

# Political History of Odisha and the Regional Vibrant

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## **Abstract:**

*Regionalism and the rise of the regional parties assert to be the part of the party politics in Odisha since independence. There are the imperatives of the rise of Intra- Regionalism between the Coastal and Western Odisha in the multi-dimensional folds including Socio-cultural, political as well as economical aspects. This chapter attempts to elucidate the rise of regional political parties in Odisha since 1951 generally and in particular focuses on the rise and development of the BJD since 1997. Moreover, the genesis of the rise and development of regional parties is also comparative debated with the changing pattern of federalism and national party politics.*

**Key words:** Regionalism, Political Leadership, state politics of Accommodation, stability and instability politics, multi polar regional convergence.

## **Introduction:**

What is more essential that Orissa<sup>1</sup> has offered a productive ground for the germination and rise of regionalism and regional parties since 1936 and they appear to persist to play a major role in Odisha party politics. Several princely states continued to cut off from the part of Indian freedom struggle movement remaining to the deliberate plan of the British government by estranging the people in the princely states from the freedom struggle of India and repression by the local rulers. Most of the princely states belonged to Western Orissa, which is differed considerably from the coastal regions in terms of language, culture, economic, political and social aspects. Despite 'Prajamandal Movements' in Western Orissa, the people could not speed up as people in the coastal regions who participated vigorously in the freedom struggle and asserted their dominance in politics after independence (Nanda, 2001). This caused mistrust and every in the minds of people in the western Odisha which has characterized as intra-regionalism the politics of Orissa in the first two decades of independence (S. C. Das, 1978). Hence how and why did the Odia language become the part of regionalism and how the regional parties in Odisha have emerged and what are the outcomes in the context electoral politics in Odisha? Is there any similarity of Odisha regional politics with the national politics?

<sup>1</sup> The name of Orissa was changed to Odisha in 2014 according to the constitution Amendment act in 2011 of Orissa (Alteration of Name) Bill, 2010 and the Constitution (113th Amendment) Bill, 2010 in the Parliament.

Odisha party politics would be demarcated in three phases. The 1<sup>st</sup> phase assumes as the *politics of instability* from the year 1936 to 1980. The second phase starts from the year 1980 to 2000 as *politics of stability*. From 1952 to 1980, not a single ministry or the chief minister had completed its full-time year in their term. In this reverence, both the Congress and non-Congress governments have equally futed. And the third phase annotations as *Single Regional Party Dominance system (BJD)* from 2000 onwards.

### ***Politics of Instability (1936-80):***

Political instability in Orissa was primarily for emerging of the strong regionalism, which was marked in the shape of the Ganatantra Parishad (GP). The party had formed with the idea of accenting the problems, issues and promoting the interests of Western Orissa. The GP came against the emergence of a strong Congress and prevented it from gaining an absolute majority for a long time. Secondly, which seems to account for the recurrence of political instability to the absence of cader politics and propagation of shapeless parties whose followers, in general, are committed to personalities and patronage rather than to any ideological programme. The deep factionalism in the Congress also resulted in the political instability in the state. Bulky defections, the growth of more split parties from the Congress, and the Political Mobilization and the absence of strong Leadership are caused by factional conflicts affecting the Congress Party (S. C. Das, 1978).

### ***Politics of Stability (1980-2000):***

In the 2<sup>nd</sup> phase i.e in the period of political stability, the ministry and the government policies were not intended to work for the upliftment of the poor. The above account shows that Orissa remarks as the poor and backward and is permeated by the interference of feudal landlords (♣ Sathy, 2004).

Despite the turn down of some regional parties like Utkal Congress, Jana Congress, the GP before 1990 and later on, the Political circumstances in Orissa gives the impression on fast developing towards the formation of a regional party in the state to fight against the Congress by the Janata Dal (♣ Mohanty, 2002). The recent growths of BJD (sprinter JD) as a regional party in terms of regionalism with an advance outlook and in the broader prospective of their role and activities have to be properly analyzed.

The history of the regional political parties started since the creation of Orissa state after 1936s but it had got the tempo since 1948s in term of the growth of the state parties with the regional or sub-regional demand i.e. the formation of Ganatantra Parishad (GP) in 1948, Jana Congress in 1961, the emergence of the Utkal Congress (1969), Jagrata Congress in 1985 (♣ Nanda, 1977).

**Single Regional party Dominance system (BJD), 2000 onwards:**

The BJD came in 1997 and the OGP as the splinter of the BJD formed in 2000 (♣ Sethy, 2004). All of these state parties have been diminished instead of the BJD and which has been looking as a strong regional party with the demand of regional pride for Odisha. The BJD has been retaining the ideals of Anti- congressism and the Anti- BJP tendencies after 2009 for the electoral success in the Odisha politics. However, there are many nucleus state parties raised in the era of 2005 the Odisha Ganatantra Parisad, Samata Kranti Dal, Odisha Jana Morcha, Samrudha Odisha and Ama Odisha(2013) led by Soumya Ranjan Patnaik could not perform noticeably in elections (editorial, 2017). Among another regional party or the BJP or the Congress will become an alternative of the BJD. Is it displayable in the present political eco-system in Odisha?

The split and alliance politics formulated by Naveen Patnaik has brought the BJD huge success in the electoral politics. In the state assembly election of 2000 and 2004, the BJD decisively went with the BJP. But in the eve of 2009 election, the BJD decided to split with the BJP and got alliances with NCP, JMM and the two left parties including CPI and CPI (M) for few seats. Mr. Patnaik had affirmed that the party would retain 'Equal distance from the BJP and the Congress (BJD, 2009).

The BJD had gone alone in the general election of 2014 and the party had secured the maximum seats of 117 out of 147 seats of Vidhan Sabha (India, 2014). In the every election the party had blessed with the expansion mandate with the highest vote sharing across all the categories of the people including SCs, STs and women. Hence, the strategy and leadership quality of the BJD supremo Naveen Patanaik has attested that the party deems in accommodative politics by inclusion of all. The voting pattern and sharing of vote in the party politics of Odisha demonstrates that the voting behavior does not affected with the Politics of Mandalization and the beyond of the caste- class identities (Misra, 2009).

There was the interlinked between the formation of the BJD and the growing of the BJP in the domain of the Odisha Party politics. On one the hand, the rising of the BJP has transferred the mobility of power and the position of the several parties, on the other hand a new structure of the regional hegemony gradually emerging over the considerable time frame at the state level as well as the national level. The two structures came out to the occurrence in the last part of the 1980s. There seemed to be *re-alignments and coalition among* the several political parties as first and secondly, the transformation has been continuing on the basis of socio-regional and economic development issues. Under the circumstances, I would like to cite as (1) the changing nature of electoral party politics in Odisha (2) addition to this, mobilization in the party system in the relationship of social cleavages.

Is there any relationship between the electoral politics and the social cleavages in Odisha? How for the BJD able to accommodate, assimilate and mobilize the social groups? It also focuses the power position of the post-90s and also deals the imperatives of regionalism between the western and the costal Odisha, factional and personal gaining politics.

The Congress hegemony broke down after the 1990s, the Odisha politics had passed from the hegemony to bipolar and then *multi-polar convergence with the bi-polar competitive* between BJD-BJP and the Congress from 2000-09 and the *Multi-polar competition* since 2009 as between BJD, Congress and the BJP. But the BJD leader has considered to the Congress only as their core opponents from 2000 to 2014. This period could be analyzed as the *rigid bi-polar fight or the flexible multi-polar convergence*.

In Odisha BJD had needed the support of the BJP to capture state power or build a social base, due to the political veracity was the willingness of regional parties to go into the alliances with the BJP rather than with the Congress (Misra, 2009). Numerous regional parties plunked in tradition of anti-Congressism social base and the non-Congress ideological derivation, these parties were inhibited for picking the electoral allies with the others.

After the split of the BJD and the BJP, the electoral success of the BJD since 2009 is described as the period of the *State Politics of Accommodation*. The BJD has been providing the several social welfare schemes for the benefit of the SC, STs and OBCs in Odisha. Moreover, the party president Mr. Patanik has provided the tickets in the unreserved seats to all the categories of weaker sections including women in the Lok Sabha and Vidhan Sabha election since 2009 (India, 2014).

#### ***Development Sub- Regionalism and Politics:***

The sentiment of sub regionalism has been rendering in Odisha due to the product of the politics of amalgamation, merging of princely states, alien business interests and focusing on Son-of-soil principle for the employment. The exercise of the district wise representation in the Cabinet, cultural and linguistic rivalry between the non-odia and odia businessmen groups, coastal Odisha and western Odisha and the patronage riding by the ex- princes to the cause of the locals have growing the problem of Intra- Regionalism (♣ Padhy, 988-89) . it has now become the political sub culture of Odisha where feelings of retaliation may or may not exist in central Odisha people but there is still persisting of inter sub regionalism among coastal Odisha and western Odisha.

The intra-regionalism between the Western and Coastal Odisha has been diminished in certain proportion by the BJD led government in term of sub-regional growth and economics disparities by granting in the perspective of rural infrastructure building, capacity enhancing in social development and the social- political development and some special pro-poor schemes to the people of Western Odisha. The state has been also improving rapid service delivery mechanism towards the WO since 2008 (♣ Mohanty B. , 2017).

The Oriya language no doubt helped to formulate Orissa as a separate province in 1936 and associated with the princely states as integrated part of Orissa in 1948, what was the rationale behind the strong regionalism between the Coastal region and Western region in Orissa? The answer would be initially the language and later on culture, region, typography, economic disparities and political participation had brought forward the

regionalism feeling between the Coastal developed districts including Balasore, Cuttack, Puri and Ganjam and the five western Orissa districts of Kalahandi, Bolangir, Sambalpur, Phulbani and Sundergarh (Nanda, 2001).

### ***Imperatives of Intra-Regionalism between the Coastal and Western Odisha:***

The culture of Western Odisha differs significantly from the Coastal region. Generally, Western Odisha culture is known as Sambalpuri culture, on the other hand, coastal Orissa describes as 'Oriya' or 'Kataki' culture. Many folk songs of Western Odisha including "Rangabati", "Rasarkeli", "Sajani", "Nialimalli", "Dalkhai" and "Jaiphula" seem to more prominent which deliver an archetypal ambiance to Sambalpuri culture. Adding to this, folk musical instruments such as "Muhuri", "Dhol", "Nishan" and "Ghumura" escort these folk songs and dances. Contrary to this, the "Odissi" dance, the famous classical dance of Orissa, is to originate from the coastal part. The Odissi dance songs, the devotional songs for "Jagannath" and the traditional songs like the "Chhanda", "Chautisa" are found in coastal belt to a great extent. There are two sets of completely dissimilar song composition and also dance form from these two regions (Nanda, 2001).

In the case of festivals, some typical festivals like "Nuakhai", "Puspuni", "Karamasani", "Puajitia" and "Bhajitia" are exclusively observed in Western Odisha, the coastal people are not familiar with all these festivals. The typical festivals of Coastal Orissa like "Raja", "Prathama Astami", "Boita Bandana", "Kumar Purnima", "Khudarkuni Osha", etc. are not celebrated in Western Odisha.

Coastal Odisha distinguishes for its filigree, appliqué works, and Khadi print. Similarly, Western Odisha is recognized for its unique 'Sambalpuri saree'<sup>2</sup>, tie and dye weaving and floral patterns.

Although, the Oriya language served as the basis of formation of Orissa state, yet the form of Odia spoken in western Odisha fluctuates from the standard Oriya spoken by the coastal people. The people of western Odisha speak "Sambalpuri" as their mother-tongue. Sambalpuri speech is usually regarded as a regional or colloquial version of Oriya. Nevertheless, Sambalpuri-Oriya is distinct in its own right, and it is easily distinguishable from coastal Oriya. The difference is noticed at the phonological and lexical levels. There are a huge number of Sambalpuri words which are not comprehensible to the coastal people. Interestingly, an average coastal person cannot speak Sambalpuri and an uneducated person belongs to the western region also cannot speak or understand the standard Oriya speech. The linguistic cleavage reflects the perception of the common people. The coastal Oriya has been considering to as 'Kataki speech' by the western people. Some coastal people, however, regard Sambalpuri as an 'Adivasi'(tribal) language, but a few believe it as a dialect of Oriya. But for several, Sambalpuri speeches provide a sense of solidarity among people of Western Odisha and delineate a line of separation from the Coastal Odisha (♣ Padhy, 988-89).

<sup>2</sup> Sambalpuri Sahree- the sharee is weaved in Sambalpur.

For the differences between the Coastal and Western Odisha region in case of social development and human development Index indicators, I would go with some factual data in term of education and health sectors which have been cited below.

Table No.1 (a) - Literacy rate of Coastal Region and Western Region of Odisha in percentage

Districts/regions	2001	2011
Balasore	70.6	80.61
Cuttack	76.7	84.20
Puri	78.0	84.7
Ganjam	60.8	71.1
<b>Coastal region</b>	<b>78.25</b>	<b>80.15</b>
Kalahandi	45.9	59.2
Balangir	55.7	65.50
Nuapada	42.0	58.60
Kandhamal	45.9	64.1
<b>Western region</b>	<b>47.38</b>	<b>61.85</b>
<b>Odisha</b>	<b>63.1</b>	<b>73.45</b>

Data Source: (1) the Census of India 2001 and 2016.

(2) Odisha reference 2011, Government of Odisha.

The above table shows the higher gap in the field of literacy rate between four coastal districts with four Western Odisha districts where Nuapada stands as more vulnerable while highest literacy rate is assigned to Puri in both the census. Who is responsible for this pity condition of the four districts and how? After the long term of a ruling by the BJD-led Government, the lower political participation of Western Odisha in decision-making or other imperatives are answerable to this question. I would put all these things in the further chapters.

Table No.1 (b) U5MR, IMR, MMR of Coastal and Western Odisha

Districts/regions	U5MR/1000	IMR/1000	MMR/100000
Balasore	51	45	182
Cuttack	85	56	191
Puri	105	75	173
Ganjam	87	56	211
<b>Coastal region</b>	<b>82</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>190</b>
Kalahandi	73	54	316
Balangir	111	97	212

Nuapada	80	60	278
Kandhamal	139	82	311
<b>Western region</b>	<b>100.75</b>	<b>73.25</b>	<b>261</b>
<b>Odisha</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>222</b>

Data source: - (1) Fact about Health Survey 2011-12, Government of Odisha

(2) Health report of Odisha, Department of Health and Family welfare 2012 -13, Government of India.

\* U5MR- under five maternal rates per1000 live birth, IMR- infant mortality rate per 1000 live births and MMR- maternal mortality rate as per 1lkhs live birth according to 2011-12 health status.

The coastal region of Puri demonstrates that the higher rate of mortality in both U5MR and IMR compare to others districts. U5MR is below in two districts such as Balasore and Kalahandi compare to the U5MR of all Odisha level but the situation urges to more vulnerable in Kandhamal. In the western region beside Kalahandi, rests of three districts have a higher rate of mortality in IMR with compare to all Odisha level. Overall, these WO regions survive with the very poor indicators of HDI with the higher death rate compare to these coastal districts both in IMR and U5MR.

### ***Political Development and Regional Parties in Odisha:***

How did the regionalism extent in the political sphere? The new regional Koshal movement accelerated in form of a political party known as “Koshalkala Praja Parishad”. The party was formed in 1948 under the leadership of R.N. Singh Deo in Bolangir (Nanda, 2001). And it was renamed as ‘Ganatantra Parishad’ in 1950. The leaders of the Parishad R.N. Singh Deo and P.K. Deo fully criticized the Land auction for Hirakud reservoir construction (Nanda, 2001). Therefore, the perception of the people of Western Odisha and leaders of the GP emphasizes that the Coastal belt’s administration, leaders, and people seemed to be exploitative, oppressive and superior to us (Bhuyan, 2010). The ruler of Koshal provinces should be created on the basis of history and culture of koshal-Sambalpuri areas. The Koshali leader declared the congress leaders as ‘Katki leaders’ (Nanda, 2001)for the Hirakud Dam construction which led for the massive displacement of the people of the kosli region.

Whether the regionalism had been influenced by the different political parties in Orissa or not since the 1<sup>st</sup> general election of1952, I would go for the genesis of the party politics and formation government in Orissa since 1952. The absence of absolute majority severely called the junk to the congress in the 1<sup>st</sup> general Election of Orissa legislative assembly, Out of 140 assembly seats, the party only succeeded in 67seats, the GP got the victory over 31 seats and became the leader of opposition, 25 seats had gone into the hand of independent candidates, the Sosialists-10 and the ommunists-7 (S. C. Das, 1978). After the joining of seven independences MLAs, the congress formed the government under the chief ministership of N. K. Choudhury. The philosophy of

Sarvodaya and some internal un-support and fragmentation forced Choudhury to resign from the office of the chief minister office and again Dr. Hare krushna Mehatav turned out to be the chief Minister on 19<sup>th</sup> October. The period of 1956 to 1957 asides as the Zigzag for the congress leadership though the Congress party retained the power because of the first under the leadership of Dr. Mahatab till to 1950s, 1950 to October 1956 by Choudhury and the end of 1956 again by Mahatab (B.B. Jena, 1994, ).

In the second general Election of 1957, Congress could failure to accomplish the absolute majority. After, the joining of six Jharkhand Party MLAs and some members of Ganatantra Parishad accompanied the Congress to form the state government in Orissa. The Congress-GP coalition became split in February 1961 due to the dissatisfaction of seat sharing in Ministry and Western –Eastern regional conflict. Moreover, Biju Patnaik also demanded himself as the party president and opted for the Chief Minister. The president rule was deployed from february 1961 to June 1961 for the breakdown of constitutional machinery (S. C. Das, 1978).

The first mid-term election of June 1961 again regained for the Congress party under the leadership of Biju Patnaik. The party secured 82 seats out of 140 and Patnaik became the Chief Minister for his excellence personality and policy formulating, only 37 seats were assigned to the GP. The implementation of Kamraj plan and high pressure from the party high command from center forced Patnaik to voluntary resign from his office. The center recommended the Birendra Mitra as the new chief minister. The corruption charges and administrative partiality allegation made by the opposition leader R.N. Singh of GP and others 62 MLAs including some Congress MLAs also thrived to suspend both Patnaik and Mitra from their respectively post in 1965s (♣ Mohanty K. , 2002).

Two major incidents happened prior to 4<sup>th</sup> Orissa assembly election such as (1) during the 1970s the congress party had fragmented into several regional parties (a)the first splinter congress (I) with the national congress party, (b) Jana Congress of H.K. Mahatab, (c)Congress(O) of Syndicate Fraction and finally Utkal Congress under the leadership of Biju Patnaik. And (2) the GP used to merge with national Swatantra Party (B.B. Jena, 1994, ). What was the rationale behind the friction in the Congress party? The issues of corruption, decision making centralized by the central leadership and decentment, groupism movement in politics and race for chief Ministership in Orissa would have fragmented the congress in many folds in Orissa party politics (♣ Mohanty B. , 2017).

By supporting the arguments of Rajni Kothari, Atul Kohli, E. Shreedharan and Yogendra Yadav, I would further extent the other argumentations emphasizing on the congress hegemony period as high centralized commanded based national party but not a single party system and a party of elite class though the congress believes in the inclusion of minorities, SCs and STs as the representative of the party. Perhaps the incapability and fewer emergence of opposition parties, as well as scarcity of political awareness among the masses, maintained the high vote casting in favour of the Congress. Compare to the state levels politics especially in the case of Orissa, there was high growth of regional parties with the Congress dominance which did not find at



center during this episode. Party leaders were in personal aggrandizement, parochial interests and lobbying (Padhy, 1976) that's why no chief minister or any ministry completed the tenure, on the other hand, no such leader crisis happened at center. Instability and centralized authority found in the top to bottom levels in leadership in the political domain of Orissa (1952-67). In addition to this, the scenario of the first three Orissa assembly election stated that the region had been divided in the influence of sub-regionality viz-a-viz the maximum seats went to the congress from the coastal belt while the GP got maximum seats from the Western Orissa. It can be articulated that the caste did not much matter in the voting behavior in Orissa during that period (B.B. Jena, 1994, ).

Coalition Jana Congress headed by Mahatab and Swatantra Party (formed in 1961 as former GP) led by Singh Deo fought the election battle in 1967 against the Congress. In the history of party politics in Orissa, the congress first time defeated this election for their internal leadership fraction and centralized tendency. R.N.Singh Deo was sworn as the chief minister and remained in office till 1971 (S. C. Das, 1978). In this election, the alliance of UC-33 and SWA- 36 formed the government and ruled over the state for the eye-catching 21 points common programs and the MLAs came to the door of votes with the criticism against the Congress for corruption issues and under development genesis (Padhy, 1976).

The root of political instability did not chase the linear stability. Again in June 1972, Swatantra Party piloted by Sri Gangadhar Pradhan did quit from the party and withdrawal the support to alliance Jana Congress. Meanwhile, 32 MLAs from Janna congress joined the congress, in the fresh crux the government broke down because of the absence of an absolute majority. The congress had entered into assembly for ruling under the Chief Ministership of Nandini Sarhpathy (S. C. Das, 1978). The internal disagreement put down within congress due to anti -party activity by some top leaders which mooted as to proclamation of presidential rule after the Non-confidence motion passed in the Vidhan Sabha in 3<sup>rd</sup> march 1974. The episode of politics and political leader were dirtier in between 1971 to 1974. A united opposition Front known as the Orissa Pragati Party from the Leader of Swatantra (Sing Deo), Utkal Congress (Biju Patnaik) and Jana congress (Mahatab) were formed in late 1974 (Padhy, 1976). But this party did not come to power after the absolute mandate demonstrated before the governor and the presidential rule carried on and in the midterm election of 1974, Congress restored the power (♣ Sethy, 2004).

The basic reason, for the incapability of the purely regional political formation to rise in Orissa was that Janata Parivar Parties had over the years occupied the room that regional parties hold in lots of other states. The Janata Party, which came out after the emergency period (1973-77) on a substitute to the Congress (I), had a strong base in Orissa from its very inception. The visualization guided that a centrist political formation like the Janata Party was not only to present an option to the "National" party like the Congress (I) and later the BJP but also to embody the definite regional aspirations of its support base in the state. Biju Patnaik furnished the Janata phenomenon as of its ideological quay with a strong characteristic of the federal structure and a regional political

discourse in Orissa (Shridharan, 2016). It is true that he desired to join in non-Congress politics at the national level, but his state-level politics sustained to be anchored in a regional basis. The JP had secured 110 out of 147 seats in Vidhansabha and Nilamani Rautray became the Chief Minister (S. C. Das, 1978) due to the propagation Anti-congress and Pro-Janata waves. The Janata Party was performed well in both Coastal and Western regions and most probably, regionality in politics brought down after the alliance of the SWA and the JP (Sharma, 1949).

A stable government emerged in 1980 and also carried on up to 1989 under the congress chief ministership of Janaki Ballav Patnaik. In the assembly election of 1980 and 1985, the congress secured 117 seats, the JP won over 13 and 19 seats. During this period the congress had received 48 and 38 seats from coastal belt and the Western Orissa respectively in 1980. And the congress obtained 55 from coastal districts and 30 from the western Orissa due to the debacle of SWA in Orissa politics since 1974 (Sharma, 1949). Now, the coastal and western Orissa came under the clutch of a single party domain, and Polarisation along with regional lines furnished away to single-party dominance. This has resulted in the complete domination of coastal Orissa in Orissa, politics as well in the decision-making process. The Congress favouritism towards coastal Orissa conferred to augment to regional forces within the party (Sharma, 1949).

In argument, Orissa politics in the 1970s represented as the ideological and programs of many on the basis of personal intent and sub- regionality. Starting from 1977to 1990s, Orissa witnessed as a rigid bi-party dominance. The communist was of rare importance in the electoral politics of the state. The congress could deal to create significant Tribals, Dalits, and minority vote banking after 1967 depending upon the assimilative identities while the Janta Dal symbolized with the right wing of upper and middle classes voting pattern. The environment of a political culture built by the center had not sustained the every electorate performance in state legislative assembly (1967-89) (♣ Sethy, 2004). On the other hand at the national level, the competition was not purely single party dominant but a partial phase of a bipolar fight between congress and Janata Party and social identities vote banking escorted to prevail initially in the late 1980s. Finally, the Congress supremacy seemed to fed up from 1977 (S. C. Das, 1978).

Sea level changes had been taken place in Orissa Assembly Election after1990s. Orissa is one of the various states in India that broke away from Congress hegemony around 1990. Orissa obtained a new uncertain route connecting a changeover from the hegemony to multiple convergences. Thus, Orissa is moving from Congress hegemony to multi-polar convergence with a brief half at the bipolar competition. In Orissa, the politics of a first a bipolar (Congress-JD) and then a triangular (Congress-BJD-BJP) competition has added little to the political agenda adjacent to the question of regional discrimination (Bhuyan, 2010).

The 9<sup>th</sup> general election of 1989 witnessed to write a new history to hitherto, Janata Party which was Janta Dal in Orissa in the 1990s won the election under the vivid and dynamic leadership of Biju Patnaik and who highly believed in Biju centric politics. The huge personalities of Mr. Patanaik guided the state party for formulating policies and welfare schemes which were completely different from the central Janata Party. Mr. Patnaik completed his tenure of five years in the assembly as chief minister. The JD secured 123 out of 147 seats which are the highest extensive majority up to 2014 Odisha state assembly election (Banerjee, 2018). The seats secured by different parties were the CPI-5, BJP-2 and the congress (I)-10. The BJP highlighted the problem of inland Orissa, tribal's displacement issues and their settlements and corruption matter. For Morris Jones, BJP recognizes polarizing management i.e. to intensify the ethnic transformation and ethnic convergence that's why the party supported the creation of three tribal states and also demanded to create Alchiki as the official language of Mayurbhanj district in Orissa (♣ Mohanty B. , 2017).

BJD succeeded nine seats in the 1998 General election and Naveen was named the Minister of Mines. In the 1999 general elections, BJD won 10 seats. The party has won an absolute majority of seats in the state legislative assembly in the 2000 and keeping on winning spree up to hitherto.

The new equation of the BJD-BJP alliances came into the fight with the congress in 2000s post-cyclonic period and after the death of Biju Patnaik. They had come into the alliance for opposing to the congress rule, regional autonomy and for the development of Orissa in term of the special categories status. And finally, there was an assimilation of the several sections vote including SCs, STs, and minority for the maintaining their support base in term of social and regional basis (Bhuyan, 2010).

#### ***Rise and Development of Biju Janata Dal(BJD):***

The BJD exclusively focused on 22 points of election manifesto vis-à-vis demand of special categories status for Orissa and in order to catch the western Orissa vote bank, the party also planned to the construction of the Western Orissa development councils (WODC). Moreover BJD specifically focused on Women Protection, governance, Promotion of locality, Infrastructure building for western Orissa and others (BJD, 2009).

The BJD prevailed of 68 seats of 27.83% of valid votes, while the BJP caught to win 38 seats (23.24%) of votes. Only 26 seats (34.68%) of votes had gone into the hand of the Congress. The BID-BJP alliances had got the mandate of 106 out of 147 seats. The BJP was successfully in capturing many seats from the Tribal areas of the State (North-Western regions), because of the larger ideology of the BJP had to be combined with the imperatives of the local issues. The BJD maintained its iron grip in the coastal Orissa. The sharing of the vote went to BJD -29.63% percent and BJP- 23.24% of the total votes polled in the state (Banerjee, 2018).

The BJD emerged as the single largest party securing 61 seats. One of the interesting features of this election was that the non-Congress party received for the conjunctively second time to form the government in the state. Of course, in 1990, the Janata Dal had received 110 seats. But in assembly election of 2004, the

Congress Party won 38 seats. The BJP got 32 seats, JMM 4 seats; CPI and CPI (M) 1 seats each, OGP won 2 seats and independent 8 seats. Thus, the 2004 election brought a change in the election pattern i.e. bi-polar fight between the Congress and its alliance parties and the BJD-BJP alliance. Despite the incumbency at the state and National level, the BJD and the BJP clutched on to their situation in the Lok Sabha and Vidhan Sabha elections (Shridharan, 2016).

The congress retained in only 27 seats with the vote sharing of 29.10 percent, while the BJP had satisfied with only six seats, but the BJD with its alliance captured 109 seats and the valid vote of 41.86 percent in the Vidhan Sabha Election of 2009. In terms of caste groups, the BJD was somewhat weak among SCs and STs in 2004; but here the Congress failed to gain even among the sections whose support it enjoyed -compared to the last time of 2000 and 2004 elections, fewer SCs and STs supported to BJD little more in this election mandate. Though, the BJD's support base was a combination of upper castes and Other Backward Classes (OBCs) while the Congress was dependent on SCs and STs. Education showed almost a textbook pattern of support. The BJD's voter contour in terms of class was more slanted towards the well-to-do while the Congress got more votes from among the poor (Misra, 2009). When the UPA was gaining in many states, why did Orissa remain supportive of the BJD? The personal popularity of Patnaik seems to have played an important role in the outcome. He remained the most popular choice for the position of chief minister, with more than 60% of the respondents preferring him.

The huge support base of BJD had turned out more in coastal Orissa compare to the Western Orissa in 2009 Orissa legislative election while the congress and the BJP stood their position more down in coastal plain areas but compare to the 2004s assembly election of Orissa. BJD had achieved the expansionary seats in 2009 in western Orissa followed by congress and BJP , but why did so ? the output were the works delivered by the BJD especially in for social infrastructure, improvement of agricultural production and the Naveen's manifesto of separate agricultural budget and 35% irrigation to western Orissa might bring the seats to the BJD (BJD, 2009). The party became a part of the NDA in 1998 and formed coalition governments in the state after the 2000 and 2004 elections. But the BJD also represents the regional sentiments of the people of Orissa. Mr. Patnaik distinguishes himself as a crusader against corruption; he also symbolizes the developmental aspirations of the backward state and its regional pride. By distancing itself from the BJP, the BJD could fend off culpability for the thrashing of lives and protection in Kandhamal district. And the party The BJD skillfully combined its clever politics with a strong pro-poor program (Misra, 2009).

The BJD in Odisha withstood the challenge of the Modi wave that swept across much of India's political landscape in the 2014 election. The BJD not only won 20 out of the 21 Lok Sabha seats but it also grabbed a lion's share of 117 out of the 147 Vidhan Sabha seats. The Lok Sabha election BJD improved its vote share by almost seven per cent. While the Congress miserably failed to emerge as a credible alternative to the BJD, the fate of the BJP was not different either. Naveen Patnaik led BJD has been in power for last 15 years and it won another thumping mandate to continue ruling the State. The regional party virtually decimated Congress as well as BJP which won 16 and 10 seats respectively (India, 2014).

The 2019 general election would be a political game changer for the BJD in Odisha, but the mandate has become different. From March 2017 to March 2019, there was a political amalgamation of restructuring in Odisha party politics how and why then? The result of 2017 Panchayats election has made more confidence to bjp in Odisha though the BJD became the single largest political party in that election but BJP has emerged to check BJD in grassroots politics from 36 to 97 in 2017 in Zilla Parishad seats. It is the production of the corruption at grassroots level in ruling BJD, poor quality of work in ensuring the accountability and good governance, carelessness of Naveen Patnaik kept distance from the campaign and addressing the public meeting and may be the reflection of Modi waves in some extent. But the mandate of legislative assembly has got to legitimized by the BJD with seats of 112, BJP- 23, INC- 9, CPI(M)-1 and others-1 out of 147 while in the Lok Sabha , Modi self populism did reconciled and converted to some seats , the mandate was BJD – 12, BJP-8 and Cong- 1 out of 21 seats (India e. c., 2019).

### **Conclusion:**

In the nutshell, this interlude would be contextually interpreted as multi-party coalition era at center and state. The national parties are more influencing to regional parties for alliance bloc and compromised in a certain case. The party politics becomes more decentralized and grass root evolvement, but the voting behavior much is determined on the basis of caste, religion, class and others social identities. While Orissa's condition was little embraced to national politics where identity-based politics is partially designed the voting behavior. Anti - congress becomes the hub agenda of BJP and BJD and the Congress Party till survives forget back of past electoral performance. Leadership crisis and inter-party dispute in Congress kept a distance from the voter's mind. And finally, development genesis attests as for the trump card manifesto of many political parties.

Before going to the emergence of Biju Janata Dal, I would cite, how the regionalism started to rise and fall in politics during the period of 1951to 1990s? The GP always followed a regional identity whether in opposition or in the government from 1967-1971. The GP also picked up the issues of rehabilitation and compensation given to the people who were displaced for the construction of Rourkela steel plant and Hirakud dam. The GP and later the SWA always favoured the free-trading in kendu leaf to safeguard of local peoples and their interests. Even if, in 1971 the SWA opposed the move of UC for nationalization of kendu leaf subsequently, the kendu-leaf trade was nationalized in 1974 despite strong opposition from the leaders of the western region. The regional issues of Western Orissa became stepped down in Orissa party politics after the debacle of SWA in 1974. Though, the JD had not been criticized by the masses of western Orissa. There is no political party formed on the basis of western Orissa regional identity since 1774 in order to bargain more policies and schemes for the sake of Western Orissa people. However, the feelings of Coastal-Western has been perusing in the mindset of the people due to sub-regional disparities in term of infrastcture, HDI, Agricultural Production and its cultural aspect.

The rise of regionalism in Odisha since 1936 after the birth of Orissa state with the core matter of language and the regionalism has been spreading between the Coastal and Western regions of Orissa due to the diversified in the cultures, socio-economical, political and the human development aspects. In addition to this, the sphere of regionalism also extended to shaping a regional party on the basis of Western Odisha Pride i.e. the GP. Due to the leadership crisis and factionism in the GP, it was debacle in the end of 1974. The JP in Orissa had endeavored to assimilate the socio-political issues in the domain of the party politics in order to reduce the Intra-regionalism in Orissa.

The political vacuum had been created in the JD after the death of Biju Patnaik. That's why the BJD had emerged as the splinter of the JD for the anti-Congressism tendency at the state as well as national levels of politics. But the rationale behind the birth of the BJD used to be an accidental aspect but the populist leadership of Naveen Patnaik, welfare schemes and cadre based organization of the BJD have been retaining as a single largest dominant party in Odisha.

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