CHAPTER 1

CONCEPTS AND ISSUES

Movement Studies are recent in India, particularly in Indian Sociology. Indian social scientists were drawn to the study of movements mainly for two reasons. One, movement studies being a virgin area attracted many scholars. Two, movement studies in India owe their popularity to the long drawn struggle for Indian Independence from the British. Majority of analyses of anti-colonial movement were based on records--of opinions and activities of the leaders and the opponents of the movement. These studies did not take into account the experiences of the ordinary participants and their view of the movement. Recently, some scholars have tried to fill this gap by analyzing movements using a perspective from below by resorting to 'oral history' (see, for example, Oommen 1990: 10-26).

India became independent and set out on the path of planned economic development. The objective was sought to be achieved through balanced regional development as the guiding principle. As the regions were not homogeneous, the benefits of the development were to be shared by a
population characterized by considerable diversity. This generated anxiety among the people speaking different languages about the basis of distribution of limited resources. Given this environment of distrust and regional disparities, the fear of exploitation by other linguistic groups gave birth to the emergence of many 'sub-national' movements within independent India. This, paved the way for reorganization of states in India on linguistic basis in 1956 (ibid:29-51).

Acceptance of language as the basis for state formation gave birth to three types of movements in independent India. One, the movements for the formation of sovereign states outside Indian Union (the secessionist movements). Two, the movements which emphasise the rights of the sons of soil (native population) vis-à-vis the 'outsiders' (immigrants from differing linguistic backgrounds). These sharing resources and movements breed animosities to immigrants who compete for employment with the locals. Three, movements for the formation of linguistic states within the framework of Indian nation state. Once language is accepted as a criteria for state formation, movements emerge demanding state formation within these states on the basis of dialects/mother tongues not given adequate identities (ibid.). This study aims to analyze one such regional movement; the movement
for the formation of a separate state of Uttarakhand in Uttar Pradesh, where two languages—Garhwali and Kumaoni—are spoken.

A number of theoretical and methodological issues are involved in the study of regional movements. Movements are most commonly used mechanism through which the deprived categories articulate their discontent and demonstrate power. Guided by an ideology they create organizational devices to ameliorate their condition. Once ideology and organization find favour with the people mobilization becomes easy. Therefore, a movement emerges when men committed to an ideology participate in protest-oriented, purposive collective action. So, mobilization and institutionalization are crucial aspects of a movement and merit adequate attention in any analysis of a movement (ibid.).

One of the important issues in the study of movements is the presumed dichotomy between mobilization and institutionalization. This dichotomy emanates from the presumed structural opposition between movements and institutions. There are two major sources of this confusion: theoretical and empirical. Theoretically the dichotomy is embedded in western epistemological dualism and the displacement syndrome it
entails. Empirically, it is the resultant of exclusive reliance on the extremely limited evidence drawn from capitalist democracies (Oommen 1990: 145 – 159).

Oommen (1990:145-159) shows a way out of this confusion. He suggests that we recognize a social state between fluid state (movements) and solid state (institutions) which are processually linked. Moreover, we know that movements are mechanisms to realize a future vision, which is possible only through institutionalization of values of the movements. In western conceptualization change is supposed to take place through displacement. But evidence from India suggests that change also takes place through gradual accretion. So mobilization and institutionalization are two aspects of a movement, which need not always be mutually exclusive or displace one another.

"Institutions are solidified forms of movements, movements are de-frozen versions of institutions" (ibid:16). Chapter 4 deals with ideology and organization (the institutionalized aspects) of Uttarakhand movement. The mobilizational aspects of the movement have been discussed in Chapter 5.

How men come to develop commitment to an ideology is another issue in the study of movements. Oommen (1990 : 29-51) holds that structural similarity may be a necessary but not a sufficient
condition for the development of similar consciousness. But mobilization of men into collective action is easier if certain of their structural attributes are invoked. This proposition has been examined in relation to Uttarakhand movement.

An important issue which triggers of a regional movement is the absence of balanced economic development. When India gained political independence, economic development was the most pressing issue before the country. This objective was sought to be achieved through the launching of Five Year Economic plans; economic planning was envisaged to lead to balanced regional development. The regions, so identified for economic development were politico-administrative units but not always organized on homogeneous socio-cultural basis. Therefore, the objective of balanced economic development could not be achieved. Thus, a situation of inequitable and unbalanced development within politico-administrative units. The disparity in terms of development has been instrumental in generating discontent among the relatively deprived. The discontent has crystallized in the form of regional movements in some underdeveloped areas. Oommen's (1985) hypothesis: Development → Disparity → Discontent, aptly explains such a situation. Similarly, Joshi (1995: 109-123) views the problem of Uttarakhand as the problem of a backward region in an
underdeveloped state. The emergence of regional movements questions the suitability of units organized for the purpose of balanced regional development. Whether linguistic-cultural areas or socio-cultural regions should form the units for balanced development is the moot question.

Turning to the methodological issues in the study of Regional movements first we need to take up issues relating to the conceptual framework. Any analysis of a regional movement presupposes clear-cut definitions of terms such as 'Region', 'Regionalism' and 'Regional movement'. An understanding of 'Regional movement' as a phenomenon distinct from 'Linguistic/communal regionalism', 'Nativism' and 'Linguistic/cultural movement' is a necessary starting point. Part II of Chapter 1 is devoted to this task. The other methodological issues faced by a student of social movements relates to (a) the scale of the movement and (b) the units and levels of observation. According to Oommen (1990: 25-51) the scale of the movement is determined by three factors: (i) by the number of participants, (ii) the time-span of the movement, and (iii) the social composition of participants.

Any mobilization in order to be labeled as a movement requires a substantial number of participants. This substantiality could be
either in terms of absolute number mobilized or the proportion of population which forms the universe of mobilization. But the definition of participants is again a problem as there are three types of participants (core, rank and file, and peripheral) in all the movements. The time span of a movement is most important factor in defining the scale. It helps us to appreciate the processual aspects of a movement and guards us against mistaking a particular event of the movement, for the movement as a whole. The social composition of participants affects the scale. The greater the homogeneity, the smaller the scale; and the greater the heterogeneity, the larger the scale. But the issue is complicated as the participants have multiple identities. The problem of the scale of the movement has been kept in mind while writing historical background of the movement in Chapter 3.

The other methodological issue relates to units of inquiry and levels of observation. The fluid nature of movements make it difficult for researcher to decide upon the unit of observation in an empirical study. Some take the easy way to get round this problem by focussing their attention only on the organizations and associations involved in the movement, but they miss the processual dimension of movement. To get a holistic picture of the movement a researcher needs to observe the movement at different levels. Usually movements are analyzed in terms of their
ideology, organizational structure, strategies and tactics devised by the leaders. This focus on macro dimensions gives a view from above only. To get a view from below, emphasis should be on the micro dimensions of the movement: observations at grassroots level where ideology is subjected to the process of filtration or accretion to meet the demands of the specific local conditions (ibid.). The micro dimension of Uttarakhand movement has been discussed in Chapter 5.

Leadership is another important issue in the study of movements. Success or failure of a movement depends to a large extent on the quality of leadership. The leadership aspect of the movement has been discussed in Chapter 4. Chapter 5 is devoted to the modus operandi of the movement. Chapter 6 deals with the comparison of Uttarakhand movement with some other movements in Hindi belt. The movements selected for the purpose of comparison are Mithala/Maithili movement and Bhojpur/Bhojpuri movement.

Concept of Region

Norton Ginsberg after examining many a definitions of region remarks that "there is no universally accepted definition of the region except as it refers to some portion of the surface of the earth" (quoted in Crane 1967:5). In the same vein Schwartzberg
(1967:89) defines a region as "a perceived segment of space differentiated from others on the basis of one or more defining characteristics".

Thus, there could be as many types of regions as there are defining criteria. Regions, according to Schwartzberg, could be natural (e.g., the Gangetic plain, Deccan plateau, etc.); political (e.g., the state of Haryana, the district of Sonipat, etc.); economic (e.g., the area of wheat cultivation, dry land farming, etc.) and cultural (e.g., Uttarakhand, Bhojpur, Bundelkhand, etc.).

On the basis of who delimits the region, Schwartzberg (1967:89-101) distinguishes between 'naively given', 'instituted', and 'denoted' regions. "A 'naively given' region is one which is recognized as a meaningful territorial entity by the people who live there and/or by others to whom it is of some concern" (ibid:89). The regions of Uttarakhand, Chhattisgarh, Mewat etc. are naively given socio-cultural regions. In Indian folk perceptions 'desh' conveys the same meaning as that of a naively given region. The limits of such regions are vague as they are not rigorously defined by the people who perceive them. At the root of such a region is the 'we' feeling which emanates from a sense of shared history and/or culture. Instituted regions are "...instituted by human agency as distinct and discrete units
limiting the areal extent of operation of certain function"(Hartshorne as quoted in Schwartzberg 1967:90). The territories of states of Indian Union and their sub-divisions into districts are instituted regions. The 'denoted' regions are "...purposefully delimited by scholars and census officials and others concerned with particular problems..."(Schwartzberg 1967:90). These problems not administrative in nature, are sought to be solved by creation of such regions.

We see that regions are concepts constructed for certain necessities and used for specific purpose, any criteria to identify a region will be as valid as any other. This fluid nature of regions has also been suggested by Barun De (1967:48-88), Wallace (1985), Roy (1985:269-286) and Cohn (1967:5-37).

Barun De (1967:51) maintains that, "...no area can be immutably delineated in space, by means of unchangeable boundaries, or is ever marked out from contiguous territories throughout history by means of the same characteristics". According to Wallace (1985:14) regions "...are not static, geographical, social or political categories". Regions have "dynamic qualities derived from the historical legacies" and propelled by "human elements which respond to and refashion existing identities".
Roy (1985: 278) too believes that “A geographical unit can be characterized in numerous ways by using numerous attributes”. A region according to Roy is “The clustering of attributes in a particular pattern such that it sharply differs from other patterns....” Cohn (1967) argues that it is time, which is crucial to regional classification, not the simple unidimensional distribution of defining phenomenon. He suggests that the boundaries of any given region will vary considerably according to the criteria one applies and the moment in time when the boundaries are drawn. In other words regions are far from being fixed, absolute and enduring things.

Schwartzberg (1967:93) modifies his definition of Region to accommodate the crucial dimension of time. “A region, we may now state, is a perceived segment of the time-space continuum differentiated from others on the basis of one or more defining characteristics”. Any region so defined would be a ‘uniform’ region in Ginsberg’s (1968) typology. A region is ‘uniform’ when recognized to be homogenous with regard to specified variables used to define it. Ginsberg also talks about ‘nodal’ regions. A ‘nodal’ region is defined by the organization of human activity about some central space.
Saberwal (1973), against the backdrop of Ginsberg's 'uniform' and 'nodel' regions, notes that the kind of region that is being used in sociology may be called 'observational region'. He writes that this 'observational region' is neutral as to internal uniformity or differentiation; and in a sociological analysis, the term 'region' is often employed in this manner without specifying either the boundaries or the internal structuring of the referent (ibid:84). But in this study we treat Uttarakhand as a socio-cultural region, defined on the basis of distinct socio-cultural features which have been discussed in Chapter 2.

Regionalism

Schwartzberg (1967:95) defines 'regionalism' as “the awareness which people commonly have of ‘belonging to a particular region... their sense of identification with it and loyalty to it is what is meant by the term regionalism”. Regionalism refers usually to “…conscious or unconscious development of symbols, behavior and movements which will mark off groups within some geographic boundary from others in other regions for political, economic, or cultural ends” (Cohn 1967:21).

To Stein “regionalism refers to the uses (political, economic, cultural) to which certain objective regional facts are put by people” (1967:46). For Schwartzberg regionalism is by and large
a sense of regional identity which has a potential for collective action. On the other hand Cohn (1967) and Stein (1967) maintain that regionalism emerges when regional identity is put to political and/or economic and/or socio-cultural use. They view regionalism as a dynamic force, a basis for collective action.

Barun De (1967:56) puts 'region', 'regional identity' and 'regionalism' in a perspective:

We may define regions as a set of components in space, based on the interaction of community of language, spoken by members, living in contiguity to each other, and additionally linked by common historical memories and/or participation in common social structures or modes of production; regional identity as the perception of relatively permanent emotional, conventional or literary expressions of affinity, which derive from this sort of interaction; and regionalism as the distinctive statement of this affinity, in distinction from broader or narrower loyalties.

Thus 'Region' and 'Regionalism' are conceptually distinct phenomena. Region as a concept helps classification of data which in turn facilitates analysis of a situation. In other words 'Region' is an analytical tool whereas regionalism is an ideology. Mathur (1983:2) defines regionalism as "...a phenomena in which people's political loyalties become focused upon a region".
Region and Regionalism: Interface

We have referred to three types of regions: 'naively given', 'instituted' and 'denoted'. The fact that same area can be viewed under all three types of regions is significant. While discussing inter relationship between regions (of various types) and regionalism, Schwartzberg (1967: 96) proposes that "instituted regional reality affects and gradually alters peoples' naive perceptions of spatial reality and the academics' sophisticated perceptions as well". So, in the course of time new forms of regionalism may emerge replacing the earlier forms. This may also alter the area of reference. Similarly, naively given regional consciousness may become so strong "...as to force an alteration in existing institutionalized regions which came to be regarded as unrealistic, inefficient or unjust" (ibid.). The formation of the states Uttarakhand, Chhattisgarh and Jharkhand are cases in point.

Burton Stein (1967) points out that regionalism may not always confirm to region. He argues that it should be possible to regionalize regionalism by discovering over what area a particular attitude about the areal distribution of a variable is believed. We can ask over what area a particular regionalism, or, as Cohn states it, 'call for action' exists. Usually this happens in culturally heterogeneous regions. This researcher observed that in
Uttarakhand region people in the area of Jaunsar-Bawar (north-west part of Uttarakhand region) did not participate in the movement for separate state whereas other areas of the region saw active involvement of the people (for details see Chapter 5).

Cohn (1967) maintains that regionalism is a cultural phenomenon which is neither inevitable nor an accident. It arises when certain structural and cultural pre-requisites are present. Cohn specifies three such pre-conditions. One, presence of a symbol pool usually made up of religious or linguistic or political-historical or a combination of two or more of these symbols. These symbols provide the basis for the development of the regional identity. The contents of the idea of regionalism in a particular region are drawn from such a pool of symbols. Selection of symbols from the symbol pool is not an easy task. The choice of symbols to be standardized and then transmitted is an outcome of interplay of a multiplicity of factors. To a large extent it depends on the social structure of the region as well as the wider society it is located in.

As Brass (1974: 28) writes:

The political elite choose the cultural symbols upon which they wish to base their claims for group rights, that they make a determination as to which symbol is decisive, and that they then work to make other cleavages congruent with the primary cleavage. Therefore, political conflict may
induce cumulated cleavage just as the reverse process may occur in which cumulated cleavages produce political conflict. In the former case, members of group may change their 'objective' marks of distinction, even such presumed 'givens' as their language or their religion.

The third pre-requisite for the commencement and continuity of regionalism is the emergence of a regional elite. The regional elite plays a crucial role in selection and standardization of symbols. The elite articulates the demands of the movement and provides leadership to it.

Paul Brass (1974: 44) adds two more prerequisites to the successful transformation of an objectively different group of people into subjectively conscious community: one, a socially mobilizing population to whom the symbols of group identity can be transmitted; and two, the existence of one or more groups from whom the group is be differentiated.

Types of Regionalism

On the basis of the symbol used for the identity formation and the ultimate goal of the movement, different forms of regionalism can be identified. But any variety of regionalism never exists in a 'pure' form (Mathur 1983). It manifests itself always as an amalgam of two or more types. In one case religion may combine
with language, in another language may mix with caste. So, the different forms of regionalism identified here are 'ideal types'.

Linguistic-Regionalism

Language has been one of the most frequently used symbols of group identity in post-independence India. In the last fifty years many movements based on linguistic identity and political goals have emerged in India. Punjabi Suba movement for creation of a separate Punjabi speaking State; movement for Marathi speaking Maharashtra State; demand for Telugu speaking Andhra Pradesh; movement for Mithila Pradesh in North Bihar; earlier phase of DMK movement for creation of Dravidistan are examples of linguistic regionalism. Such movements use linguistic symbols to mobilize people to achieve political objectives. Linguistic-regionalism could be separatist, secessionist or expansionist (seeking inclusion of more areas) in nature. In India some language movements have succeeded but not all.

Brass (1974) observes that linguistic-regionalism has not been very successful in north India. Because language here has been a secondary line of cleavage unlike the situation in rest of India. The salience assumed by religious conflict in north India has profoundly affected the process of language change in the region.
In North India, the Hindlmovement has been enormously successful in absorbing speakers of minority languages and dialects during the past century. Brass refers to Deutsch's theory to explain this process. He maintains that the theory can be tested, "The hypothesis here is that the conditions for the differentiation of a culturally distinct ethnic group from a rival group with which it must interact and communicate occur when the rates of social mobilization within the group move faster than the rates of assimilation of the group to the language and culture of its rival" (Brass 1974: 44).

Brass (1974) identifies four rules which have increasingly come to regulate the attitude of the government of India towards regional demands. First, regional demands which stop short of secession will be allowed full expression, but secessionist demands will be suppressed. The second rule is that regional demands based on language and culture will be accommodated, but those based only on religion will not be accepted. The third rule is that only those regional demands will be conceded which are legitimate -- have broad popular support in the region. Thus, a regional movement in order to be successful has to demonstrate its strength. The fourth rule is that demands for division of multilingual states must have some support from different linguistic groups in the state.
Communal-Regionalism

The combination of religion and language has been a very potent symbol for identity formation in India in this century. In contrast to the rest of India, where language has been the chief symbol of group identity and religion a less politically salient symbol, in the north India religion has been the more potent symbol and language the secondary symbol. Though religious and linguistic cleavages have not been congruent in north India, politicians have tried their best to make them congruent. Language has often been turned into symbolic barrier by political elite seeking to advance the interests of their religious communities. When a religion has territorial concentration it can be a basis for identity formation for political mobilization. When people practicing a particular religion and concentrated in an area, use religious identity as a mark of distinctness and aim to achieve political autonomy or state power, the phenomenon may be referred to as communal regionalism. Akali movement for the formation of Punjabi speaking state was conceded only when Sant Fateh Singh took over the leadership of Akali movement from master Tara Singh and explicitly rejected the religious basis of the demand and insisted that the demand was only for the creation of separate Panjabi speaking state (Brass 1974).
Sons-of-the Soil Movement

When substantial number of people migrate from one area to another both demographic and economic balance among the groups within the receiving area changes. The immigrants compete with the local population for employment in all kinds of jobs both in public and private sector. As the job market shrinks the competition intensifies. In such a situation the central objective of the local population is to protect the space and the economic opportunities existing within it. The immigrants on the other hand strive for the expansion of opportunities within the space. Thus, migration in a plural developing society frequently results in inter-group conflict (Weiner 1974).

Myron Weiner (1974) analyses the migration and its consequences for inter-group relations in Indian context. He makes use of three concepts to explain inter-group conflict resulting from migration. First is the notion of 'territorial ethnicity'. Here, the idea is that certain ethnic groups are rooted in space and often see themselves as having exclusive proprietary rights over what takes place within that space.

Second is the concept of 'dual labour market'. There are two types of jobs: those which employ skilled manpower at low wages; and those which engage skilled at higher wages. Third is
the idea of 'ethnic division of labour'. In the system of occupational stratification each occupation recruits people primarily from a single ethnic group. The classical conception of an ethnic division of labour holds that migrants of one ethnic group move from the periphery to the core to work in subordinate position to the ethnic group which dominates the core. Weiner suggests that the migrants do not always occupy the bottom of labour market. They hold a variety of occupations, up and down the occupational hierarchy, in accordance with their skills and educational level.

Ethnic division of labour results in an uneven development of peoples and thereby creates disparity among groups. Economic disparity alone does not generate conflict. As Weiner (1974: 7) writes: "It is not inequalities between ethnic groups that generate conflicts, but competition. Inequalities, real or perceived, are a necessary but not a sufficient condition for ethnic conflict; there must also be competition for control over access to economic wealth, political power, or social status".

Weiner (1974) lays down a number of conditions under which the existing ethnic division of labour is questioned and the competition takes place. First, the competition may take place when the ethnic division of labour parallels antagonistic class
relationships such as industrial managers and workers, landlords and peasants, grain merchants and agricultural producers, the people and the public, shopkeepers and consumers-- which have high potential for conflict. In other words, when there is a close fit between the class division and ethnic division of labour conflicts generally take on an ethnic character. The class differences existing within each of the groups involved in the conflict disappear.

Second, conflict may ensue when increasingly mobile local population seeks access to occupations they were previously not interested in or were excluded from. The existing division of labour may no longer be acceptable to the recently emerged educated middle class that aspires to move into jobs held by migrants.

Third, conflict may occur when there is a change in the power structure and the new power group stimulates competition by extending its support to the group striving to restructure the ethnic division of labour. When an indigenous population, socially and economically in subordinate positions, captures political power the new political elite tries to transform the occupational structure. For example Marathis in relation to Tamils in Maharashtra and Assamese in relation to Bengalis in Assam. In
other words, tension may generate when the ethnic division of labour and the political division of labour become divergent.

Weiner identifies a set of conditions for the emergence of sons of the soil type of movements in India. The conditions are: one, the existence of immigrants from distinct cultural regions. Two, the local community and migrants have some perceptible cultural differences between themselves. Three, a relatively immobile native population compared to other groups in the region. "States or regions with a high in-migration and a high rate of out-migration tend not to have nativist movements" (ibid p. 279). Four, a high and growing rate of unemployment in the region. Five, a rapid growth of educational opportunities for the indigenous population.

Weiner propose that "nativism tends to be associated with a blockage to social mobility for the local population by a culturally distinguishable migrant population" (ibid. p.293)

**Regional movement**

The regional movements are a *byproduct of imbalanced economic development*. When development takes place in such a manner that some areas are left out of the process of development or some regions develop at the cost of others a situation of economic disparity obtains. Such conditions breed
discontent and provide a fertile ground for the emergence of regional movements. Oommen (1985) suggests that development leads to disparity, which in turn breeds discontent. Similarly, Brass (1974) maintains that it is not the objective differences but subjective interpretation of objective differences that lead to discontent. Here, the role of elite is very crucial in explaining scarcity as a product of discrimination or neglect to produce a sense of relative deprivation among the masses. The increasing political consciousness makes this feeling even more intense. Reddy and Sharma (1979) observe that such movements pick up momentum only when political parties decide to champion the cause of the movement.

A regional movement emerges within a linguistic-cultural area due to either lack of development or imbalanced economic development. The movement for separate state of Vidarbha in Maharashtra, Chhattisgarh in Madhya Pradesh, Uttarakhand in Uttar Pradesh, etc., are examples of regional movements.

A regional movement differs from linguistic/communal regionalism. The former is a result of imbalanced economic development, whereas in the latter there is a fear of exploitation by some other linguistic group as the underlying cause. Moreover, the former invokes spatial/territorial identity but the
latter uses linguistic or religious identity. Further, a regional movement is separatist in nature but linguistic / communal regionalism could be separatist or secessionist. A regional movement is distinct from linguistic-cultural movement because the latter pursues linguistic-cultural goals by using language or other cultural symbols, whereas the former pursues economic development as its primary aim. A regional movement can be distinguished from a nativist movement for the latter is against the immigrants from a distinct linguistic background – nativism in essence is anti-outsider. A summary statement of this discussion has been provided in Figure 1.1.
### Figure 1.1

**Types of Regionalism**

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<td>3</td>
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<td>4</td>
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<td>Territory</td>
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Notes

1. The difficulty with the concept is that an ethnic group cannot be rooted in space as "ethnicity is a product of dissociation between territory and culture". (Sec T K Oommen (ed.) 1997. Citizenship and national Identity: From colonialism to globalism, New Delhi: Sage Publications, pp. 13-51; also see T K Oommen.1997. Citizenship, Nationality and Ethnicity: Reconciling Competing Identities. UK:Polity Press). Oommen defines and differentiates between nation, state and ethnie. "The nation is a territorial entity to which people have an emotional attachment and in which they invest a moral meaning". To sustain a nation the people should have a common language for communication. Territory and language are two prerequisites of a nation. "The state is a legally constituted entity which provides its residents protection from internal insecurity and external aggression". Though territory is common to the nation and the state, national territory is a moral entity whereas state territory is a legal entity. "Just as territory is common to the state and the nation, culture is common to nation and ethnie".

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"In the case of the nation culture and territory are in union, but in the case of ethnie there is a dissociation between territory and culture. Thus, "an ethnie is a cultural collectivity which lives outside its ancestral territory - actual or imagined" (ibid:20).