THE UNIVERSITY of EDINBURGH

Edinburgh Research Explorer

Governing Diversity in South Asia

OPEN ACCESS

Table 1: State Strategies for Governing Diversity and their attributes along a

group-dominant – accommodationist continuum

Continuum	Increasingly Group Dominant		Increasingly Accommodationist
Type of Strategy Source of Diversity	Group-Dominant Strategy	Integrationist Strategy	Accommodationist Strategy
Territory	Unitary state, very limited self-rule lower level units	Integrationist federalism or union: Strong centre, limited shared rule; boundaries subnational units not based on cultural or ethnic characteristics	Territorial pluralism (Basta 2015 et.al.) ; strong self-rule for units drawn along cultural or ethnic characteristics; strong shared rule, asymmetric arrangements to acknowledge different needs of specific territories
Language	Language(s) dominant group(s) as only official language(s)	One official language to promote integration alongside recognition of minority languages	Several national languages + privileged position of regional languages in areas where they are most widely spoken
Caste-Tribe	State capture by dominated tribes, caste-group or sects	Alleviation of caste-or tribal deprivation through redistribution	Alleviation caste or tribal deprivation through affirmative action and quotas
Religion	One religion as state religion	Strict separation between state and religion	State should recognize and support various religions through subsidies, sanctioning of religious practices and religious representation in some state institutions

Source: McGarry et.al. 2008, Basta et.al.2015 and own interpretation

Table 2: Continuity and Change in the Management of Diversity: India pre- and post-Independence

	Arrangements British India	Arrangements Indian constitution (1950)	Direction of Change
Territory	Centralized federalism as per the Government of India Act (1935) with limited self-rule and shared rule and significant Emergency Powers Confederalism with limited central powers as per the Cabinet Mission Plan (1946)	Centralized federalism as per the Government of India Act, flexible rule for territorial restructuring	Integrationist: Strong focus on Territorial Integrationist model as in the GoI Act (1935) not the Cabinet Mission (1946)
Language	English as official language; some regional languages recognized	Hindi as envisaged official language (by 1965), some regional languages recognized	Integrationist
Caste and Tribe	Reserved seats for Dalits (Scheduled Castes) and tribes, arrangements to protect tribal distinctiveness especially for the hill tribes Separate electorates for Dalits and tribes Provincial practice of administrative reservations for Other Backward Castes	Reserved seats for Dalits (Scheduled Castes) and tribes, Schedules V and VI to protect tribal distinctiveness No separate electorates No reservations for OBC	Integrationist, despite retention of reserved seats and constitutional protection tribal distinctiveness
Religion	Separate electorates Reserved seats in legislature and administration (Muslims, Christian, Sikhs) Separate personal laws for regulation inheritance, divorce State support for religions educational institutions	No Separate electorates No Reserved seats Separate personal laws retained and Universal Civil Code only as directive principle (non-justiciable) State support for religious educational institutions; Choice of flag and anthem accommodative of religious diversity	Integrationist, but some accommodationist features retained due to retention personal law regimes and state subsidies for religions (education)

Source: Adeney (2007); Austin (1966) Bajpai (2012), Bhargava (2008), Chandhoke (2007) Gopal Jayal (2006), Heath et.al., (2005); Lerner (2012), Roy (2006); Lijphart (2007); Kumarasingham (2013); Saxena (2006); Sáez (2002); Stepan and Linz (2011); Stuligross and Varshney (2002); Tillin (2013a); Talbot and Singh (2009)

Table 3: Incremental Change in the Management of Diversity in India (1950-present)

	Nature and timing of change since 1950	Source of Change	Mechanism of Change	Direction of Change
Territory	Territorial reorganization based on language (1953-1966)	Friction between social and institutional layer Friction between ideological and institutional layer	Social mobilization and party competition Restructuring enabled by simple majority rule and organizational symmetries with Congress Party Organization	Accommo-dationist
	Strengthening state self-rule in practice (1996-2014)	Friction between ideological and institutional layer	Ideological shift in support of liberalization Pluralization Party System Judicial Review	
Language	Territorial reorganization based on language (53-66) English retained as associate official language post 1965 (Official Languages Act 1967) Gradual expansion of official languages from 14 (1950) to 22 (present) Three language formula (education)	Friction between social and institutional layer	Linguistic movements; dynamics of party competition and intra-party pressure	Accommo-dationist
Caste and Tribe	Reserved seats for OBC in administration (Mandal I – 1993) and education (Mandal II – 2006)	Friction between social and institutional layer	Progressive increase in educational and economic attainment of backward castes Social mobilization and party competition	Accommo-dationist
Religion	Since 2014: No change in constitutional provisions, but progressive ban on cow slaughter, adjustment in definition of Indian citizenship, educational reforms	Friction between ideological and and institutional layer	Party competition; BJP national party majority, social mobilization by the Sangh Parivar (Hindu nationalist organizations)	One-Group Dominance

Source: as Per Table 2

Table 4: Continuity and Change in the Management of Diversity: Pakistan pre-Independence, 1956 and 1973 constitutions

Arrangements British India	Arrangements Pakistan constitution (1956)	Direction of Change	Arrangements Pakistan constitution (1973)	Direction of Change
Centralized federalism as per the Government of India Act (1935) with limited self-rule and shared rule and significant Emergency Powers Confederalism with limited central powers as per the Cabinet Mission Plan (1946)	Centralized federation with limited autonomy for the provinces; practically meaningless even before 1956 constitution by recurrent sacking of provincial governments Two 'unit' state (East-West Pakistan) with equal representation for both units in a unicameral parliament	Territorial integration in form and Dominant Group Strategy in practice	Bicameral parliament, equal seat representation in Senate benefits smallest states, Council of Common Interests to discuss common border issues. Territorial restructuring through reintroduction Western provinces (though Bahawalpur and Kaipur integrated in Punjab)	Weakening of Dominant Group Strategy and Limited Accommodation through increase in shared rule, at least in form Limited Accommodation by reinstating (most) of the old provincial boundaries
English as official language	Initially, only Urdu, though since 1954 also Bengali included as national language. English retained as official language of the state for at least twenty years; no other regional languages recognized.	Integrationist in form, Dominant-group strategy in practice due to limited role Bengali in administration and military	Prominent role of Urdu and English retained, but provinces can promote regional language in education and administration	Limited accommodation
Reserved seats for Dalits (Scheduled Castes) and tribes Separate electorates for Dalits and tribes Provincial practice of administrative reservations for Other Backward Castes	No reserved seats for tribes	Integrationist	No reserved seats for tribes	No change compared with 1956
Separate electorates Reserved seats in legislature and administration (Muslims, Christian Sikhs) Separate personal laws for regulation inheritance, divorce	No separate electorates or reserved seats Pakistan as Islamic Republic, although Islam not the official state religion, Speaker of Assembly must be Muslim 'Sovereignty rests with Allah'	Dominant group strategy yet with some integrationist features due to recognition individual	Limited (10/332) reserved seats for non-Muslims Islam as official state religion, Advisory Council of Islamic Ideology renamed as Council of Islamic Ideology;	Strengthening of Dominant Group Strategy (Islamization) despite reserved seats for non-Muslims which operated as marginalizing device in practice

| State support for religions educational institutions | Support for religious educational institutions | religious freedom; Limited accommodation retained due to state support for religious education (including e.g. Christian schools) and personal laws | Freedom of the press made subject to 'the glory of Islam' and a minister for religious affairs created to oversee Islamization of the laws within nine years

Constitution defines who is Muslim and who is not (art 260) – provides context for denominating Ahmadi community as non-Muslim sect. | |

Sources: Adeney (2007, 2009, 2012), Jaffrelot (2002, 2015) Jayal (2014), Khan (1999), Raina (2014), Shah (2014), Talbot (2012) and Waseem (2015a and b).