognizable Crimes [IPC] in Chhattisgarh from the year 2001-2011. In 2001, the rate of total cognizable crimes in Chhattisgarh was 184.9. There have been fluctuations in the subsequent years and subsequently in 2011 it stood at 224.0.

3. Government and Politics

Table 4.1.5: Chhattisgarh State Legislative Assembly Elections since 2000

YEAR	PARTY-WISE BREAK UP	CHIEF MINISTER	PARTY
2000	INC: 48, BJP: 38 Others: 4	Ajit Jogi	INC
2003	BJP: 50 INC: 37 Others: 3	Raman Singh	BJP
2008	BJP: 50 INC: 38 BSP: 2	Raman Singh	BJP
2013	BJP: 49 INC: 39 Others: 2	Raman Singh	BJP
2018	BJP: 15 INC: 68 BSP: 7 Others: 0	Bhupesh Baghel	INC

Source: National Election Commission Data.

The Legislative Assembly of Chhattisgarh comprises of 90 seats. Table 4.1.5 shows the results of the State Legislative Assembly elections which have been held in Chhattisgarh since its separate statehood. The political parties which have played a prominent role in Chhattisgarh include the major national parties namely the Indian National Congress [INC] and the Bharatiya Janata Party [BJP]. Besides, the national parties, regional parties such as the Bahujan Samaj Party have also made their presence felt in the state. When, the state was created in 2000, it was the Indian National Congress which formed the government in the state with Mr. Ajit Jogi as the Chief Minister.

Subsequently, in the Assembly Elections which were held in 2003, 2008 and 2013, the Bharatiya Janata Party formed the government in the state. Unlike Jharkhand and

Uttarakhand, Chhattisgarh has on the whole experienced political stability. Till 2018, The Bharatiya Janata Party formed the government in the state consecutively for three terms.

However, in the 2018 Assembly elections, it was the Indian National Congress which made a comeback in the state. The Indian National Congress won 68 seats in the 90 seat Legislative Assembly. The Bharatiya Janata Party managed to win just 15 seats. Nevertheless, on the whole the state has experienced political stability, which by itself is a major achievement.

4.2 JHARKHAND: POST STATEHOOD PERFORMANCE ON QUALITATIVE PARAMETERS

1. Protection of Human Rights

The Jharkhand Human Rights Commission came into existence on Jan 19th 2011. Nevertheless, the state has experienced major Human Rights violations which include the brutality of police and security forces, lack of essential services such as food, health and school education, etc. in conflict zones, atrocities on dalits, pathetic conditions of prisoners, displacement, communalism and struggles of the urban poor, slums and hawkers in the state.

Table 4.2.1: Number of cases registered with the National Human Rights Commission and Transferred to Jharkhand State Human Rights Commission

YEAR	TOTAL CASES REGISTERED WITH NHRC	TOTAL CASES TRANSFERRED TO SHRC
2011-12	1811	160
2012-13	1599	165
2013-14	1466	156
2014-15	1649	270
2015-16	1612	231

Source: National Human Rights Commission, Annual Reports, 2011-2016.

Table 4.2.1 shows the total number of cases registered with the National Human Rights Commission and the number of cases transferred to Jharkhand State Human Rights Commission. According to the National Human Rights Commission annual reports from

2011-2016, in the year 2011-12, 1,811 cases from Jharkhand were registered with the National Human Rights Commission, out of which 160 were transferred to Jharkhand State Human Rights Commission. In the year 2012-13, 1,599 cases were registered with the National Human Rights Commission. Of these, 165 cases were transferred to Jharkhand State Human Rights Commission.

In the year 2013-14, 1,466 cases were registered with the National Human Rights Commission, out of which 156 cases were transferred to Jharkhand State Human Rights Commission. In the year 2014-15, 1,649 cases were registered with the National Human Rights Commission. Of these, 270 cases were transferred to Jharkhand State Human Rights Commission. In the year 2015-16, 1,612 cases were registered with the National Human Rights Commission, out of which 231 were transferred to Jharkhand State Human Rights Commission.

2.Law and Order [Measured in Terms of Violent Crimes]

Table 4.2.2: Percentage Share of Violent Crimes to The Total IPC Crimes in India

YEAR	SHARE OF VIOLENT CRIMES [IN PERCENTAGE]										
	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
All India Average	13.1	12.5	11.5	11.4	11.1	10.9	10.8	10.9	10.9	10.9	10.9
Jharkhand	28.5	25.9	25.6	25.9	23.9	23.6	22.8	22.5	23.0	21.9	21.7

Source: National Crime Records Bureau, Annual Reports, 2001-2011.

Table 4.2.2 shows that there has been a downward trend of the percentage share of violent crimes of the state of Jharkhand within the state during the reference period. The all India average of violent crimes witnessed a reduction from 13.1% in the year 2001 to 10.9% in 2011. On parallel lines, the state of Jharkhand as also witnessed a decline from 28.5% in 2001 to 21.7% in 2011. However, since the percentage of crimes has been hovering in the twenties, the task for the state's administration in controlling crimes remains a major challenge.

Table 4.2.3: Rate of Total Cognizable Crimes [IPC] in Jharkhand during the period 2001-2011.

YEAR-WISE RATE OF COGNIZABLE CRIMES										
2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
94.6	114.1	115.0	110.5	121.8	124.0	129.43	128.3	122.6	125.7	108.7

Source: National Crime Records Bureau, Annual Reports, 2001-2011.

Table 4.2.3 shows the rate of Total Cognizable Crimes [IPC] in the state of Jharkhand during the time period of 2001-2011. In 2001, the rate of total cognizable crimes in Jharkhand was 94.6. The following years have witnessed an increase in the rate of Total Cognizable Crimes [IPC]. However, in 2011 the rate reduced to 108.7.

3. Government and Politics

Table 4.2.4 [a]: Jharkhand State Legislative Assembly Elections since 2000

YEAR	PARTY-WISE BREAK UP	CHIEF MINISTER	PARTY
2000	BJP:32 INC:11 RJD:09 SAMATA PARTY:05 JD(U):03 CPI:03 OTHERS:06	Babulal Marandi Arjun Munda	BJP
2005	BJP:30 INC:09 JMM:17 RJD:07 SAMATA PARTY:05 JD(U):06 OTHERS:12	Shibu Soren Arjun Munda Madhu Koda Shibu Soren	JMM BJP Independent JMM
2009	BJP:18 INC:14 JVM (P):11 RJD:05 AJSU:05 JD(U):02 JMM:18 OTHERS:08	Shibu Soren Arjun Munda Hemant Soren	JMM BJP JMM
2014	BJP:37	Raghubar Das	BJP

	INC:06 JVM (P):08 RJD:05 AJSU:05 JD(U):02 JMM:19 OTHERS:06		
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Source: Election Commission Data.

Jharkhand's Legislative Assembly comprises of 82 seats. Table 4.2.4 [a] shows the outcome of the State Legislative Assembly Elections which have been held in Jharkhand since it was carved as a separate state out of Bihar. The political parties which have played a significant role in Jharkhand include the national parties such as the Indian National Congress [INC] and the Bharatiya Janata Party [BJP]. Besides these parties, there have also been other parties which have played a pivotal role in the politics of the state. These include the Rashtriya Janata Dal [RJD], the Janata Dal United [JD (U)], the Samata Party [SP], the Communist Party of India [CPI], the Jharkhand Mukti Morcha [JMM], the All Jharkhand Students Union [AJSU] and the Jharkhand Vikas Morcha [Prajantrik] [JVM (P)]. When the state was created in 2000, the Bharatiya Janata Party formed the government in the state with initially Babulal Marandi as the Chief Minister who was subsequently replaced by Arjun Munda at the helm of affairs. The Assembly elections of 2005 and 2009 produced a fractured mandate which resulted in the Jharkhand Mukti Morcha and the Bharatiya Janata Party forming the government in the state. The 2014 legislative assembly elections produced a clear mandate and the Bharatiya Janata Party formed the government in the state.

Post the creation of a new state, Jharkhand has acquired its own identity. Politically, the state has asserted itself against the onslaught of Naxalism. Previous Governments underperformed due to lack of clear majority combined with the assertion of sectoral interests. The fractured mandate in elections prior to 2014 led to political instability which in turn led to unsound government functioning. In 2016-17, for the first time since its creation, a well-articulated government policy has been formulated in the state on the issue of domicile. This has paved the way for new vacancies to be filled up, which were vacant due to retirement of older officials who had come from Bihar. 8,000 vacancies have appeared for the police services in the newspapers.

Political instability in the past has been due to the lack of a well-defined leadership. The power centre is concentrated in a group and the bureaucracy appeared to act according to the whims and fancies of this narrow power centre. Thus, narrow interests were being served which took a toll on the progress and development of the state. The practice of outsiders contesting and winning Rajya Sabha elections from Jharkhand has become a routine trend. For instance, in the year 2010, in Jharkhand, four out of six MPs were from outside the state [Mohanty, 2015].

The absence of secure majority governments in the elections before 2014 had a huge impact on the governance and administration of the state. The national parties were not strong here and this gave an opportunity to small independent parties to rule the state. There was no balance of power leading to a crisis of political consensus on key issues of reform. In the last Assembly elections, which were held in Jharkhand in 2014, the Bharatiya Janata Party along with its poll partner, the All Jharkhand Students Union Party, won 42 seats and thereby secured an absolute majority.

The recommendations of the Administrative Reforms Commission have been implemented with regard to the Downsizing and Restructuring of the Departments. The number of departments have been reduced from 41 to 32. The collateral entry of technical experts in government policy formulation has helped to improve the quality of administration. Initiatives have been taken to overcome challenges in administration. Jharkhand has become a forerunner in e-governance. In order to encourage accountability and Transparency, there have been initiatives on e-governance and fuller implementation of Right to Information Act, 2005.

The Department of Information Technology of Jharkhand State commenced its functioning as an independent unit since June 2003. Before this, the functions of the department were merged with the Department of Science & Technology. The details of the plan allocation and expenditure are shown in Table 4.2.4 [b].

Table 4.2.4 [b]: Financial Provision and Expenditure of Department of Information Technology, State of Jharkhand [in Rs Crore]

FINANCIAL YEAR	PROVISION (RS CRORE)	EXPENDITURE (RS CRORE)
2007-08	52.97	50.74
2008-09	70.00	48.95
2009-10	23.08	11.19
2010-11	38.28	29.35
2011-12	61.00	12.15
2012-13	37.66	19.09
2013-14	98.27	85.24
2014-15	120.00	59.38
2015-16	150.00	150.00 (Anticipated)

Source: Write-up 2016-217, Department of Information Technology, Government of Jharkhand [www.jharkhand.gov.in]

The Department of Information Technology, Govt. of Jharkhand, has E JharNet, Pragya Kendras which mean common service centres and provision for video conferencing facilities in jails. It has set up courts for trial of prisoners from jails. The offices of land registration and treasury and commercial taxes have been computerized. The initiatives of e-Nagarik and e-District have facilitated easy access of citizens towards online delivery and receipt of services with regard to various certificates such as that of caste, income, residence, date of birth, etc. Some of the salient achievements which have been highlighted by the write-up report, 2016-2017 of the Department of Information Technology and E-Governance of the State of Jharkhand are as follows:

1. Citizens have been provided with “e-Nagrik Service” through which birth and death certificates, income certificates and residential certificates can be obtained through common service centres in the Panchayats. Banking services such as panchayat bank and other e-governance services are also being provided through common service centres.
2. All the Offices of Registrars in the state have been totally computerized. This has enabled the issue of registry documents to the concerned party on the same day.

3. Provision for Video Conferencing System has been introduced in the District Courts and Jails of the state.
4. The e-Procurement scheme has been initiated in government departments through which the eligible tenderers can file tender from any location by using digital signatures
5. All treasuries and sub-treasuries of the state have been computerized and the data from the same automatically gets linked to the state data centre. The general provident fund accounts of the government employees can be viewed online.
6. Provision for CCTVs has been made in all district/sub-divisional jails. There is also the provision of e-MULAKAT which facilitates the offsite meeting between prisoners and their visitors through video-conferencing.
7. NKN & Jharnet - NICNet merging with Jharnet has accentuated the strength of Jharnet Network and facilitated a broader range of video-conferencing and other services.
8. At present 22 out of 22 District Headquarters, 35 out of 35 Sub-Divisional District Headquarters and 206 out of 212 Block Headquarters have been provided JharNet connectivity. The remaining 6 Block Headquarters which include Ramkanda [Garhwa], Kharaundhi [Garhwa], Dandai [Garhwa], Vishrampur [Palamau], Kunda [Chatra], Lawalung [Chatra] where BSNL Telephone exchange is not available, VSAT [Very Small Aperture Terminal] connectivity has been obtained from Bharat Sanchar Nigam Limited.
9. The electronic publication of gazette has been made compulsory. Paper publication of the same has been discontinued from 10th December 2012 onwards.
10. The electronic service delivery rule, 2013 has been published which has made the online delivery of services by various departments compulsory.
11. The Jharkhand Space Application Center [JSAC] has compiled the geo data base and profile of villages for the entire state.

12. The Jharkhand Space Application Center has hosted online Ground Water Prospect Map which can be utilized by various offices/departments and public to alleviate the shortage of water in the state by making use of scientific management through rapid decision support system.
13. The Jharkhand Space Application Center has merged land records [Khatian and Cadastral/Revenue Maps] and accommodated the same online.
14. The Jharkhand Space Application Center is overseeing satellite-based status of crops and has hosted the same online.
15. The Jharkhand Space Application Center has developed the concept of e-Panchayat which includes the ward level digital data for Gram Panchayat, Panchayat Samiti and Zilla Parishad.
16. The Department of Information Technology has launched the SMS Gateway Seva with the assistance of MSDP [Mobile e-governance Delivery Platform], CDAC [Centre for Development of Advanced Computing].
17. The Department of Information Technology has launched the Payment Gateway for the Government of Jharkhand with the assistance of National Database Management Ltd [NDML]. The NDML on the behalf of the department of information technology has created a common infrastructure for utilization by states/departments to offer various kinds of services through their state portals which includes the facility to make online payments. The Department of Information Technology, Government of Jharkhand has introduced and implemented the common payment gateway system in the year 2013 for various departmental applications.

4.3 UTTARAKHAND: POST-STATEHOOD EXPERIENCE ON QUALITATIVE PARAMETERS

1. Protection of Human Rights

The Uttarakhand State Human Rights Commission became fully functional on 13th May 2013. This was after the appointment of Justice Vijender Jain as the chairperson. He was previously the Chief Justice of Punjab and Haryana High Court. Human rights reports are not available in the case of Uttarakhand. Nevertheless, there have been major violations of Human Rights which include ecological degradation leading to displacement, violation of land and forest rights and land acquisition for various developmental projects [Source: Random interactions with the general public in the state of Uttarakhand]. Apart from this, the state also witnesses a very high number of cases of trafficking in women and children. Public health issue is another matter of grave concern here, reproductive health in particular as there have been cases of pregnant women dying before reaching hospitals owing to dismal transport and road conditions in the mountainous regions of the state. [Source: Human Rights Law Network, Almora, [hrln.org].

Table 4.3.1: Number of cases registered with the National Human Rights Commission and Transferred to Uttarakhand State Human Rights Commission

YEAR	TOTAL CASES REGISTERED WITH NHRC	TOTAL CASES TRANSFERRED TO SHRC
2011-12	2022	0
2012-13	2352	17
2013-14	1751	22
2014-15	2970	42
2015-16	1876	77

Source: National Human Rights Commission, Annual Reports, 2011-2016.

Table 4.3.1 shows the total number of cases registered with the National Human Rights Commission from Uttarakhand and the number of cases transferred to Uttarakhand State Human Rights Commission. According to the National Human Rights Commission annual reports from 2011-2016, in the year 2011-12, 2,022 cases from Uttarakhand were registered with the National Human Rights Commission. None of these cases were transferred to Uttarakhand State Human Rights Commission. In the year 2012-13, 2,352 cases were

registered with the National Human Rights Commission. Of these, 17 cases were transferred to Uttarakhand State Human Rights Commission. In the year 2013-14, 1,751 cases were registered with the National Human Rights Commission, out of which 22 cases were transferred to Uttarakhand State Human Rights Commission. In the year 2014-15, 1,649 cases were registered with the National Human Rights Commission. Of these, 270 cases were transferred to Uttarakhand State Human Rights Commission. In the year 2015-16, 1,876 cases were registered with the National Human Rights Commission, out of which 77 cases were transferred to Uttarakhand State Human Rights Commission.

2. Law and Order [Measured in Terms of Violent Crimes]

Table 4.3.2: Percentage Share of Violent Crimes to the Total IPC Crimes in India

	SHARE OF VIOLENT CRIMES (IN PERCENTAGE)										
YEAR	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
All India Avg	13.1	12.5	11.5	11.4	11.1	10.9	10.8	10.9	10.9	10.9	10.9
Uttarakhand	20.3	19.3	19.2	18.8	19.6	20.0	17.8	17.8	18.3	17.2	17.8

Source: National Crime Records Bureau, 2001-2011.

Table 4.3.2 shows that there has been a downward trend of the percentage share of violent crimes of the state of Uttarakhand within the state during the reference period. The all India average of violent crimes witnessed a reduction from 13.1% in the year 2001 to 10.9% in 2011. On parallel lines, the state of Uttarakhand also witnessed a decline from 20.3 % in 2001 to 17.8 % in 2011. Just like Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh, Uttarakhand also needs to bring down the occurrence of violent crimes. The responsibility of the same rests with the state administration.

Table 4.3.3: Rate of Total Cognizable Crimes [IPC] in Uttarakhand during the period 2001-2011.

YEAR-WISE RATE OF TOTAL COGNIZABLE CRIMES										
2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
95.2	91.19	89.8	96.2	88.1	90.8	102.1	92.8	90.9	94.1	86.7

Source: National Crime Records Bureau, Annual Reports, 2001-2011.

Table 4.3.3 shows the rate of Total Cognizable Crimes [IPC] in the state of Uttarakhand during the time period of 2001-2011. In 2001, the rate of total cognizable crimes in Uttarakhand was 95.2. The following years have witnessed fluctuations in the rate of Total Cognizable Crimes [IPC]. In the year 2011 the rate reduced to 86.7.

3. Government and Politics

Table 4.3.4: Uttarakhand State Legislative Assembly Elections since 2002

YEAR	PARTY-WISE BREAK UP	CHIEF MINISTER	PARTY
2002	INC: 36 BJP: 19 BSP:07 UKD:04 NCP:01 IND:03	Narayan Datt Tiwari, Bhuwan Chandra Khanduri	INC
2007	INC: 21 BJP: 35 BSP:08 UKD:03 IND:03	Bhuwan Chandra Khanduri Ramesh Pokhriyal Bhuwan Chandra Khanduri	BJP
2012	INC: 32 BJP: 31 BSP:03 UKD:01 IND:03	Vijay Bahuguna, Harish Rawat	Indian National Congress
2017	INC: 11 BJP: 57 IND:02	Trivendra Singh Rawat	BJP

Source: Election Commission Data

The Uttarakhand State Legislative Assembly has a total of 70 seats. Table 4.3.4 shows the results of the State Legislative Assembly Elections which have been held in Uttarakhand since its creation as a separate state in 2000. Politics in Uttarakhand has been dominated by

the Indian National Congress and the Bharatiya Janata Party. Since the formation of the state, these parties have ruled the state in turns. Post the 2002 Assembly elections in Uttarakhand, the Indian National Congress formed the government. In the 2007 elections, the Bharatiya Janata Party formed the government. Following the hung mandate in the Uttarakhand state assembly elections in 2012, the Indian National Congress, having the maximum number of seats formed a coalition government. In the 2017 Assembly elections, the Bharatiya Janata Party won 57 seats out of the 70 seats in the Assembly and formed the government. The Indian National Congress won only 11 seats. Besides the national level political parties, state based political parties such as the Uttarakhand Kranti Dal and other parties such as the Samajwadi Party have also played a significant role in state politics.

4.4 POST-STATEHOOD PERFORMANCE OF CHHATTISGARH, JHARKHAND AND UTTARAKHAND ON QUANTITATIVE PARAMETERS

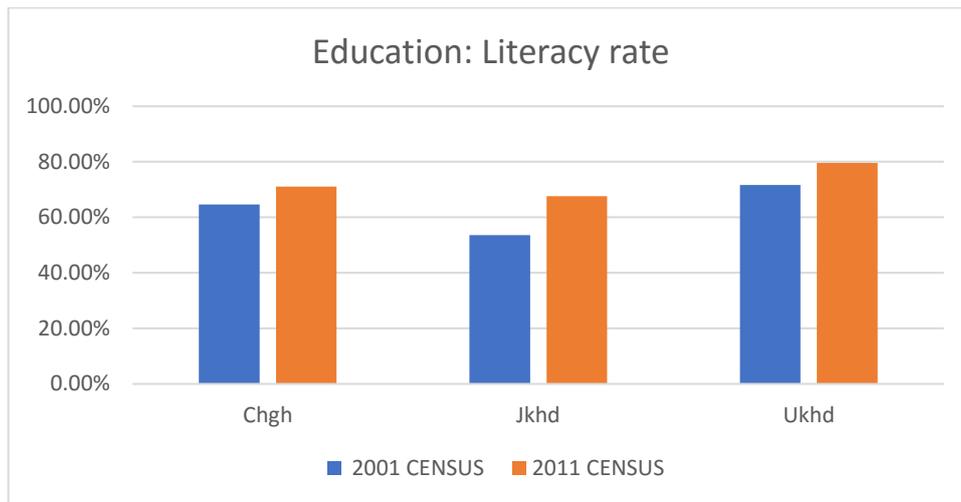
1. Education: Literacy rate

Table 4.4.1 Literacy rate

STATE	2001 CENSUS	2011 CENSUS
Chhattisgarh	64.66%	71.04%
Jharkhand	53.6%	67.63%
Uttarakhand	71.60%	79.63%
India	64.84%	72.99%

Source: Census Data of India, Government of India.

Figure 4.4.1: Literacy Rate



Source: Census Data of India 2001 and 2011

Table 4.4.1 and Figure 4.4.1 shows that the literacy rate of all the three states have increased post statehood. The literacy rate in Chhattisgarh has increased from 64.66% in the 2001 census to 71.04% in the 2011 census. The literacy rate of Jharkhand increased from 53.6% in the 2001 census to 67.63% in the 2011 census. According to the 2001 census, Uttarakhand had a literacy rate of 71.60% which increased to 79.63% in the 2011 census. The upward trend in the literacy rate is a common factor in all the three small states under study which is a positive trend and reflects the commitment of the state governments towards improving the literacy rate in their respective states.

In Chhattisgarh, under the Comprehensive Education Development Plan [CDEP], there was identification of specific target groups by coordination between security forces, government agencies and community level influencers by utilizing a participatory approach. To cater to children living in areas prone to serious left-wing extremism activities, the educational facilities were shifted to the district headquarters. This was done in order to ensure that school going children are not recruited by the Maoists. The services of teachers have been utilized in order to take the Comprehensive Education Development Plan to locations in the state which are inaccessible. By obtaining the necessary assistance from the various schemes of the government and the Corporate Social Responsibility [CSR]⁶² funds, the Education City and education hubs were set up in the state. The state

⁶²According to Keith Davis [1973] Corporate Social responsibility [CSR] refers to ‘the firm’s consideration of, and response to, issues beyond the narrow economic, technical and legal requirements of the firm’.

also has a first of its kind programme called Gyanodaya which aims at providing support to out of school children. Under Gyanodaya, there is a bridge course programme which prepares them for school within a time period of three to four months. As of 31st December 2016, about 1000 out-of-school children from remotely located villages were enrolled after three months in the Back to School Programme in Gyanodaya [Government of Chhattisgarh: Department of Education].

In Jharkhand there is the Jharkhand Education Project Council [JEPC] which is an autonomous body that has been established [registered on April 12th, 2001] with the chief objective of bringing about a basic change in the elementary education system and thereby directly influence the all-encompassing socio-cultural scenario. The Council has been playing a crucial role in actively implementing numerous projects and programmes such as Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan [SSA], National Programme for Education of Girls at Elementary Level [NPEGEL] and Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalaya [KGBV] [Government of Jharkhand: Department of Education].

In Uttarakhand, the state government has initiated the scheme of Shiksha Mitra to solve the problem of shortage of teachers at the primary school level in the remotely located areas of the state. The Shiksha Mitras are recruited against the vacancies of primary teachers and are paid an honorarium of 4000 rupees. [Shodhganga: Sarva Shikshya Abhiyan in Uttarakhand].

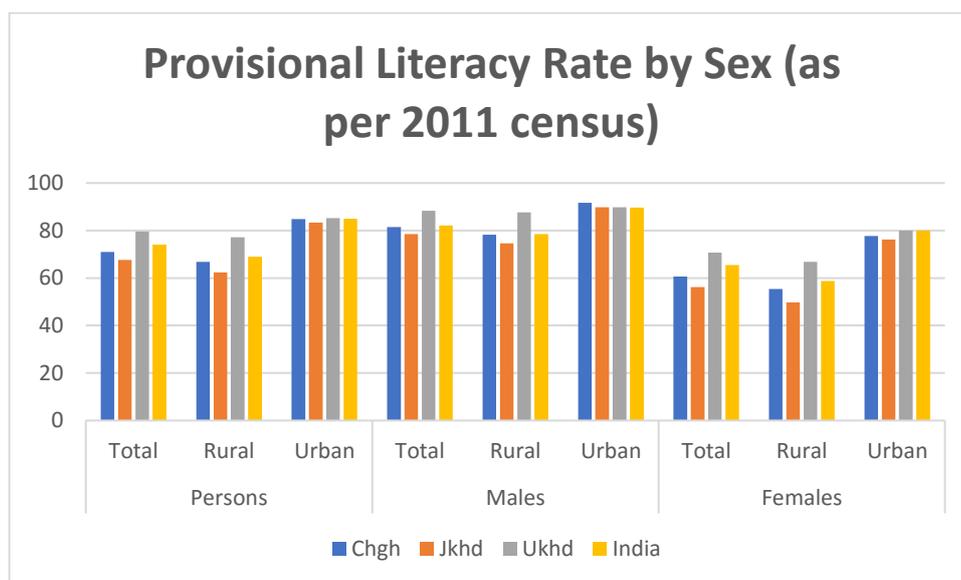
Table 4.4.2: Provisional Literacy Rate by Sex [as per 2011 census]

STATE	PERSONS			MALES			FEMALES		
	Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban
Chhattisgarh	71.04	66.76	84.79	81.45	78.2	91.63	60.59	55.4	77.65
Jharkhand	67.63	62.40	83.30	78.45	74.57	89.78	56.21	49.75	76.17
Uttarakhand	79.63	77.11	85.20	88.33	87.63	89.78	70.70	66.79	80.02
India	74.04	68.91	84.98	82.14	78.57	89.67	65.46	58.75	79.92

Source: Office of the Registrar General and Census Commissioner, India (12754).

According to Dirk Matten and Jeremy Moon [2008], CSR means the ‘policies and practices of corporations that reflect business responsibility for some of the wider societal good. Yet the precise manifestation and direction of the responsibility lie at the discretion of the corporation’ [Moon, 2014].

Figure 4.4.2 -Provisional Literacy Rate by Sex (as per 2011 census)



Source: Office of the Registrar General and Census Commissioner, India

Table 4.4.2 and Figure 4.4.2 shows the gender breakup of the literacy rate in the three states in comparison to the whole of India. In the state of Chhattisgarh, 81.45 % of the total male population is literate while in the case of females, 60.59% are literate. The provisional literacy rate by sex in the state of Jharkhand according to the 2011 census shows that 78.45% males are literate while the literacy rate of females is only 56.21%. The literacy rate of both males and females is better in the urban areas as compared to the rate in the rural areas. In the state of Uttarakhand, 88.33% of the total male population is literate while in the case of females, 70.70% are literate. The disparity in the literacy rate between males and females is a common trend which can be observed in all the three states. Thus, while the literacy rate in all the three small states has improved, the disparity in the literacy rate between males and females continues.

This is also the trend at the all-India level. According to the 2011 census 74.04% of the total population is literate. However, while 82.14% of the total male population is literate, only 65.46% of the total female population is literate. This trend highlights the urgent need for improving the literacy rates among the female population in not only all the three small states which were created in 2000, but also across India. The educational empowerment of the female population has a significant role to play in the progress and development of any state in a developing country like India.

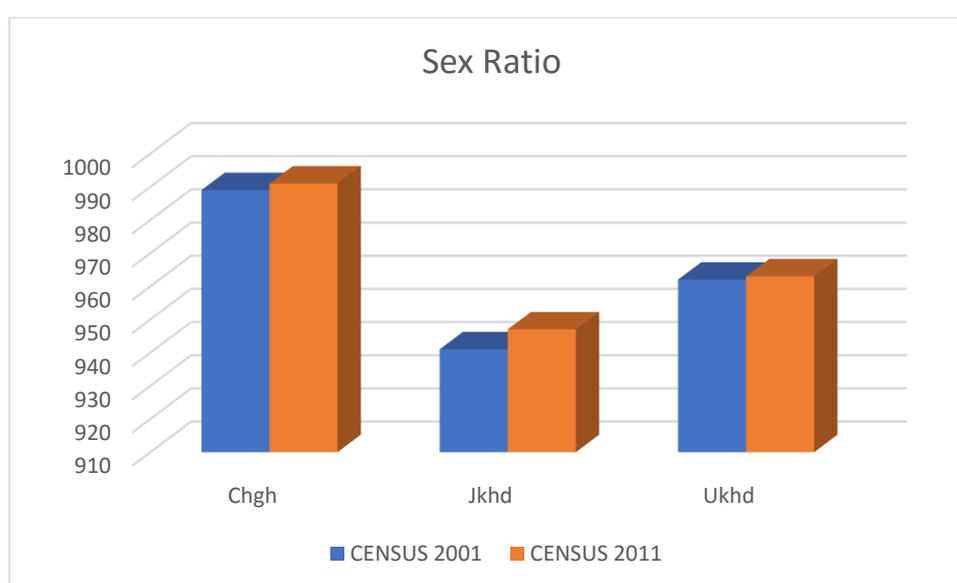
2. Sex Ratio

Table 4.4.3: Sex Ratio

STATE	2001 CENSUS	2011 CENSUS
Chhattisgarh	989	991
Jharkhand	941	947
Uttarakhand	962	963

Source: Census Data of India, Government of India.

Figure 4.4.3: Sex Ratio



Source: Census Data of India 2001 and 2011.

Table 4.4.3 and Figure 4.4.3 shows that there has been no considerable improvement in the sex ratio of all the three states post-statehood. In the case of Chhattisgarh, the 2001 census recorded a sex ratio of 989 while the 2011 census recorded a sex-ratio of 991. In the case of Jharkhand, in the 2001 census, the sex ratio was 941 while in the 2011 census, the sex ratio was 947. In the case of Uttarakhand also, there has been no difference in the sex-ratio pre and post statehood. While the 2001 census, recorded 962 females per thousand males, the 2011 census recorded 963 females per thousand males. On the whole, there was no significant improvement in the overall sex-ratio of India as well when we compare the figures of 2001 census and 2011 census. A healthy sex ratio is one in which the number of females is more than the number of males. Kerala and Puducherry have been able to maintain a healthy sex-ratio which is evidence that this trend can be emulated in the three

small states as well. A healthy sex ratio will help curb a number of problems affecting the female population and will ensure their equal contribution towards the progress and development of any new state.

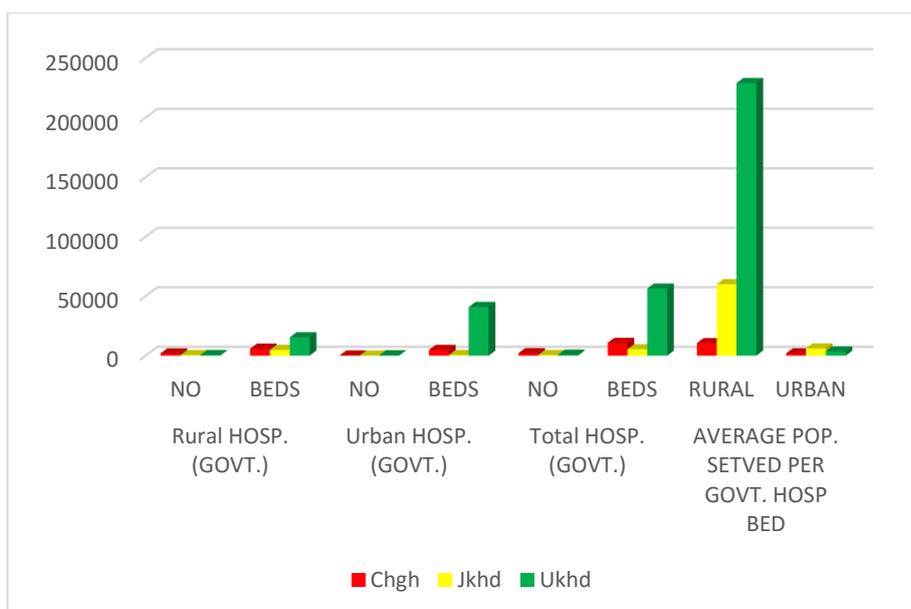
3. Health

Table 4.4.4: State-Wise Number of Government Hospitals and Beds [including Community Health Centres] in Rural and Urban Areas as on 1/3/2013

STATE	Rural Hospitals (Govt.)		Urban Hospitals (Govt.)		Total Hospitals (Govt.)		Avg. Population Served per Govt. Hospital Bed (Rural)	Avg. Population Served per Govt. Hospital Bed (Urban)
	NO	BEDS	NO	BEDS	NO.	BEDS		
Chhattisgarh	1903	5842	120	4928	2023	10770	10561	1984
Jharkhand	545	4879	4	535	549	5414	60047	6089
Uttarakhand	515	15450	346	40934	861	56384	229118	3499

Source: Ministry of Health and Family Welfare, Government of India, 2013.

Figure 4.4.4: State-Wise Number of Government Hospitals and Beds [including Community Health Centres] in Rural and Urban Areas as on 1/3/2013



Source: Ministry of Health and Family Welfare, Government of India, 2013.

Table 4.4.4 and Figure 4.4.4 shows the number of government hospitals and beds in rural and urban areas across the three states as on 1st March 2013. In Chhattisgarh, the total number of government hospitals in rural Areas is 1,903 hospitals having 5,842 beds. The 120 urban hospitals in Chhattisgarh can cater to 4,928 beds. The total number of government hospitals in Chhattisgarh is 2,023 supporting beds numbering 10,770. The average population served per government hospital bed in rural areas is 10,561 patients, whereas, the average population served per government hospital bed in urban areas is 1,984 patients in Chhattisgarh.

Chhattisgarh had a unique initiative in the realm of health called Mitandin [female friend] programme. Under this programme, local women from villages were provided training by medical authorities. This was done in order to fill the gap between the state's health care system and the people. People found it easier to trust these women since they belonged to the same community. It has helped to tackle the problem of casualties due to unscientific practices and self-medication in tribal regions. This programme is believed to have inspired the ASHA [Accredited Social Health Activist] programme of the Central Government. Besides bringing down, the infant mortality rate and maternal mortality rate, this programme has helped in keeping a check on the nutrition levels of mother and child prior and post childbirth. Some other novel health schemes of Chhattisgarh, include the corneal

blindness free scheme, Chirayu Yojana, Kayakalp Yojana, Health Helpline, Mahtari Express, Muktanjali Sewa and Janm Sahyogi Scheme.

In the state of Jharkhand, the total number of government hospitals existing in rural areas is 545 which have 4,879 beds. However, there are only 4 urban hospitals which support 535 beds. The total number of government hospitals is 549 in which 5,414 beds are available. The average population served per government hospital bed in rural areas is 60,047 patients. The average population served per government hospital bed in urban areas is 6,089 patients.

The state government of Jharkhand operates the Jharkhand Rural Health Mission Society, the aim of which is to provide accessible, affordable and accountable quality health services to each and every person in the village in order to reduce morbidity and mortality. The state government seeks to achieve replacement level fertility and population stabilization. It seeks to do so by encouraging informed choice, enlarging the scope of contraceptive choices available. It also seeks to empower communities and women by involving all stakeholders from the public, private, non-governmental organizations, organized and cooperative sectors.

In the case of Uttarakhand, the total number of government hospitals in rural areas is 515 hospitals which have 15,450 beds. The number of urban hospitals is 346 having 40,934 beds. The total number of government hospitals is 861, having a total bed capacity of 56,384. The average population served per government Hospital in rural areas is 2,29,118 patients and the average population served per government hospital bed in urban areas is 3,499 patients.

According to the Uttarakhand State Development Report 2017, the health infrastructure in the state of Uttarakhand suffers from a serious shortage of primary health care centres. Besides, there is also the shortage of health personnel characterized by a large number of unfilled vacancies in the existing health centres. The shortage of trained health personnel is a barrier towards the successful implementation of health care efforts aimed at reducing maternal and child mortality. As pointed out by the Uttarakhand State Development Report 2017 in order to improve the availability and accessibility of health facilities and services, the shortcomings in health infrastructure and health personnel need to be immediately addressed by the state government.

A comparison of the data from the three states shows that government run hospitals cater more to the rural population than the urban population which is a positive trend. However, the three states vary in their performance. A physically healthy population is the first step in ensuring a healthy state.

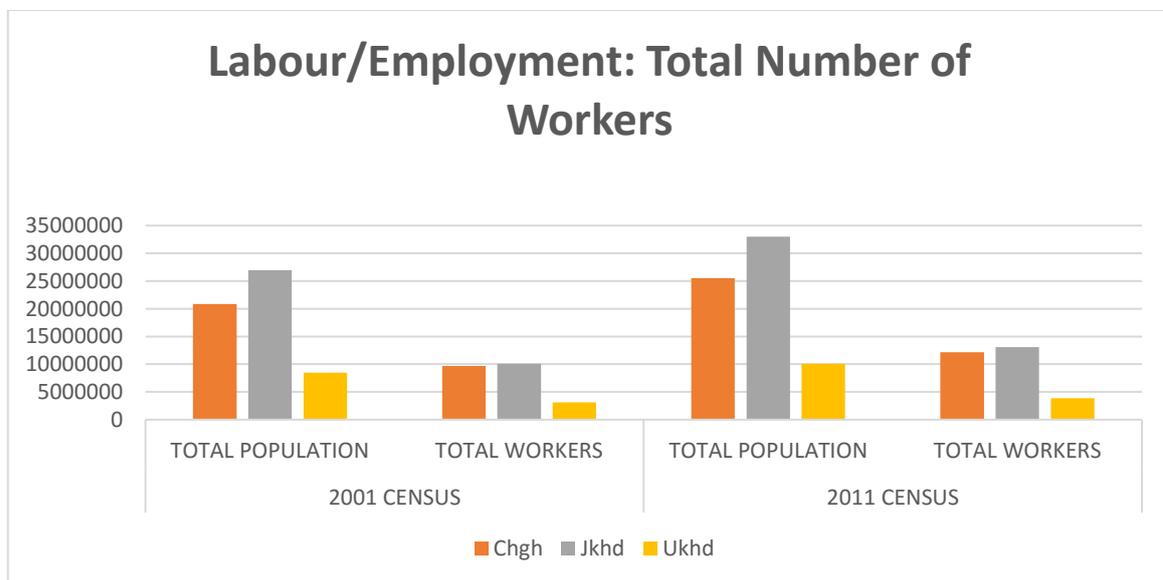
4. Labour/Employment: Total Number of Workers

Table 4.4.5: Total Number of Workers

STATE	2001 CENSUS		2011 CENSUS	
	Total population	Total Workers	Total population	Total Workers
Chhattisgarh	20833803	9679871	25545198	12180225
Jharkhand	26945829	10109030	32988134	13098274
Uttarakhand	8489349	3134036	10086292	3872275

Source: Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment, Government of India.

Figure 4.4.5: Total Number of Workers



Source: Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment, Government of India

Table 4.4.5 and Figure 4.4.5 demonstrates the total number of workers employed in various sectors in the three states. In the state of Chhattisgarh, the total number of workers has increased from 96,798,71 persons in the 2001 census to 12,180,225 persons in the 2011 census. In the state of Jharkhand, there has been an increase in the number of total workers

in the state from 10,109,030 persons to 13,098,274 persons. In the case of Uttarakhand, there has been a marginal increase in the number of total workers of Uttarakhand from 3,134,036 persons in the 2001 census to 3,872,275 persons in the 2011 census.

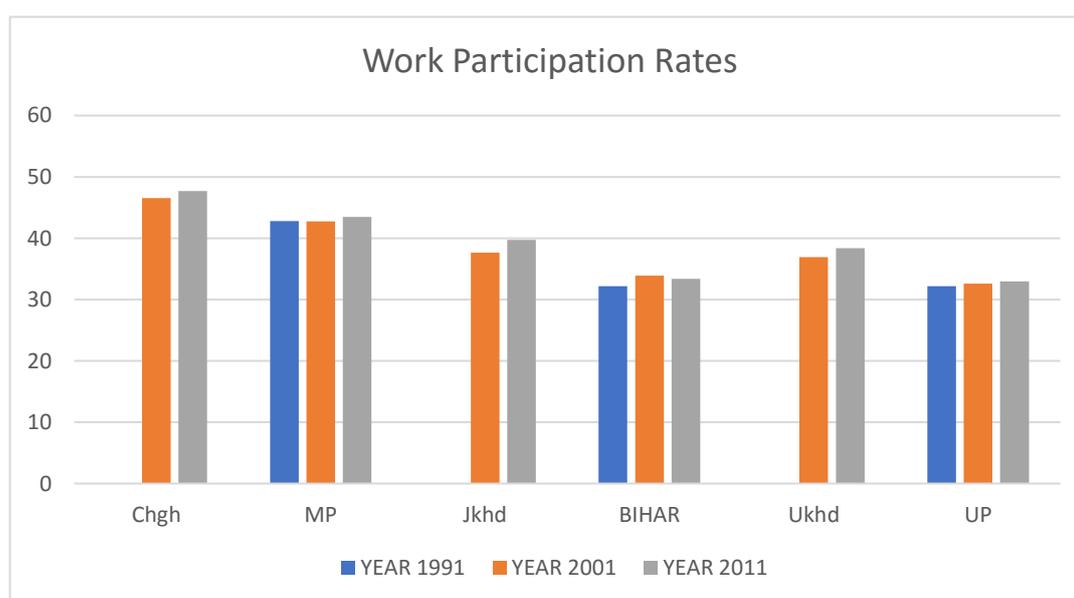
From the above table and figure, it appears that whatever increase in the total number of workers has occurred, it has been corresponding to the increasing population of the states. A state needs to have a substantial number of working people to ensure its economic growth. There is need for a strong workforce participation in the development process in all the three states.

Table 4.4.6: Work Participation Rates

STATE	YEAR		
	1991	2001	2011
Chhattisgarh		46.54	47.68
Madhya Pradesh	42.82	42.75	43.47
Bihar	32.16	33.88	33.36
Jharkhand	_____	37.64	39.71
Uttar Pradesh	32.2	32.6	32.94
Uttarakhand	_____	36.93	38.39

Source: Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment, Government of India.

Figure 4.4.6: Work Participation Rate



Source: Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment, Government of India.

Table 4.4.6 and Figure 4.4.6 show the Work Participation Rates of the states of Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand and Uttarakhand vis-a-vis the same of their parent states during the time period 1991- 2011. In the year 1991, the work participation rate of the state of Madhya Pradesh was 42.82%. In 2001, the work participation rate of the state of Chhattisgarh was 46.54% while that of its parent state was slightly lesser which was 42.75%. In 2011, the work participation rate of Chhattisgarh increased to 47.68% which was better than its parent state. Madhya Pradesh during this time recorded a work participation rate of 43.47%. According to the annual report of the central government's ministry of labour and employment for the year 2012-13, Chhattisgarh has the lowest rate of unemployment in the country, that is, 14 per 1,000 persons. In the report, it has been pointed out that the state of Chhattisgarh has been the only state to provide maximum employment opportunities for youngsters in the age group of 15 years or above and 15 to 29 years.

In the year 1991, the work participation rate of the state of Bihar was 32.16%. In 2001, the work participation rate of the state of Jharkhand was 37.64% while that of its parent state, Bihar was slightly lesser which was 33.88%. In 2011, there was an increase in the work participation rate of the state of Jharkhand to 39.71%. The state of Jharkhand performed better than its parent state Bihar which during this time recorded a work participation rate of 33.36%. In the state of Jharkhand, employment has increased marginally over the years but the employment in rural areas has declined significantly [Mehta and Singh:2016].

In the year 1991, the work participation rate of the state of Uttar Pradesh was 32.2%. In 2001, the work participation rate of the state of Uttarakhand was 36.93% while that of its parent state, Uttar Pradesh was slightly lesser which was 32.6%. In 2011, the work participation rate of Uttarakhand increased to 38.39%. Uttarakhand fared better than its parent state, Uttar Pradesh which during this time recorded a work participation rate of 32.94%. Post-statehood of Uttarakhand, it is industrialization in the southern plains which has been the driving force of economic development for the state. Most of the working population in the state is engaged in agriculture. However, the income growth of agriculture has been the slowest since statehood affecting the impoverished mountain-farming families resulting in heavy outward migration from the hilly districts [Chopra:2014].

According to the report on Fifth Annual Employment-Unemployment Survey, 2015-16, Volume I [Government of India, Ministry of Labour and Employment, Labour Bureau, Chandigarh], the state of Chhattisgarh has the highest female labour participation rate⁶³ of 54.3%. The state of Jharkhand has a female labour participation rate of 20.4% while in the case of Uttarakhand it is 19.5%. It is interesting to note that Uttarakhand which is more developed than Chhattisgarh and Jharkhand has actually a lesser female labour participation rate than the other two states.

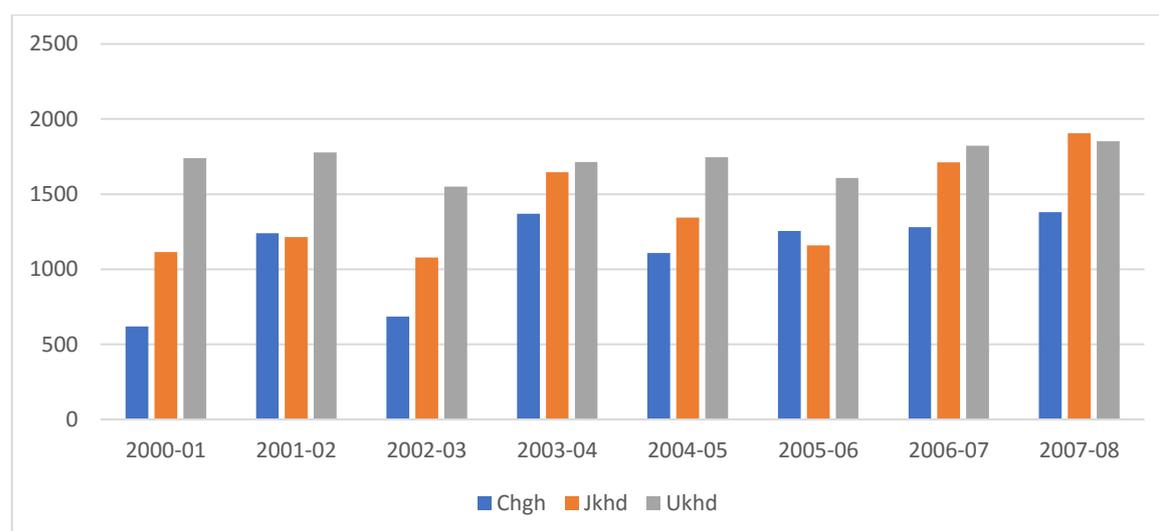
5.Agricultural Production: Yield of Total Cereals [Kg/Hectare]

Table 4.4.7: Yield of Total Cereals [Kg/Hectare]

STATE	2000-2001	2001-2002	2002-2003	2003-2004	2004-2005	2005-2006	2006-2007	2007-2008
Chhattisgarh	619	1239	685	1369	1109	1254	1281	1381
Jharkhand	1114	1214	1078	1645	1345	1159	1712	1906
Uttarakhand	1740	1777	1550	1714	1745	1608	1823	1852

Source: Ministry of Agriculture and Farmers' Welfare, Govt. of India.

Figure 4.4.7: Yield of Total Cereals (Kg/Hectare)



⁶³Labour Force Participation Rate [LFPR] is defined as the number of persons in the labour force per 1000 persons.

Source: Ministry of Agriculture and Farmers' Welfare, Govt. of India.

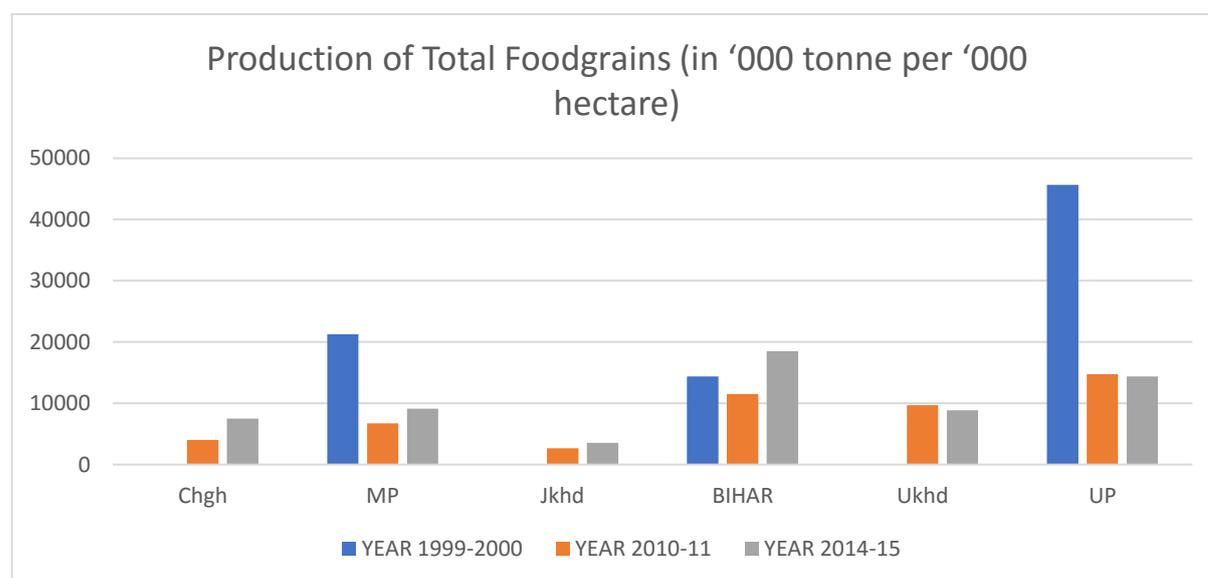
Table 4.4.7 and Figure 4.4.7 shows the agricultural production of the three states under study during the time period 2000-01 to 2007-08. The agricultural production of the state of Chhattisgarh in terms of yield of total cereals increased from 619 kilograms per hectare in 2000-01 to 1,381 kilograms per hectare in 2007-08. In the case of Jharkhand, the total cereal yield during 2000-01 was 1,114 kgs per hectare which increased to 1,906 kgs per hectare in 2007-08. In the state of Uttarakhand, the agricultural production increased from 1,740 kilograms per hectare in 2000-01 to 1,852 kilograms in 2007-08.

Table 4.4.8: Production of Total Foodgrains [in '000 tonne per '000 hectare]

STATE	YEAR		
	1999-2000	2010-11	2014-15
Madhya Pradesh	21,272.1	6,732.8	9,138.1
Chhattisgarh	-	3,998.3	7,497.7
Bihar	14,387.6	11,510.2	18,508.5
Jharkhand	-	2,651.3	3,562.1
Uttar Pradesh	45,649.6	14,765.4	14,408.5
Uttarakhand	-	9,716.2	8,847.1

Source: Ministry of Agriculture and Farmers' Welfare, Govt. of India.

Figure 4.4.8: Production of Total Foodgrains [in '000 tonne per '000 hectare]



Source: Ministry of Agriculture and Farmers' Welfare, Govt. of India.

Table 4.4.8 and Figure 4.4.8 shows the production of total foodgrains of the three small states under study vis a vis their parent states. In 1999-2000, the total foodgrains produced by the state of Madhya Pradesh was 21,272. tonnes per thousand hectares. In 2010-11, production of total foodgrains dropped to 6,732.8 tonnes which subsequently rose to 9,138.1 tonnes per thousand hectares in 2014-15. In the state of Chhattisgarh, the production of total foodgrains increased from 3,998.3 tonnes in 2010-11 to 7,497.7 tonnes per thousand hectares in 2104-15. In 1999-2000, the total foodgrains produced by the state of Bihar was 14,387.6 tonnes per thousand hectares. In 2010-11, production of total foodgrains dropped to 11,510.2 tonnes which subsequently rose to 18,508.5 tonnes per thousand hectares in 2014-15. In the state of Jharkhand, the production of total foodgrains increased from 2,651.3 tonnes in 2010-11 to 3,562.1 tonnes per thousand hectares in 2104-15.

In 1999-2000, the total foodgrains produced by the state of Uttar Pradesh was 45,6496 tonnes per thousand hectares. In 2010-11, production of total foodgrains dropped to 14,765.4 tonnes which again subsequently dropped to 14,408.5 tonnes per thousand hectares in 2014-15. In the state of Uttarakhand, the production of total foodgrains decreased from 9,716.2 tonnes in 2010-11 to 8,847.1 tonnes per thousand hectares in 2104-15.

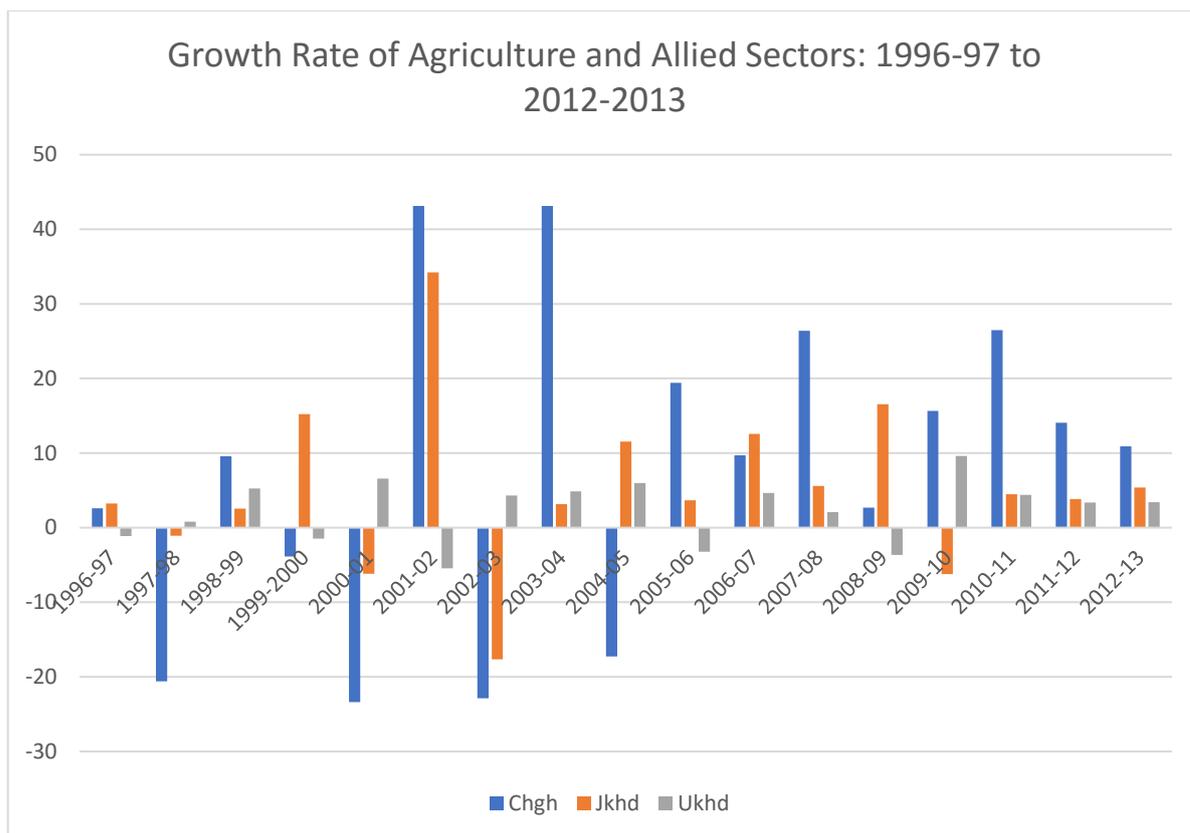
Table 4.4.9: Growth Rate of Agriculture and Allied Sectors: 1996-97 to 2012-2013

STATE	Chhattisgarh	Jharkhand	Uttarakhand
YEAR			
1996-97	2.60	3.26	-1.14
1997-98	-20.60	-1.10	0.80
1998-99	9.59	2.54	5.27
1999-2000	-3.87	15.23	-1.45
2000-01	-23.39	-6.17	6.60
2001-02	43.14	34.23	-5.44
2002-03	-22.86	-17.64	4.29
2003-04	43.14	3.16	4.87

2004-05	-17.27	11.56	5.96
2005-06	19.41	3.65	-3.22
2006-07	9.71	12.58	4.66
2007-08	26.39	5.61	2.09
2008-09	2.7	16.57	-3.66
2009-10	15.66	-6.21	9.63
2010-11	26.48	4.46	4.38
2011-12	14.06	3.84	3.36
2012-13	10.89	5.36	3.43

Source: Ministry of Agriculture and Farmers' Welfare, Govt. of India.

Figure 4.4.9 Growth Rate of Agriculture and Allied Sectors: 1996-97 to 2012-2013



Source: Ministry of Agriculture and Farmers' Welfare, Govt. of India.

Tables 4.4.9 and Figure 4.4.9 demonstrates the growth rate of agriculture and allied sectors of the three states during the time period 1996-97 to 2012-13. During the years, 1996-97, the growth rate of agriculture and allied sector recorded by the state of Chhattisgarh was 2.60% while in 2000-01, it was -23.39%. In 2001-02, the growth rate was 43.14 % and in 2012-13, it was 10.89%. The state of Chhattisgarh received the national award, 'Krishi Karman Award' for producing the highest quantity of rice in the year 2010-11. Chhattisgarh has performed better than the states of Jharkhand and Uttarakhand in terms of growth in agriculture and allied sectors. In the state of Jharkhand, the growth rate of agriculture and allied sectors has been fluctuating pre and post statehood. While in 1996-97, the growth rate of agriculture was 3.26 %, by 2000-01 it was -6.17%. In 2001-02, the growth rate was 34.23 %, while in 2012-13, the growth rate of agriculture and allied sectors was 5.36 %. Since the crop production in Jharkhand is largely dependent on the rains, there have been variations in agricultural production depending on the prevalent weather conditions. In the case of Uttarakhand, in the year 1996-1997, the growth rate of agriculture and allied sectors was -1.14 % in 2000-2001, the growth rate was 6.60 %. In 2012-13, the growth rate was 3.43 %. The downward trend in the growth rate of agriculture and allied sectors in the year

2012-13 was due to the destructive floods and landslides which rocked the state. Besides, the state lacks an exclusive farming policy for the hilly regions which seems to be the reason for the fluctuating growth rate.

8.Power: Energy Available [In Gwh, Electricity]

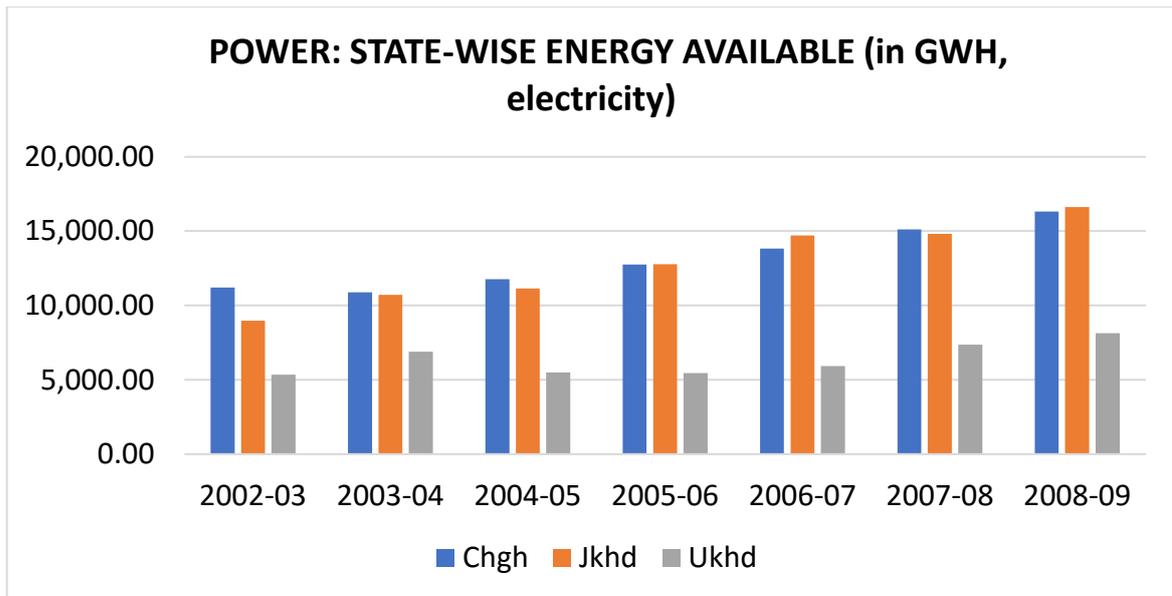
Table 4.4.10: Energy Available [In Gwh, Electricity]

STATE		Chhattisgarh	Jharkhand	Uttarakhand
YEAR	2002-03	11214.41	8975.59	5340.34
	2003-04	10881.22	10705.90	6887.63
	2004-05	11770.16	11154.10	5503.69
	2005-06	12746.84	12773.89	5460.68
	2006-07	13828.62	14704.79	5930.59
	2007-08	15116.27	14819.95	7360.69
	2008-09	16329.94	16615.43	8136.50

Source: Central Statistical Organization, Union Ministry of Power, Government of India, 2002-2009.

Figure 4.4.10 Power: Energy Available [In Gwh⁶⁴, Electricity]

⁶⁴Gigawatt hours, abbreviated as GWh, is a unit of energy representing one billion (1 000 000 000) watt hours and is equivalent to one million kilowatt hours. Gigawatt hours are often used as a measure of the output of large electricity power stations: *Eurostats*.



Source: Central Statistical Organization, Union Ministry of Power, Government of India, 2002-2009.

Table 4.4.10 and Figure 4.4.10 demonstrates the power in terms of energy available to the three states under study. In the case of Chhattisgarh, the energy available increased from 11,214.41 Gwh in 2002-03 to 16,329.94 Gwh in 2008-09. The state of Jharkhand also witnessed a steadfast increase in the energy available from 8,975.59 Gwh in 2002-03 to 16,615.43 Gwh in 2008-09. In the case of Uttarakhand, the energy available increased from 5,340.34 Gwh to 8,136.50 Gwh in 2008-09. Thus, all the three states witnessed an increase in power in terms of energy available during the time period 2002-03 to 2008-09. The increase in power, calculated in terms of energy available is a healthy signal as the development of sectors such as agriculture, industry, etc. depends on the ready availability of power and energy.

9. Transport: Total Road Length in Kms

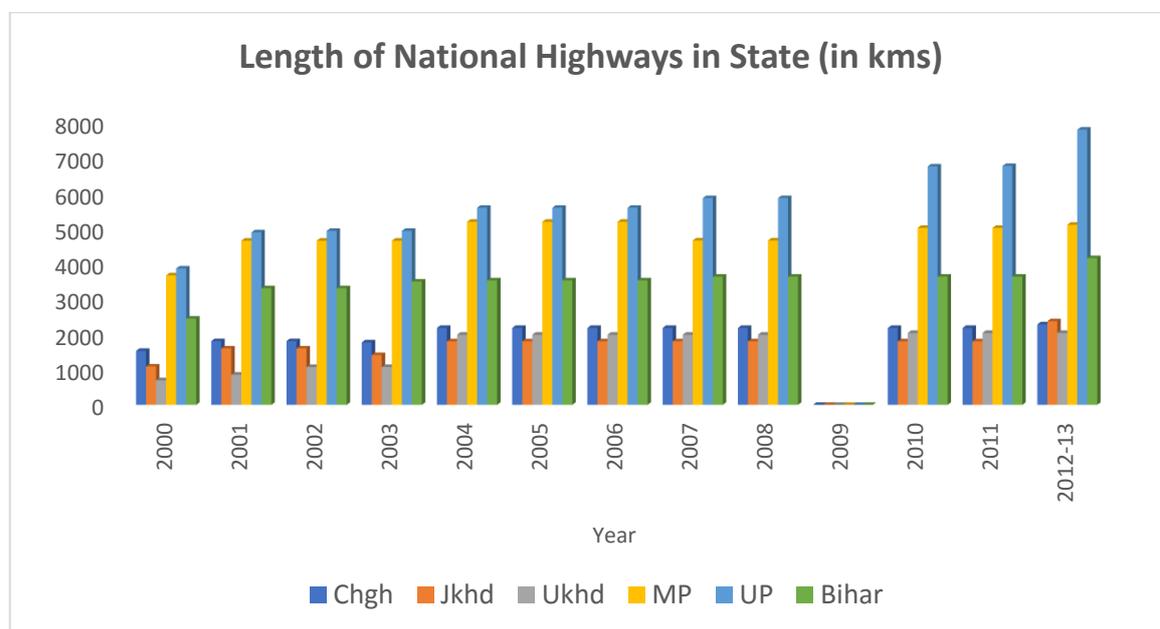
Table 4.4.11: Length of National Highways in State (in kms)

YEAR	STATE
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	Madhya Pradesh	Chhattisgarh	Bihar	Jharkhand	Uttar Pradesh	Uttarakhand
2000	3678	1532	2449	1090	3873	697
2001	4664	1810	3312	1603	4901	857
2002	4664	1810	3312	1603	4942	1075
2003	4664	1774	3502	1413	4942	1075
2004	5200	2184	3537	1805	5599	1991
2005	5200	2184	3537	1805	5599	1991
2006	5200	2184	3537	1805	5599	1991
2007	4670	2184	3642	1805	5874	1991
2008	4670	2184	3642	1805	5874	1991
2009	-	-	-	-	-	-
2010	5027	2184	3642	1805	6774	2042
2011	5027	2184	3642	1805	6788	2042
2012-13	5116	2289	4168	2374	7818	2042

Source: Ministry of Shipping, Roads, Transport and Highways, Government of India.

Figure 4.4.11: Length of National Highways in State (in kms)



Source: Ministry of Shipping, Roads, Transport and Highways, Government of India.

Table 4.4.11 and Figure 4.4.11 show the length of national highways in the three states vis a vis their parent states during the time period 2000 to 2012-13. In the year 2000, the length

of national highways in the state of Chhattisgarh was 1532 kilometres. During this time, the length of national highways of the state of Madhya Pradesh was 3,678 kilometres. The length of national highways increased to 2,289 in Chhattisgarh during the years 2012-13 while the same in its parent state, Madhya Pradesh increased to 5,116 kilometres during the years 2012-13.

In the state of Chhattisgarh, national highways are the source of connectivity between the state and its neighbours. National highways also provide the internal linkage between the northern and southern regions of the state. However, state highways and important district roads in the state get adversely affected during the monsoons. In 2002-03, the Public Works Department of the Government of Chhattisgarh drafted a master-plan for the construction and repair of 5,000 kilometres of state and district roads. In 2006, the plan was upgraded with the assistance provided by Asian Development Bank to increase the extent of focus to 8,871 kilometres of state and district roads [Asian Development Bank: 2013].

When the state of Jharkhand was created in the year 2000, the length of national highways in the state was 1,090 kilometres. At this time, the length of national highways of the state of Bihar was 2,449 kilometres. The length of national highways increased to 2,374 in Jharkhand during the years 2012-13 while the same in its parent state, Bihar increased to 4,168 kilometres during the years 2012-13.

According to the Department of Road Construction, Government of Jharkhand, the infrastructure for roads in Jharkhand requires expansion. It acknowledges that the growth of population and vehicles has created a pressure on the existing road network and therefore there is the pressing need for maintenance, upgradation and construction of the same.

In the year 2000, the length of national highways in the state of Uttarakhand measured 697 kilometres. During this period, the length of national highways of the state of its parent state, Uttar Pradesh measured 3,873 kilometres. The length of national highways increased to 2,042 in Uttarakhand during the years 2012-13. During the same period, the length of national highways in its parent state, Uttar Pradesh increased to 7,818 kilometres. For the year 2009, no data is available.

Since most of Uttarakhand comprises of hilly regions, the costs of maintenance of hilly roads is very high and they often get damaged due to harsh weather or due to natural

calamities such as landslides. Post-independence, the construction of roads was very slow. However, when the Indo-China war broke out in 1962, the construction of roads in the state obtained the much-needed attention due to the fact that the state shares its borders with China. At present, the share of Uttarakhand in national highways numbers 14, having a length of 2108 kilometres.

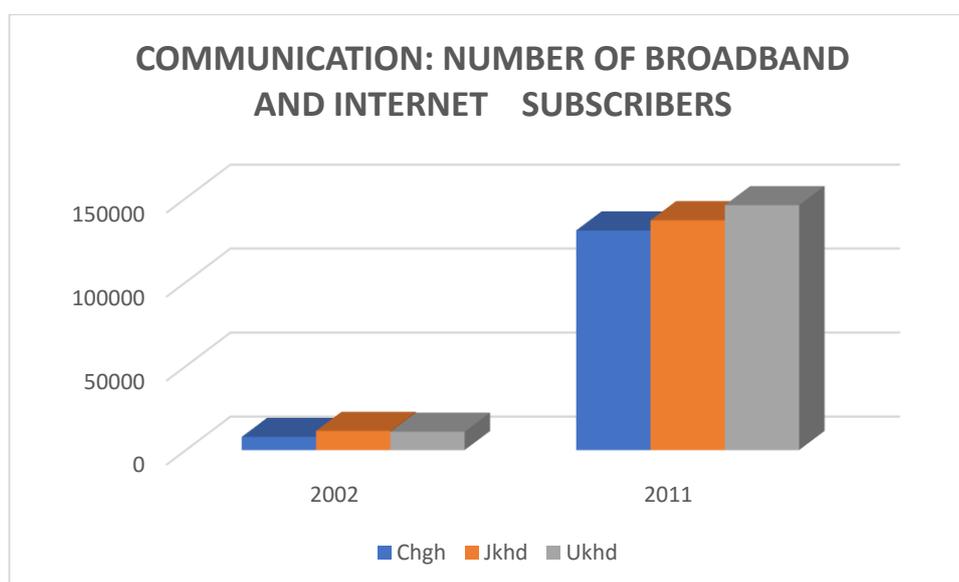
10. Communication: Number of Broadband and Internet Subscribers

Table 4.4.12: Number of Broadband and Internet Subscribers

STATE	2002	2011
Chhattisgarh	7,827	1,30,708
Jharkhand	11,386	1,36,767
Uttarakhand	10,902	1,45,79

Source: Ministry of Telecommunication, Government of India, 2002-2011.

Figure 4.4.12: Number of Broadband and Internet Subscribers



Source: Ministry of Telecommunication, Government of India, 2002-2011.

Table 4.4.12 and Figure 4.4.12 depicts the progress made by the three states under study in the realm of communication in terms of the number of broadband and internet subscribers during the years 2002 and 2011.

In Chhattisgarh, in the year 2002, the number of persons subscribing to broadband and internet connections was 7,827 subscribers which increased to 1,30,708 subscribers in 2011. According to the state government in July 2018, the ‘Bastar Net project’⁶⁵ would be utilizing ‘ring typology’ mechanism in order to ensure uninterrupted mobile and internet connectivity through alternative routes across the Bastar division of Chhattisgarh, affected by left-wing extremism. Under the auspices of ‘Bastar Net’ an enormous 832 kilometres long optical fibre cable [OFC] was sought to be laid to provide an impetus to the seven districts of the Bastar division. In the state of Jharkhand, the number of subscribers to broadband and internet connections increased tremendously from 11,386 persons in 2002 to 1,36,767 persons in 2011. In February 2018, the Jharkhand government sanctioned Rupees 420.44 crores for the purpose of providing high-speed internet connectivity in eleven districts. The purpose of this initiative was to integrate all the 5,523 panchayats of Jharkhand by March 2019 under the auspices of a scheme called IT Bharat net. The aim of the programme called Digital Jharkhand Mission is to facilitate e-governance in all remote villages and high-speed internet facilities to all government schools and government offices in the state of Jharkhand by 31st March, 2019. In the state of Uttarakhand, the number of subscribers to broadband and internet connections rose from 10,902 persons in 2002 to 1,45,759 subscribers in 2011. In June 2018, the government of Uttarakhand launched the first- balloon mounted internet network in the country. This marked a significant attempt by the state government to bring in reliable internet connectivity to the most remote areas of the state and also play a crucial role in reducing the impact of disasters in the state caused by natural calamities. The increase in the number of broadband and internet subscribers during the reference period 2002-2011 is an appreciable trend as it symbolizes improved tele-connectivity between people and regions within all the three states as well their connectivity nationally and internationally.

11. Industrial Growth: Number of Factories

Table 4.4.13: Number of Factories

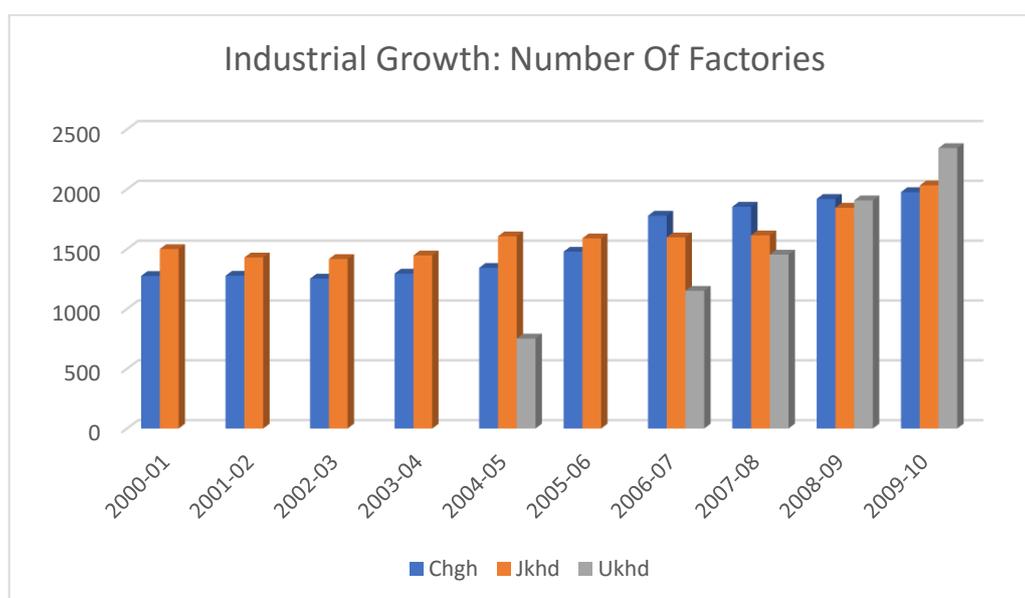
YEAR	STATE
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⁶⁵The Bastar Net project was announced by the erstwhile chief minister of Chhattisgarh, Raman Singh in August 2016 with the purpose of fortifying mobile and internet connectivity in the insurgency hit-region of Bastar. The Bastar division which is dominated by tribals consists of seven districts which include Kanker, Kondagaon, Bijapur, Narayanpur, Bastar, Sukma and Dantewada. The Bastar division is spread across an area of approximately 40,000 square kilometres in the southern zone of the state.

	Chhattisgarh	Jharkhand	Uttarakhand
2000-01	1275	1500	N.A
2001-02	1277	1430	N.A
2002-03	1253	1417	N.A
2003-04	1295	1447	N.A
2004-05	1343	1607	752
2005-06	1478	1590	N.A
2006-07	1779	1598	1151
2007-08	1854	1615	1454
2008-09	1919	1846	1907
2009-10	1976	2032	2344

Source: Ministry of Commerce and Industry, Government of India.

Figure 4.4.13: Number of Factories



Source: Ministry of Commerce and Industry, Government of India, 2000-10.

Table 4.4.13 and Figure 4.4.13 demonstrates the industrial growth in the three states under study in terms of the number of factories during the time period 2000-01 to 2009-10. The number of factories in Chhattisgarh grew from 1,275 in 2000-01 to 1,976 in 2009-10. The industrial policy of the state of Chhattisgarh has aimed to promote such investors who would contribute to the value additions of the state. The state government has evolved a

policy of sustainable development. It has been able to attract large investments in industries such as iron and steel, energy, cement and aluminium.

In order to accelerate industrial growth, the Chhattisgarh Infrastructure Development Board was set up in the year 2000. The chief objective of the board was to facilitate the distribution of land among companies. Besides, the Chhattisgarh State Industrial Development Corporation was set up which was given the responsibility for land distribution among four districts in particular, namely, Raipur, Durg, Bilaspur and Raigarh [Sharma and Choudhary: 2011].

In the state of Jharkhand, the number of factories increased from a mere 1,500 factories in 2000-01 to 2,032 factories in 2009-10. The state government of Jharkhand is concentrating its efforts on enhancing the productivity of the industrial sector by inviting investment in infrastructure especially electricity generation and manufacturing sector. The industrial policy of Jharkhand state aims to convert Jharkhand into a preferred destination of investment and promotion of sustainable growth. Other chief objectives of the state's industrial policy include development of downstream processing industries for consumer durable and engineering goods, balanced utilization of state's mineral resources and carving a conducive environment for the growth of the micro, small and medium enterprises [MSMEs] sector [Giap et. al.: 2014].

For the state of Uttarakhand there are no figures available during the time period 2000-01 to 2004 and 2005-06. However, figures are available for the time period 2004-05 and subsequently from 2006-07 to 2009-10 which show that the number of factories in the state of Uttarakhand increased from 752 in 2004-05 to 2,344 in 2009-10. One major reason for Uttarakhand's economic progress has been its stable investment environment which has been able to attract industries to be set up in the state. The government has established the State Industrial Development Corporation of Uttarakhand [SIDCUL] ⁶⁶which has set up seven World Integrated Industrial Estates [IIEs] across the state and also an IT park in the capital city, Dehradun. Integrated Industrial Estates are a combination of facilities of

⁶⁶ SIDCUL is a venture of the Government of Uttarakhand which was initiated as a limited company in the year 2002. It had a legal share capital of Rupees 50 crores invested by the state government. The primary purpose of SIDCUL was to develop essential infrastructure and industry in the state of Uttarakhand either directly or through the medium of special purpose vehicles, investments assisted companies, etc. [Kafaltia and Kafaltia, 2019].

industry, institution, commerce and residence all clubbed together and guaranteeing accessibility to medical facilities, educational institutions, financial institutions such as banks, shopping centres and hotels. This has enabled around 1,500 companies to invest in SIDCUL areas [Kafaltia and Kafaltia, 2019]. Thus, all the three states have experienced a positive upward trend in the realm of industrial growth.

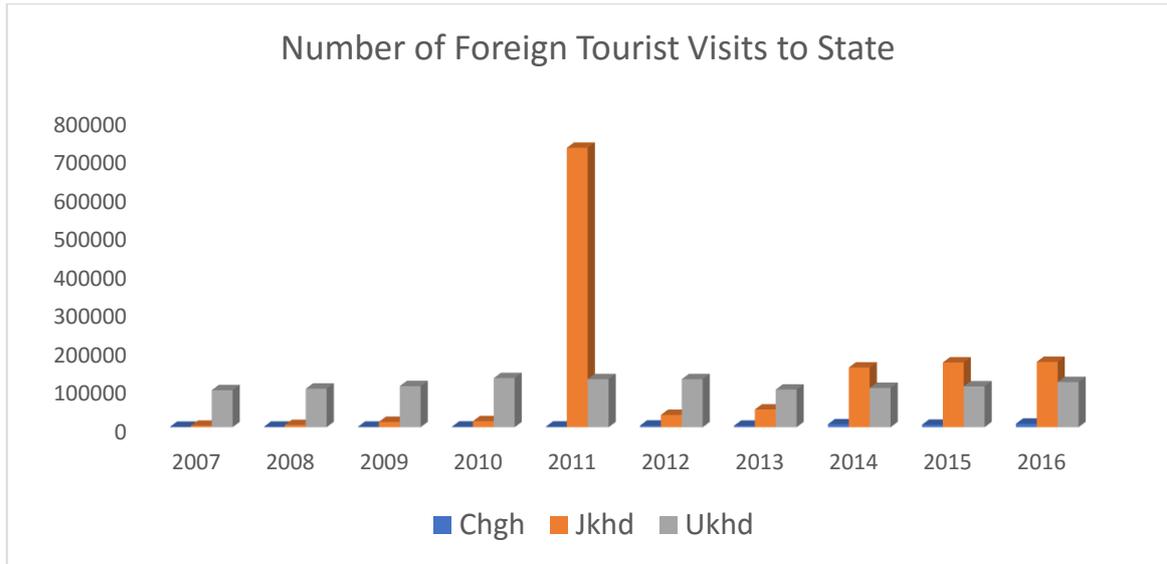
12.Tourism

Table 4.4.14: Number of Foreign Tourist Visits to State [2007-2016]

STATE		Chhattisgarh	Jharkhand	Uttarakhand
YEAR	2007	1235	4004	95976
	2008	1314	5803	99910
	2009	1277	13872	106470
	2010	1586	15695	127258
	2011	1726	724467	124653
	2012	4172	31909	124555
	2013	3886	45995	97693
	2014	7777	154731	101966
	2015	6394	167785	105882
	2016	9220	169442	117106

Source: Ministry of Tourism, Government of India.

Figure 4.4.14: Number of Foreign Tourist Visits to State [2007-2016]



Source: Ministry of Tourism, Government of India.

Table 4.4.14 and Figure 4.4.14 shows the number of foreign tourist visits to the three states during the time period 2007 to 2016. The number of foreign tourists who visited Chhattisgarh increased from 1,235 persons in 2007 to 9,220 in 2016. In the state of Jharkhand, the number of foreign tourists visiting the state increased from 4,004 persons in 2007 to 1,69,442 persons in 2016. In the case of Uttarakhand, the number of foreign tourists visiting the state increased from 95,976 persons in 2007 to 1,17,106 persons in 2016.

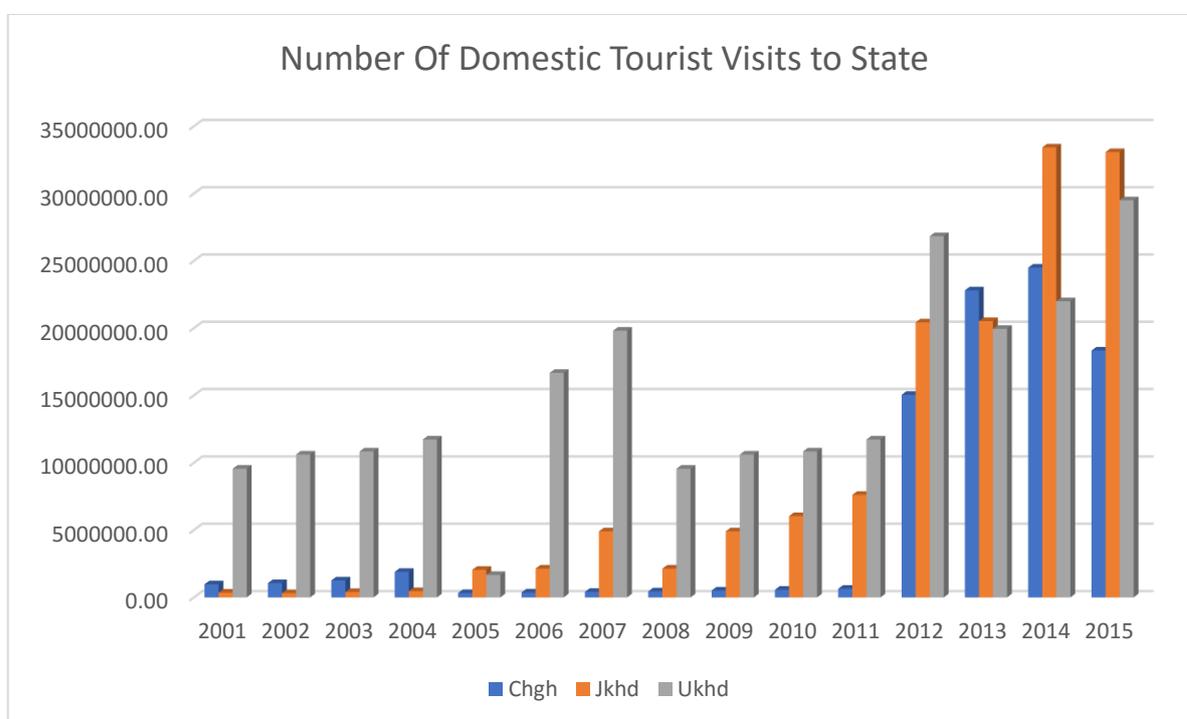
Table 4.4.15: Number of Domestic Tourist visits to State [2001-2015]

YEAR	STATE		
	Chhattisgarh	Jharkhand	Uttarakhand
2001	969342	353177	9551669
2002	1058565	3,13,134	10606504
2003	1256407	398342	10835241
2004	1897200	461486	11720570
2005	324495	2042723	1666652
2006	363759	2138685	16666525
2007	414322	4906394	19803280
2008	442910	2138685	9551669

2009	511561	4906394	10606504
2010	566298	6030028	10835241
2011	644425	7610160	11720570
2012	15036530	20421016	26827329
2013	22801031	20511160	19941128
2014	24488465	33427144	21991315
2015	18327841	330,79,530	29496938

Source: Ministry of Tourism, Government of India.

Table 4.4.15: Number of Domestic Tourist visits to State [2001-2015]



Source: Ministry of Tourism, Government of India.

Table 4.4.15 and Figure 4.4.15 shows the number of domestic tourists who visited the three states during the time period 2001-2015. The number of domestic tourist visits to the state of Chhattisgarh increased from 9,693,42 persons in 2001 to 18,327,841 persons in 2015. According to figures, the number of domestic tourists visiting the state of Jharkhand increased from 3,53,177 persons in 2001 to 33,079,530 persons in 2015. In the case of Uttarakhand, the number of domestic tourists visiting the state increased from 9,551,669 persons in 2001 to 29,496,938 persons in 2015. Thus, all the three states seem to have been

successful in attracting domestic tourists to the state. The Chhattisgarh government began a number of tax saving initiatives in the realm of tourism and has given industry status to tourism. Besides, the state government has worked at initiating public private partnership at attracting tourists and also in preserving the rich cultural biodiversity and heritage of the state. The government of Jharkhand has also accorded the status of industry to the tourism sector. The Jharkhand Adventure Tourism Institute [JATI] was already previously set up under the auspices of the Societies Registration Act, 1860. This institute aimed at not only providing services for adventure tourism to the tourists who visit the state but also training the local youth. The youth who received such training would then provide tourism adventure services to the visitors. The government of Uttarakhand has been attempting to go beyond its image of a religious and wildlife tourist destination and aimed at promoting the state in areas such as adventure, wellness, history and heritage and rural tourism.

13. Gross State Domestic Product at Constant 2004-05 Prices [In Rs Crore]

Table 4.4.16: Gross State Domestic product at Constant 2004-05 prices [in Rs Crore]

YEAR	STATE		
	Chhattisgarh	Jharkhand	Uttarakhand
2004-05	47862	59758	24786
2005-06	49408	57848	28340
2006-07	58598	59226	32190
2007-08	63644	71377	38022
2008-09	68982	70129	42832
2009-10	71343	77240	50598
2010-11	78903	89491	55667
2011-12	80082	97896	60,870
2012-13	86,133	105597	66356
2013-14	92205	114392	72984

Source: Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Governments of Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand and Uttarakhand.

Figure 4.4.16: Gross State Domestic product at Constant 2004-05 prices [in Rs Crore]



Source: Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Governments of Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand and Uttarakhand.

Table 4.4.16 and Figure 4.4.16 shows the Gross State Domestic Product of the three states during the time period 2004-05 to 2013-14. In the case of Jharkhand, the Gross State Domestic Product has increased from 59,758 crore rupees in 2004-05 to 114,392 crore rupees in 2013-14. The Gross State Domestic Product of Chhattisgarh increased from 47,862 crore rupees in 2004-05 to 92,205 crore rupees in 2013-14. In the case of Uttarakhand, the Gross State Domestic Product of the state witnessed an increase from 24,786 crore rupees in 2004-05 to 72,984 crore rupees in 2013-14. According to the Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation Report 2015, during the time period 2005-14, Uttarakhand was the second fastest growing state registering a gross domestic product growth rate of 12.45% [statisticstimes.com].

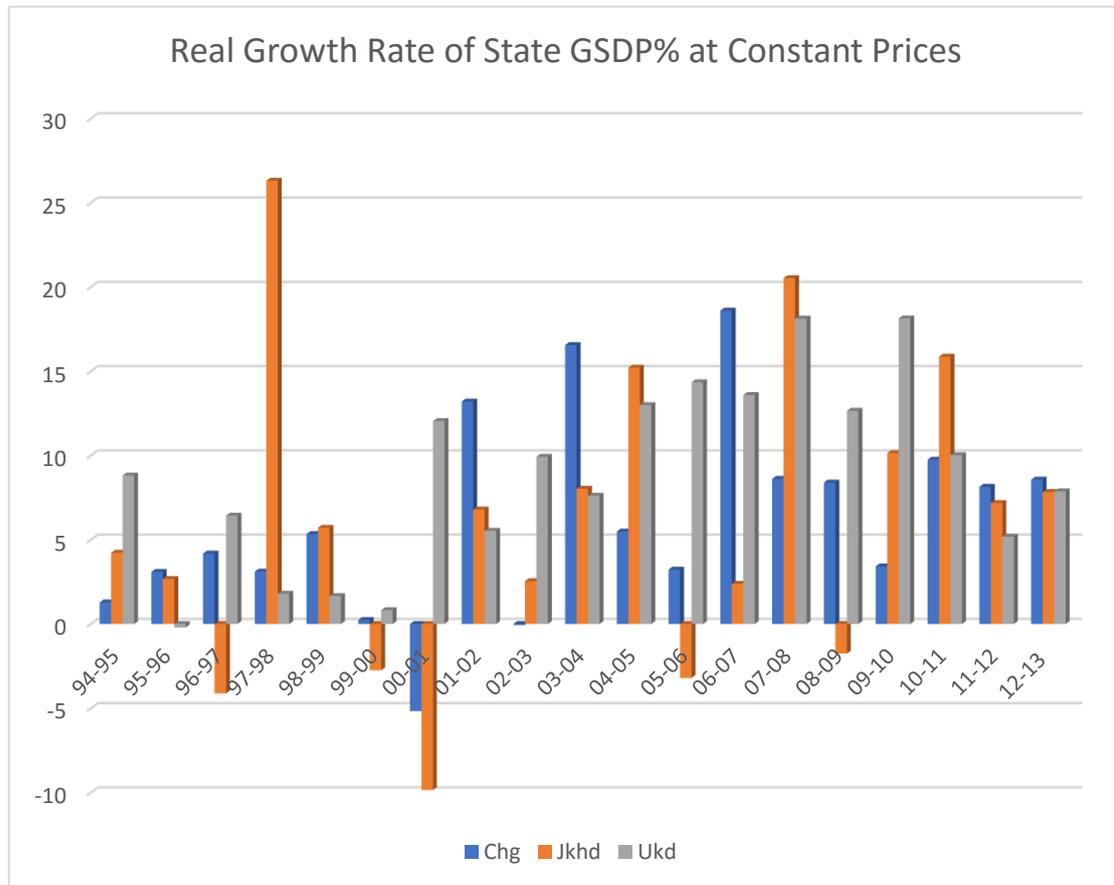
14. Real Growth Rate of State GSDP% at Constant Prices [as on 15-9-2013]

Table 4.4.17: Real Growth Rate of State GSDP% at Constant Prices [as on 15-9-2013]

YEAR	STATE		
	Chhattisgarh	Jharkhand	Uttarakhand
1994-95	1.28	4.23	8.81
1995-96	3.09	2.67	-0.21
1996-97	4.18	-4.12	6.43
1997-98	3.11	26.3	1.8
1998-99	5.34	5.71	1.66
1999-2000	0.24	-2.75	0.82
2000-01	-5.17	-9.85	12.04
2001-02	13.2	6.79	5.53
2002-03	-0.06	2.54	9.92
2003-04	16.55	8.03	7.61
2004-05	5.49	15.21	12.99
2005-06	3.23	-3.2	14.34
2006-07	18.6	2.38	13.59
2007-08	8.61	20.52	18.12
2008-09	8.39	-1.75	12.65
2009-10	3.42	10.14	18.13
2010-11	9.75	15.86	10.02
2011-12	8.14	7.18	5.18
2012-13	8.57	7.83	7.87

Source: Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Governments of Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand and Uttarakhand.

Figure 4.4.17: Real Growth Rate of State GSDP% at Constant Prices [as on 15-9-2013]



Source: Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Governments of Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand and Uttarakhand

Table 4.4.17 and Figure 4.4.17 shows the Real Growth Rate of the Gross State Domestic Product of the three states at Constant Prices during the time period 1994-95 to 2012-13. In the case of Jharkhand, the real growth rate of Gross State Domestic Product rose from 4.23% in 1994-95 to 9.85% in 2000-01 and then reduced to 7.83% in 2012-13. In Chhattisgarh, the real growth rate of state GSDP increased from 1.28% in 94-95 to 5.17% in 2000-01 and subsequently to 8.57% in 2012-13. The Uttarakhand region witnessed a real growth rate of 8.81% in 1994-95. Post-statehood, the GSDP of Uttarakhand witnessed a real growth rate of 12.04% in 2000-01 which dipped to 7.87% in 2012-13.

In the case of Chhattisgarh, in the first eight years post its creation, the state emerged as one of the fastest growing states recording an annual growth rate of 10% per annum. However, subsequently the growth rate slowed down to 7% per annum. The manufacturing

sector was one of the primary contributors to the high growth rate. However, the share of the manufacturing sector to the income of the state dropped from 22% in 2008-09 to 13% in 2013-14. Uneven performance by industry poses risk to the growth of the state's economy [World Bank Report on Chhattisgarh, Poverty, Growth and Inequality: 2016].

In the case of Jharkhand, the economic slowdown in the years 2008-09 was attributed to the global financial crisis, Despite the economic slowdown of 2007-08, the state has shown its pliability and has been bouncing back. The main driver of the growth in Gross State Domestic Product has been the services or the tertiary sector which grew at a Compounded Annual Growth Rate of 11.37% in real terms between 2004-05 and 2012-13 [Jharkhand Economic Survey 2013-14].

The state of Uttarakhand experienced an impressive increase of over 11.6% per annum in its gross state domestic product [GSDP] during the period 1999-00 to 2004-05 [Mamgain, 2007] One of the crucial reasons for the fluctuations in the growth rate of Uttarakhand appears to be the fact that the state's growth process has been limited to the plain areas of the state. Most of the manufacturing units are situated in the plain areas. Consequently, the hilly areas have not benefitted much from the benefits of growth [Mamgain: ihdindia.org]. The hilly areas lack basic facilities. Thus, there is migration from the hilly areas either to the plain areas and even outside the state. The trend of a single member migrating has been replaced by the entire family migrating leading to abandoning of villages. Such villages in the hilly regions have now come to be known as 'ghost villages. According to S.S. Negi, the Vice-President of Uttarakhand Rural Development and Migration Commission, [in an interview with the Press Trust of India], the basic factors behind the high rate of migration from Uttarakhand's villages is lack of income avenues, non-accessibility of quality education and quality health care.

4.5 POST-STATEHOOD CHALLENGES FACED BY THE THREE STATES

CHHATTISGARH

1.Naxalism

Naxalism has been the most serious internal challenge faced by the state. Chhattisgarh has experienced strong presence of the Naxalites since the 1980s. The Naxalites have even used children from the age of six years onwards by training them in the Naxalite ideology and ultimately absorbing them in naxal operations directed against the state. In June 2005, there were popular protests against Naxalites in Bijapur district in Southern Chhattisgarh which eventually led to the creation of Salwa Judum. Salwa Judum was a watch group sponsored by the state whose aim was to eliminate the Naxalites. The role of Salwa Judum has been controversial because it conducted violent raids on numerous villages which were suspected of being pro-Naxalite. It was also accused of forcibly recruiting civilians for its anti-naxal activities. Just like the Naxalites, even Salwa Judum has forced children, as young as twelve, to participate in Salwa Judum meetings and raids along with government security forces. To counter Naxalite activity in Chhattisgarh, the Central Government has deployed over 10,000 government security forces, including the Indian Reserve Battalions [IRBs] and the Central Reserve Police Force [Human Rights Watch: September 2008].

2.Poverty and Food Insecurity

According to the World Bank documents, Chhattisgarh is home to 26 million people, 10 million of who are poor. Chhattisgarh tops the list of states in India in terms of poverty rate. According to the Tendulkar Committee's estimates given by the Planning Commission, 40 per cent of the population in Chhattisgarh lives below the poverty line. The forests and the mining areas are largely inhabited by tribals. The continual deprivation of the tribal community, traditional practices and illiteracy has resulted in further deterioration in conditions of the poor of these areas. The areas in which poverty is rampant also lacks basic facilities such as safe drinking water and improved sanitation. Chhattisgarh is the first state in the country to implement the Food Security Act from December 2012 for those who are poor in the state. The prime objective of the Food Security Act was to eliminate malnutrition and food scarcity in the state. Under this act, provision has been made for monthly distribution of 35 kilograms of rice at the rate of rupees one and rupees two.

Besides, there is also the provision of distribution of iodized salt free of cost, two kilograms of grams at the rate of rupees five per kg and two kilograms' pulses at the rate of rupees ten per kg to all beneficiary families [Tripathi, 2016].

3.Land Reforms

Since Chhattisgarh is home to a significant rural population dependent on farming, land reforms are essential in order to increase agricultural productivity and also in order to eliminate the exploitation of the underprivileged. Land reforms in Chhattisgarh need to include the distribution of land to the landless under Land Ceiling Acts and ensuring possession of lands to the allottees of the government vested land, land alienation, non-recording of share of sharecroppers or bataidar, land buying/ grabbing spree of new landlords and exploitation of underground water by them [Agrawal, 2010].

CONCLUSION

The separation of Chhattisgarh from its parent state -Madhya Pradesh and its creation as a separate state has definitely benefitted this region. The state has made rapid strides in various realms. Prior to statehood, roads were not developed in the region. However, post-statehood the condition of roads which include national highways and state highways in the state has improved. The state of Chhattisgarh produces its own power and lends power to four other states, including Goa. The number of industries in the state have increased leading to an increase in employment opportunities. The state has its own All India Institute of Medical Sciences [AIIMS], National Institute of Technology, Indian Institute of Management and National Law University. Despite its upward surge, the state still needs to tackle various challenges especially that of naxalism and poverty in order to achieve complete progress and development.

JHARKHAND

1.Naxalism

Naxalism was not a new danger that the state of Jharkhand had to face. The region was prone to Naxalism even when it was part of Bihar. Out of 22 districts in Jharkhand, the Naxals were the dominating force in 18 districts. In most of these places, the Naxalites ran a parallel system of administration, justice and policing [Harivansh: 2008]. In the first phase of the drive against Naxalism, the forces operating from outside Jharkhand were manipulating the forces in the state. Combating Naxalism is a big challenge that the state faces. Initially, Jharkhand had only 5 companies of Central Paramilitary forces. However, at present there are 104 companies which makes it easier to deploy forces to any place to tackle naxalism. The availability of additional security forces is a major boost in the efforts to tackle naxalism in the state. Besides, massive investment has also been done with regard to training of security forces to combat the naxal challenge.

Table 4.5.1: Extent of Naxal Violence in Jharkhand during the years 2008-2012

2008		2009		2010		2011		2012	
Incidents	Deaths								
484	207	742	208	501	157	517	182	479	162

Source:www.satp.org/satporgt/countries/india/maoist.... /papers SWENV-2008-12.

Table 4.5.1 depicts the extent of naxal violence in Jharkhand during the years 2008-2012. In the year 2008, there were 484 incidents of naxal-related violence which claimed 207 lives. In the course of the next four years, even though the incidents of violence continued in large numbers, the number of deaths in such cases has reduced. In 2012, 479 cases of naxal related violence were reported which claimed the lives of 162 persons in the state.

Table 4.5.2: No. of Civilians and Security Forces killed in Naxal Related Violence in Jharkhand during the years 2011 and 2012

2011		2012	
No. of Civilians killed	No of Security Forces killed	No. of Civilians killed	No. of Security Forces killed
149	33	33	29

Source:www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/india/maoist..../papers SWENV-2008-12.

Table 4.5.2 shows the No. of Civilians and Security Forces killed in naxal related violence in Jharkhand during the years 2011 and 2012. In the year 2011, 149 civilians were killed and 33 security personnel were killed. In 2012, the number of civilians killed in naxal related violence stood at 33 while the number of security forces killed stood at 29.

2.Development

Development in the state of Jharkhand has received a specific attention as can be seen from the Saranda experiment. The Saranda Forest is a thick forest covering an area of 820 square kilometres located in the hilly region of West Singhum District in Jharkhand. Considered as the most neglected region in the erstwhile Bihar State, this region is now getting adequate attention through the Saranda development plan. According to inputs from K. Srinivas, Director of Information Technology, Jharkhand, a model plan of rupees 240 crores was prepared. The plan involved planning and monitoring committees with the help of panchayats representatives, traditional village heads, social activists and educated youths. The plan set a target of short-term, medium and long-term goals. The short-term goals included the provision of solar lanterns, bicycles and transistors. According to the Director, all 7210 families were given solar lanterns, bicycles and transistors. The medium-term goals included road connectivity, integrated watershed management programme, implementation of MNREGA [Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act], food security, ambulance cum free transportation vehicles. All the 56 villages were to have pucca, RCC road connectivity. Six integrated water sheds were identified and projects worth 45 crores were sanctioned under the same. A special survey was conducted to identify families living below the poverty line and accordingly the Indira Awas Yojana was sanctioned to all the eligible families as per the new survey. Besides, all the families thus identified were given the additional below poverty line ration card scheme. Provision

was made for Steel Authority of India Limited [SAIL] and private companies Corporate Social Responsibility ambulance and free transportation vehicles in different routes. The long-term goals included implementation of the National Rural Livelihood Mission, setting up a Gurukul for Saranda with the help of PanIIT Alumni Reach for India [PARFI] in order to enhance the skill-building capacity of the younger generation and special skill development training centre by Infrastructure Leasing and Financial Services [IL and FS].

3.Education

Prior to the formation of a separate state, education in Jharkhand was lackadaisical. After attaining separate statehood certain positive strides have been made in the realm of education. The state government has merged 4,600 primary schools. Presently, the government is on the verge of shutting over 6,466 middle classes [standard sixth to eighth having less than 100 students]. According to the officials of the education department, government of Jharkhand, these schools are supposed to be merged with upgraded high schools in phases. In the realm of higher education, there was only one university. Now, there are 2 universities- Ranchi University and Vinobha Bhave University. Besides, there is a Central University. A number of private universities have also come up in the state. Due to political instability, recruitment of teachers and faculty was severely affected. Now for the first time, the state has a stable government which has a well-articulated domicile policy. This has had a positive impact on the quality of education in the state.

4.Health

According to the Jharkhand State Economic Survey 2017-18, the urban-rural disparity in the state is primarily responsible for the variations in the levels of health outcomes achieved. The urban areas of Jharkhand have fared better in terms of healthcare services and better accessibility compared to the rural areas. Therefore, there has been better utilization of health care services in the urban areas.

In the Health sector it has been observed that despite the presence of good infrastructure, there seems to be an absence of manpower. Multitasking by a single officer is common in government run medical centres. The only option for the common man is the Rajendra Institute of Medical Sciences [RIMS] and the situation at the institute has definitely improved. The institute sees an admission of 2,500 patients on an average daily. Sardar

Hospital has its own infrastructure. However, though it was built 9 years back, it is yet to commence functioning. As regards the case of villages, a lot is left to be desired. Barhi is an accident-prone region. The closest health care facility to the people of the area is in Hazaribagh. Most of the accident victims die on the way itself. There is an urgent need for increase in paramedical staff. Security of private hospitals is a major concern. The management of Vedanta Private Hospital is getting threats to leave the state. Threat to personal security is the reason preventing doctors from serving in the rural areas.

Nevertheless, the state government has affirmed its commitment to provide quality health care services especially for people living in far-flung and difficult areas in its attempts to reduce morbidity and mortality. The state government claims to give highest priority to disadvantaged groups and adolescents. Consolidating the health system of the state is pivotal in ensuring the health and well-being of the people and in achieving set targets.

5. Migration

According to the Jharkhand State Economic Survey 2017-18, the rate of migration in Jharkhand increased during the time period 2001 to 2011. 65 per cent of the migrants from Jharkhand have migrated for marriage-related reasons, the second highest reason for migration being moving with households. Besides, a large number of people have also migrated for economic reasons. Nine per cent of the migrants from Jharkhand migrated for the purpose of employment. There is an increasing trend of outward migration to various states of India. In fact, the 4th largest population in the Union Territory of Andaman and Nicobar Island is from Jharkhand. Marginalized tribals who were not willing to join Naxalism have migrated and settled in Andaman and Nicobar Islands. However, it appears that such a type of migration had begun much before bifurcation of the state from Bihar.

6. Indigeneity

Arriving at a clear-cut definition of indigeneity in Jharkhand is a complex task. The arguments for claiming or denouncing one's tribal status is debatable [Hasnain nd]. To counter the problem of identity, the tribal leaders of the Chhotanagpur region in former Bihar [which is presently in Jharkhand] in the 1930s introduced brought the usage of the term 'Adivasi' into common usage. By doing so, they signalled a novel, imaginary and integrated tribal identity [Ghosh, 2006, Pp 505]. There are 32 tribes in Jharkhand and 5

major tribes. Among these 5 tribes, few have come from other places who are now exercising domination over the local tribes here. Tribals are also sandwiched between the state and Naxals. Before independence, the revolt of tribals was against the British government. After independence, the revolt came to be marked against their own government due to being side-lined from the mainstream developmental process. Although the tribals were optimistic after the creation of a new state, there is no significant difference in their situation. Tribals have been forced to sell land and work as daily wage labourers in illegal coal mines. An outcome of this has been outward migration to other states.

7.Economy

The journey of a separate state was expressed in the beginning as the demand for Vannachal. After the creation of a new state, although there has been an increase in rural population, agriculture which is the chief occupation in the rural areas has shown a downward trend consequently leading to a downward trend of food processing Industries. In contrast to the western states, in Jharkhand, cooperative institutions are not doing well. The Government does not seem to be supportive of working cooperatives. There is a single department of Agriculture and Cooperatives. There is the absence of a Dairy Cooperative. There has been only one Special Economic Zone in the last 15 years. The Central Government is not promoting small scale and medium scale industries. There has been an increase in retired population leading to a decrease in the working population.

CONCLUSION

Although, 18 years is not a comprehensive time frame to evaluate the success of statehood in Jharkhand, it does provide us with an insight into the journey of Jharkhand post statehood. The statehood experience has truly been a mixed bag experience for the local population with much more yet to be desired. Only time will tell whether the statehood demand was justified and whether the benefits have been percolated to the marginalized.

UTTARAKHAND

1.Conservation of Forests

Forests constitute the major source of livelihood for the people of any hilly region. Therefore, it has a significant role to play in the economy of the state of Uttarakhand. Uttarakhand faces the challenge of infrastructure development due to which the state government has attempted to bring increased land for the purpose of development of infrastructure. This has resulted in continuous shrinking of forest area for people in the villages coupled with the abandonment of less productive land in the state [Farooqee and Maikhuri:2007].

2.Regional Disparities

Uttarakhand is threatened by regional disparities. This has affected the per capita income and social balance in Uttarakhand. There is the geographical divide of hill versus plains. This implies that there is concentration of industrialization, services and infrastructure along with education and health facilities in certain districts of plains, which is affecting the overall development of the state. Therefore, the development strategy needs to concentrate on bridging this gap and regional disparity.

3.Social Imbalance

Mountain cultivators are largely marginal [76%] or small [17%] land holders. The average net irrigated area in the mountain districts is just ten per cent of the net sown area, as against 83.5 per cent in the plain districts. Among the mountain farmers, the worst are the SC farmers. According to the 2005-06 Agricultural Census in Uttarakhand, their average holding size is only 0.51 hectares versus 0.83 hectares for all mountain cultivators. Scheduled caste cultivators in the plains are only slightly better off with an average holding of 0.65 hectares against 1.09 hectares for all the plains farmers.

4.Migration

Due to low fertility of mountain soils and poor irrigation facilities, most mountain families are unable to grow sufficient food grains to meet the annual household requirements. This has led to many farming families giving up farming in the last quarter century or so. Earlier

able-bodied men from poor mountain families migrated to other parts of the country in search of jobs or joined the army. Now entire families are migrating out of mountain villages to the four southern districts. The population in Pauri-Garhwal and Almora actually declined during the decade 2001-2011.

5.Environmental Problems

Pollution has become a serious problem in Uttarakhand. In 2010, the Uttarakhand Environmental Protection and Pollution Control Board [UEPPCB] issued closure notices to 52 manufacturers for causing pollution [Prashant, 2011]. Later it cited 374 industrial units for environmental pollution in the state. Paper and pulp industries, sugar mills, distilleries and other industries routinely discharge effluents directly into the important tributaries of the Ganga. The massive growth of tourism and commercial activity in Haridwar city has caused serious air pollution [Joshi and Semwal, 2011]. The increase in the number of tourists has led to large-scale illegal construction of hotels and buildings on river banks and riverbed sand mining to meet the demand of the construction industry [Chakravarthy, 2013].

CONCLUSION

The demand for a separate state of Uttarakhand was closely linked to the neglect of the mountainous regions. However, the governments of Uttarakhand post statehood, have neglected Uttarakhand's predominantly mountain character and adopted the conventional model of development followed in the rest of India. The people-centred green development path hoped for during the movement for separate statehood has been ignored. The benefits of economic development post-statehood have been reaped mainly by the plains. The neglect of Uttarakhand's mountainous character has endangered its mountainous communities. The faster growing economic sectors of the state economy have brought some growth to the mountain areas but in the process seriously endangered ecological sustainability and livelihood security [Chopra, 2014].

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION AND POLICY SUGGESTIONS

The Union of India currently consists of twenty-eight states, all of which vary in size [When Jammu and Kashmir was a state, the tally of states in India was twenty-nine in number. However, after Jammu and Kashmir was bifurcated and declared a Union Territory along with Leh in August 2019, the number of states in India currently stands at twenty-eight]. The size of a state essentially refers to its geographical area and has a crucial impact on its progress and development. In the light of this background, the present study was undertaken primarily to contemplate on whether the size of a state plays a crucial role in its progress and development. Both large states and small states have their pros and cons. The very advantage that large states enjoy in terms of harnessing the fullest potential of resources - natural, financial and human- appears to be the chief disadvantage of regions which are claiming backwardness and separate statehood. The regions or areas within a large state which have already claimed separate statehood or are in the process of claiming separate statehood, justify their claims on the basis of the step-motherly treatment given to them by the region which is in proximity to the capital city.

In all the three states which were part of the present study, viz. Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand and Uttarakhand, the causal factors guiding separate statehood movements have varied. In the case of Jharkhand, it was the low development of the region vis a vis the rest of Bihar which propelled a separate statehood movement. In the case of Uttarakhand, it was the relative prosperity of the region that compelled the demand for a separate smaller state. The proponents of a separate state alleged that the larger state of Uttar Pradesh was appropriating the revenue earned by the Uttarakhand region mainly from tourism. The nature of the separate statehood movement in Chhattisgarh was unique as it was based on the distinct socio-cultural identity that the region had vis a vis the rest of Madhya Pradesh. Given the fact that all the three states were created from larger states- Chhattisgarh from Madhya Pradesh, Jharkhand from Bihar and Uttarakhand from Uttar Pradesh provides sufficient ground for proof that the large size of a state often is a liability rather than an asset in the progress and development of the state.

There were various aspects of separate and new states which the present thesis sought to understand, particularly with reference to the three new states which were created in 2000 - Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand and Uttarakhand. Firstly, the thesis had attempted to understand the difference between the past and present statehood movements in India. It is significant to note that after independence, it was language which formed the basis for segregating regions and larger states into newer states. People speaking the same language within a state united to demand a new state on the basis of the distinct language that they spoke. The states born out of such a demand included Andhra Pradesh, Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Gujarat, Punjab and Haryana. In present times however, it has been the developmental principle that has guided separate statehood demands. This applies to a certain extent in the case of all the three states which were created in 2000- Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand and Uttarakhand although other factors also played a role. The developmental criteria guided the separate statehood movement even in the case of the most recently created state of Telangana, which was accorded the status of a separate state in the Indian Union in June 2014. Thus, drawing from the rationale of separate statehood movements in the three states - Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand and Uttarakhand - it appears that issues of development are most likely to be the determining factor in the case of any new states which are likely to be created in the future.

The second question that the thesis sought to address was whether there is a link between the size of a state and its administrative and developmental efficiency. The data gathered from both the primary as well as secondary sources shows that the size of the state does play a crucial role in its progress and development. All the three states have performed better on the various qualitative and quantitative parameters identified. Separation from the parent state has thus proved beneficial for the new small states.

The thesis made an attempt to understand the advantages and disadvantages of small states in India. This information was gathered by interviewing the general public, academicians, businessmen, academicians and government officials from the three states under study. The advantages of small states which came forth through the present study include the proximity of people to the administration, increase in educational opportunities, increase in employment opportunities, improvement in transport facilities and industrial development. Nevertheless, despite the progress made by the states, there are several challenges which persist in the small states post statehood. In the case of Uttarakhand, it has been pointed out

that hilly regions of the state continue to lag behind in development. Besides, the state also faces the problem of outward migration of the inhabitants of the hilly areas to the plain areas either within the state or outside the state due to the lack of employment opportunities in the hilly regions. Certain parts of the state, especially the hilly regions also face the problems of scarcity of water, lack of medical facilities and excessive sand extraction from the rivers which is an ecological danger. The challenges faced by the state of Chhattisgarh include under-utilisation of manpower and resources, corruption among administrative officials, hampering of tourism because of the fear of naxalism, non-return of skilled labour to the state and skewed developmental pattern which includes the diversion of water from agricultural areas to power plants. In the case of Jharkhand, the problems faced by the state include injustice to dalits, atrocities by the police, violations of human rights, corruption among administrative officials and naxalism. It must be noted that these challenges in the three states did not emerge post-statehood. Rather these challenges were already present in the regions when they were part of their parent states. Thus, these challenges have continued post-separation from the parent states. It is a challenge for the governments of the three states to overcome the same.

The information gathered from the field proves that the size of a state does play a crucial role in its progress and development. C. H. Hanumantha Rao points out that the effectiveness of planning at the state level corresponds to the size of the state [Rao, 2005, pp 199-200]. According to him, if the size of the state is small, it has a greater ability to take speedy decisions, to frame programmes corresponding to the needs of the people and the resource endowments of the region along with the effective implementation of the same. Nevertheless, it should be noted that the size of the state is not the only factor guiding progress and development. Other factors also have a role to play such as the political stability in the state, healthy law and order environment and respect for human rights. Besides, the progress of a small state also depends on whether the state has been able to build on further on its infrastructural facilities including electricity, water, roads, telecommunication, etc.

On the basis of this study it can be safely assumed that if a state has experienced political stability, it is also likely to perform better on the various quantitative parameters [in this case on the various parameters identified]. For example, the states of Uttarakhand and Chhattisgarh have on the whole experienced political stability in their initial years unlike

Jharkhand which in the first decade of its creation experienced political instability. Thus, the progress made by Uttarakhand and Chhattisgarh can be attributed firstly to the stable political environments that the states enjoyed in the initial years after their creation. Protection of Human Rights is also a determining factor in the progress of a state. The better the protection of Human Rights, the better a state is likely to progress on various fronts. Uttarakhand has experienced lesser human rights violations as compared to Chhattisgarh and Jharkhand which have experienced several human rights violations. The types of human rights violations experienced by Chhattisgarh include violence against women, violation of the rights of tribal women, child labour, child abuse, lack of freedom of expression of opinion for women, human trafficking, sexual exploitation of women and torture by the police. Jharkhand has witnessed human rights violations in the nature of stifling of voices of those expressing views against the Government, forced migration, naxalism, violation of the rights of women and children, child labour, etc.

The final question which the thesis sought to address was to identify the critical factors shaping governance and development in small states. The inputs collected from the field through interaction with various personnel reveal that the following suggestions if incorporated into the policy making will contribute to the progress and development of small states. In the case of Chhattisgarh the measures which need to be taken include improvement of the educational sector with particular emphasis on female education, development of road transport particularly in villages and development of air transport, development of infrastructure, increase in employment opportunities, industrial development, agricultural development, environmental conservationism, improvement of law and order, promotion of tourism, development of tribal areas and eradication of social evils. In the case of Jharkhand, the measures which need to be taken include the improvement of educational facilities with particular emphasis on quality education, increasing employment opportunities, promotion of new industries, improvement in agriculture, eradication of corruption, improved health facilities, industrial development, women's empowerment and security, adopting principles of good governance, stable government, freedom for media for expression of opinion and effective utilisation of resources. The strategies of reform needed in Uttarakhand include the adoption of modern agricultural techniques with particular emphasis on promoting indigenous methods of farming, the expansion of educational facilities especially for the poor, better hospitals and improved health facilities especially in the remote areas, better transport facilities and

improved accessibility to rural areas, improvement of the tourism sector, improvement of the quality of higher education, long-term planning for agricultural development, controlling migration from the hilly areas to the plain areas by creating employment opportunities in the hilly regions. A clear-cut policy for industrial development is needed with a focus on small-scale industries. There has to be increased focus on adventure and religious tourism. Natural Resources need to be effectively utilized. Horticulture needs to be improved. Yoga and Naturopathy needs to be promoted. Stable Governance and visionary politicians are also essential for the progress and development of the state. Small scale industries need to be strengthened with a renewed focus on agriculture related processing industries. Cultivation of Medicinal plants needs to be promoted.

5.1 POLICY SUGGESTIONS FOR PROGRESS AND DEVELOPMENT OF SMALL STATES

The demands for new states in India will continue to crop up and it can be anticipated that a sizeable number of small states will be created in the years to come. The information gathered for this thesis from both primary and secondary source enables to arrive at a blueprint for the progress and development of existing small states as well as for states which are likely to be created in the future. However, while proposing a draft model for small states, it must be remembered that the position of the three states at the time of their creation in 2000 was different from each other. Uttarakhand was relatively better off as compared to Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh at the time of their creation. The Uttarakhand region was already progressive as many industrial hubs, tourism spots and pilgrimage centres were located in this region. In comparison, Jharkhand had to almost start from scratch on various fronts. Chhattisgarh could be positioned somewhere in between the two. Nevertheless, in all the three cases, statehood provided the much-needed impetus required to develop progressively on the administrative and developmental front. Thus, the following policy suggestions are a general pattern which need to be borne in mind while planning development of a small state. The policies have to be remodelled and customised to suit individual requirements of the states to be created.

Prior to the creation of a small state, it has to be deeply studied whether the proposed new state has the capability to survive on its own after separation from the parent state. In the course of doing so, the key areas of progress and development in the new areas need to be identified. With the assumption that the necessary infrastructural facilities such as

electricity, water, telecommunication, roads etc. are already present, this thesis has been able to identify five crucial areas in small states which need to be focussed on post its separation from the parent state. The five areas include Agriculture, Industry, Health, Education and Employment.

1.Agriculture

As has been the case of the three small states which have been studied - Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh and Uttarakhand- any new state that is created has to lay primary emphasis on developing agriculture which is the primary basis of sustenance of any economy. Development of agriculture would include providing adequate financial support to the farmers of the state in cultivating the chief crop which is native to that particular state. In the case of Chhattisgarh and Jharkhand it would be rice and wheat. In the case of Uttarakhand, it could be rice and sugarcane. In the case of Uttarakhand, it would be rice. In addition, the cultivation of other crops, that is, the supplementary crops should also be promoted. Agricultural Productivity can be increased by providing suitable assistance to the farmers particularly in the form of interest free loans and subsidy. Sectors which are allied to agriculture such as horticulture and floriculture also need to be developed. All the three states can make the best use of the pleasant climate to cultivate seasonal fruits, vegetables and flowers. Irrigational facilities need to be developed to the fullest and in particular regions which are arid need to be covered with irrigational facilities.

With regard to the state of Chhattisgarh, the 'Vision 2022' document compiled and prepared by the Confederation of Indian Industry, aims to educate the farmers on the latest techniques of farming and use of high variety seeds. The state aims to increase the number of state agricultural colleges⁶⁷ with a focus on research and development, to boost cooperative marketing, to provide cheaper agricultural loans, to reduce the number of intermediaries and to provide stable infrastructure such as storage warehouses and transportation. The Vision 2021⁶⁸ of the Government of Jharkhand, aims to tackle the

⁶⁷State Agricultural Universities take on the overall obligation for teaching, research and extension activities. These Universities acknowledge the philosophy of service to agriculture and the rural community. They lay emphasis on programmes which have a direct bearing to providing remedies to the social and economic obstacles faced by the rural population. They seek to transmit novel ideas not only to students but also to extension workers and farmers [Singh, 1984].

⁶⁸The 'Vision 2021' document of the government of Jharkhand was prepared by a sub-committee under the auspices of the State Development Council.

problem of low income of farmers. According to the National Sample Survey⁶⁹ Office [NSSO] data [68th round 2011-12] more than 45 per cent of the farmers families in Jharkhand live in poverty, which is the highest figure in the country. The state aims to increase the income of the farming community by 60 per cent by 2020 and further double it by 2022. In order to achieve this target, the action plan has drafted a robust programme for transforming the agriculture and allied sectors. The measures include raising agricultural productivity, ensuring remunerative returns to farmers by strengthening access to markets and market linkages, switching over to sustainable agricultural practices, boosting the extension of agriculture and strengthening the implementation of risk management measures. Besides, the state also plans to concentrate on expansion of the rural non-farm sector to add on to the income of its farmers. In order to attain a consistent growth in these sectors, the state government of Jharkhand aims by 2021 to increase the net irrigated area, to accentuate the seed replacement ratio, to improve the productivity of crops, to strengthen the marketing of agriculture, to provide insurance for crops, to expand livelihoods based on animal husbandry, to tap the full potential for the development of inland fisheries and assistance to off-farm economic activities. The Vision 2022 of the Government of Uttarakhand aims at improving the output and standard of agricultural products, to strengthen market linkages by building cold chain⁷⁰ infrastructure and providing market intelligence information to the farming community, to promote mixed forestry and to pioneer organic farming. According to a study done by Modi and others in 2009, the rural areas, farms and the markets in the hilly regions of the state of Uttarakhand lack proper connectivity as there is shortage of cold chain facilities. Consequently, farmers depend on the nearest road for transportation. The lack of adequate cold chain facilities leads to greater loss of fresh produce [Bharti and Mittal, 2018, Pp 255].

2.Industry

The second area which needs to be developed is Industry. Industrial development is crucial to the progress of any state and more so in the progress of newly created states. Industrial

⁶⁹The National Sample Survey is carried out on a regular basis by the National Sample Survey Organization [NSSO]. From the year 1972 onwards, the NSSO has been under the auspices of the Union Governments' Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation. The NSS was initiated by the Government of India to gather nationally representative information on household structure, consumption and production.

⁷⁰Cold chain consists of temperature-controlled surface transport and storage facilities or simply temperature-controlled chain of supply. It enables extension of the shelf life of products such as fresh agricultural produce, seafood, frozen food, photographic film, chemicals and pharmaceutical drugs [NPCS Team, 2014].

development is significant not only from the point of economy but also from the point of job-creation and employment opportunities. If there are sufficient employment opportunities which are created by industries in the state itself, the out migration from the states can be controlled. Industrial initiatives like ‘Make in India⁷¹’ can be locally adopted and customised by the newly created state according to their own specific assets and liabilities. New states should promote new industries in addition to the existing ones. The chief industry of Chhattisgarh and Jharkhand is steel while Uttarakhand is the hub of major pharmaceutical companies.

The Industrial Policy of the state of Chhattisgarh, 2014-19 aims at promoting the manufacturing sector on a priority basis. On the lines of the “Make in India” initiative of the central government, the state sought to design its own plan “Make in Chhattisgarh”. The industrial policy aims at bringing the state of Chhattisgarh at par with the already progressive industrial states of the country by 2024 by reaping the fruits of the conducive environment created for industrialization in the state. The present industrial policy seeks to maintain balanced industrial development by ensuring the provision of relatively higher economic incentives for the purpose of industrial development to the areas which are industrially backward in the state. It seeks to set up industries in sectors which are environment-friendly and which depend on manpower which is skilled. These sectors include information technology, bio-technology, agriculture and food processing, minor forest produce, herbal and forest medicine processing, automobile, pharmaceutical, electrical and electronics, new and renewable energy equipment manufacturing, textile and core-sector based down-stream industries on an immediate basis. The policy also seeks to guarantee the participation of industries in developing the skills of the local population.

The Jharkhand industrial and investment policy 2016 seeks to create industry-friendly environment for enhancing investment particularly in mineral and natural resource-based industries, MSMEs, development of infrastructure and rejuvenation of potentially sick units. The policy aims to increase to the maximum extent possible the value addition to the state’s natural resources by establishing industries across the state, which will lead to

⁷¹‘Make in India’ was an initiative launched by the Prime Minister of India on 25th September, 2014. The primary objective of this initiative was to make India a global manufacturing hub by encouraging the production of goods by multinationals as well as domestic companies within the territory of India. This initiative also aims to increase job opportunities, promote innovation, improve skill development and provide protection to intellectual property.

generation of revenue and creation of employment opportunities. The policy seeks to transform Jharkhand into a favoured destination for investors and to boost sustainable industrial growth of the state. It aims at promoting qualitative enhancement of skill and human resources of the state by boosting 'ease of doing business', enabling manufacturing processes and zero effluent discharge plants.

On 7th January 2003, the central government announced a package of industrial inducements for the hilly states of Himachal Pradesh and Uttarakhand. The said package was at the onset implemented for a period of 10 years until 6th January 2013. Subsequently the scheme was extended from 7th January 2013 to 31st March 2017 with certain changes. The improvised package aims at providing capital investment subsidy for all upcoming units and to the current units on substantial expansion at the rate of 15 per cent of investment of plant and machinery. This subsidy would be limited to an amount of rupees 50 lakh for MSME units and Rupees 30 lakh for others. The state government of Uttarakhand has been voicing its demand for a separate industrial policy for Himalayan states taking into consideration crucial factors such as ecology and population of the area. Constraints of environment and terrain pose barriers to investment in the region, especially in the hilly areas.

3.Health

The Health Sector has a pivotal role to play in the progress and development of any new state. The focus should be on developing both the quantity and quality healthcare through an intricate network of government and private medical institutions and hospitals. The ratio of hospitals has to be proportionate to the number of patients in need of medical care. Health Centres have to be developed even in the remotest villages. In all three states under study, developing medical facilities at the rural level are still a challenge. Maternal and infant care requires utmost care.

The state of Chhattisgarh has made a remarkable progress in terms of overcoming the dangers arising out of unscientific diagnosis and cure of diseases especially in the tribal regions of the state. The 'Mitatin' [female-friend] programme has been successful in bringing down infant mortality rate and maternal mortality rate. According to a study done by the Community Health Cell Bangalore on the request of the Government of Chhattisgarh, the 'Mitatin' programme has encompassed all areas and there is the presence

of 'Mitatins' in almost all areas. The state runs the 'chirayu yojana' which prioritizes children's health and nutritional consumption by conducting regular medical check-ups at anganwadis and government run schools. This scheme has helped to identify children in the age category of zero to fifteen years suffering from heart ailments residing in the rural and far-flung regions of the state. The children thus identified are then provided with the necessary medical intervention which includes even corrective operations at top medical facilities free of cost under the chief minister's child heart scheme for children.

Among the states of India, Jharkhand falls in the category of the bottom five recording the lowest life expectancy of 65.6 years in rural areas. However, the state has demonstrated significant progress in reducing its Infant Mortality Rate [IMR] which stood at 50 in 2005, to 32 in 2015 as per the Sample Registration Survey [SRS]⁷². However, rural families lack overall access to any form of health insurance which is limited to nominal 13.2 per cent as per the National Family Health Survey [NFHS]⁷³-4[2015]. Besides, there is significant gap in the availability of health facilities and services at various levels. In the light of this background, the State government has outlined in its Vision 2021 document that it would prioritize the provision of health services in regions which are deficit in the same. The State aims to reduce the gap of the requisite number of health facilities in rural areas and improve availability by increasing Primary Health Centres [PHCs] and Community Health Centres [CHCs] in each subsequent year; guarantee access to crucial health care services in rural areas such as maternal, child and reproductive health, nutrition, tackling the dangers arising out of communicable diseases and non-communicable diseases and improving the strength of the human resource staff in the realm of health.

The Vision 2022 document of the state of Uttarakhand aims at setting up five new medical colleges in different regions of the state as against the present four. The provisions for training para medical persons is lacking as there is acute shortage of nurses, technicians

⁷²The Sample Registration Survey (SRS) is a demographic survey undertaken on a large-scale for the purpose of obtaining and making available annual estimates of infant mortality rate, birth rate, death rate and other fertility and mortality indicators at the national and sub-national levels. It was initiated on a temporary basis by the Office of the Registrar General, India in a few states in 1964-65 and was converted into a permanent comprehensive exercise in 1969-1970 [SRS Bulletin, May 2019].

⁷³The National Family Health Survey (NFHS) is a detailed, multiple-round survey which is carried out in a representative sample of households across the country. The first survey was carried out in 1992-93. The survey provides vital national statistics on fertility, infant and child mortality, family planning, mother and child health, reproductive health, nutrition, anemia, utilization and quality of health and family planning services.

and paramedics Institutional deliveries in the state accounts only for 30 per cent of the total deliveries while 69.5 per cent deliveries are conducted at home, out of which a nominal 7.5 per cent are conducted by trained personnel [Source: District Level Household and Facility Survey -3⁷⁴]. The state aims at operationalizing a framework to ensure that women have accessibility to the services of trained personnel in the process of deliveries. The state seeks to open two hospitals patterned on the lines of the All India Institute of Medical Sciences [AIIMS] to cater to critical and major illnesses within the state. According to the District Level Health Survey, only 59.8 per cent children in the age group of 12 to 23 months are completely immunized. Therefore, the state seeks to extend the coverage of the Reproductive and Child Health [RCH] programme to ensure 100 per cent immunization by the year 2022.

4.Education

Any state which is newly created needs to have a clear-cut educational policy which is aimed at achieving the literacy and education of the maximum individuals. The educational system needs to be based on the corresponding employment opportunities in the state. The quality of education needs to be given an improved focus. While the major thrust of education should rest with state run educational institutions, the government of a new small state should also encourage the setting up of private educational institutions especially in the professional domain. While the primary emphasis has to be on the quality of education, attention should also be paid to making education accessible and available to all.

The state government of Chhattisgarh has drafted several initiatives aimed at making available educational opportunities in every location of Chhattisgarh and also to enable the regions affected by naxalism to access educational facilities. Two programmes of the state government in this context deserve special mention. These programmes -Prayas and Porta Cabin model- have led to a steady increase in the attendance of children in the tribal regions and have led to a decrease in the drop out percentage in the course of the last few years. The Prayas programme which was launched in July 2010 identified meritorious students

⁷⁴The District Level Household Survey-3 under the auspices of the Ministry of Health and Family Welfare, Government of India covered 611 districts in India. The purpose of the survey was providing information on family planning, maternal and child health, reproductive health of women with marital status and adolescent girls, utilization of maternal and child healthcare services at the district level for India. Besides, it also provides vital information on new-born care, post-natal care within 48 hours, role of ASHA in improving the reproductive and child health care and coverage of Janani Suraksha Yojana [<http://rchiips.org/>].

from districts which were identified by left-wing extremism and other tribal locations and placed them in tribal hostels in the capital city of Raipur, where they were provided coaching parallel to their regular studies at the higher secondary level. Under the Porta [portable] cabin model, the state government in 2011 installed portable cabins, having a 500-seater capacity, across all the districts which were affected by left wing extremism. The reason for this step was the constant attacks of the naxals on concrete structures. The portable residential schools were constructed out of material such as bamboo and plywood which could easily dismantled during times of crises. These schools also ensured that schools were not used as hideouts or armed camps by naxals. In order, to combat the problem of skewed gender ratio among students, the government has set up numerous Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalayas [KBGY] and hostels for girls across the state, especially in educationally backward blocks [EEB]. Each of these hostels have a capacity to accommodate 100 students and has played a crucial role in increasing the female literacy rate in the state. The state also has implemented the Saraswati Cycle Yojana which provides female students from standards 9th to 12th hailing from scheduled castes and scheduled tribes community and children of BPL [Below Poverty Line] card holders with free cycles.

In the case of Jharkhand, school education is provided through 47,441 primary and 4,601 secondary schools, where the total student enrolment is 81 lakh students. Presently a total of 1.95 lakh teachers and 70,000 para teachers are employed in the system. The state has already attained universal access to elementary education as per the guidelines of the Right to Education, that is having one primary school within 1 km radius and 1 upper primary school within 3 km radius of every habitation. The last few years has witnessed significant improvement in infrastructure and quality of primary education. The State presently is prioritizing the strengthening of education at secondary level and tackling the challenges pertaining to equity and inclusion. According to the Vision 2021 document of the state of Jharkhand, the key focus areas for the State for improving school education include the improvement of the quality of education and learning outcomes, improvement of the enrolment and reduction of dropout at secondary level, addressing regional disparities with regard to enrolment, access and learning outcomes with special attention towards marginalized communities and underserved areas, strengthening access and infrastructure and vocationalisation at the secondary level and consolidation of monitoring and governance.

The state government of Uttarakhand in July 2016 launched the DEEKSHA programme with the aim of raising the bar of the quality of education. DEEKSHA stands for Dedication to Enhance Education through Knowledge, Skill and Habit Assessment. The basic objective of the DEEKSHA project is to ensure that regular assessment of students' performance is conducted and remedial measures are taken to improve their knowledge base and performance. The programme aims at raising the quality of education in state run schools. The programme includes the Continuous and Comprehensive Evaluation [CCE]⁷⁵ and Learning Level Assessment [LLA]⁷⁶. The CCE would be used to assess the learning levels in the primary classes and the LLA would be implemented for the students of the senior classes.

5. Employment

Employment is a crucial indicator of a state's progress. Suitable employment opportunities need to be created in order to harness the maximum human resources. Employment in various sectors such as agriculture, industry, etc., need to be created in keeping with the specific skills acquired by individuals in the course of their education. Conversely, the educational curriculum also needs to be developed in keeping with the kind of jobs which are in existence at present and also in anticipation of the kind of jobs which are likely to be created in the future. If sufficient employment opportunities are available in the state itself, the outmigration of youth can be controlled.

In the state of Chhattisgarh, according to official statistics, 2.5 million people have registered themselves in different employment exchanges across the state. However, till the year 2013, the state had the lowest rate of unemployment in the country, as per the annual employment and unemployment survey report for 2012-13 which was released by the labour bureau under the Union ministry of labour and employment. In the state of Jharkhand, the unemployment rate according to usual principal & subsidiary status

⁷⁵According to the CBSE, Continuous and Comprehensive Evaluation refers to a system of school-based evaluation of students that encompasses all dimensions of students' development. The term '*continuous*' means that evaluation of pre-determined dimensions of students' growth and development is a continuous process. It includes regularity of evaluation, frequency of unit testing, identifying gaps in learning, use of remedial measures, retesting and feedback of proof to teachers and students to self-evaluate themselves. The term '*comprehensive*' means that the aim of the scheme is to cover both the scholastic and non-scholastic areas of students' growth and development.

⁷⁶According to the CBSE, assessment of learning includes working with the proof that is available that helps staff and the broader assessing community to maintain a record of pupils' progress and utilize this information in several ways.

approach [PS+SS]⁷⁷ stood at 2.2% during 2011-12. The steps that need to be taken for reduction of poverty and unemployment and to increase monthly per capita expenditure [MPCE] point to the need for improving the productivity of various sectors particularly agriculture and increase the earning of those who are engaged in this sector. Promotion of rural non-farm sector and encouragement of skilling of the workforce will play a crucial role in improve their productivity and earning, and create a healthy environment for investment, particularly in enterprises which are labour-intensive. In the state of Uttarakhand, the total number of people who are unemployed has nearly doubled from 565,000 in 2011-12 to 938,000 in 2015-16. According to reports brought out by the media, out of the 16,793 village in the state, about 3,000 hardly have any people residing there. An increasing number of villages in the state are witnessing a fast pace of migration, particularly by the youth on account of the lack of education and employment opportunities. The 2011 census migration data points out that around 97,700 people had migrated from Uttarakhand to cities and towns outside the state in the course of the last ten years.

5.2 ADMINISTRATIVE AND GOVERNANCE REFORMS

One of the reasons why states claim separate statehood is because they feel that the administration and instruments of governance are distantly located from them. Thus, when a new state is created from a larger parent state, the first advantage that automatically follows is that administration and governance become closer to the people. Nevertheless, certain reforms may still be needed even when administration and governance have become nearer to the regions which were demanding the same.

First and foremost, the administration of a new state should make sure that it gives equal treatment to all the regions within the new state. For instance, the newly created state of Uttarakhand is comprised of plain regions such as Dehradun, Haridwar and Rishikesh and also the hilly regions such as Kumaon-Gharwal. During the course of this study it was found that the common people in the hilly regions such as Pauri-Garhwal still find it difficult to access the state administration which is located in the plains, namely Dehradun.

⁷⁷According to the PS+SS approach, if any individual has participated in any economic activity for a period of 30 days or more during the preceding 365 days, he/she is regarded as employed.

A mechanism needs to be worked out whereby people of the hilly regions also have closer contact with the administration. Administrative branches of state government offices should be established in the hilly regions. Small steps such as this will play a big role in solving the administrative woes of far-flung regions.

Secondly, the governance should be as transparent as possible. Vigilance mechanisms such as State Vigilance Commissions and Lokayuktas should be immediately set up in new states so that there is no breeding ground for corruption.

Thirdly, the size of large districts in small states can be reduced possibly by dividing the larger districts into smaller states. This would enable the district level administration to become much more effective and efficient in carrying out the day to day functioning of the districts. The process of administrative reorganisation necessitates the demand for cadre revision of administrative officers. The Telangana model can be adopted in existing small states and also the new states which are likely to emerge in the future. In Telangana, the post of Deputy Secretary has been created in every district headquarters besides the existing posts of Collector and Joint Collector to oversee land and revenue affairs. The posts of coordinators have been created in each district to assist Collectors in the implementation of welfare schemes. Regional coordinators have also been appointed for every four districts to oversee the functioning of new districts. The government proposed the appointment of senior Indian Administrative Services [IAS] officials as Regional Coordinators to ensure speedy approval of proposals to help implement development and welfare programmes. The regional Coordinators are to be assigned the responsibility of ensuring that proposals sent by the district authorities are approved by the government without delay.

5.3 STATE SPECIFIC POLICIES FOR CORRECTING REGIONAL IMBALANCES WITHIN THE STATES

The strong feelings of regional disparities played a crucial role in the demands for separate statehood of Uttarakhand, Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh from Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Madhya Pradesh respectively, though the tribal and linguistic factors were also important. The people of the Chhattisgarh region of Madhya Pradesh felt that a separate state was imperative for development to take place in the region. When the States Reorganization

Commission was set up in 1954, the demand for a separate Chhattisgarh was presented to it. However, this demand was not accepted on the grounds that the prosperity of Chhattisgarh would compensate for the poverty of the other regions of Madhya Pradesh. Ultimately, the creation of Chhattisgarh was the outcome of the expression of the people's demand which was voiced through democratic channels. The state of Jharkhand which came into existence on 15th November 2000 as the 28th state of the Indian Union is the homeland of tribals which they had dreamt of for centuries. The Jharkhand movement for separate statehood had as its basis the lack of development in the Jharkhand region which was inhabited mainly by the Adivasis. The relative development profile of the Jharkhand region was better than that of Bihar as a whole in the 1950s. It was only from the 1960s onwards that the development of the region suffered a setback or did not progress at the same rate as of Bihar as a whole. The development profile of the region of Jharkhand gradually deteriorated over the years and soon reached a point where developmental progress in the region became stagnant. With the passing years, the issue of poor performance of the public-policy delivery mechanism further widened the links between the issue of a separate state, the Jharkhandi identity, and the development issues. Nevertheless, after a prolonged Struggle by the Jharkhandis the state of Jharkahand came into existence on 15th November 2000. The Uttarakhand region comprising of the eight hilly districts located in the central Himalayan Zone was among the most underdeveloped regions of Uttar Pradesh. During the first five-year plan period, the Uttarakhand region was not covered under any developmental schemes either by the Central or State Government. With the onset of the third five-year plan, certain steps towards the development of this region were taken. The main objectives in this regard were reduction in inter-regional inequalities in several kinds of opportunities, optimum utilization of natural resources, fulfilment of need of area people and increasing the opportunity of employment and avenues of income in the region. High priority was suggested for the development of horticulture, diversification of agriculture, development of tourism, animal husbandry, minor irrigation, forestry, soil-conservation, development of local resource base industries, augmentation of various infrastructural facilities such as roads, power, marketing and credit and financial institutions and fulfilment of basic amenities such as drinking water, basic education and health facilities [Mehta, 1996, Pp. 181-182]. However, despite all these steps, the socio-economic profile of the region remained the same. The main reason of the discontent of the Kumaun-Garhwal region was their dissatisfaction with the fact that the plain areas of this huge state have prospered at the cost of the neglect of

the hill people. The roots of the movement for a separate state of Uttarakhand could be attributed to the very failure of the state-led developmental process to bring about any significant change in the lives of the poor people of the villages. The so-called hill development projects impoverished the hill districts and also created additional ecological burdens on the people. For instance, when the Union Government began constructing new roads along the Himalayan border to facilitate easy transport of armed personnel and equipment to the border areas, construction work was given to the contractors from the plain land who in turn hire workers from the plains thus denying the local people any employment. If any work was given to the locals, it involved manual labour with very low payment. The people of Uttarakhand have always considered the forests as their basic source of sustenance. However, forest policies denied rights of common property resources which were indicative of the hostile attitude of the State Government. For a very long period of time, scientific forestry symbolized the maximum extraction of timber and forest products from the Himalayas by the Government-sponsored private contractors which brought misery to the hill people. In the guise of progress, the hill areas witnessed large scale deforestation. The paharis ended up being deprived of their right to the forest as a source of livelihood. By the 1990s, the people of the hills were deprived of their rights to water, forests and land. There began the era of privatization of resources from local contractors to rich business contractors in partnership with the State Government [Mukherjee, 2016, Pp 233]. Uttaranchal was formally born on 9th Novemeber, 2000 as the 27th state of the Indian Union.

In the case of Chhattisgarh, the state government has prepared the infrastructure development plan in order to focus on the backward districts of the state. The state has also drafted the Displacement and Rehabilitation Policy of Chhattisgarh which guarantees compensation on a land to land basis and also provides compensation in terms of cash and employment to all affected persons [Yadav:2010].

In the case of Jharkhand, all the areas of the state are not equally developed. The rural areas of the state are less developed than its urban counterparts with the consequent result that the districts which are more urbanised are usually more developed than the rest. Among the districts, the corridor which starts from the east and ends at the south-east, where the districts of Dhanbad, Bokaro, Ramgarh, Ranchi, Saraikela-Kharsawan and Purbi Singhbhum are located, is ahead in development than the districts located in the north-west

and north-east of the state. Within the districts, there are pockets of developed areas within the less-developed districts and less-developed areas within the developed districts. Usually, the administrative blocks having district headquarters are comparatively more developed than those having remote or geographically disadvantaged locations. There is a need to pay more attention to the development of its less developed districts, blocks and villages. The initiatives which were launched in the fiscal year 2018-19 in keeping with the Union Budget/State Budget include the identification of 19 aspirational districts which were to be developed as model districts [Centre + State]. A district level action plan was to be prepared. According to the Jharkhand Vision & Action Plan 2018-2021, special initiatives would be taken to bring about changes in the two most backward [Sahebganj & Pakur], one backward [Godda] and sixteen LWE [Latehar, Lohardaga, Palamau, Purbi Singhbhum, Ramgarh, Ranchi, Simdega, Paschim Singhbhum, Bokaro, Chatra, Dumka, Garhwa, Giridih, Gumla, Hazaribag and Khunti] districts of the State which are included in the list of 115 backward districts of the country identified by NITI Aayog. Besides, as per this macro State Vision and Action Plan, all the 24 districts would formulate their own three years Action Plan along with one-year roadmap wherein intra district backwardness would be countered.

In the case of Uttarakhand, although there have been policy measures for the development of the Hill regions, the implementation part is still lacking. The New Industrial Policy drafted for the hilly areas of the state has not been effective in attracting investment. To ensure balanced industrial growth, the policy needs a revamp. The actual policy challenge lies in creating an environment-friendly micro and small enterprises in the hilly areas. There appears to be an apparent bias in the flow of credit towards priority sectors. The banking sector chooses to finance only developed districts and appears reluctant to take risks in the hilly districts. This has resulted in a consequential gap in development. The hilly regions have a huge potential for the development of horticulture and various types of tourism in the hilly regions. This will result in the creation of employment opportunities for the people of this region, especially the youth and thereby help in addressing the problem of outward migration from the hilly regions. There is also the potential for the development of knowledge-based information technology services in the hilly districts of the state. Besides, there is also the need for equipping the population of the hill districts with adequate skills through specific skills development programmes.

5.4 CONCLUSION

In the backdrop of several statehood movements emerging in different parts of the country, it would be ideal to appoint a second states reorganization commission to decide on the question of further creation of new states from the existing larger states. In fact, in August 2015, representatives of several organizations urged the Central Government to adopt policies aimed at fulfilling the long-existing demands of specific regions by deliberating with a second states reorganization commission. The organizations which put forward these demands included the All Bodo Students Union, Kuki State Demand Committee [KSDC], and Indigenous People's Front of Tripura. It can be safely concluded now that a second states' reorganization commission would no longer consider language as the criteria for creating new states. The developmental principle is the key criteria in deciding the creation of any state. It can also be concluded that size of the state does play a crucial role in its progress and development. Post statehood, all the three states which have been studied as part of this thesis have made progress on the various quantitative and qualitative parameters identified. Several challenges remain even after separation from the parent state. However, these can be combated by adopting the measures suggested in this thesis.

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ANNEXURE I

**QUESTIONNAIRE TO ASSESS PEOPLE'S PERCEPTION OF PROGRESS AND
DEVELOPMENT OF THEIR RESPECTIVE STATE
[FOR THE SOLE PURPOSE OF DOCTORAL STUDY]**

PROFILE OF INTERVIEWEE

SR.NO

Name: Age: Sex: Designation: State:

District:

QUALITATIVE PARAMETERS

1) Have you utilized the Right to Information Act in any way?

1. YES 2.NO 3. If Yes, how/explain

2) Are you aware of any Human Rights violations in your locality?

1. YES 2.NO 3. If Yes, explain

3) Do you feel that the State Government is doing enough for the protection of Human Rights in your state?

1. YES 2.NO 3. If Yes, explain

4) Does your state face serious problems of law and order?

1. YES 2.NO 3. If Yes, state the type of problems faced

5) Has the State Government been successful in tackling the problem of law and order?

1. YES 2.NO 3. Explain

6) Do you feel that your state has experienced political stability ever since it was formed?

1. YES 2.NO 3. Explain

7) What do you feel are the reasons for political instability in your state? Explain.

QUANTITATIVE PARAMETERS

1) Are you satisfied with the Growth Rate of your state?

1. YES 2.NO 3. Explain

2) Is the Literacy Rate of your state satisfactory?

1. YES 2.NO 3. Explain

3) Do you feel that the Sex-Ratio of your state is satisfactory?

1. YES 2.NO 3. Explain

4) Has the state been successful in providing employment to the residents of your state?

1. YES 2.NO 3.Explain

5) Are you satisfied with the agricultural production of your state?

1. YES 2.NO 3. Explain

6) Is the Power/Electricity Supply to your area regular or are there problems/fluctuations?

1. YES 2.NO 3. Explain

7) Has the state been successful in providing regular water supply to your area?

1. YES 2.NO 3.Explain

8) Are you satisfied with the length and quality of Roads in your state?

1. YES 2.NO 3. Explain

9) Are you satisfied with the Internet Connectivity in your area?

1. YES 2.NO 3. Explain

10) Do you feel that the Industrial Growth in your state has been satisfactory?

1. YES 2.NO 3. Explain

11) Has the State Government been successful in attracting domestic and international tourists to your state?

1. YES 2.NO 3. Explain

12) Are you satisfied with your Annual Income?

1. YES 2.NO 3. Explain

13) Do you feel that the Cost of Living is Low/Medium/High in your state?

1. LOW 2. MEDIUM 3. HIGH 4. Explain

14) Do you feel that your state was better off as part of the parent state?

1. YES 2.NO 3. Explain

15) What are your suggestions for future progress and development of your state?

6)What has been the state's response in tackling Human Rights Violations?

7)Does your state suffer from problems of law and order?

1. YES 2.NO 3. Explain

8)How has the state combated the problem of law of order?

9) Has your state experienced political stability?

1. YES 2.NO Explain

10)What are the reasons for political instability in your state?

11)Has your state made sufficient progress in the field of education?

1. YES 2.NO Explain

12)Has the state been successful in providing employment to the residents of your state?

1. YES 2.NO 3.Explain

13) Has the agricultural and industrial production of your state increased in the last 15 years?

1. YES 2.NO 3. Explain

14) Is there regular power and water supply in your state?

1. YES 2.NO 3. Explain

15) Are the length and quality of roads in your state satisfactory?

1. YES 2.NO 3. Explain

16)Is Internet connectivity in your state satisfactory?

1. YES 2.NO 3. Explain

17)Has the State Government been successful in attracting domestic and international tourists to your state?

1. YES 2.NO 3. Explain

18)Do you feel that the cost of living is high in your state?

1. YES 2.NO 3. Explain

19)Has the growth rate of your state been satisfactory?

1. YES 2.NO 3. Explain

20)Do you feel that your state was better off as part of the parent state?

1. YES 2.NO 3. Explain

21) What are your suggestions for future progress and development of your state?

ANNEXURE III

**QUESTIONNAIRE TO ASSESS PERCEPTION OF EDUCATIONISTS ON
PROGRESS AND DEVELOPMENT OF THEIR RESPECTIVE STATE
[FOR THE SOLE PURPOSE OF DOCTORAL STUDY]**

PROFILE OF INTERVIEWEE

SR.NO:

Name: Age: Sex: Designation: State:

District:

1)Did you support separate statehood for your state?

1. YES 2. NO 3. Explain

2)Are you satisfied with the development made by your state in the last 15 years?

1. YES 2.NO 3. Explain

3)State the areas of development in which your state has made remarkable progress

4)Has the Right to Information Act been sufficiently utilized in your state?

1. YES 2.NO 3. Explain

5)What are the kind of Human Rights violations which take place in your state?

6)What has been the state's response in tackling Human Rights Violations?

7)Does your state suffer from problems of law and order?

1. YES 2.NO 3. Explain

8)How has the state combated the problem of law of order?

9) Has your state experienced political stability?

1. YES 2.NO 3. Explain

10)What are the reasons for political instability in your state?

11) Has your state made sufficient progress in the field of education?

1. YES 2.NO 3. Explain

12)Has the state been successful in providing employment to the residents of your state?

1. YES 2.NO 3. Explain

13) Has the agricultural and industrial production of your state increased in the last 15 years?

1. YES 2.NO 3. Explain

14)Is there regular power and water supply in your state?

1. YES 2.NO 3. Explain

15)Are the length and quality of roads in your state satisfactory?

1. YES 2.NO 3. Explain

16) Is Internet connectivity in your state satisfactory?

1. YES 2.NO 3. Explain

17)Has the State Government been successful in attracting domestic and international tourists to your state?

1. YES 2.NO 3. Explain

18)Do you feel that the cost of living is high in your state?

1. YES 2.NO 3. Explain

19)Has the growth rate of your state been satisfactory?

1. YES 2.NO 3. Explain

20)Have educational opportunities increased post 2000?

1. YES 2.NO 3. Explain

21)Is the state government doing enough to promote education in your state?

1. YES 2.NO 3. Explain

22)Has education led to an increase in employment opportunities?

1. YES 2.NO 3. Explain

23)Do you feel that your state was better off as part of the parent state?

1. YES 2.NO 3. Explain

24) What are your suggestions for future progress and development of your state?

ANNEXURE IV

**QUESTIONNAIRE TO ASSESS PERCEPTION OF BUSINESSMEN ON
PROGRESS AND DEVELOPMENT OF THEIR RESPECTIVE STATE
[FOR THE SOLE PURPOSE OF DOCTORAL STUDY]**

PROFILE OF INTERVIEWEE

SR.NO:

Name: Age: Sex: Designation: State:
District:

1)Did you support separate statehood for your state?

2. YES 2. NO 3. Explain

2)Are you satisfied with the development made by your state in the last 15 years?

1. YES 2.NO 3. Explain

3)State the areas of development in which your state has made remarkable progress

4)Has the Right to Information Act been sufficiently utilized in your state?

1. YES 2.NO 3. Explain

5)What are the kind of Human Rights violations which take place in your state?

6)What has been the state’s response in tackling Human Rights Violations?

7)Does your state suffer from problems of law and order?

1. YES 2.NO 3. Explain

8)How has the state combated the problem of law of order?

9)Has your state experienced political stability?

1. YES 2.NO 3. Explain

10)What are the reasons for political instability in your state?

11)Has your state made sufficient progress in the field of education?

1. YES 2.NO 3. Explain

12)Has the state been successful in providing employment to the residents of your state?

1. YES 2.NO 3. Explain

13) Has the agricultural and industrial production of your state increased in the last 15 years?

1. YES 2.NO 3. Explain

14)Is there regular power and water supply in your state?

1. YES 2.NO 3. Explain

15) Are the length and quality of roads in your state satisfactory?

1. YES 2.NO 3. Explain

16)Is Internet connectivity in your state satisfactory?

1. YES 2.NO 3. Explain

17)Has the State Government been successful in attracting domestic and international tourists to your state?

1. YES 2.NO 3. Explain

18) Do you feel that the cost of living is high in your state?

1. YES 2.NO 3. Explain

19)Has the growth rate of your state been satisfactory?

1. YES 2.NO 3. Explain

20)Is the environment for business suitable in your state?

1. YES 2.NO 3. Explain

21)Is the state government doing enough to promote business opportunities in your state?

1. YES 2.NO 3. Explain

22)Are you satisfied with the contribution of business to the development of your state?

1. YES 2.NO 3. Explain

23)Do you feel that your state was better off as part of the parent state?

1. YES 2.NO 3. Explain

24)What are your suggestions for future progress and development of your state?

ANNEXURE V

**QUESTIONNAIRE TO ASSESS PERCEPTION OF MEDIAPERSONS ON
PROGRESS AND DEVELOPMENT OF THEIR RESPECTIVE STATE
[FOR THE SOLE PURPOSE OF DOCTORAL STUDY]**

PROFILE OF INTERVIEWEE

SR.NO:

Name: Age: Sex: Designation: State:
District:

1)Did you support separate statehood for your state?

YES 2. NO 3. Explain

2)Are you satisfied with the development made by your state in the last 15 years?

1. YES 2.NO 3. Explain

3)State the areas of development in which your state has made remarkable progress

4)Has the Right to Information Act been sufficiently utilized in your state?

1. YES 2.NO 3. Explain

5)What are the kind of Human Rights violations which take place in your state?

6)What has been the state’s response in tackling Human Rights Violations?

7)Does your state suffer from problems of law and order?

1. YES 2.NO 3. Explain

8)How has the state combated the problem of law of order?

9)Has your state experienced political stability?

1. YES 2.NO 3. Explain

10)What are the reasons for political instability in your state?

11)Has your state made sufficient progress in the field of education?

1. YES 2.NO 3. Explain

12)Has the state been successful in providing employment to the residents of your state?

1. YES 2.NO 3. Explain

13)Has the agricultural and industrial production of your state increased in the last 15 years?

1. YES 2.NO 3. Explain

14)Is there regular power and water supply in your state?

1. YES 2.NO 3. Explain

15)Are the length and quality of roads in your state satisfactory?

1. YES 2.NO 3. Explain

16)Is Internet connectivity in your state satisfactory?

1. YES 2.NO 3. Explain

17)Has the State Government been successful in attracting domestic and international tourists to your state?

1. YES 2.NO 3. Explain

18) Do you feel that the cost of living is high in your state?

1. YES 2.NO 3. Explain

19)Has the growth rate of your state been satisfactory?

1. YES 2.NO 3. Explain

20) Is there sufficient freedom for media in your state?

1. YES 2.NO 3. Explain

21) Can the press be truly called the fourth estate of democracy in your state?

1. YES 2.NO 3. Explain

22) Which area receives maximum coverage from the media in your state?

1. POLITICS 2. SPORTS 3. ENTERTAINMENT
4. ANY OTHER

23)Do you feel that your state was better off as part of the parent state?

1. YES 2.NO 3. Explain

24)What are your suggestions for future progress and development of your state?
