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Article Name	:	**Interrogating sub-regional Cultural Nationalism in Odisha: A Shift from economic deprivation to cultural distinctness**

Abstract:

Odisha, the first province in India to be created in terms of linguistic homogeneity, subsequently encountered another regional mobilisation; this time on the grounds of underdevelopment and state politics that divides the state into two culturally distinct regions 'Sambalpuri-Katki'. After the decline of Ganatantra/Sawantra Parisad, regionalism in Western Odisha has been witnessing the rise of separate Koshal nationalism in the very heartland of the Odia movement. The transformation from regionalism to sub-regional cultural nationalism has two different trends: separatist and autonomist and is an outcome Western Odisha's cultural peculiarity. The major thrust of this paper is to provide a comprehensive account of this transformation and explore the nature of Koshal movement, mobilisation processes and implications on state politics.

Keywords: nationalism, regionalism, Koshal, Odisha and statehood movement

Introduction:

In a state like India, it is a herculean task to manage political unity on the one hand, and on the other to satisfy various nationalities based on wide ranging social, historical and linguistic parameters. India, so far, did well in this respect by keeping 'political nationalism' at the macro level based on the common factors like citizenship and political system and 'cultural nationalism' based on language, race, religion, etc. It is generally understood that while nationalism aims for political self-determination, self-rule in a particular homeland is based on the historical-cultural distinctness. Subrat K. Nanda argued that in a post-colonial multi-national country like India, at the regional level, cultural-linguistic distinct groups are demanding provincial and regional political autonomy within the common sovereign state based on their cultural identity in a particular territory. He identified this variety of nationalism as 'cultural nationalism' and this essay signifies that meaning for the usage of 'cultural nationalism'[1]. Even this process of creating states on the basis of major linguistic identities sometimes resulted in subjugation of other cultural, historical identities and linguistic minorities within the state. This subjugation added with material deprivation with the passing of time raises new demands for self-rule and forces to redraw the political map of India, time and again.[2] But still, there are many statehood movements currently functioning at different regions of the country. In India, regional mobilisation is taking place on the lines of two processes: regionalism and regional cultural nationalism.

"Regionalism is a set of 'attitudes' or 'feeling' or 'action imperatives' which are used by a people inhabiting a contiguous region to promote their socio-economic, political and cultural interests".[3]

Regionalism is linked with the phenomena of relative deprivation, primarily in material terms, which arises out of the differential rate of socio-economic development and political mobility between regions. Regionalism grows only when a particular region remains economically backward and politically discriminated against mostly to meet some economic and political ends. Three pre-requisites are necessary for the growth of regionalism from regional inequalities a) perception of deprivation by an important section of people, b) rise of an articulate regional leadership and c) presence of a reference group against which the development of the region can be contrasted.[4] Regional cultural nationalism indicates quest for identity and desire for self-rule by a distinct group of people based on common language, history, culture, tradition etc. in an ancestral home land.

In case of cultural nationalism, the critical factor is protection of cultural identity while in regionalism it is protection of region's developmental interest against socio-economic exploitation and political inequalities experienced by a neglected or dominated region. In some cases, both are linked with the goal of politico-administrative unit. But the major difference, as noted in the former case, is based on cultural identity while the other on regional underdevelopment and backwardness. Sometimes regionalism after some period gives birth to a strong wave of nationalism through crystallizing cultural identity, but only when 'the people begin to standardise their language/dialect and differentiate their culture to such an extent that a sense of unity within them can be established and genuine cultural differentiation from others can be made'.[5]

Odisha remained a distinct case-study for the above mentioned processes in Indian politics. It is the first state created out of a strong Odia linguistic nationalism. But just after creation, it has been witnessing regionalism and sub-regional cultural nationalism within the state. A section of people from Western Odisha have been demanding a separate state namely 'Koshal' based on Western Odisha or Koshali cultural identity. This essay is going to address these two forms of regional articulation in Odisha politics and explain their nature, mobilisation methods and leadership pattern.

Genesis of regionalism in Odisha:

Odisha was the first state created out of cultural nationalism based on Odia linguistic identity in pre-independence period. But, it encountered a strong wave of regionalism and sub-regional cultural nationalism in post-independence era which have remained dominant features of state politics till date. Historically, geographically and demographically, Odisha has been subdivided into two regions, the Coastal plain-land identified by *Utkal-Kalinga/Mughalbandi* and Western hilly Highlands representing the *Koshal/Gadjat* division.[6] There are significant differences and similarities between both regions in terms of culture, tradition, history, festival and dialectic. Due to early contact with the British, the coastal

region witnessed socio-economic and political development as compared to Western region which was ruled by *Gadjat* princes and witnessed a feudal societal setting, traditional life style and backwardness. There were substantial levels of regional disparities among both regions at the time of India's independence which become more pronounced after independence. Mostly, the Western region experienced relatively low level of development and continues to lag behind the coastal districts in matters of education, employment and occupation, irrigation, agricultural development, transport and communication, and rate of urbanisation.[7] This relative deprivation and underdevelopment has become the means for developing regionalism by a section of regional elites. Despite this, the coastal people during their land settlement operation[8] and having ruled as administrators in Western region during pre-independence exploited the local people to such an extent that it created an unmitigated animosity among the people of this region. The coastal people's behaviour like little 'maharaja', 'conquerors' and 'imposters'[9] earned significant hatred toward them. 'For comparatively simple people of these areas the administrator was identified with the Congress Party and thus for them the Congress assumed the image of an unwanted tyrant . . they began to think of themselves as a conquered people, ruled by the Congress'.[10] The *Katkis* (coastal Odisha people), the 'exploiters', became their 'conquerors' in the garb of Congress Party.[11] This general perception divides the Odia into two sections of people i.e. '*Katkis*' (dwellers of Cuttack) and *'Sambalpuria'* (dwellers of Sambalpur). This mutual antagonism is also based on the dialectical differences of both regions.

There are some other factors that have widened regional cleavages and emergence of regionalism. Historically, both regions have different experiences. Most of the Western Odisha was under the *Gadjat* states when Odisha was formed and it merged only after independence. There are differences in terms of culture, custom-tradition, festivals, food habits and dialect. The speaking patterns of Western Odisha; popularly known as '*Sambalpuri'* is different from mainstream Odia. This has become a point of contestation between both region and now a section of Western Odisha renamed their language as *'Koshali'* and demanding that it is a separate language, different from Odia. In terms of socio-economic and political development too, the Western region lags far behind the Coastal region. Politically also, Coastal Odisha dominated other parts due to its majority in Assembly and ministerial berths. The people of Coastal Odisha, because of their politico-economic domination has become the vanguard of Odia nationality and their culture, dance, language, festival, tradition ---recognised as mainstream which marginalises historic-cultural artefacts of other parts. The regional elites of Western Odisha blame the State Government for their economic backwardness, underdevelopment and cultural marginalisation which they see as being controlled and dominated by *'katkis '*leading to the State Government's step-motherly treatment. This sense of relative deprivation mixed with socio-cultural, historical and dialectal identity of the Western Odisha has produced regionalism in state politics during1950-70s and gave birth

to a form of regional cultural nationalism thereafter. Now the regional elites of Western part are attempting to define their regional identities in complete nationalistic terms and demanding a separate state.

<p style="text-align:center">I</p>

During 1940s and 50s, rulers of erstwhile princely states mainly Patna, Sonepur and Kalahandi were championing the idea of regionalism and regional mobilisation in Western Odisha. They launched counter-mobilisation to resist merger and organisation of *Gadjat* states of Odisha and Chhattisgarh under 'Eastern union' and glorified the idea of '*Mahakosala*'. But when it failed, they started articulating the regional identity of Western Odisha by inventing the history of '*Koshal*' or '*Dakhin Kosal*' empire found in this part in ancient and medieval period. They mobilised people support to form a separate *Koshal* province. These rulers demanded that naturally, culturally and historically Odisha was divided into two distinct Odia regions i.e. the coastal Odisha belongs to the old *Utkal-Kalinga* empires with its cultural practices and the western hilly land corresponding to the ancient Koshal Empire with separate culture, tradition and dialectal uniqueness.[12] R. N. Singhdeo, the then King of Patna, opposed the idea of common administrative setup for both *Gadjat* states and Odisha out of fear that politically and economically developed coastal people would exploit backward people of the other regions politically and economically.[13] Some conscious citizens and leaders of the region apprehended that the more developed coast would take undue advantage of the situation at the expense of the backward districts.[14] They started campaign for the formation of *Koshal* state, consisting of Western *Gadjat* states and Sambalpur district through Patna state newspaper '*Patna Dipika*' and other printed materials.[15] The rulers maintained that a separate *Koshal* province should be formed for the odia-speaking people of Koshal-Sambalpur tract on the grounds of common culture and history.[16] The anti-*katkia* sentiment, which was simmering due to nationalisation of forest and *kendu* leaves, two important sources of income in the region, price rise, replacement of simple administrative system with a complex bureaucratic rationality, was mobilised by these rulers for their political goal. People's discontent with the government's (*the Katkia Sarkar*) decision for construction of a multi-purpose Dam at Hirakud, near Sambalpur causing large scale displacement was moulded by regional elites into anti-Odisha sentiments and an attempt was made to separate Sambalpur district from Odisha and to merge with *Gadjats* to form a 'Koshal state'. But, due to central government's interference, 24 *Gadjat* states were merged with Odisha province in 1948-49.

The ex-princes along with the support of the *Zamindars, Gauntias, Mandal* dissidents, agitators of Hirakud dam displacement and anti-merger agitators came forward with a plan to have a party on regional line.[17] Under the leadership of R N Singhdeo, a political party called '*Kosal Utkal Praja Parishad*' was

formed in 1948 and in 1950 renamed as '*Ganatantra Parishad'*. The merger of the princely states with Odisha created a political vacuum in Western part as Congress was only marginally present in the region. The necessity to fill-up the political vacuum gave rise to the Ganatantra Parishad (G.P.).[18] The anti-*Katkis* and anti-Congress sentiment in Western Odisha benefitted the newly formed party, which emerged by projecting Congress as the alien *Katkia* conqueror and exploiter of Western Odisha. The party appeared as the guardian of Western Odisha's regional interests.

The lifespan of G.P. was short (1950-62)[19] but, throughout this period its performance was spectacular. It emerged as a dominant player in Odisha politics, mostly very strong in the western part. It effectively projected underdevelopment, poverty, hunger deaths etc. of Western Odisha which was used against Congress leadership mostly hailing from the coastal region. The regional imbalances, cultural distinction and linguistic differences became the weapons. The political society of Odisha got divided on regional lines for more than three decades until the decline of Swatantra party. Congress remained dominant in the coastal belt and G.P./Swatantra party in theWestern region. Throughout the period, G.P. criticised the party in power for neglecting the Western part and satisfying the coastal region only. It demanded the resettlement of Hirakud dam displacees, criticised the government's decision to setup NALCO plant in Rourkela of Sundargarh district which involved demolition of several tribal and non-tribal villages.

Except the G.P. or *Swatantra Party*, the Congress leadership of Western Odisha, student and young organisation such as '*Paschim Orissa Gana Sammukshya'* (Western Orissa Popular Front) and Rourkela Steel Plant's Displaced Person Welfare Committee among others mobilised the population based on regional grievances. They demanded fifty percent of reservation of seats in local medical and engineering colleges, reservation in Class III and IV jobs for local people, expansion of educational institutes, more development of the region in terms of electrification, sanitation, minor irrigation, communication, opening up branches of high court, Board of Secondary Education, Odisha Public Service Commission, periodical sessions of State Legislative Assembly, compensation and rehabilitation of Rourkela steel plant and Hirakud Dam displacees etc.[20] They were all very critical of the political leadership of coastal belt in the state whose policies were responsible for regional imbalances in the state.[21] Congress leaders of the region urged the central government to intervene.[22]

This phase of Odisha politics was vehemently guided by regionalism and strong regional feelings. Demands made by Western Odisha based political parties, political leadership or civil society organisations were mostly based on economic backwardness of the region, political dominance of the coastal people having a sense of superiority, a feeling of discrimination, poorly developed agriculture, lack of adequate means of transport and communication and low levels of income, unemployment etc.[23]

Some cultural organisations also demanded a television broadcast centre, equal patronage to Western Odisha's dance, song, culture, dialectic etc. as to the coastal ones. All those demands were guided by socio-cultural, politico-economical interestand development of Western Odisha. Separate cultural identity based on Western Odisha culture, history, and language which became dominant in Koshali nationalism didn't come intothe picture; they were very much under the label of Odia nationalism. Even, the G.P., the major player of regional politics fought for the unification of *Kharswuin* and *Saraikela*, two Odia speaking regions of Bihar (now in Jharkhand) with Odisha.[24] But, this phase created conditions for the emergence of 'Koshal movement' based on Koshali sub-regional nationalism. 'Accumulated effects of all these historical, cultural and linguistic cleavages carried forward by the regional socio-economic disparities have given birth to a separatist trend and demand for the bifurcation of Orissa'.[25]

II

Koshali nationalism is based on separate cultural, historical and linguistic identity of western Odisha and not merely on regional identity. This nationalism has given birth to Koshal movement (apparently a statehood movement for Western Odisha). Many argue that Koshal movement was rooted in the political mobilisation that took place during the Ganatantara Parishad and subsequently by different politically motivated groups and entities, noted among them are a Sambalpur based noted advocate; P. R Dubey, founder of the Kosal Party and Balgopal Mishra, the then MLA of Bolangir district in 1990s. Dubey organised various programmes like *Koshal Jana Jagran Yatra* (People's awareness campaign) and *Koshal Sammilani* (Koshal Conference). Balgopal Mishra creates awareness through his *Koshal Ratha*, a chariot that rolled throughout the Western Odisha.[26] Generally it is believed that these political groups indoctrinate the 'two nationalities theory'; that the Western and Coastal Odisha constitute two culturally distinct nationality i.e. 'Kalinga-Utkal nationality' and 'Koshal nationality' respectively.[27] But the genesis of nationalism on the cultural assertion of western Odisha has in literature. A writer of *Sambalpuri* (Western Odia dialectic); Kaviraj Prayag Dutta Joshi for the first time argued that that 'Koshali' (he used the term in the place of Sambalpuri) is a different language that belongs to the Eastern Hindi language Family (*Awadhi, Bundelkhandi, Chattishgarhi)* and different from Odia.[28] There are considerable differences in both languages in terms of vocabulary, phonology, morphology and syntax.[29] He binds the whole region into one unifying linguistic identity 'Koshali', along with its own cultural and historical legacy thereby mitigating all linguistic differences within Western Odisha, which could not be envisaged with the term 'Sambalpuri'. Viewed from this perspective, the existence of a separate nationality logically implies the right to self-determination in cultural and political terms within the framework of Indian union, as argued by Subrat K. Nanda.[30]

Separate Koshali identity has provided the western regionalists an agency of their own, a missing link between regional mobilisation and its culture. They transform regionalism to nationalism by connecting it with Koshali cultural identity. There are two different trends of this movement i.e. autonomist and separationist; based on its mobilisation of political and cultural domains.[31] Protagonists of 'autonomy' are urging for greater decentralisation of political and economic resources as well as patronage and recognition to cultural artefacts of Western Odisha including linguistic distinctiveness within the larger Odia nationalism. The Separatists are not in favour of these short term solutions and rather stand for a separate province for Western Odisha namely 'Koshal' based on its linguistic identity and backwardness.

The autonomists, like the regionalists are raising different demands such as reservation in employment for local people in factories and mines, better health care, a separate developmental package for their region, and justice to the Western region in terms of training institutes, central institutions like IIT, IIM etc. Establishment of a separate bench of High court and a separate development Council for Koshal region has been a long standing demand. Bar associations of all districts along with other civil society organisations are organising rallies, strikes, *dharanas* etc. on regular basis for a High Court branch. A separate development council, which was the major demand of 1990s was formed in order reduce regional imbalances, which however till date,has proved fruitless.[32] The autonomists are very critical about the demand of separate state. They stand for more decentralisation of resources into the western region.

On cultural domain, their main demand is recognition and inclusion of *Koshali/Sambalpuri*as a separate language in the 8th schedule of the Constitution and the second official language of Odisha that can be used as a medium of teaching in school in the Western part of the state. They are critical of state-sponsored *Utkalanisation* (patronising and promoting the culture of Coastal Odisha) process that tried to destroy the historical diversity of Odisha. The government of Odisha's attempts to *Utkalanise* the entire Odisha has created huge dissatisfaction in Western Odisha. Celebration of Odisha day as Utkal day, renaming of the Bolangir, Kalahandi and *Panchabati Gramya bank* into '*Utkal Gramya Bank', *[33]Odisha house situated at Kolkata was renamed as 'Utkal House'[34], the only culture university of the state named as 'Utkal Culture University', state Government's mouthpiece as *'Utkala Prasanga'*. Even history was not spared in the process and utkalanisation took place through text books that resulted in the loss of identity for Western Odisha people. This sub-regional chauvinism of the Coastal people is strongly opposed by Koshal protagonists. Their key demand is that Odisha's cultural academies to finance, promote and institutionalise Koshali dance, music, language, drama, culture along with promotion of tourist places of the region. Some other sections have also demanded *Kosli Sahitya Academy* and *Kosli Sangeet Natak Academy*.[35]

The separationists, under various organisations like *Koshal Kranti Dal,* Western Odisha Liberation front, *Koshal Ekta Manch,* Koshal State Co-ordination Committee, *Koshal Sangram Parishad, Koshal Bhumi Mukti Sangathan, Koshal Sammilan, Koshal KrantiYuvaMorcha,Koshal* party*, Koshal Raej Kriyanushtan* Committee*,* All Koshal Students' Union*,* etc. however have been demanding a separate Koshal state based on its linguistic identity. These organisations have been actively working in different parts of Western Odisha and mobilising people on distinct cultural identity and step-motherly approach of *Katkiya Sarkar* towards them. They are choosing some selective socio-cultural and historical symbols and most importantly the Kosali-Sambalpuri didactic to create a separate nation- the Koshal.[36] In a memorandum submitted to Prime Minister of India they demanded that Odisha is a bi-lingual state based on two separate nationalities i.e. Koshal and Kalinga/Utkal. So far the Kalinga/Utkal nationality dominated in all spheres of the state that caused widespread regional inequality, poverty, starvation, underdevelopment, marginalisation and regional chauvinism. The only solution they are looking is the creation of a separate 'Koshal Pradesh' on linguistic and underdevelopment grounds.[37]

Political organisations are regularly organising strikes, dharanas, rail *roko,* blockage, meetings and rallies on various issues concerning discriminatory approaches of Odisha state against the Koshal region. They are very active in both print media and social media in order to create awareness among the educated masses regarding the suffering of the Koshal and inducting a sense of pride among them through regeneration of Koshali songs, culture, history, heroes and ethos. To facilitate greater awareness and putting Koshal demands through empirical study, they are also encouraging events like symposiums, seminar, workshops, debates and discussions on various fora ranging from electronic media to public offices, schools and colleges. Submitting memoranda, demanding a separate state to ameliorate the suffering of Koshali people, to various political representatives of both central and state governments, is one of their regular activities. Kosal party and *Koshal Kranti Dal* are fighting elections too.

In the 1990s, P.R. Dubey and Balgopal Mishra mobilised considerable public opinion on struggle for the Koshal State through various programmes like *Koshal Jana Jagran Yatra, Koshal Sammilani, and Koshal Ratha.*[38]*Koshal Ekta Manch* formed in 1998 by uniting 72 socio-political and cultural organisations unitedly fought for regional imbalances and disparity. It took the form of a political party in 2007:*Koshal Kranti Dal,*under the leadership of a Bolangir based lawyer Pramod Mishra along with many political and non-political associations to lead the movement and contest election on that basis, but failed to capture public attention. Mobilisation on political front was mostly confined to the educated mass and social media leaving the majority behind. However, they are working as a pressure group to guard Western Odisha's interests.

Cultural protagonists have their own unique way of mobilisation and struggle and they so far got adequate attention of people and success to some extent. They are mostly mobilizing people broadly on three areas i.e. journalistic, historical, literature.[39] Every nation must have a past. But, Koshal region has no representation in the historical purview of Odisha. That makes the important tasks of Koshali sympathiser; to invent Koshali identity from History. The historians of Western Odisha started re-writing the History of Odisha and bring the Koshal region into it by discovering the heritage sites, royal dynasties, archaeological sites, local heroes etc. 'Koshalananda Kavya' and 'Jai Chandrika'; two great epics of the region granting the ground for a glorified past. A numbers of journals and blocs are coming out in recent times both in internet and print media like Koshal Discussion Forum, Koshal Prabhaha', 'Koshal Katha,' Mor Bhasa Sambalpuri' etc. that has raised issues concerning regional imbalances, culture, songs, food habit, sports and historical heritages of Western Odisha; that has been either isolated or neglected for years beneath the majoritarian Odia Nationalism.

 Many researchers like Pandit Pragya Datta Joshi, Dr. Ashok Kumar Das and others worked extensively on the linguistic domain of Koshali dialect and argued that it is a different language. The linguists of the region have been playing amajor role in the movement through their works written in both Odia and Koshali and enriching Koshali literature. Their research works indicate that the vocabulary, grammar and morphology of the Koshali language has its own distinctness. They standardised thelanguage with its own set of stories, poems, epics, grammar and dictionary. A 'Bhasha Bisesagna Committee' was appointed in 2014 by the state government on the status of Koshali/Sambalpuri language and the committee concludes that it is a different language.[40]Thereafter, the State government through various letters urging the central government to include Sambalpuri/Koshali in the 8th schedule of the constitution.[41]'Within only thirty years (1st article demanding that Koshali is a separate language was published in 1982 by Pragya Dutta Joshi) they have transformed a mere dialectic into a full-fledged language with its own set of grammar and literature. This is unquestionably a remarkable achievement'.[42]

People of this region have started to differentiate themselves from those from the coastal Odisha in all aspects of life starting from faith and belief to food and sport and to the extent of racial identity. 'Lok Mohostsav' (People's Festival) organised in all districts annually has been in the forefront of nurturing and reinventing the separate, glorious cultural and linguistic identity of Western Odisha and in creating a separate nationality, Koshali nationality. The souvenirs of these Lok Mohostsav have become the prime medium for revival of separate Koshal nation with its distinct language, culture, dance, food habits, sports, historical heritage etc.[43]In terms of religion too, there is a recurring argument that Western Odisha, historically a predominant place of 'Sakta' and 'Saiva' cult had remained the under the shadow of Coastal Odia, who are trying to spread their 'Vaishnavic' or 'Jagannath' culture.[44] The anthropological argument

too has been brought into the discussion with claims that Coastal people are Mongoloid and Dravidian while the Koshali people are from pre-Dravidian and Munda group.[45]

While looking at leadership pattern of this new movement; the new middle class composed of progressive individuals from different backgrounds like lawyers, academician, litterateurs, retried public servants, students etc. replaced the old political class of the region. Historically, *ex-Rajas, Zamindars, Gauntias*, landlords etc. were the prominent leaders of this region who were also in the forefront of the struggle particularly during the phase of regionalism. But, on the assertion of cultural identity and demand for separate Koshal Pradesh, these classes remain reluctant to lend support for various reasons. Hence, a new leadership pattern hasemerged in the political arena of Western Odisha under the Koshal movement and Koshal poets become its flag bearers.

<div align="center">III</div>

Regionalism and sub-regional cultural nationalism in Odisha is mostly a product of regional economic and political disparities. Western Odisha, which lags behind in terms of development, developed a sense of relative deprivation along with its cultural differences mobilised through regional political elites, gave birth to regionalism. Later on, this process mixed with cultural deprivation and discrimination made way for cultural nationalism, that seeks Western Odisha's cultural-linguistic identity, its own history, past glories, heroes, festivals, food habits so on and so forth in order to make it distinct and different form coastal Odisha. They felt that it was not possible until they transformed 'Sambalpuri' regionalism to 'Koshali' nationalism. This process began first in literature rather in political sphere. This gave regionalists their own agency to fight against regional discrimination, which was missing before. The regional mobilisation that took place on regional disparity, backwardness and underdevelopment has weakened the unifying nature of Odia identity and gave birth to a strong sense of resentment among Koshali people. Now they are asserting their regional differences in nationalistic terms and demanding that they belong to a different nationality-Koshali nationality; distinct and separate from mainstream Odia nationality.[46]

Koshal Movement is not only a statehood movement, rather a movement to get recognition of Koshali identity along with other developmental interests, to preserve and protect historic-cultural artefacts by countering Utkalanisation process. Within the movement there are both autonomists and separationists. Autonomists are arguing for regional developmental interest and autonomy along with cultural recognition and protection, but right now not in support of separate state. Thus it can be said that, their quest for cultural self-determination is invariably linked with quest for political self-determination.[47]

Mobilisation of Koshal Movement in political front has so far proved incompetent, mostly confined to educated masses. But, the cultural front succeeded in making a Koshal nation out of Western Odisha's history, culture, language. They had, just within three decades, succeeded in situating the Sambalpuri dialect into a full-fledged Koshali language and made it a forerunner for inclusion in 8th schedule of Indian constitution with the support of Odisha Government. In Statehood Movement, Koshal movement 'has started with a stateon the basis of administrative convenience and backwardness and reached its zenith with the demand of linguistic statehood, which subsequently reflects the strong sentimentality attached with language'.[48] This movement is being led not by political elites but by a new leadership, mostly from new middle class i.e. lawyers, retired public officials, school teachers, college lecturers and Koshali cultural bearers.

Conclusion:

In Odisha, despite its linguistic unity, sub-regional nationalism crystallised due to tensions and conflict resulting from regional developmental disparities and cultural discrimination. The people of the deprived region attempted to reconstruct their identity in more objective cultural-linguistic terms. Once that happened, a regional consciousness turned into a national consciousness in the cultural sense and is now demanding political self-determination in the form of 'Koshal statehood'. Despite incompetent political mobilisation, they succeeded to transform 'Koshal' history and culture to form a nation based on linguistic unity (apparently the basis of statehood in India). Apart from this transformation, Koshal movement has brought new leadership pattern to western Odisha. The new Middle class, intellectuals, poets, retired public servants become the flag-bearers of this movement who are different from the classical Raja-Jamindar class who were dominant in Regionalism era and in political domain till today. Another interesting observation we can draw out of this movement is that unlike what Pradeep Kumar[49], M. P. Singh[50] argued about statehood movements in India progressing from linguistic identity to backwardness and administrative suitability in Jharkhand, Uttrakhand, Chattishgarh and most recently in Telengana, the Koshal movement so far has been'proving itself as an anti-thesis of this linearity'.[51]The regional mobilisation on administrative convenience and backwardness has been started back in the 1950s, but after the 80s has transformed into cultural nationalism based on Western Odisha's cultural artefacts and local dialect. It would be wrong to calculate its success and failure at this nascent stage, but this movement if successfully mobilised and the outcome of it would have a lasting impact not only at local level but also in the arena of national politics.

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