

**POLITICAL ECONOMY OF UNEVEN DEVELOPMENT:
A CASE STUDY OF KARNATAKA**

*Dissertation submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the
Award of the Degree of*

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the dissertation entitled "POLITICAL ECONOMY OF UNEVEN DEVELOPMENT : A CASE STUDY OF KARNATAKA" submitted by NAGENDRA F. HONNALLI in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY of this University is his own work and has not been previously submitted for any other degree of this University or any other University to the best of our knowledge.

We recommend that this dissertation be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

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Dedicated to
My Parents
&
Lingaraj, Suma and Nirmala

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Although the duration of the M.Phil. programme is two years, I have, for long been interested in development aspects of my home state, Karnataka. I have been collecting data pertaining to Karnataka since my M. A. Programme that I pursued in the Centre for Political Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University between 1998-2000. Needless to say, the number of people who have helped me in the completion of this study, is endless.

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Aceelli
4/6/02

Nagendra F. Honnalli

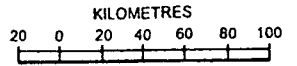
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KARNATAKA

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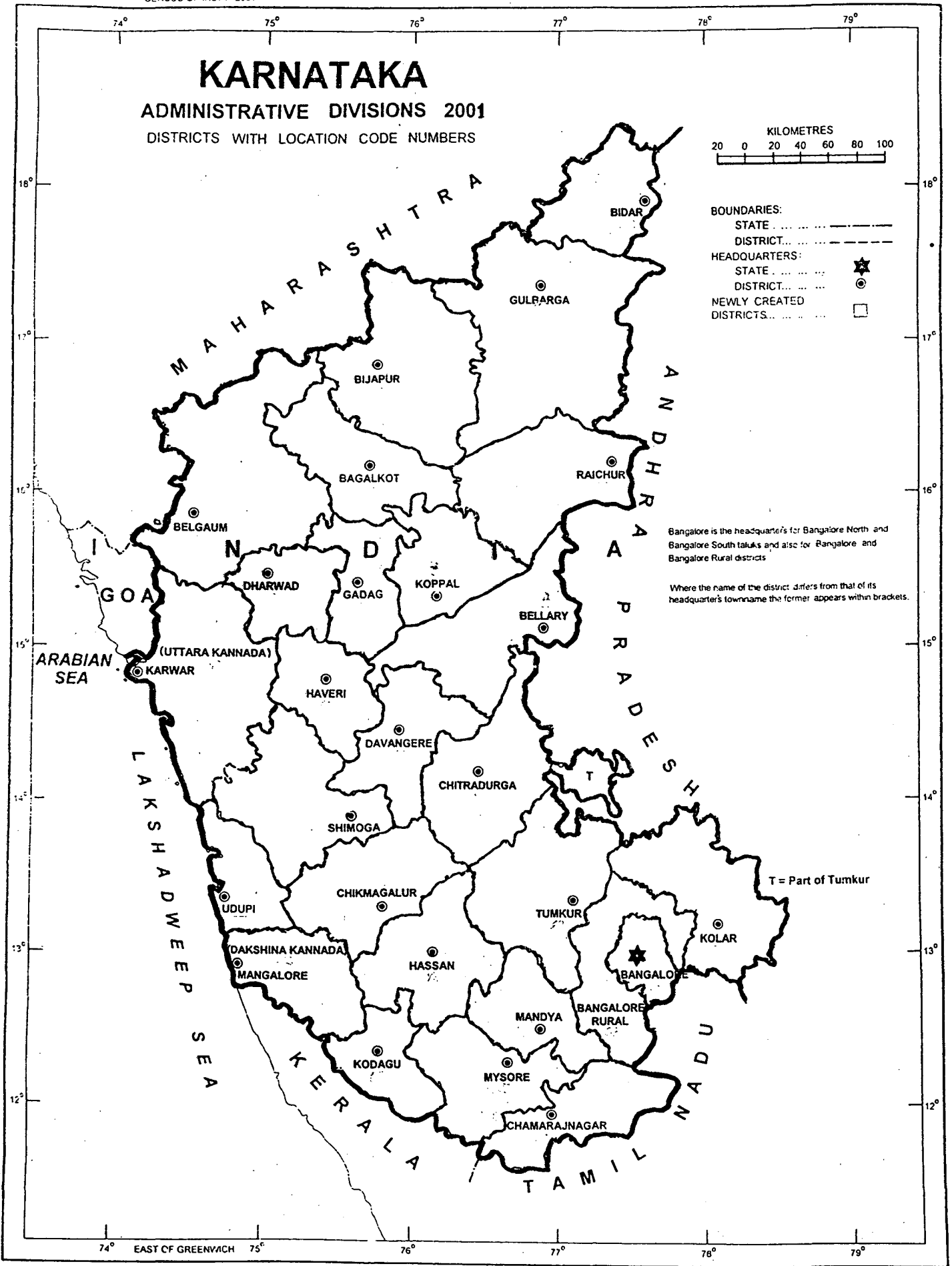
DISTRICTS WITH LOCATION CODE NUMBERS



- BOUNDARIES:**
 STATE - - - - -
 DISTRICT - - - - -
- HEADQUARTERS:**
 STATE ★
 DISTRICT ●
- NEWLY CREATED DISTRICTS:** □

Bangalore is the headquarters for Bangalore North and Bangalore South taluks and also for Bangalore and Bangalore Rural districts

Where the name of the district differs from that of its headquarters' townname the former appears within brackets.



Based upon Survey of India map with the permission of the Surveyor General of India

The territorial waters of India extend into the sea to a distance of twelve nautical miles measured from the appropriate base line

CHAPTER I

POLITICAL ECONOMY OF UNEVEN DEVELOPMENT: A FRAMEWORK OF ANALYSIS

The idea of development as a progressive transformation of society has been a major issue of debate in modern society. It assumes importance, particularly when there are widening imbalances between advanced regions and lagging regions. This notion of Spatio-historical pattern of uneven development, intrinsically, is a reflection of the operational mechanisms of the capitalist process of development. It is precisely because of the fact that the growth of capital does not occur in a smooth and straight-line fashion, but proceeds with many backward steps. Consequently, it causes unevenness in infrastructure development, location of industrial bases, social and human development etc. It is, in fact, implanted, grows and spreads more rapidly, particularly in a liberalised economy where the growth of capital turns out to be quite unbalanced with uneven participation of countries and people.¹ Furthermore, capital flows to already better off regions which enjoy conducive investment climate in order to accrue maximum benefits which, in turn, actually creates backwardness in resource crunch regions.²

This phenomenon of uneven development has been a subject of many debates in the context of both developed and developing countries since the end of Second World War. Since then, it has become not only a global but also a national and regional aspiration to contain the process of uneven development by evolving suitable policy-approaches and

¹ Mahbub Ul Haq, "Human Development in South Asia", Human Development Centre, Oxford, 2002, p.12.

² Paul A. Baran, "On Political Economy of Backwardness" in A.N. Agarwala and S.P. Singh (eds.), "The Economics of Underdevelopment", OUP, New Delhi, 1958, p.75.

development models. It has also occupied prime place as far the question of intra-regional disparities in development is concerned. Although such grave issues of uneven development within state structures continue to be the dominant theme of public discourse, the dynamics of uneven development within a traditional and a relatively depressed socio-economic framework has remained a neglected dimension.

In this context, the concept of 'region' as a means of furthering economic growth and guaranteeing the sharing out of the benefits of development among the people living in all parts of a region, increasingly becomes relevant in studies of regional development. The vast geographical size and marked socio-economic diversities in a country like India, always tends to increase the disparate development. It is also because that the process of development does not take place uniformly in all regions. In this process many regions have hardly improved their social and economic well being, while few others have managed to grow at a much faster rate. As a result, every state in India is facing the problem of uneven development.

The dynamics of uneven development in certain regions, which are richly endowed with natural resources is not simply a matter of economic inquiry. The totality of the problem of deprivation and chronic backwardness can not be understood without examining the role of the state in dismantling the institutional and social rigidities within specific areas along with correcting the historical wrongs in order to effect uniform development.³ The centrality of the problem also lies in the colonial states structures and governance styles. In fact, the colonial hangover effectively contributed to the persistence and perpetuation of uneven development in the post-independence period. But it is noteworthy that post-colonial state

³ Institutional and social rigidities implies, strict implementation of land reforms, removal of feudal control over landholdings. Similarly, historical wrongs includes, pre-independence governance styles of colonial masters, rulers of princely states, lack of adequate infrastructure to effect social and human development in backward regions.

intervention in the form of national and state planning with a basic objective of reducing regional variations in development not only failed, but in many ways contributed to the accentuation of uneven developments in many regions of Indian economy.

Consequently, there have been unbridged structural gaps and uneven development across the regions in India. In Maharashtra, the regions of Vidarbha, Marathawada and Western Maharashtra have attained different levels of development and grown at varying rate. This is also true of Telengana, Rayalseema and the coastal regions of Andhra Pradesh. In Kerala, Travancore, Cochin and Malbar display differences in regional development. Regions of Western Arunachal Pradesh, lower Assam, Saurashtra and Kutch in Gujarat, South-Central Rajasthan, Kosal region of Orissa also display uneven development in their respective states. Likewise, in Karnataka also, the districts belonging to the erstwhile Bombay presidency, Hyderabad Karnataka, old Mysore, Kodagu and the old Madras presidency have attained different levels of development. These regions have been pressing for a new look at the existing scheme of re-organisation of the constituent units of the Union of India.⁴ Besides, they have initiated agitations for separate statehood.

Although the above manifestations of sub-regionalism within a state structure reflect the complex amalgamation of economic, ethnic, geographical, historico-cultural, Politico-administrative etc., the feeling of economic deprivation forms the crux at the problem. It has created a psychic feeling of being left out in the tempo of development which have severe repercussions on the state as well as in the regions. Furthermore, the notion of uneven development has formed the base of economic regionalism in

⁴ R. R. Misra, "Regionalism and State Politics in India' Ashish Publishing House, New Delhi, 1984, p.17.

various large states.⁵ It also reflect the fact that earlier component of language and cultural homogeneity which was well established at the time of re-organisation of states in 1956 lost ground to urge for speedier development.⁶ In fact, the demands made in the above case are not based on linguistic considerations though the dialectical affinities in some cases have served the purpose of binding a group together. Such process presents the extent of deprivation in relation to other parts of the region. Mudholkar and Vora have contextualised this phenomenon as "the main consideration behind such sub-regional movements are economic development and an anxiety for a proper share in political power cutting across the linguistic loyalties and cultural similarities."⁷

Many studies in different states have revealed the fact that such setbacks in development within large states provided enough room for the accumulation of regional discontent and feeling of internal colonialism. Powerful regional elite for separatist tendencies often exploits such feeling of relative deprivation on the part of the people of backward region. Besides, they take the benefits of such tendencies to whip up the feelings of the people and manufacture the ideology of sub-regionalism. In fact, such collective actions most often have given rise to popular demands for regional autonomy and administrative decentralisation. While in other cases, considering the gravity of the problem and genuinity of the demand, new states are created in India under Article 3 of the Indian constitution, which provides for the formation of new states and alternation of areas, boundaries

⁵ Akhtar Majeed "Regionalism: Developmental Tensions in India", Cosmos Publications, New Delhi, 1984, p.6. Akhtar Points out that growing regionalism is the outcome of uneven sharing of the benefits of developmental activities.

⁶ Pradeep Kumar, "Demand for New States", Economic and Political Weekly, August 26-Sept 2, 2000, p.3078.

⁷ Mudholkar and Vora, "Regionalism in Maharashtra", in Akhtar Majeed (ed) "Regionalism: Developmental Tensions in India", cosmos Publications, New Delhi, 1984, p72.

or names of existing states.⁸ But more often, it was noticed that the discontent and agitation led by local leaders on the basis of perceived or real neglect of the backward regions, are willing to settle for autonomous regions within the existing state with considerable financial and administrative power.⁹ Thus, it can be argued that discontent emanating from economic compulsions, are more bargaining powers rather than really separatist tendencies. It could be because of the fact that the well being of backward regions lies in continuing as part of the state for resource and financial assistance.

With this brief introduction to the nature of uneven development in a capitalist form of development, it is necessary to understand how the problem in focus, i.e., Uneven development is contextualised in the very process of re-organisation of states in India.

1.1 Process of States' Re-organisation

The problem of uneven development has its roots in the very process of states' reorganisation in India. It can be traced by studying the historical roots and the then existing state structures, which later formed part of larger states in 1956. The persistence of uneven development, despite considerable efforts after independence clearly shows not only the genesis of unevenness but also the state's inability to overcome colonial hangovers. It is precisely for the sake of understanding the colonial impact and structural differentiations at the time of reorganisation of states, we have made an enquiry into the colonial pattern and state formation in this study.

⁸ Succumbing to the long drawn agitations, Indian government carved out three new states viz. Chattisgarh, Jharkhand and Uttaranchal from Madhya Pradesh, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh respectively, in 2000.

⁹ N.J. Kurian, "Widening Regional disparities in India", Some Indicators, Economic and Political Weekly, Feb. 12, 2000, p.548.

The colonial pattern before the reorganisation of states created vast structural imbalances in various fields, which have continued to play crucial role in post-independence period. Unevenness, specifically in diffusion of administrative infrastructure, development of transport and communication, spread of education, establishment of industries, agrarian reforms and more importantly human development etc. continued to be accentuated in post-independence period. Amidst such varied state-structures, the intrusion of linguistic factor in Indian National Movement created regional systems out of its uneven structures based on Linguistic principle.¹⁰ It is noteworthy that the then existing structure of Indian states was the creation of the expansionist motive of British imperial power. The very division of states was fortuitous and had no rational basis and scientific planning. It was entirely governed by reasons of military strength and security, political and administrative exigencies of the moment with very little care for the actual affinities, needs of the people.¹¹ The authors of the Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms in 1918 and the Indian Statutory Commission in 1930 endorsed the same argument and pressed for close examination of the question by a boundaries commission. This speaks for the then existing state structures in India.

Similarly, the administrative structure in princely states was also not different than the British provinces. The princely states were also in varying phases of development on and after transfer of power. India, soon after independence integrated all these princely states with the former British India. Thus, marked the first phase of reorganisation of states in India. Subsequently, it set in the process of forming bigger states and accordingly the units were regrouped into three categories such as part 'A', 'B' and 'C' States in India.

¹⁰ G.Rama Reddy and Azam, "Political aspects of National Integration," Meenakshi Prakashan, New Delhi, 1981, p.85.

¹¹ Report of Montague Chelmsford Commission 1918 cited in States' Re-organisation Commission's Report 1955, p.4.

The creation of Andhra Pradesh in 1953 unleashed a series of demands for re-organisation of states on linguistic principle. By that time, the question of linguistic redistribution of provinces was already an integral part of the Indian National Congress which was, in fact, a political strategy to consolidate its support base at local level. It was clearly reflected in a memorable session of Indian National Congress (INC) at Nagpur in 1920 which divided the country into 21 linguistic congress provinces. Despite the creation of Linguistic provinces, the linguistic question was re-examined by various committees and commissions at the time of framing constitution for the independent India.¹²

The other important phase in the process of re-organisation of states was the appointment of States Re-Organisation Commission (SRC) in 1953. Although the SRC laid out certain factors such as preservation and strengthening of unity and security of India, linguistic and cultural homogeneity, financial, economic and administrative viability and successful working of the National plans etc. as factors bearing on re-organisation, it was more pre-occupied with the linguistic factor. It neglected other vital principles such as size, economic performance, social homogeneity etc. Accordingly, States were created by integrating the socio-economically, heterogeneous regions with the developed regions in 1956. This could be advanced as a major argument for the persistence of uneven development in almost all-large states in India.

Although the SRC did not accept the idea of economic self-sufficiency for all regions it did emphasise on the wide disparities in natural resources and physical endowments in the reorganized units. Perhaps, it had the

¹² S.K. Dhar Commission was appointed by Constituent Assembly in 1948. It rejected the Linguistic re-grouping of States. JVP Committee was appointed by the Congress in 1948 at its Jaipur session. It also rejected the demand but held the view that an experiment could be made. As a result Andhra Pradesh was created in 1953. Finally, SRC was appointed in 1953. It laid down various factors for reorganisations, but linguistic homogeneity was given primary.

intention to ensure that no single unit would remain too rich and too poor, by optimistically supporting the claims made in favour of the theory of "Nodal Regions". However, the SRC expected that the flow of goods and services within each nodal region would be free and that the centre and periphery could develop in a complimentary and coordinated manner. It also hoped that the capital and technology and its benefits would trickle down from advanced to the lagging regions. But the experience of five decades of planning shows its failure to materialise these hopes. Perhaps, the concept of Nodal Regions and Zonal plans would have solved the problem of Uneven development, if they were given primacy at the time of re-organisation of states.¹³

However, it is clearly evident from the larger process of reorganisation of states and the much discussed factors bearing on regrouping of states that social and human capital concerns were neglected. The welfare of people in each constituent unit which should have been a relevant consideration was missing. In fact, it places the onus on the failure of post - independence state to correct the disparities.

In the light of this overall context that underscores the problem of uneven development, the present study intends to trace the genesis of uneven development in the state of Karnataka, where the bane of uneven development has recently manufactured the Ideology of separatism. The study intends to trace the process of uneven development with special focus on Human development aspects as a significant departure from the

¹³ Nodal Regions' are networks of economic activities around a few important places where a free flow of trade and commodities are being a function of distances from central points. Similarly, the concept of 'Zonal plan' proposed by Pandit Nehru in 1955 could have gone a long way to consolidate regional integration and prevent developmental tensions at the state level. It proposed administrative and economic decentralisation which could have also helped in removing the problem of regional imbalances by making the regional leadership directly responsible for the development of the region. See Joan U. Bondurant, "Regionalism versus provincialism: A study in problems of Indian National unity", University of California, Berkeley, 1958, p.55.

traditional practice of measuring regional variations in development with the help of Per Capita Income (PCI), Gross Domestic Product (GDP) etc., to human development aspects such as availability of basic services like primary education, health care facilities, safe drinking water, people's choices, and freedoms etc., which have come to be used as the basis for measuring regional disparities in development.

Taking uneven development in Karnataka as a problem of investigation, the present work intends to derive theoretical concepts, particularly from the political Economy approach, which have brought the problem to light. In this regard, it is important to underline and have a fairly clear perception of what exactly development would mean. As it has been a debatable issue with regards to what is the acceptable concept and connotation of development, the following section looks at broader discourse on development from political economy perspective.

1.2 Renewed Discourse on Development

The idea of development is hard to define and there has been a great debate about the meaning to be given to it. More often, the concept of development is defined in material terms. A number of western, Marxist and Third World theoreticians have put forward various theoretical and practical explanations on the problem of development. In fact, these investigations have exerted an useful influence on political economy as a whole. In this context the theories of Political Economy are perceived as an improvement on the conventional analysis of development.¹⁴

Before analyzing various approaches, it is necessary to explain the meaning of certain concepts, which have been quite often used in the

¹⁴ See Norman T. Uphoff and Warren F. Ilichman (eds.) "The Political Economy of Development: Theoretical and empirical contradictions", University of California Press, London, 1972, p.77.

present study. The first and foremost is the very concept of uneven development itself.

1.2.1 Concept of Uneven Development

Generally uneven development is understood negatively in relation to development. It has been given a new focus with many theoreticians attempting to theorise the notion of uneven development.

However, a useful summary of the process of uneven development, as a necessary aspect of capitalism comes from volume I of Marx's *Das Capital*. He stated that a major contradiction of capitalism is the simultaneous emergence of concentrating of wealth and capital, on the one hand, poverty and oppression on the other hand. This general law of capitalist accumulation as Marx termed it, highlights the Capital – Labour conflict and is one way to ground a theory of uneven development which can be extended to study intra-regional disparities in developmental studies. But in general terms, unevenness represents, a differential growth of sectors, geographical process, classes and regions at the global, national, sub-national, regional and sub-regional levels.

In spatial terms, unevenness has been associated with theories of unequal exchange and forms of "Core Periphery" dominance.¹⁵ David Harvey (1996) has argued that the fulcrum of unevenness is the outcome of differential return on investment.¹⁶ Similarly, Samir Amin (1976) in his "unequal Development" acknowledged that the different patterns of transition to peripheral capitalism and to Central Capitalism is all the consequences of capitalist form of production which tends to become excessive at the Centre. Likewise, John Taylor, located the problem of uneven development in terms

¹⁵ P.O. Hara (ed.) *The Encyclopedia of Political Economy*, London, 1999, p.78.

¹⁶ David Harvey, "Justice, Nature and Geography of Difference", Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1996, p.295.

of extreme sectoral imbalances in the economy. Taylor also recognises the fundamental inability of the capitalist economy to gear its resources to the development of a domestic market and the economic needs of its indigenous population.¹⁷

The above theoretical expositions reveal that uneven development means many things to many theoreticians depending on the context in which it was developed. But in this work, this concept of uneven development is employed in a political economy framework to understand the spatial distribution and spread of socio-economic aspects of development in the state of Karnataka. As it is commonly used, uneven development not simply refers to the geography of capitalism but also to uneven rate of growth between different sectors in a region.

1.2.2 Political Economy Perspective

As stated earlier, the study of the problem of uneven development in Karnataka intends to derive theoretical concepts, particularly from Political-Economy perspective, it is necessary to know how the problem of development can be contextualised in this perspective.

Political Economy has been primarily concerned with consequences of the production and distribution of goods and services. It is also an attempt to specify some relationships between economic and political behaviour. As it is an area of inquiry from which different types of politico-economic linkages can be theorised, depending on the particular problem being studied, the present study on Karnataka's development problems fits better in this approach. It is also because of the fact that this approach provides more powerful set of concepts and methods for designing and implementing policies more efficiently. It would also help analysts and policy makers to

¹⁷ Nicos, Mouzelis, "Modernisation underdevelopment, Uneven development: Prospects for a theory of third world formations", *Journal of peasant studies*-7, 1980, p.353.

understand better the characteristics of the problem and the feasibility of alternative way of organisational arrangements to set right the unevenness in development process. Hence, it is noteworthy that an integrated political economy framework has been the most useful instrument to study the problem of uneven development in Karnataka.

The orthodox political economists of the late 18th and 19th century such as Adam Smith, David Ricardo and others gave primary importance to the issue of production and its increase in output. It is important to know that distribution of production among different individuals and social group find little mention in their discourse on development.¹⁸ In contrast, the political economists of 20th century were not only concerned with the process by which growth is achieved but also viewed development as a process consistent with people's core values.¹⁹ Similar arguments were put forth by Prof. Ignacy Sachs and Denis Goulet. Prof. Sachs, in his writings underlined the centrality of the multidimensionality of the concept of development by emphasizing economic growth as a necessary condition but by no means a sufficient condition of development.²⁰ His argument opens up a new debate on the issue of Development versus Economic Growth, which has been dealt with in a later part of this chapter. By encompassing issues such as the provision of livelihoods, jobs, primacy of political decisions, social equity, management of diversity and environment, Prof. Sachs has broadened the domain of political economy of development. Hence, development is viewed as the process of unfolding, in human history, of the progressive emancipation of people and nations from the control of people and nations. In this regard, there are two major schools of thought within the political

¹⁸ Ray Bromley and Gavin Kitching (eds), 'Development and Underdevelopment', Metluen and Co. Ltd., New York, 1982, p.16.

¹⁹ Charles K. Wilber, "The Political Economy of development and Underdevelopment", Random House, New York, 1973, p.13.

²⁰ Ignacy Sachs, "Understanding Development", Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2000, p.7.

Economy framework. One is the Marxist and the other, is the dependency school.

Marxist Scholars recognizing the conspicuous spatio-historical pattern of uneven development felt that the process is intrinsically, a reflection of the operational mechanism of the capitalist, form of development. It is through this process that formal sub-ordination of human capital is exercised.²¹ Consequently, the Marxist scholars emphasised the incorporation of the marginalised and powerless sections of society into societal process as the main objective of development. Accordingly, development has been defined as a process by which powerless people in any backward region are free from all forms of dependency including social, economic, political and cultural so that they can create a personal sense of history for themselves and thereby enable them to express their full potential as human beings. From this perspective, it is evident that the need for mobilisation and participation of poor in the socio-economic development process form the crux of development.²²

Similarly, A.G. Frank, established direct relationship between growth of capitalism and persistence of uneven development both at national and regional level. He argued that the uneven development is the continuation of the past to the present. Frank, constructing his line of argument criticised the capitalist structure and argued that in metropolitan capitalist counties, the centre is developed at the expense of underdeveloped regions, through the exploitation of surplus.²³ These categories appears to be true in case of Northern regions and Kodagu region of Karnataka state which enjoy

²¹ David Harvey, 'The Limits to Capital', Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1982, p.373.

²² K.C. Alexander, "The Process of Development of Societies", Sage Publications, New Delhi, 1994, p.7.

²³ A.G. Frank, "The Development of Underdevelopment", Monthly Review, Sept, 1996, p.17.

abundant resources, but are exploited for the growth of already developed regions in the state.

In the most explicit and highly influenced studies of Gunnar Myrdal (1957) "Economic Theory and underdeveloped Regions", holds the view that the spatial Uneven development is an indispensable part of the process of capitalist development. The spatial consequences of concentrated growth are explained through "backwash" and "spread effects" representing the negative and positive aspects of the growth process.

On the other hand, Dependency theorists have seen the development of capitalism as a two fold process. Dependency theorists such as Celso Furtado, A.G. Frank, Keith Griff, Osvaldo Sunkel and others provide a picture showing the situation of dependence in which the underdeveloped countries became an appendages of the developed countries.²⁴ Such dependency actually means more than economic and it is particularly true in case of Karnataka where most of the important decisions of policies and strategies are made by individuals, firms and institutions that are external to the backward regions of the state. However, it is evident from this stream that the focus is more on relationships among the regions which is primarily a matter of emphasis. In this regard, it is important to know how this interdependence has, in many ways, transformed in the growth of the centre, relegating the peripheral regions.

1.2.3 Centre-Periphery Syndrome

The centre - periphery explanations dealing with international division of labour and the exploitation of the periphery by the centre has become more useful category in analysing problems of uneven development at regional level. The theorists while, investigating why the periphery is

²⁴ Charles K. Wilber, op.cit., p.18.

powerless in the pace of development observed that the development of the capitalist 'core' is achieved through series of complicated mechanisms of extracting the surplus from the underdeveloped periphery in the third world.²⁵

Highlighting this phenomenon the "World System Theorists" such as A.G. Frank, DoS Santos, Immanuel Wallerstein, Arghiri Emmanuel, Samir Amin, Paul Baran and others have divided the whole world into two, i.e the 'Centre' and the 'periphery'. In addition to these two, another intermediate category, 'the semi-periphery' was developed which refers to those regions that are exploited by the centre but which, in turn, exploit its own peripheries.²⁶ Similarly, Celso Furtado and Paul Prebisch have revealed that the benefits of economic growth has been unevenly shared between the developed centre and underdeveloped periphery. The agitations for separate statehood in Orissa, Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra, Gujarat, Karnataka and other regions in India speaks for such formulations.

Although the centre - periphery Syndrome has been criticised and seriously debated mainly on its application at international, level and its inability to provide an adequate explanations of the causes of and remedies for uneven development, its concepts are still used as an indispensable tool of analysis with reference to issues of intra-national and intra-regional spatial differentiations. In this regard, the developmental features of Karnataka clearly provides an explanations for Centre Periphery Syndrome, where the regions in and around Bangalore have acquired substantial advantage over the northern peripheral region. Even if the peripheral regions register nominal rate of growth, they do not enjoy any benefits of development. In

²⁵ Ashutosh Varshney, "Urban Bias in Perspective", the Journal of Development Studies, July, 1994, p.14.

²⁶ S.P. Srivastava, (ed), "Development Debate", Critical Perspectives, Rawat Publications, New Delhi, 1998, p.216.0

this context, a brief analysis on the overall debate on economic growth and development may not be out of place.

1.3 Development Versus Economic Growth

An analytical distinction between Development and Economic Growth is important to underline the required development to be initiated in backward regions. In this regard, there have been divergent views on Development. What is perceived as development has meant distress and even misery for others. The early economists assumed that development depends primarily on economic growth and would automatically occur if economic growth take place. This view of development has, however, been criticised on the ground that it ignores the trickle down effects such as distribution of gains from growth. It was also criticised on the basis of how the growth has been achieved and at what costs. It is very clear that an increase in production in a country or a region does not automatically mean that there is better and equitable distribution of what has been produced. It is also true when we examine the experience of industrial economies in the post-war period, which have indicated that the benefits of rapid economic growth does not really trickle down to all segments of a country's population.²⁷

Economic Growth means an increase in the value of all goods and services produced in an economy. This is termed as the Gross Domestic product (GDP). Growth is, therefore, a sustained expansion in the productive capacity of an economy. Besides, it signifies a sector based, short lived and area-specific development. Growth whether actual or potential is a concept which has always centered only on quantity rather than quality. In fact, it takes place only when there is an increase in the per capita income or output of a country. Despite a phenomenal growth rate in GNP, the persistence of

²⁷ Mahbub Ul Haq, op.cit., p.12.

mass poverty, unemployment, increased income inequalities within and among various regions is the proof that the benefits of growth do not transform into overall development of poor families.

Development, by contrast, is an open-ended historical process which may be understood as an intentional, self-guided process of transformation and management of socio-economic structures directed at ensuring equal opportunities to all people. In fact, it is a sustained improvement in material welfare, particularly for those who are poor and afflicted by poverty, illiteracy and poor health conditions. Development is therefore, a qualitative concept involving a qualitative improvement in the general standard of living in a country or a region. In this regard, effectiveness of any development programmes can not be judged merely in terms of their effects on income and output, but must, at a basic level focus on its impact on the lives that people lead. These formulations can be applied to the assessment of the ongoing economic reforms and current problems of regional variations in development in India.²⁸

In this regard, Development can not be said to have taken place in the state of Karnataka unless there have been significant improvements in the quality of life, improvements in major areas of human life such as better living conditions, health facilities, improved diet, increased literacy, lower infant and mortality death rates, recreational, cultural and social amenities for all, which are widely regarded as essential components of development. Hence, it is important to know the reasons for starvation, not because of lack of availability of food, but because of lack of income to buy food (Amartya Sen).

²⁸ Jean Dreze and Amartya Sen, "India: Economic Development and Social Opportunities", OUP, 1995, p12.

In all, it is evident that the economist approach to develop has failed to focus on social and human development aspects. This calls for an alternative development approach which would gear towards development of social and human capital, distributive justice focusing mainly on the creative capacities and traditional skills of people in backward regions. This approach is nothing but the recently developed Human Development approach by the third scholars and United Nations Human Development Programme (UNDP).

1.4 Human Development Approach

Human Development approach has become a leading alternative view of development in recent years. It has also assumed importance in studies of regional development. A new interpretation of development advanced centering on human development aspects by the United Nations Human Development Programme (UNDP) and Scholarly works of Mahbub - ul-Haq, Paul Streeten, Amartya Sen and others. These studies have shifted the emphasis from conventional way of quantifying development. From this perspective, development to aspects of human development has been defined as a process of enlarging people choices.

However, the official study on human development aspects in the state of Karnataka has brought to light the prevailing conditions of human development. This study has recognised the human development approach to guide policy as well as measure outcomes. In fact, the study has put the state at the heart of its governance strategy for developing backward regions. Due to these emerging new perspectives, the notion of development has been redefined in India.

In India, when it became clear that economic growth alone could not solve the problems of massive poverty and backwardness, the late 1960s and 1970s saw many non-economic concepts at the heart of the planning strategy. In fact, Dudley Seer, in early 1960s emphasised that the main

objective of development is to create appropriate conditions for the realisation of full potential of human personality. He, therefore, stressed that development is to be understood and measured in terms of reduction of poverty, unemployment and inequality and so on.

Under the new market ideology, which began in later 1980s, with liberalisation and reforms being the catchwords, the economic emphasis threatened to eclipse other dimensions of development. As the reform process does not have any social agenda, the prevailing variations in socio-economic conditions called for a new development paradigm. In response to the call for new development paradigm, a new interpretation of development was made in early 1990s by the United National Human Development Programme. This approach emerged out of the "Basic Needs" concept first used by Mahbub-ul-Haq and Paul Streeten. This perspective placed the specific choices and conditions of the people at the centre of all attempts at policy formulations. Central to this perspective, development has been defined as a process of enlarging people's choices and assigns an important role to the state to ensure balanced development. This perspective identifies many factors as core and essential components of development which are crucial factors when examining the development process in the state of Karnataka.²⁹

Similarly, a freedom - centric view of development is advanced by Amartya Sen, the well-known welfare economists. He defined development as a process of expanding the real freedoms of people. Furthermore, he

²⁹ Core components, of development identified by Human Development perspective are-

- a) to have a long, healthy and comfortable standard of life.
- b) Expansion of knowledge
- c) To be gainfully employed
- d) Increase in resources needed for a decent standard of life.
- e) To breath clean air
- f) To be free, etc.

identified social and economic opportunities, political liberties, social powers and enabling conditions of good health, basic education etc.³⁰ It is apparent in his understanding that there is need for institutional arrangements for realizing social and economic opportunities for the people in backward regions.

Likewise, the development decade of 1990s has also put people at the centre of the development discourse. In this regard, "The Earth Summit" (1992) and "The World Summit for social Development" (1995) have on record articulated the core impulse of development in terms of the enlargement and enrichment of the whole range of choices at peoples disposal. These two summits have categorically rejected the economist notion of development.³¹

However, the basic advantage of this perspective is that it recognizes the core and essential components of human development. Such approach, is more important while studying regional variations in development. Besides, this approach places state at the heart of its governance strategy, realizing the inability of competitive market forces to provide basic entitlements to all people and to ensure equitable development.³² With this understanding, it is fully acknowledged that the studies of regional development should encompass human development aspects while providing alternative strategy for sustainable development in backward regions.

³⁰ Amartya Sen, "Development As Freedom", OUP, New Delhi, 2000, p.83.

³¹ S.P. Srivastaa, op.cit., p.216.

³² Sudha Pai, Measuring Governance in Indian State; An Explcratory Study, paper presented at the Centre for study of Law and Governance, J.N.U., New Delhi, September 27-29, 2001, p.5.

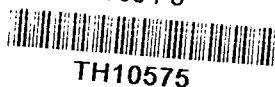
1.5 Objectives of the Study

After keen observation of the divergent theoretical formulations exist on the problem of Uneven development and its attendant consequence on regional development which, in turn, produce the Ideology of sub-regionalism, the present study revolves around the explanation for the disparate development in the state of Karnataka. The study also provides an explanations for the ways and means by which a more desirable pattern may be made possible through active state intervention by simultaneously emphasizing on the need for even development both in conventional sense of accelerating growth rate and human development in the sense of securing basic entitlements for all. As growth by itself would not be panacea for the economic ills of poor, human development would certainly act as a facilitating factors in tackling problems of development.

It is in this overall context that a modest effort has been made in this study by applying major categories and conceptions of development in the state of Karnataka. Karnataka, which is the area of inquiry stands out in terms of not only being one of the advanced state in India but also in terms of growing regional unevenness in development within the state. Towards this end, the study intends to look at the genesis and present crisis of uneven development in the state. Each of these formulations have been discussed in the form of chapters later on. However, the broader and interrelated objectives of the study are:

- To explain historically the genesis of Uneven development in the state of Karnataka with special reference to the colonial impact on different regions of the state and to unfold the factors and forces that played an important role in the process of unifying all Kannada-Speaking regions into an unified state.

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- To explain the pattern of uneven development pursued by the post independence state of Karnataka and its consequences on conventional economic growth and human development within the state.
- To study the crisis of uneven development and the underlying political dynamics of the nascent movements for separate statehood in different regions in the state.
- To study the responses of the state government to the emerging separatist tendencies in the state.
- Finally, to identify the required approach for balanced development with human face in the state.

1.6 Review of Literature

There is a plethora of literature on the issues pertaining to decentralisation, caste and class, political leadership, shifting pattern of political domination and others on the state of Karnataka. But there are very few studies on the development pattern of Karnataka which have shown the intra-district imbalances in the state by way of using statistical details pertaining to economic indicators. As against these, the present study is glaringly different as it attempts to contextualise the problem in a historical perspective along with placing significant emphasis on human development aspects.

To develop the above mentioned objectives of the study, several books and research articles have been consulted and referred to with respect to the state of Karnataka.

To begin with, Bjone Hettne (1978), "*The Political Economy of Indirect Rule, Mysore - 1881-1947*", gives an useful insight into the socio-economic developments of the then Mysore state under the benevolent Wodeyar kings

and galaxy of Dewans. It narrates all the developmental activities undertaken in the state before its integration with the other Kannada-speaking regions. To study the political Developments in the princely state of Mysore, James Manor's (1977) book, *"Political change in an Indian state Mysore - 1917-1955"*, provides an useful explanation. Manor's has argued that the success of Non-Brahmin Movement in the princely state of Mysore empowered the Lingayats and Vokkaligas in the state. Similarly, S. Chandrashekar (1998), in his article, *"The Kannada Edge to a liberation"*, explain the autocratic rule of Nizam in Hyderabad - Karnataka region. It explains the double disadvantages of the Kannada people in their struggle for liberation. With respect to Bombay-Karnataka provinces colonial history and the utter need for unification, the official study of Karnataka Unification Sabha (1928), *"United Karnataka or A Case for Karnataka Unification"* outlines the British state structures and misery of the Kannada people in Bombay-Karnataka region. H.S. Gopal Rao (1996) on, *"The History of Karnataka's Unification"*, is a valuable study on the unification process. It explains each and every aspect of the unification movement and pointed out that there was not much enthusiasm on the part of the Mysore for unifying all Kannada - speaking regions. The lack of enthusiasm was based on the economic backwardness of Kannada regions. R.R. Diwakar (1968), *"Karnataka through the Ages"*, also deals with the process of unification, endorsing the same view that there were problems connected with unification of the Kannada regions into one big state.

The post-independence state of Karnataka has not seen many books dealing with uneven development in the state. The edited book by Abdul Aziz and Sudhir Krishna (eds.) 1996), *"Regional Development: Problems and Policy measures"*, provides a detailed study on the Hyderabad - Karnataka region. The study recognises the problem of uneven development and calls for an alternative approach which would initiate quick

developments in the region. Similarly, Arun P. Bali (ed) (2001), *"Refashioning the New Economic order, Karnataka in Transition"*, documents the recent changes in the economy of Karnataka covering all areas of the economy. Another study by Kalipada Deb (2001), *"Development and Disparities, Experiences from Southern India"*, points out the glaring disparities in development within the state of Karnataka. He finds that the low resource mobilisation and low resource deployment in backward regions has accentuated uneven development in the state. But this book deals with only economic indicators of development. Jeevan Kumar and Susheela Subrahmanya (eds.) (2001), *"Vision Karnataka 2025"*, points out the need for new development paradigm for the state. The study attempts to provide alternative strategies and action plans for sustainable development in the state. Similarly, H.K. Patil (1996), *"Beautiful land of Kannada; An unfulfilled Dream"*, details the developmental disparities between the Northern and Southern regions of the state by marshalling abundant statistics. But this book does not provide any explanation for the persistence disparities in the state.

An article by Vinod Vyasulu and B.P. Vani (1997), *"Development and Deprivation in Karnataka: A District Level Study"*, applies the human development index for the first time to all districts of Karnataka. The study identifies a high range of variations in development within the state. K. Gayatri (1997), *"Role of Infrastructure in the Industrial Development of Karnataka: A District Level Analysis"*, underlines the failure of the state to provide incentives to disperse industries to backward regions in the state. D.M. Nanjundappa (1998), *"Karnataka: Fifty years of Independence"*, documents the policies and performances of the state. Nevertheless, he points out that the fruits of development have not trickle down to target regions and groups. A. V. Arun Kumar (1996) in his article on *"Modern Small*

Industry in Karnataka, Growth and Structure", finds that the small industries have unevenly spread in the state.

The study of Regional Development with special focus on human development aspects in Karnataka so far has not seen any books. But in general, there are some studies which have recognised that human development as an indicator of progress. The official study on "*Human Development in Karnataka - 1999*", details out the performance of various indicators of human development in the state. It throws open the developmental condition of its people to public scrutiny. The book by Amartya Sen (2000), "*Development As Freedom*", provides an adequately broader view of development in terms of expansion of freedom of the people. He identifies social opportunities of education and healthcare as the main object of development. Similarly, Ignacy Sachs (2000), "*Understanding Development*", holds the view that economic growth is a necessary condition but by no means a sufficient condition of Development. He seeks to emphasis on people's livelihood and Primacy of political decisions. Rajni Kothari (1989) *Rethinking Development; In Search of Humane Alternatives* speaks about the need for 'trickle up' development model as an alternative path to development. He points out that such a path should gear towards distributive justice, wherein the emphasis is placed on employment generation rather than growth per se.

Likewise, an edited volume by S.P. Srivastava (1998), "*Development Debate, critical perspectives*" hold the view that the peculiar inabilities of economic growth necessitate the need and significance of human development. In this regard, the study presents a critical examination of the concept, approaches and strategies of development in view of the emerging alternative perspectives embodying a new vision of development.

The process of uneven development has always been followed by agitations either for separate statehood or for decentralisation. In an article, Muzaffar Assadi (1997), "*Separatist Movement in Coorg*". Explains the genesis of Separatist Movement in Coorg. Pradeep Kumar (2000), "*Demand for New States*" points out that the present demands for separate statehood in India are based on the perception of lack of development and are actually urging for speedier development.

1.7 Chapterisation

To begin with, chapter II, traces the roots to the Uneven development in Karnataka by focussing attention on the colonial state structures where early indications of Uneven development are to be found. The colonial masters and the rulers of princely states in Kannada speaking regions had created state structures in order to ensure their political and economic interests. This resulted in varied development of regions during colonial period itself. In the second part of the chapter, the large process of Karnataka state formation is worked out in order to know how the developmental disparities played a significant role in the formation of the state.

Chapter III, presents the post-independence development scenario of the state. It explains both the conventional and human development indicators in order to know how the colonial hangover carried forward in post independence Karnataka.

Chapter IV, begins with the crisis of uneven development in Karnataka in general. It analysis various symbols of grievances which have become instrumental in the hands of agitators. It also looks at the demands which are actually demanding more decentralisation than separation from the state. The state responses to emerging demands for separatism or decentralisation are worked out in detail by way of documenting the state

initiatives which are meant to silence the separatist tendencies and particularly to contain the growing uneven development in the state.

The concluding chapter V, serves as a synthesis of summary and underlines the need for an integrated area development approach to narrow down the unevenness in the state of Karnataka, thus building up the theme of the dissertation which attempts to trace the genesis and of crisis uneven development in Karnataka.

CHAPTER II

KARNATAKA STATE FORMATION: A BACKGROUND

The growing regional disparities and the perpetuation of backwardness in certain regions despite careful planning and consolidated efforts needs to be understood as an outcome of a historical process of development. The pattern of colonial domination and development, governance styles and policies intend to exploit the resources for its own purposes was eventually bereft of any broad concern for balanced development. The colonial process of development that followed, created on the one hand, pockets of vibrant economic activities and on the other hand, resulted in depression of certain regions either serving as mere resource hinterlands to the metropolis or languishing in the absence of the developmental investment.

An interesting study by Thavaraj [1972] on the rate of public investment and consequent regional imbalances in India during colonial period observes that;

"the uneven dispersal of development during the period between 1860-1947 is partly attributable to the uneven distribution of investment in railways and irrigation between regions. This, in turn, was partly because there was no overall planning of public investment during this period."¹

Such a process of uneven development, a case study in focus, is said to be the legacy for the state of Karnataka. Karnataka's misfortune during the two centuries of colonial rule was not only confined to the impoverishment of the masses, increasing unemployment, poor infrastructural facilities but also, in many ways, caused the accentuation of uneven spatial development in the state. The differential economic spectrum

¹ Thavaraj. M.J.K., "Regional Imbalances and Public Investments in India[1860-1947]", *Social Scientist*, Vol.I, No-4, November. 1972, pp-19

of post-independence Karnataka is infact, the result of varying pattern of public investment not only by the colonial masters but also by the rulers of the princely states under indirect rule, which was almost geared towards colonial interest. This, in turn, caused the growth or decline of regions in the post-independence state. It is precisely for this reason that we would make an enquiry into the historical aspects of regional development process with special emphasis on the rate of public investment development of education, health, establishment of industrial base, modernization of agriculture and more importantly, the development of human capital which have had an impact on the post-independence development pattern of the state.

The state of Karnataka which was formed in 1956 by the States Re-organization Commission incorporated the regions from the then Madras Presidency, Bombay Presidency, regions from Nizam's Hyderabad and Part 'C' state of Coorg, with the old princely state of Mysore, which was a flourished princely state under the Wodeyars and Dewans of Mysore. All those regions which were amalgamated to the princely state were in a differential phases of development in almost all areas of socio-economic development. The long-drawn movement led by the people of North Karnataka to integrate all Kannada speaking regions finally materialized in 1956. But, it is in fact an irony that voices of separatism are being raised in the same region which had championed the cause of unification of Karnataka. Due to the persistence of uneven development today, there have been demands for separate statehood in some of the backward regions of Karnataka for many years. People of Dakshina Kannada have been demanding '*Tulunadu*' taking language and culture as the basis of their agitation. In Bombay- Karnataka and Hyderabad-Karnataka, the discontent is growing on the basis of the persisted economic backwardness and underdevelopment. Similarly in Coorg, the separatist tendencies have found

basis of ethnic distinctiveness and feeling of "prosperity with depravation"² . Moreover, as various studies have shown, the backwardness in northern region of the state is more acute.

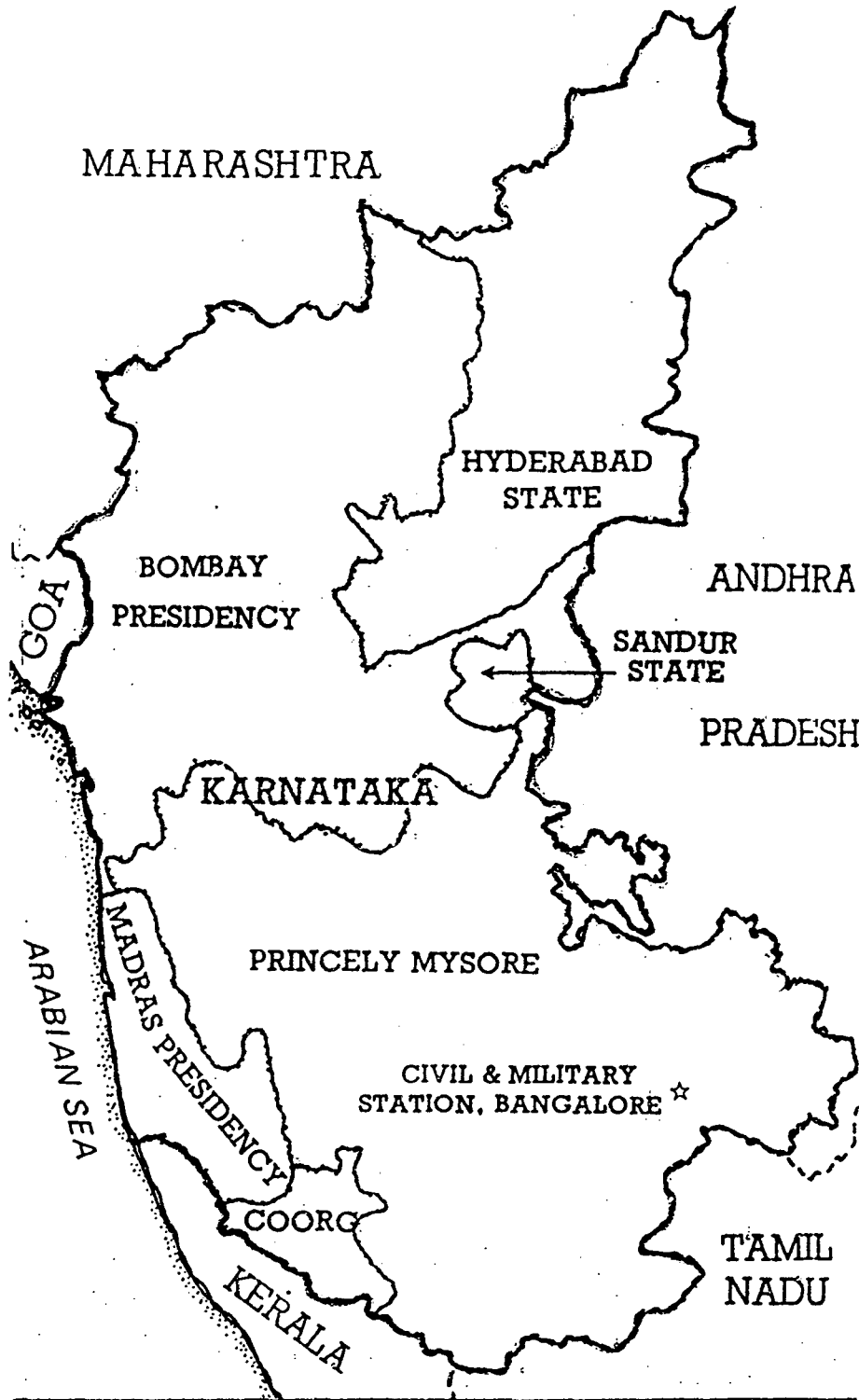
As the problem of regional imbalance within Karnataka has been a part of historical legacy, the present chapter is divided into two section: Section one traces the colonial State structures by looking at constituent units of unified Karnataka to contextualise how the then existing economic pattern, governance styles and state structures affected the growth or decline of different region in the post-independence period. The second section explores political dynamics of state formation of Karnataka. However, it is not a complete explanation of each and every aspect of state structure and state formation as studies are yet to be undertaken on this theme. Yet for the convenience of comparative study of various sub-regions of Karnataka, we have divided the entire state into four divisions:

- 1) Princely state of Mysore
- 2) British provinces consisting of Bombay and Madras Presidencies
- 3) Regions of Nizam's Hyderabad
- 4) Coorg (Kodagu)

2.1.1 Princely state of Mysore:

Let us begin our inquiry with the study of the Princely state of Mysore with which the other Kannada speaking regions were united as part of state formation in 1956. The erstwhile Princely state of Mysore consisting of nine

² Muzaffar Assadi, "Separatist Movement in Coorg "Economic and Political Weekly, December 6, 1997, pp-3114



MAP.I. Administrative Divisions of Karnataka during British Rule

districts viz., Shimoga, Maundy, Chitradurga, Tumkur, Mysore, Bangalore, Chickmagalur, Hassan and Kolar.

Many studies such as Chandrashekhar [1985], James Manor [1977], Bjorn Hettne [1978] on the princely state have focused on various dimensions of socioeconomic and political changes that took place in the colonial period. These studies have revealed the fact that the princely state was one of the most progressive states in India. Historically, the Mysore state was a southern principality of the great southern Hindu empire of Vijayanagar, which had its capital in today's Hampi in North Karnataka. Although Mysore was able to establish an independent kingdom under the Wodeyar dynasty, it was forced to surrender the throne to a powerful Muslim officer, Haider Ali, paving the way for Muslim rule in Mysore region. However the death of Tippu Sultan in 1799 allowed the colonial masters to enter into this southern principality. Although the British restored the Hindu dynasty of Wodeyars, the actual powers restored to the Maharaja were extremely limited. There was, of course, very little left for the royal family but to accept whatever conditions their colonial overlords deemed desirable. In fact, it was governed and regulated under the provisions of "Subsidiary Treaty of 1799".

The important period in the history of Mysore was the Dewanship of Purnaiya (1799-1810), who had earlier served under Haider Ali and Tippu Sultan. It is interesting to note that Dewan Purnaiya was a man of vision who managed the affairs of Mysore with reasonable level of tranquility in most parts of the state and effectively maintained the law and order. But, the insurrection of local power holders in Mysore ultimately led to the takeover of British and direct rule was imposed.

Accordingly, from 1834 to 1861, Mysore was ruled by Sir Mark Cubbon as Chief Commissioner. As he belonged to the conservative school, he deliberately delayed the modernization waves in Mysore. Still his

encouragement to the cultivation of coffee and cardamom in western ghats is significant. But, Bowring who replaced Cubbon, introduced many socio-economic changes by restoring irrigation works, repair of tanks, laying railway lines, building roads, etc., in all parts of the state. He also gave incentives to coffee agriculture and expanded education in Mysore³. Although the colonial rule finally ended and established a new political order in 1881 through rendition, it could be seen as an advantage over Mysore as it gave birth to such an administrative system which even today makes up a great deal of framework for planning. It also provided infrastructural and institutional foundation which made Mysore economically, educationally better than any of the other princely states in India.

With the process of rendition in 1881, Mysore was restored with native rule under many Wodeyar kings and Dewans. During their reign, the princely state of Mysore witnessed several socio-economic reforms, thanks to the modern, secular and liberal policies of those rulers and Dewans. One of the important and progressive reforms of those days was the establishment of "Representative Assembly" with elective principle. It was the first state in India to create such a unique institution which sowed the seeds of democracy. It provided space for the people to participate in the deliberations of the administration. This was an important contribution of King Chamaraja Wodeyar (1881-1894) and his Dewan Rangacharlu (1881-1882) who emphasized on the pioneering role of the state in 1881. The Mysore Civil Service was introduced in 1892 when Sri. K. Sheshaadri Iyer was Dewan, in order to attract young talent in the art of administration.⁴ Another important development in the princely state of Mysore was the

³ Bjorn Hettne, "The Political Economy of Indirect Rule, Mysore 1881-1947, Curzon Press, London-1978.

⁴ Midatala Rani and Jayakumar, "Karnataka Government and Politics", Chetana Publishers, Mysore-1998.

establishment of "Legislative Council" in 1907. It led to the growth of legislatures in India.

Although the princely state of Mysore flourished under the Dewanship of prominent personalities like Purnaiya, C Rangacharlu, Sheshaadri Iyer, etc., the reign of Krishnaraja Wodeyar IV in Mysore with the assistance of high profile Dewans like M. Visveshwaraiah and Sir Mirza Ismail could be seen as an important milestone in the history of Mysore. The visionary policies of these Dewans resulted in Mysore getting the epithet "Model State".

2.1.2 Mysore Model of Development

The kind of developmental activities that took place in Mysore during indirect rule have been regarded as a model today. This model not only built economic infrastructure but also paid attention to the social infrastructure like education, health facilities, good administrative system, trained manpower and development of entrepreneurship in the state.

Dewan Visveshwaraiah who coined the phrase '*Industrialize or perish*' was an engineer by profession with specific ideas on economic development and social change, played an important role in developing Mysore as a model state. It is noteworthy that he was the first non-European Engineer in 1909 which speaks for his potential. He rendered his yeomen service as a Dewan of Mysore from 1912 to 1918 under Krishnaraja Wodeyar [1902-1940] and brought many changes by creating institutions of change. His strategy of development emphasized on three important fields of change such as education, industrialization and rural modernization and transformation. He built many concrete projects which aimed at transformation of the institutional and economic structures of Mysore. For this purpose, he built many economic institutions. Accordingly, The Mysore Economic Conference was inaugurated in June 1911 by Krishnaraja

Wodeyar IV. This conference had an objective of associating men of enlightenment, public-spirited citizens, prominent agriculturists, merchants, Government officials, etc., to deliberate on policies which would stimulate economic progress in the state. Besides, institutions like The Mysore Bank [1913], The Iron and Steel Works, Cement and Paper Factory at Badravati, Mysore Chamber of Commerce, Government Soap Factory, Central Industrial Workshop, Hindustan Aeronautics Limited [HAL], and others were established in Bangalore. Apart from these, Sugar Factories, Fertilizer plants, Sandal Oil Factories and host of other industries were mushroomed during his reign.⁵

Considering the importance of education as a key in development process and a sovereign remedy for the economic and social evils, the Maharaja and his Dewan Visveshwaraiah accorded high priority to education. It was also felt necessary to generate manpower required to run all those industries established for socio-economic change. Accordingly, Mysore University was established in 1916. It is noteworthy that it was the first university to be established in a princely Indian state with specific aims and objectives. According to Visveshwaraiah, it was to "develop the intellectual ability and executive power of the citizens and to afford the training necessary to prepare future manufacturers, merchants, economists, statesman etc, for the work of the country".⁶

Apart from introducing compulsory education, the Mysore Government extended its help by initiating scholarship schemes for students belonging to the backward communities to pursue higher education. Engineering, Medical colleges and technical institutes were opened and

⁵ Srinivas. S, "A Philosopher First", Deccan Herald, Bangalore, March 8, 2002. He accounts all the Socio-Economic reforms undertaken by Sri. Krishnaraj Wodeyar and his galaxy of Dewans in Mysore State.

⁶ Bjone Hettne, op.cit.p-266.

women education was encouraged during the rule of Krishnaraja Wodeyar IV.

Power generation was yet another significant achievement of the princely state. Mysore became the first Indian state to generate its own electricity. The Shivanasamudra Hydroelectric Project pioneered the scheme of power generation and also provided electricity to Kolar Gold Fields, (KGF) in 1902. Electricity supply was extended to Bangalore, the first Indian city to be electrified in 1905. It was a multipurpose project which is still being used for both power generation and irrigation purposes.⁷

Social cohesion and amity was the most remarkable aspect in the erstwhile princely state of Mysore. Krishnaraja Wodeyar- IV maintained social cohesion and amity in the state amongst various diverse sections of the society. It was apparent in his resolutions. In 1915 itself, he had passed an order asking all headmasters to admit Dalit children in all the public schools, thus accepting the principle of equality that no pupil should be denied admission to government schools, schools maintained out of public funds on the ground of caste. His directives applied in the same way in cases of hospitals, courts of law, railways and other public institutions.

Politically, the region was much advanced, as there was scope for political freedom and action. "The Praja Mitra Mandali", the first political party was established in 1917 by the representatives of the backward communities. It initiated the Non-Brahmin Movement in Mysore, which had received impetus from the "Justice Party" of Madras. The Non-Brahmin Movement became successful in winning the heart of the king, who introduced the system of 'Protective Discrimination' in legislative bodies, government services and educational institutions. This measure strengthened the socio-

⁷ Ibid.p-269.

economically-backward communities not only to avail educational facilities but also to participate in the governance of the state.

Apart from these relevant examples, a large number of small-scale industries and socio-economic measures took place in the state. Besides, the presence of abundant resources like Cauvery river, fertile land for agriculture and temperate climate suitable for agriculture also contributed to the growth of this region. It also led to the emergence of strong Vokkaliga class in the region, who continue to acquire dominant position in the state. In a nutshell, the Mysore model of development can be summarized as a collaboration of both state and private initiative, a strong emphasis on complementary industries and holistic approach of development covering all sections of society with a strong emphasis on planning. This, obviously placed Mysore in a better position even after independence as it had well laid out Infrastructure and institutional foundation before its integration with other Kannada-speaking regions.

2.1.3 British provinces:

The British provinces consisted of the districts of Bijapur, Belgaum, Dharwad and Uttara Kannada from Bombay Presidency and Bellary, Dakshina Kannada and Kollegal areas of present Karnataka from Madras Presidency. The then prevalence of socio-economic conditions in these areas was infact, quite different from the erstwhile princely state of Mysore. After the downfall of the erstwhile Vijayanagara Empire these provinces were divided into different regions. The colonial masters divided this entire region ranging 65,687 sq. km. covering 28 percent of the total geographical area of the state, only to suit their administrative needs with certain political ends. The colonizers not only divided the entire region, but also kept these regions under different administrative units. This resulted in regions remaining strangers to each other and each part stood far away from the enjoyment of

benefits of the capital towns which led to the growth of peripheral units within the vast region .⁸

The Montague-Chelmsford Commission (1918) revealed the very nature of the formation of provinces by the British. It was apparent that it had no rational basis and scientific planning. No geographical , economic, racial or linguistic principle was followed.⁹ In this process, parts of the region were the least to receive the attention of the colonial administration in all major fields of socio-economic development. In Bombay-Karnataka area, the state of communication was not satisfactory and it was revealed that even as late as 1844, there were hardly any roads suitable for bullock carts for all seasons.¹⁰ The parts of this region which would have been easily linked by railway connections remained unconnected. Though there were greater possibilities of developing irrigation by constructing bridges and canals to various rivers like Krishna, Tungabhadra, Bheema, the rich soil of this region did not enjoy irrigational facilities.

Industrial development in sharp contrast with the princely state of Mysore did not take place both in Hyderabad-Karnataka and Bombay-Karnataka areas. Even if there were some industries, they were all incidental and not on any planned basis. In this way, industrial development of Karnataka was therefore uneven since the days of colonial period. The erstwhile princely state of Mysore which had begun an active and foresighted policy of industrialization continued to prosper even in post-independence Karnataka.

⁸ United Karnataka or Case for Karnataka Unification(ed),The Secretaries, Karnataka Unification Sabha and KPCC,Dharwad,1928,p-83.

⁹ R.R. Diwakar(ed),"Karnataka Through The Ages", Published by the Government of Mysore-1968.pp940.

¹⁰ Karnataka State Gazetteer, Part-II, Government of Karnataka,Bangalore,1983.pp-4.

Educationally, the British provinces present a different picture than the princely state of Mysore. The position of rich Kannada literature which flourished during the Kadambas, Chalukyas and the Vijayanagar Empire, was almost on the verge of being altogether forgotten and it had come to be despised in its own place. There were no Kannada schools in villages where the preponderating majority of the people were Kannadigas. The court language and the medium of instruction throughout these provinces was Marathi. This non-availability of schooling in their mother tongue was certainly responsible for the persistence of low literacy rate in this region. Development of art, culture, industries, agriculture, education and health and indicators of human development were entirely missing in these provinces.¹¹ Political developments in these provinces were not so significant as there was no scope for large mobilization. However, Lingayats were the dominant political communities in these provinces as the Vokkaligas in the princely state of Mysore. Lingayats were the product of Virasaiva Movement which assumed an unusual significance in 12th century became a strong force. It brought people from all walks of life into its fold through open and voluntary conversion which could be seen as a major reason for the numerical strength in these provinces.¹² . Later on, this community assumed political and economic dominance in the region. It is noteworthy that this community contributed major role in the movement for Karnataka's unification.

2.1.4 Regions of Nizam's Hyderabad:

The Kannada speaking regions of Nizam's Hyderabad, popularly known as Hyderabad-Karnataka consisted of districts of Gulbarga, Raichur and Bidar. Presently, this region consists of five districts Gulbarga, Raichur, Bidar,

¹¹ United Karnataka.op.cit,pp85.

¹² Arun P. Bali, "organisation of Virasaiva Movement", in M.S.A.Rao (ed),"Social Movements in India", Manohar Publications,New-Delhi,1978,pp16

Bellary and the new district of Koppal. Historically, Hyderabad was one of the largest of the 565 princely states in India. Since 1724, it was ruled by the Asaf Jahi dynasty. After the death of Tippu Sultan in 1799, as per the agreement among the British, the Marathas and the Nizam, the Kannada speaking regions were handed over to the Nizam.

Hyderabad-Karnataka region was exploited both by the British and the Nizam through the Subsidiary Alliances. The British manipulated the whole situation to their own advantage by asking the Nizam to sign the treaty. Accordingly, the treaty with Lord Wellesly enabled the Nizam not only to enjoy internal autonomy under the British paramountcy but also to exploit the Hindus in their own region. The ruthless rule of the Nizam followed the 'nip in the bud' policy, i.e., not giving any room for freedom and action unlike in the princely state of Mysore. The socio-economic condition in this region was so pathetic that the exploitative colonists themselves were shocked. An Englishman wrote,

"The scene that presented itself...was beyond all description and shocking that every species of torture was then being inflicted to enforce it. Some had heavy muskets fastened to their ears, some large stones upon their breasts, while others had their fingers pinched with hot pincers. Their cries of agony and declaration of inability to pay appeared only with the appetite of their tormentors"¹³

With this the state of human capital, the state remained backward in all spheres. In this regard, the Kannada speaking areas were subject to double disadvantage as they were an oppressed and exploited like subjects of other states. Their cultural space was invaded and destroyed by the forces of the Nizam. Even religious and social congregations were not

¹³ S.Chandrashekar, "The Karnataka edge to a Liberation", Deccan Herald, Bangalore, September 25,1998.He explains how did the Hydrabad-Karnataka fight the double disadvantage in their struggle that led to the recalcitment State in Indian Union.

allowed to be held freely. The Kannadigas of Nizam's Hyderabad had to seek prior permission to hold meetings and conferences. Even the great leaders had to get their speeches cleared by officials before they were delivered. This proves that the people of Hyderabad-Karnataka region did not enjoy any freedom during colonial period.

Educationally, these areas did not register any significant progress unlike in Mysore. The educational policy of the Nizam's Government kept the Kannada people away because there were hardly any schools to study, and even if there were few schools, they were all in Urdu medium. Further, the Nizam's Government had preferred candidates from aristocratic families, largely Muslims, to man the bureaucracy who turned down all the requests and efforts to open Kannada schools. Like education, there was hardly any scope for political freedom in the state.

Industrial development was not given any priority by the Nizam in this region. The reign of the Nizam which lacked development perspective left the development process to the free play of market forces. The blind market forces did not smile on the Hyderabad-Karnataka region partly because the endowment of natural resources and trained human capital was not conducive to invest. In this regard, some studies have shown that the people of Hyderabad-Karnataka region probably lack the enterprising spirit. It may not be too farfetched imagination to say that the feudal rule of the Nizam might have killed whatever enterprising spirit they had in this region. The Nizam Government could have provided certain economic and social infrastructural facilities but these probably did not figure into the priorities of the Nizam's Government. Hence the people of this region remained illiterate, unhealthy, poor and therefore unenterprising.¹⁴

¹⁴ Timmaiah.G., "Regional Development :Some Issues" in Abdul Aziz (ed),Regional Development Problems and Policy Measures" Concept Publications,New-Delhi,1996.pp-28.

The birth and growth of anti-colonial national consciousness in the neighbouring British provinces as well as in the princely state of Mysore gained momentum in this region also. The Kannidagas of this region started contrasting between the administration in their own state and in Mysore which was marked by a liberal and responsible attitude. Influenced by all these developments, a big struggle was launched under the leadership of Swamy Ramananda theertha of the Arya Samaj, Pundit Taranath and others. In fact, it was Arya Samaj which took up the cudgels against the Nizam's autocracy. Simultaneously, the people of Hyderabad-Karnataka faced the infamous Razakar's movement which was opposed to the freedom struggle in Hyderabad.¹⁵

It is important to know how the story of Hyderabad and its liberation has certain specificities. The techniques and struggles evolved for British India and other states such as Mysore, where there was a semblance of the rule of law, did not suit the conditions in Hyderabad. There were no laws and no constitution in Hyderabad. Strategies like Gandhian non-violence and passive resistance were not at all effective during the Nizam's reign. This speaks for the prevalence of autocratic rule of Nizam. Finally, Hyderabad-Karnataka was liberated by the joint efforts of all freedom-loving people. After its independence, the people of Hyderabad-Karnataka region were eager to join the reorganized new state hoping that there would be progress and welfare of the region in the new state.

2.1.5 Coorg:

Coorg, the tiny district located in the South-Western part of Karnataka is another region where demand for separate statehood has gained momentum since 1927. It has its own history and distinct identity on which

¹⁵ Mahabaleswarappa. B.C., "Freedom Movement in Hyderabad-Karnataka", Gulbarga University Publications, Gulbarga, 1994, pp-5

the demand has centered, needs a careful study. Historically, Coorg was an independent kingdom under the "Ikkeri Dynasty", which was the Virasaiva cult of Hindus from the medieval period till 1633. Between 1833 to 1857, Coorg was ruled by a Commissioner, Sub-ordinate to the Governor-General of East India Company. After the end of the Company's rule in 1857, it came under direct British rule. Since then it remained a separate province administered by the Chief Commissioner, a Sub-ordinate to Viceroy until 1947.

In the meantime, Coorg had the distinction of having separate political institutions under the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1919, in the form of a 'Provincial Council' with Legislative Council of 20 members. Then it had all legislative, deliberative and interrogative powers and it used to send two representatives to the Legislative Assembly of the Federal Legislature. As per the recommendations of the Cabinet Mission Plan, on 31st May 1946, Coorg elected a member to represent the Coorg State at the Constituent Assembly of India.¹⁶ After the adaptation of the Indian Constitution in 1950, Coorg became a part "C" State and the Legislative Council ceased to exist. A new Legislative Assembly came into existence under Article-242 of the Constitution, which recognised the State of Coorg. Then also, Coorg had an opportunity to send one representative to each House of Parliament.

Coorg with all this political autonomy and availability of rich and abundant natural resources, lost all its political autonomy and distinctiveness when it was amalgamated with the state of Mysore in 1956. The post-1956 history of Coorg can be seen as a history of exploitation, deprivation and appropriation both by the state and the outsiders. It lost its part C status and

¹⁶ *Kodagu Desha*, An advertisement By Kodagu Rajya Mukthi Morcha, Madikeri, November 21, 1997. pp-3.

the distinction of "Model to the whole country by its peaceful, happy and idealistic governance" and a unique model of village republican system, became an internal colony for the exploiters which, in turn, produced the ideology of alienation and exploitation of its resources.¹⁷

It is important to know that during the integration process in 1956, it was assured that the geographical, cultural, social, and political situations existing in Coorg would be protected and hoped that the future of the people of Coorg would be brighter in the vishal Mysore state. But all these promises and assurances were not fulfilled by the state for which the historical Madikeri Declaration calls for separate statehood for Coorg. The crisis of exploitation and the basis for separate statehood are dealt with in some detail in the fourth chapter of this study.

However, the above brief introduction of state structure in different regions of unified Mysore state reveals the fact that the regions which were amalgamated to Mysore had a differential growth pattern in colonial period. The princely state of Mysore and Coorg, to some extent, had better infrastructure and institutional foundation under the benevolent rule of Wodeyars and the galaxy of Dewans. The state was well covered by railway network which connected the region with various resource rich regions like Bangalore and Madras, power generation at Shivanasamudra, industrial and agricultural modernization in cash crops, improved system of transport and communication, better education and health facilities, etc., made Mysore prosperous than any other region in the colonial period. On the other hand, the regions of British provinces and Nizam's Hyderabad did not had any suitable infrastructure. These regions lacked an investment climate and no consolidated efforts were made to create adequate infrastructure for

¹⁷ Muzaffar Assadi, op.cit. pp3115. The Author makes a note on the deprivation of Ecology, Environment, Land grabbing by the outsiders in Kodagu Region.

industrialization, market facilities, education, health, banking and business entrepreneurs in these areas. Hence these regions had a low rate of investment which subsequently led to the socio-economic backwardness. The following table reveals the varied socio-economic status of all the constituent units of Mysore state in 1956

Table 2.1

Basic Indicators of Development of the Constituent Units of the Mysore State 1956

Basic indicators of development	Princely state of Mysore	Bombay Karnataka	Madras Karnataka	Hyderabad Karnataka	Coorg
Agriculture					
• Per capita cultivated land [in acres]	0.9 86.16	1.6 96,50	0.3 6.07	2.1 80.22	1.9 3.01
• Cropped area (Lakh acres)	11.50	3.33	-----	1.37	-----
• Area irrigated as percent of cultivated area	28187 5269	44,245 2936	111,342 722	45,570 2732	10,000 260
• Cattle per veterinary institution	10848 36.7	4593 21.6	1275 26.0	1604 8/6	413 26.3
• Co - operative societies					
Road length					
• Miles	48	16	9	3	1
• Length in miles per hundred square miles	266 11763	134 5675	68 1260	24 2114	11 76
Education					
• Colleges					
• High schools					
• Primary schools					

Source: Karnataka state Gazetteer, part II Government of Karnataka, Bangalore, 1983, PP. 122.

Such a varied socio-economic structure of the constituent units of Mysore state was a matter of great concern at the time of reorganization of states in India. In this regard, there were many problems connected with the reorganization which meant to reunite all Kannada speaking regions. Since the Kannada speaking regions outside Mysore were regarded as undeveloped, the Mysorean patriots including Dewan Visveshwaraiah and Mirza Ismail and others thought that these regions would constitute a

financial burden on Mysore.¹⁸ They also thought that the reorganization of the state would be a threat to the individuality and integrity of Mysore as a political unit. It would also have meant a Lingayata domination over others. Therefore, it is necessary to know the very process of state formation in this context as it had developed into a power struggle between the Lingayats and the Vokkaligas, the two dominant political communities in the state.

II

2.2 Formation of the state of Karnataka :

As it is well known that the state of Mysore was formed in 1956 by the States Reorganization Commission (SRC), this section underlines the factors and forces that were dominant at the time of state formation. However, it is not a complete explanation of each and every aspect of the unification movement, it certainly focus on the backwardness of certain regions and their collective efforts to form a Kannada state.

After independence, a persistent effort was made for the unification of Karnataka though it had started early in northern parts of the state. Infact, the movement was launched together with the movement for freedom in Karnataka. Although this movement was a Kannadiga movement, it was based on historical injustices and a cultural revival of the Kannada language in the northern parts of the state. However, in terms of power and leadership, it was perceived as primarily a Lingayata mobilization.¹⁹ For the sake of convenience of our study, we have divided the entire unification movement into two phases:

¹⁸ The States Re-Organisation Commission's Report, Government of India, 1955, pp-90.

¹⁹ Bjone Hettee, op.cit. pp-341.

- First Phase: 1890-1920
- Second Phase: 1920-1956

It is important to note that these two phases have their own specificities and orientations though the ultimate end was to unite all Kannada speaking regions. The first phase reflects the creation of awareness and consciousness of its past glory and utter need for unification for overall development. During this phase, all the pioneers of the movement concentrated more on building institutions and organizing conferences to provide space to all Kannadigas to deliberate upon the ways and means of the cultural unification of Kannada speaking regions, which were kept apart for many years under different administrative units. Whole lot of literary works, conferences, and extensive statewise tours were conducted to kindle spirit among the Kannadigas. However, the second phase of the movement could be seen as more of a political movement with a separate congress circle for Mysore state becoming the harbinger of awakening in Kannada speaking regions.

2.2.1 First Phase

During the initial phase, the task of unifying all the scattered regions was not an easy job. The poor and unsatisfactory ways and means of communication added more to the problem. The sufferings and hardships which were very severe in those days made the leaders to be more committed to bring all Kannadigas under one roof. In addition, no princely states were neither ready to part its territory nor the British provinces were ready to merge their territories to form a single Kannada state. As those days were not the days of democracy, no one gave a serious thought about the anomaly of Kannadigas in scattered regions.

The great European war, the Bengal Partition Movement and the activities in the neighbouring provinces awakened the people of the state. Besides the double efforts by the European scholars and Christian missionaries on one hand, and by the local patriots and poets on the other awakened the consciousness of the people.²⁰ Amongst the former, reference can be made with gratitude to distinguished scholars such as Rev. F. Ziegler, Rev. S. Kittel, Mr. B. L. Rice and Dr. Fleet. These scholars created a sense of past glory by discovering the treasure of Kannada literature and history. On the other hand, the missionaries pioneered the Kanarese printing in Mangalore and produced monumental volumes of the *Epigraphia Karnatica*, were the first one to realize the need of schooling and opened up Kannada schools in border areas. This awakening enlightened the sons of the soil to realize the disadvantages of being scattered in different regions. They realized, "If the warriors like the Kannadigas (Field Marshall Cariappa and General Thimmayyah) of Coorg, the patient toilers of Mangalore and Karwar and the keen politicians of North Karnataka will combine, they would not only revive the ancient glory of their province but also would be a strong force in the struggle for freedom".²¹ To achieve this larger goal, the Kannadigas sought the support of sister provinces and requested the government of the country to reconstitute the Kannada provinces so that all men speaking the same language and imbibing the similar ancient culture may come together and develop their powers to their utmost capacity.

Such a renaissance created a strong yearning for unification. During its first phase, Dharwad in North Karnataka was the center of the movement. Alur Venkata Rao, who was the brain behind the initial upsurge, was inspired by the example of Bengal's partition in 1905. He established the **Karnataka Vidya Vardhaka Sangha** in Dharwad on July, 20th, 1890. It provided initial

²⁰ United Karnataka, op.cit, pp-85.

²¹ Ibid, pp-105.

strength and direction to the growth of the movement for the first time in Karnataka. The Sangha became the focal point for the Kannadigas to express their views and sentiments as there was no other institution of this nature in those days. In 1907, an inspiring article written by Alur Venkata Rao in 'Vaghabhushana' on unification laid emphasis on the strong need of unification.²²

The **Karnataka Sahitya Parishat** was yet another important institution founded in 1915 at Bangalore, partially at the efforts by Muduvudu Krishna Rao, Kadapa Raghavendra Rao, and M Visveshwaraiah, popularly known as the 'Maker of Modern Mysore'. Although there were some differences among the members of British provinces and the old Mysore region, the Parishat provided a forum for the writers and intellectuals to voice their demand for unification. It organized literary conferences annually to facilitate the cause of unification.

It was no mere coincidence that the **Karnataka Ekkikarana Sabha** was founded in 1916 at Dharwad at about the same time as the **Karnataka Sahitya Parishat** was established in Bangalore with the common goal of unification. The Karnataka Sabha leaders such as Alur Venkata Rao, V. P. Madhava Rao and others worked for a steady growth of Kannada consciousness in the minds of the people all over the state. Alur Venkata Rao attempted to convince the people of Mysore about the significance of unification when they expressed their fear of losing their identity. However, the emotional stimulus necessary for the popular movement was provided by writers and poets.

The role of poets like Huyilgol Narayana Rao, D. R. Bendre, T. P. Kailasam, B. M. Sreekantiah, was in no way less significant in heralding the

²² H.S.Gopal Rao, "History of Karnataka's Unification", Nava Karnataka Publication, Bangalore, 1996, pp-97.

need of unification. They wrote inspiring poems and spread the message of unification. Goruru Ramaswamy Iyengar conducted a lecture tour of Karnataka while Kuvempu composed inspiring poems.²³ Politicians also contributed their time and energy for the greater cause. Kengal Hanumanthiah, S. Nijalingappa, R. R. Diwakar and others strived to convince the people of Mysore about the fruitfulness of unification. Mr. Punachha, the then chief minister of Coorg, also extended his support for the unification of Kannada speaking regions though they wanted to preserve their own distinct culture and identity by remaining independent.²⁴

Although this marked the end of the first phase, wherein mainly the poets, writers and scholars utilized their energy restricting themselves to cultural aspects, it is important to underline that Dharwad was the epicenter of the movement. Whereas, the princely state of Mysore started showing its linguistic identities little later only when the states reorganization was seen as a likely prospect for them.

2.2.2 Second Phase:

The initial rise of new consciousness in Kannada regions which ultimately led to the formation of various sanghas and conferences, the political developments in the Indian National Congress (INC) by 1920 added new direction to the unification process. The Indian National Congress by then had already created provinces like Sindh, Orissa, Andhra and others to broaden its support base. The significance of this event would be noted a bit closely as it provided ample opportunities to the inhabitants of linguistic regions to press their demand for separate provinces. Incidentally, the demand for Karnataka province also received due consideration from the

²³ Ibid, pp-125.

²⁴ Suryanatha U.Kamat, "A Concise History of Karnataka", Bangalore, 1997, pp299.

Congress in its memorable session of Nagpur in 1920 with Mahatma Gandhi as its guiding spirit. It accepted the principle of linguistic provinces and subsequently, the country was divided into 21 linguistic congress provinces. As a result, the Karnataka Provincial Congress Committee (KPCC) came into being with its headquarters at Gadag in the northern parts of the state. Its jurisdiction spread over entire Karnataka including the state of Mysore. This was indeed a landmark development in the unification movement as all regions of the state politically came together for the first time.²⁵

Another important development in the unification movement was the unique success of the congress session in 1924 at Belgaum in Karnataka under the presidentship of Mahatma Gandhi. Although the years of 1921-24 was the Non-Cooperation period, the Kannadigas worked together to consolidate themselves. This session could be seen as a much required political platform for the leaders of the movement. Accordingly, Sri. Kadapa Raghavendra Rao seized the opportunity and conveyed the first Karnataka Unification conference at Belgaum in 1924. It provided all possible space for persons of all persuasion and opinions to share among themselves. However, it was noted that there were no movements of any scale in the princely state of Mysore till 1937. Infact, the people of Mysore formed their own Mysore Congress in 1937. Thus, there were two congress organizations working at two places in Karnataka. This marked the beginning of political bargaining amongst the regions when it almost became certain that the country would become independent in the near future.

2.2.3 1946 and after:

The year 1946 proved to be the most important as the Indian Constituent Assembly was to begin functioning shortly to frame a constitution for Independent India. At that moment, a memorable 'All Karnataka

²⁵ R.R.Diwakar, op.cit, pp-945.

Convention' was held at Davanagere in August 1946. The Karnataka Sabha and the KPCC jointly sponsored the convention and attended by all members. The main agenda deliberated was to pass resolution that Karnataka as a separate province should enumerate in the Constituent Assembly. The convention also declared that "without prejudice "to the immediate formation of Kannada areas, all round development would not be achieved without a common government for the entire region without any distinction of British provinces or princely state of Mysore.²⁶

The Davangere convention sent a straight message to all princely states that in order to facilitate a common government for the whole of Kannada region, it was necessary to establish democratic and responsible governments in all the native states including the princely state of Mysore.

In the meantime, the Constituent Assembly began to function in December 1946. The advocates of linguistic provinces became busy, when it became certain that the country would get a new Constitution according to the wishes of the people.

2.2.4 Dar Commission

To advice the Constituent Assembly in its deliberations upon the question of linguistic states, a linguistic province commission was appointed under the chairmanship of S.K.Dar in 1948. It was asked to examine and report to the Assembly particularly, on the pros and cons of the formation of Andhra, Karnataka and Kerala. Among the nine associate members of the commission, Kannadigas were represented by R.R.Diwakar and Tekur Subrahmanyam. After extensive tour and careful examination of witnesses, the commission pronounced itself against the formation of linguistic provinces. In Karnataka's case , the commission clearly expressed the

²⁶ Ibid,pp-948.

differences among the people of Mysore and British provinces. It also examined the financial viability of the proposed province comprising four districts of Bombay -Presidency and South Kanara district. It estimated the deficit of Rs.223.27 crores in the state.²⁷ In this way, the commission disappointed the people of Karnataka, who had been leading the movement for unification. In the meantime, the KPCC met at Hubli on January 19,1949 and considered the Dar commission's findings as reactionary.

2.2.5 J.V.P.Committee

Soon after the submission of the Dar Commission's report , the Congress met at Jaipur session and appointed a J.V.P. Committee consisting of Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhabhai Patel and Pattabhi Sitaramayya to consider the question of linguistic provinces. The committee studied thoroughly and came out with findings opposing the formation of linguistic provinces in India.²⁸ On Karnataka, the committee expressed the opinion that a Karnataka province could be formed only in conjunction with certain regions like Mysore and Hyderabad which would form substantial parts of the new province.²⁹

In view of this, the feeling began to grow among the forward sections of the Mysore state that the retention of the Maharaja as the head of the state could not be made a stumbling block to the realisation of a united Karnataka. At the same time the people of Hyderabad-Karnataka, though willing to unite with the proposed state were not in favour of having Maharaja as the Constitutional head of the state. In view of these differing tendencies, the KPCC met again at Davanagere on November 8,1949 to solve this

²⁷ H.S.Gopal Rao,op.cit,pp-170.

²⁸ Kumar .B.B."Small States Syndrome in India", Concept Publishing Company,New-Delhi,1998,pp53.

²⁹ Joan V. Bondurant,"Regionalism Versus Provincialism;A Study in problems of Indian Nationalism,University of California,Berekely,1958,pp-30.

contradiction. It passed a comprehensive resolution demanding a Karnataka province inclusive of Mysore with Maharaja as the constitutional head of the state.

2.2.6 States Re-organisation Commission

The release of the J.V.P. Committee's report and its subsequent adoption and delay in forming Karnataka province created crisis in the Karnataka Congress. As a response to this delay, majority of the legislators from Bombay-Karnataka and South Kanara submitted their resignations formally to the KPCC.

Finally, the High Power States Re-Organisation Commission[SRC] was appointed under the chairmanship of 'Fazal Ali' under the Home Ministry Notification dated December 29,1953.Prime Minister Nehru made announcement in the Parliament regarding the appointment of SRC that "language and culture of an area have an undoubted importance, as they represent a pattern of living which is common in any area. "It was also directed to keep other things in mind such as preservation and strengthening of unity and security of India, financial, economic and administrative viability not only from the point of view of each state but of the whole nation, while considering demands for reorganisation.³⁰

It is again important to know the responses of different regions to the calls of the SRC when it toured Karnataka in June 1954.Almost all organisations and political leaders of Northern regions of the state submitted memorandums for unifying all Kannada-speaking regions. Whereas the Mysore government and Mysore congress decided to refrain from submitting memorandums and giving evidences before the commission. In the meantime, the Mysore Government appointed a fact-finding committee,

³⁰ SRC.Report,op.cit,pp-25.

popularly known as the "*Sheshadri Committee*" to study the pros and cons of such state formation. The Committee after touring entire Karnataka indicated that the Kannada areas outside Mysore region are undeveloped and would be deficit areas. It obviously suggested that such an integration would cause a drag on the administration of Mysore state.³¹

But there was a vast section of opinion which supported the cause of unification. Among those were Sri.S.Nijalingappa and the youth leader Sri. K.M.Rudrappa and others met the commission and tendered their evidences in favour of unification of all Kannada-speaking regions. Despite these evidences the SRC noticed the tendencies of dual Karnataka, one centering around old Mysore and other consisting of remaining regions. The bases for such duality were either political or economic or perhaps the combination of both. But it was more of the combination of both as the Mysoreans thought that the British areas would be deficit areas and moreover lead to Lingayata domination over others. Even Babasaheb Ambedkar endorsed this view in the Bombay Legislative Assembly .He said "if Karnataka is created as a separate province, it would be a province of all the Lingayats against everybody else".³²

In the meantime the SRC published its report on October 10,1955 after careful consideration of all factors bearing on states reorganisation. It favoured the creation of Karnataka province after convincing itself that there is a great deal of opposition to the proposal of creating two states except a section in the princely state of Mysore. All parties and important leaders welcomed the report, although there was a little setback over the lose of Kasargod to Kerala and Sollapur to Maharashtra. But in Mysore, some welcomed it while others criticized it. A full scale discussion took place in the

³¹ R.R.Diwakar,op.cit,pp-957 ,SRC Report,op.cit,pp-90.

³² Ambedkar Babasaheb, "On Creation of a Separate Karnataka Province" *Bombay Legislative Assembly Debates*,Vol.3,pp-1692,dated,April4,1938.

Mysore Assembly on the SRC Report. The dual Karnataka demand was again raised and K.Hanumanthaiah had to resign because of his support for SRC Report. He lost the support of his own caste fellows only because of his support to the SRC Report.

A Sub-committee appointed for the study of the report rejected the separationists claim of "*Mysore for Mysoreans*" by declaring unequivocally in favour of a single united Karnataka state inclusive of Mysore. It left no options for the separationists but to accept the report.³³ Although the Mysore Assembly accepted the report, it put up two conditions. One was the inclusion of Bellary in Mysore and other was the name of new state as Mysore. With this the dual Karnataka problem was set at rest. The President of India signed the states Reorganisation Bill on August 31, 1956 after a long debate in Parliament. The new state of Mysore came into being on November 1, 1956 comprising all Kannada-speaking regions. The city of Bangalore became the capital of the new state and Jayachamaraj Wodeyar became the Governor of the state. Although Jawaharlal Nehru was not in favour of appointing Jayachamaraj Wodeyar as the Governor, it was Nijalingappa, who convinced Nehru through Maulana Abul Kalam Azad to win over the hearts of Mysoreans, who had earlier declined to be a part of the new state.

To conclude, in this chapter we have presented the entire process of state formation which shows that the British provinces exhibited a great deal of willingness to form a single Kannada state. Whereas the relative backwardness of these provinces was the major cause of concern for the princely state of Mysore to oppose the same. However, it is learnt that the SRC hoped that with the reorganisation, the state of Mysore would utilise the additional resources like forests, coastal belt, banking and business

³³ Jayaramu P.S. and Others, "Karnataka : Ideology and Politics", *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, Vol.48, October-December-1987, pp580.

entrepreneurship, mineral resources like iron ore and river systems in other regions of the state. And the SRC also hoped that Karnataka would prosper and be able to manage their affairs much better under their own government.

It was revealed on the occasion of inauguration of the new Mysore state on November 1, 1956. All the people assembled at Hampi, near Virupaksha temple under the guiding spirit of Alur Venkata Rao, the patriarchal figure of the Karnataka integration movement. People carried the waters from different rivers, soil of different parts with choicest delicacies and shared the happiest moment by distributing sweets. While addressing the occasion Alur Venkata Rao said,

"This new state belongs to the people who are its architects. They have achieved it peacefully, giving content to an old dream. We know our past glory. The glory of the future beckons to us. It is up to the present generation to take up the challenge. Let us work hard for the many sided advancement of Karnataka".³⁴

Such a glaring call for an extensive and overall growth of entire Karnataka needs to be reviewed in the present context where the bane of uneven development has become the source of much consternation for those who have been demanding separate statehood for Coorg and other regions within North Karnataka. It has certainly induced second thoughts on the merits and validity of their having opted for an enlarged state of Karnataka. In this regard, the next chapter focuses on the post independence development pattern of the state in some detail.

³⁴ Adya Ramachandra, "Unification of Karnataka", in Krishnaswamy Iyer (ed), "Avalokana", A Compendium on Karnataka's Heritage. pp206.

CHAPTER III

UNEVEN DEVELOPMENT IN KARNATAKA : THE POST-INDEPENDENCE SCENARIO

After the state formation in 1956 the democratic state of Karnataka has intervened in the society and polity with plethora of policy packages aimed at promoting balanced development. The state, which was first called as 'Mysore State', was renamed as Karnataka in 1973. It was an amalgamation of regions from Bombay and Madras presidency, Nizam's Hyderabad, Coorg and the princely state of Mysore. As we have analysed in our previous chapter, these regions were in varying phases of development, which have had an impact on the post-independence development pattern of the state of Karnataka.

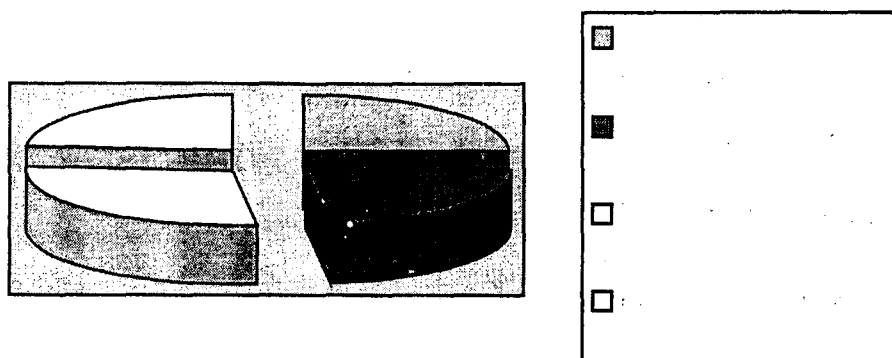
At this backdrop, the present chapter intends to analyse the development pattern of the post-independence Karnataka. With an view to understand the economy of the state, this chapter is divided into two sections. Section one looks at the conventional indicators of economic development such as Per Capita District Income, Agricultural and Industrial development, Infrastructural development along with a cursory look on power generation in the state. The second section will analyse major indicators of human development in the state. In both the aspects of development, major emphasis has been placed on the prevalence of developmental activities across the districts in the state.

Before analysing various indicators of development, it is important to know the administrative structure of the state. After the formation of the state in 1956, the entire state has been divided into four administrative divisions such as Bangalore Division (49,697 sq.kms), Mysore Division (43,473

sq.kms), Belgaum Division (54,513 sq.kms) and Gulbarga Division (44,108 sq.kms).¹ Since 1956, there has been no territorial changes in the total area of the state except for the creation of new districts in 1986 and 1997. An additional Bangalore Rural District was carved out of Bangalore district in 1986 and seven new more districts were created in 1997 taking the total number of districts from 20 to 27².

However the area under respective divisions has remained the same. The following Figure-3.1 shows the total geographical size of respective divisions of the state, which is an important factor to be kept in mind while studying the intra-divisional allocation of developmental activities in the state.

**Figure-3.1 :
Administrative Divisions of Karnataka**



Source: Compiled from Karnataka at a Glance 1999-2000 Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Karnataka, Bangalore, 2000, p.11.

¹ Karnataka At A Glance-1999-2000, Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Karnataka, Bangalore, 2000, pp-11

² In 1997, seven new districts viz, Chamarajnar from erstwhile Mysore, Davangere from Chitradurga, Bagalkot from Bijapur, Gadag and Haveri from Dharwad, Udupi from Dakshina Kannada and Koppal from Raichur district were created vide Government of Karnataka notification No.RD 42,LRD 87 Part-III, Bangalore dated 2-8-1997. See. Cesus of India -2001, Provisional population totals, Directorate of Census Operations, Bangalore, 2001, pp-1.

3.1 Indicators of Economic Development

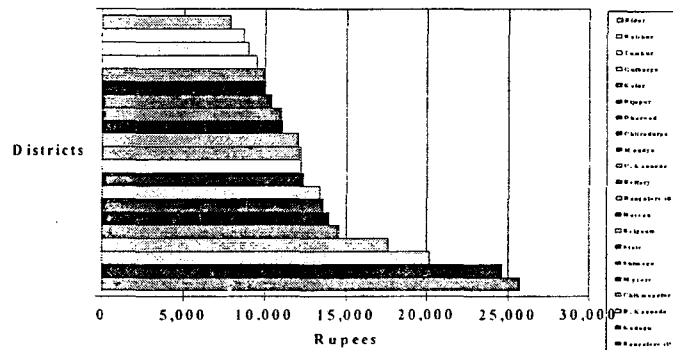
The present state of Karnataka has attracted favourable national and international attention of both scholars and development agencies. In fact, it is cited as one of the most investor-friendly states in India. Bangalore, in particular has been identified as the **Silicon Valley of the East** and the **center of sunrise industries**. It is well known all over the world for the lead it has taken in developing computer software although it is another matter that some of the peripheral regions of the state are pushed to the background owing to the global factors. In this center-periphery syndrome, that has been emerging in the state of Karnataka, it is important to trace the problems and prospects of industry and agriculture in the state which has been unevenly spread.

3.1.1. District income:

District income has been the single most important yardstick not only to measure economic development but also to formulate plans at the district level in a decentralized planning. Besides, district income brings to light the existing backwardness of districts so that plans can be formulated based on the levels of backwardness across districts. There have been wide variations in the economic performance of the state in overall terms across sectors. It was because of the fact that the state has mobilized low resources which in turn has led to low deployment of resources in districts, causing regional variations and development of districts in the state. In this process, the regions with poor infrastructure are the worst sufferers. The varied allocation of resources under the different plans in the state reflect the high variations of per capita income of the districts which may be seen from figure-3.2

Figure-3.2

Per Capita District Income at current prices
1997-98



Source: Karnataka At A Glance 1999-2000, Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Karnataka, Bangalore, 2000, p-5

The above figure shows that the region of Hyderabad-Karnataka, comprising of five districts, viz., Bidar, Bellary, Koppal, Gulbarga, Raichur, have poor per capita income while Bangalore, Kodagu, Dakshina Kannada cluster at the top. It is also very important to observe that the per capita income of northern districts including Kolar, Tumkur, falls below the state average of Rs. 13, 621.

3.1.2. Agriculture:

Any analysis of Karnataka's post-independence development process must involve an enquiry into the state of agriculture and provision of irrigational facilities. Agricultural has been the most significant economic activity in the state as it contributes nearly 34 percent of the State Domestic Product (SDP) as against the all-India average of 28.8 percent. More than 69

percent of the state population continues to be engaged in this sector.³ It is needless to state that agriculture has been the predominant source of livelihood in the state. Incidentally, its growth and spread has been uneven in Karnataka. The following analysis highlights the important aspects of the agricultural scenario in Karnataka and the constraints facing it.

The Indian Council of Agricultural Research (ICAR) has delineated ten agro-climatic sub-regions in Karnataka based on soil, water and climate upto the Taluk level. Among the ten zones, the Bombay-Karnataka, the Hyderabad-Karnataka northern zone have been dry and lagging regions in development of agriculture. In terms of public and private investments also, these two regions continue to remain backward. Due to this, the state has not been able to effectively participate in industrial change besides failing to make any strong forays in industrial development except in the regions surrounding the cities of south Karnataka.⁴ This emphasises the agricultural backwardness which is intrinsically associated with the poor industrial scenario in the northern regions of the state which is by and large a drought-prone area.

The agricultural backwardness in the state, particularly in the northern districts, has been the cumulative outcome of the small land holdings, diversified crop system, lack of assured irrigation, lack of basic infrastructure for supply of inputs and marketing facilities for the products, inadequate growth of non-farming activities such as dairy and poultry. Apart from the dry and rain-starved topography of the region, the size of land holding and pattern of land ownership determines, to a large extent, the magnitude of

³ Kalipada Deb, "Development and Disparities, Experiences from Southern India", Rawat publications, New-Delhi, 2001, p-269.

⁴ R.S.Deshpande and K.V.Raju, "Agricultural Development and Policy in Karnataka", in Arun P. Bali (ed), "Refashioning the Economic Order, Karnataka in Transition", Rawat Publications, New-Delhi, 2001, p-107.

gains that can be derived from the farming sector through adopting advanced technology as well as mechanization of agriculture.

The average size of land holding in Karnataka declined from 2.41 hectares in 1985-86 to 1.85 hectares in 1991-92. Despite this, the number of submarginal land holdings increased significantly in Karnataka. Holdings with one hectare or less, constituted 32.7 percent of the total and those with 0.20 hectares or less constituted 21.2 percent in Karnataka (NSSO 1997). This, however, placed small farmers in an economically inadequate position as they were unable to command the required resources.

The growing number of small and marginal farmers with less than one hectare of land has been the outcome of the partial success of land reforms in the state. As in other states, by the mid 50s, land reform measures replaced brahmin absentee landlord in Karnataka. The Karnataka Land Reforms Act 1961 was passed in 1962 and was able to be implemented only in 1965. This long delay in implementing the act provides a typical example of how the group interest operate against this major measure through political pressures. Obviously, the Lingayats and the Vokkaligas, who had acquired political and economic strength by then, had the substantial control over landholdings, which together accounted for more than 67 percent in 1967-68. Their combined share in households operating 10 acres and above was 89.7 percent in 1961.⁵ However, these land reforms could not bring any substantial change in redistribution of land holdings as these two communities managed to get a high ceiling on land holdings as much as 27 standard acres per family of five members. They also managed to get a differential ceiling on the basis of soil fertility, irrigational facilities and land usage patterns. All these measures significantly helped these two communities. But the 1973 Land Reforms under Devaraja Urs on the basis of the Planning Commission guidelines improved the situation to some

⁵ Abdul aziz and Thimmaiah G, "The Political Economy of Land Reforms in India", Ashish Publications, New-delhi, 1984, p-27.

extent. Despite these stringent land reforms, the level of redistributions could not reduce the high concentration of land holdings as there were rampant benami registrations.

This partial success of land reforms in Karnataka failed to reduce the growing number of small and marginal farmers as there was no addition to their small land holdings. This has seriously constrained any scope of mechanization of agriculture as it demands large land holdings with improved irrigational facilities. Moreover, the growing economic inability of the farmers in northern districts of the state forced them to embrace or adopt traditional land tilling and cultivation methods. It is clearly reflected in the low use of High Yielding Varieties (HYVs) of seeds, chemical fertilizers and pesticides. Apart from these bottlenecks, the society was characterized by caste hierarchies and feudal control over land holdings.

3.1.3 Provision of irrigational facilities:

A crucial aspect of agricultural backwardness, particularly in dry zones, lies in creating greater irrigational facilities and developing crops in accordance with the agro-climatic conditions. Although the total irrigation potential of the state is estimated to be around 55 lakh hectares, the actual area under irrigation is only 23 Lakh hectares which is significantly lower than the Indian average of 32 percent.⁶ Moreover, the state has been depending to a large extent on the two lifelines, i.e., Krishna and Tungabhadra rivers for the northern regions and Cauvery and its tributaries for the southern regions of the state. Unfortunately, the state has been having a running battle with Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh on Cauvery and Krishna, as well as with Maharashtra with Bheema and Krishna over water-sharing. Such interstate disputes on sharing river water has seriously affected the potential of irrigational facilities, particularly in north Karnataka

⁶ Karnataka At A Glance-1999-2000, Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Karnataka, Bangalore, 2000, p-32.

where the Upper Krishna Project has been considered as the most important prospect for North Karnataka.

Besides, the provision of irrigational facilities in the state has been uneven and tended to be concentrated around few districts as may be seen from table 3.1

Table 3.1

District wise Provision of Irrigation Facilities, Use of Inputs and Institutional Credit in Karnataka

Districts	Net Irrigated Area as percentage to net sown area		HYV Area as percentage to total sown area 1994-95	Fertilizer Consumption per hectare 1994-95	Loans per hectare as on 31.3.1994	
	1966-67	1994-95			From PACs	From PLDBs
Bangalore	-	18.0	56.1	215.4	431	450
Bangalore@	13.2	19.3	44.7	78.6	336	212
Chitradurga	12.7	20.0	33.1	8.4	124	191
Shimoga	48.3	48.5	54.1	10.6	248	183
Kolar	17.0	20.3	32.4	8.8	197	173
Tumkur	10.9	13.0	28.6	4.7	190	261
Hassan	19.0	20.4	47.0	94.4	31	131
Mysore	13.5	25.7	40.4	88.7	96	144
Kodagu	7.4	2.2	20.2	146.5	1462	77
Mandya	31.8	46.1	42.1	164.7	122	107
D.Kannada	35.1	45.0	35.5	62.9	3191	198
Chicmagalur	21.9	10.6	32.5	90.5	227	172
U.Kannada	13.6	22.2	42.5	41.4	1157	354
Dharwad	5.4	19.2	14.0	48.7	231	56
Belgaum	6.9	31.7	20.8	60.7	378	86
Bijapur	3.2	23.4	12.0	29.5	136	68
Bellary	7.6	32.6	37.5	119.6	312	76
Bidar	3.4	7.6	11.8	19.8	442	71
Raichur	12.1	25.4	30.5	102.3	28	110
Gulbarga	1.3	9.6	27.3	18.7	85	51
STATE	10.2	22.3	28.1	68.5	286	118

Source: Karnataka At A Glance 1995-96, Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Karnataka, Bangalore-1996

The above data shows that in 1966-67, i.e., two decades after Independence, less than 10 percent of the net sown area was irrigated in seven of the then 19 districts. The districts of Gulbarga, Bidar and Bijapur recorded low percentage of area irrigated. It was as low as 1.3 percent, 3.4 percent and 3.2 percent respectively. On the other hand, Shimoga had as much as 48 percent, Dakshina Kannada 35 percent, and Mandya 32 percent of area irrigated. After another three decades, in 1994-95, the rate of disparity has not reduced much. Many of the districts with high irrigational facilities improved their position, while the districts of Gulbarga and Bidar continued to be poorly irrigated.

Similarly, in the provision of different inputs, particularly the HYVs, has not been satisfactory and uniform. The area under HYVs was relatively low and it accounted for only 32.9 percent in the state's total gross cultivated area. Incidentally, there has been a wide variation in the proportion of area covered. Accordingly, Bangalore itself has had 56.1 percent of the total sown area under HYVs in 1994-95, followed by Shimoga 54.1 percent, Hassan 47 percent, and Mandya 42.1 percent. It is important to note that HYVs were introduced in Mandya and Hassan as part of Green revolution in 1960s, whereas, in the lower three districts such as Bidar, Bijapur and Dharwad, the area under HYVs was less than 15 percent of the total sown area in the state.

As in other areas, the consumption of fertilizers has been uneven in the districts of the state. As evident from Table 3.1, in 1994-95, Bangalore and Mandya districts registered high consumption of fertilizers. It was as much as 215 kg/hectare and 165 kg/hectare respectively, while six districts used less than 20 kg/hectare. Although there may be many factors for poor consumption, the inadequate efforts by the state to provide fertilizers at subsidized rates could be an important reason. Likewise, the institutional credit to farmers has also been uneven in the state as per hectare loans from Primary Credit Societies was less than Rs. 100 in four districts, viz.,

Raichur, Hassan and Gulbarga in 1994 as against the highest of Rs. 3,191 in Dakshina Kannada. However, it is noteworthy that the beneficiaries from cooperative credit were mainly large farmers. The share of marginal farmers was only 22.5 percent as these small farmers had inadequate land holdings as a security on which loans were sanctioned.

These imbalances in irrigation facilities and subsequent failures of crops has created a drought situation, particularly in North Karnataka. It was manifested in the continuing spate of suicides among farmers in Karnataka. The suicides of farmers has been a clear indication of the volatile socio-economic dynamics of the agricultural sector. Significantly, these suicide cases which were originally concentrated in Hyderabad- Karnataka region following the failure of the Tur Dal crop during the late 1990s have spread over to the sugar belt in Dharwad-Hutli regions of Bombay- Karnataka in 2000-01. However, the factors responsible for suicides are attributed to the fluctuations in the prices of agricultural products, higher reliance of farmers on private rural credit. It is a clear reflection of the state's failure to evolve adequate supportive mechanisms such as provision of institutional credit and support prices for the products.⁷

3.1.4. Industrial Development:

In a predominantly agricultural region, where both the factors and techniques of production operate within a traditional socio-economic framework, a major alternative source of augmenting economic activity as well as generating greater income with high degree of employment eventually lies in the growth of the industrial sector. In this regard, it is important to analyse the growth and spread of industries in Karnataka, particularly during the phase of planned development of the so-called modern technology in the state.

⁷ Supriya Roychowdhary, "Gathering Gloom" Deccan Herald, Bangalore, October 21,2001.She looks at increasing farmers suicides in the context of the ongoing economic reforms and its impact on farmers.

An areawise glance at the industrial activity in the state brings out the fact that spatial spread of industrial activities has been uneven and capricious.⁸ However, in the context of varied industrial development, it is imperative to highlight the supply-side constraints such as lack of local enterpreneurial drive, poor infrastructure, non-availability of local skilled labour, scope and extent of better technology adaptation, etc. The demand-side bottlenecks like low income, accruing from almost backward agriculture, prostrate returns from non-farm activities and importantly, poor agriculture-industry linkages, etc. In this situation, the nature and functioning of state policies to integrate local resources with industries assumes great importance.

The state, with its rich natural resources, abundant minerals and favourable industrial climate has provided a wide scope for industrial development. Although industrialization in Karnataka started way back in the early 1900s, followed by Sir Visveswaraiah's contribution, it presently accounts for only 6 percent of the total industries in the country. It constitutes about 30 percent of the state income in Karnataka.⁹ But the experience of industrial growth in the post-Independence period, particularly in the recent years has been uneven and unsatisfactory. As industrialization gained momentum in the state, it was expected that the industrial base would get diversified. However, that does not seem to have occurred in the state. In fact, going by the available data, it reveals that the rate of industrial growth has not only been restricted to certain sectors, but has also spread unevenly over the years.

As regards the spatial distribution of industries, most of the industrial settings are concentrated in and around of few developed districts. In this

⁸ Majula Reddy, "Acceleration and spatial distribution of industrial activity in Karnataka", *Artha Vijnana*, No.3, September 2000, pp250.

⁹ Hemalatha Rao, "Role of Karnataka in New Economic Order: Industrial Policy Reforms and Industrial Development" in Arun P. Bali (ed), "Refashioning the Economic Order, Karnataka in Transition", Rawat Publications, New-Delhi, 2001, p-195.

regard, Bangalore district alone accounts for 46.5 percent of the total industries in 1994-95, while three more districts, Dharwad, Mysore and Dakshina Kannada together contributed another 20 percent. In the total number of employees, the share of these three districts was 69 percent. On the other hand, six districts viz., Kodagu, Bidar, Mandya, Uttara Kannada, Hassan, and Chickmagalur had a combined share of only 4.5 percent in total number of industries and 5 percent in total employment.

However, the industrial situation in terms of spatial distribution has not altered much in 1999-2000 compared to the figures in 1994-95. The following table 3.2 explains the uneven distribution of industries, industrial estates, industrial sheds, and the number of employees in these industries.

Table 3.2

District-Wise Industrial Situation in Karnataka

Districts	Total Number of Industries	Employees	Industrial Estates 1998-99	Industrial Sheds 1998-99
1. Bangalore(U)	4384	24556	11	1815
2. Bangalore®	258	394667	9	425
3. Chitradurga	313	20970	4	75
4. Davanagere*	----	----	2	108
5. Kolar	171	19937	9	158
6. Shimoga	148	25873	7	181
7. Tumkur	221	13273	7	128
Bangalore Division	5495 (59.45)	499278 (60.62)	49 (31.62)	2890 (51.15)
1. Belgaum	407	46238	11	302
2. Bijapur	221	13476	4	66
3. Bagalkot*	----	----	4	62
4. Dharwad	552	55259	5	524
5. Gadag*	----	----	5	24
6. Haveri*	----	----	5	32
7. U.Kannada	84	13693	8	110
Belgaum Division	1264 (13.67)	128666 (15.62)	42 (27.09)	1120 (19.82)
1. Bellary	202	18667	6	126
2. Bidar	447	5201	7	88
3. Gulbarga	120	22730	11	140
4. Raichur	365	15602	4	56
5. Koppal*	----	----	2	4
Gulbarga Division	1134 (12.26)	62200 (7.55)	30 (19.36)	414 (7.32)
1. Chikmagalur	58	4194	2	42
2. D.Kannada	613	49552	7	306
3. Udupi*	----	----	2	62
4. Hassan	78	7498	8	105
5. Kodagu	42	2895	2	38
6. Mandya	82	11168	6	123
7. Mysore	477	58128	6	526
Chamarajnagar*	----	----	1	24
Mysore Division	1350 (14.60)	133435 (16.21)	34 (21.93)	1226 (21.69)
STATE	9243	823579	155	5650

Source: Karnataka At A Glance-1999-2000, Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Karnataka, Bangalore-2000, pp-51

* indicates for newly created Districts.

Note-Figures in brackets indicates the percentage to the state total

As evident from the above data, Bangalore district alone accounts for 47.43 percent followed by Dakshina Kannada 6.63 percent. The districts of Kodagu, Chickmagalur, Hassan account for very few industries. The division

wise distribution of industries shows that the Gulbarga division registers as low as 12.26 percent of the total industries in the state, whereas Bangalore division continues to top with 59.45 percent. With respect to employment, the share of Bangalore division has been significant with 60.62 percent whereas, Gulbarga division has less number of employees with only 7.55 percent of the state's total. However, the district of Bidar has made significant improvement over the years after it was selected as a 'No Industry District'¹⁰ under Central Government's policy. Since then, there has been an extensive flow of investment in the district, leading to the growth of many engineering, chemical and agro-based industries.¹¹

The second important feature of Karnataka's industrial strategy apart from its uneven spatial growth has been its priority to "sunrise industries" such as software technology, information technology, biotechnology, food processing technology, floriculture, etc., while agro-based and metal-based small-scale industries have been relegated to the background in the state. Even the "New Industrial Policy 2001" has not laid down any substantial emphasis on promoting industrial bases in backward regions. However, the new policy has created a corpus fund called "The Industrial Development Fund" of Rs. 100 crore specially to meet infrastructural needs of the state's technology parks, industrial estates, and industrial corridors.¹² It is noteworthy that the industrial policy, with high emphasis on high tech industries, provides no consistent efforts to integrate these industries with the development of infrastructure, technical skill and resource generation within backward regions of the state. Eventually, it has contributed to the

¹⁰ "No Industry District" is a Central Government policy. It was adopted in 1983 with a view to develop industrially backward areas. It yielded good results in the development of backward regions.

¹¹ Devendra Babu, "Tasks before the task force", Deccan Herald, Bangalore, February 25, 2001.

¹² Ravi Sharma, "In a high growth trajectory" Frontline, Madras, December 21, 2001, p-65.

growth of industrial centers in and around developed regions, whereas, poor regions with no infrastructure continue to remain backward. In this regard, the above discussion presents the uneven spatial spread of industries in the state. It is noteworthy that the districts of Hyderabad- Karnataka region continue to remain at a disadvantageous position. This obviously raises certain basic questions such as neglect and misdirected state policies.

3.1.5. Small Scale Industries:

The promotion of small scale industries in response to Gandhian concept of development was basically to create employment and income generation in rural areas. They are known for its adaptability and stability in all locations. Besides, they are mobile and insensitive to cost factors which influences the location of large scale industries. Hence, working groups appointed to study regional imbalances of industries has suggested a package of incentives for the backward areas to establish small scale industries.¹³ This speaks for the importance of small scale industries in developing backward regions.

However, the spread of small scale industries and state investment in promotion of small scale industries has been significantly uneven. The following table 3.3 shows the division-wise state investment and number of small scale industries set up during the periods of 1997-98 and 1999-2000 respectively.

¹³ Chandra Poojary, "Small Scale Sector: Myth and Reality, Economic and Political Weekly, May 25, 1996, p-M-12.

Table 3.3**Number of Small Scale Industrial Units and State Investment in
Karnataka
(1997-98 and 1999-2000)**

Division	Investment in SSIs 1997-98 (Rs.Crores)	Percentage to State total	Number of SSIs Set Up 1999-2000	Percentage to State total
Bangalore Division	1586.63	48.23	6523	40.92
Mysore Division	750.54	22.81	3767	23.63
Belgaum Division	542.28	16.48	3634	22.77
Gulbarga Division	410.74	12.48	2014	12.63
South Karnataka	2337.37	71.04	10290	64.56
North Karnataka	953.02	28.96	5648	35.44
STATE	3290.39	100.00	15938	100.00

Source: Compiled on the basis of Data from Department of Industries and Commerce And from Karnataka At A Glance-1999-2000, Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Karnataka, Bangalore-2000

The above table shows that the Bangalore division has accounted for about 48.23 percent of investment in small scale industries during 1997-98 as against 12.48 percent of investment in Gulbarga division. Consequently, the Bangalore division accounted for more than 40 percent of small scale industries in 1999-2000, whereas, the Gulbarga division accounted for only 12.63 percent to the state total. In all, the entire northern parts of the state has as low as 28.96 percent of state investment and 35.44 percent of total small scale industries in the region, whereas, the figures for southern parts of the state has been significantly more. In terms of output, again, two districts namely, Bangalore and Dakshina Kannada accounted for as much as 60 percent of the total value of output from the sector. in 1987-88, whereas, the remaining districts contributed less than a quarter of the state total. In terms of production per unit, the value ranged between the highest of Rs. 19.65 lakh in Bangalore (Urban) and the lowest of Rs. 1.60 Lakh in Gulbarga district. The share of rural areas in total number of units also has

been very low in many of the districts of the state.¹⁴ Besides, the features that can be found at macro-level represents that the small scale industries tend to concentrate in industrially developed regions of the state. This tendency could be mainly due to the close relations of these small scale industrial units with the large industrial estates as both have forward and backward linkages.

3.1.6. Infrastructure Development:

Needless to mention, availability of infrastructure plays a vital role of a catalytic nature not only in industrial development, but also in the development of the whole economy. The prevalence of infrastructural facilities across the districts has been relatively weak and uneven in Karnataka. Making use of the available data on individual infrastructural items like provision of road, railway connections, air links, national highways, post offices, banks, telephone exchanges, power stations, etc., the infrastructure development indices have been prepared for the districts of the state. The following table 3.4 provides complete information of infrastructure for all the districts of the state.

¹⁴ Kalipada Deb, Op.Cit, pp-306.

Table 3.4

**Infrastructure Development Index for Districts in Karnataka
1991-1999**

Districts	Total Road Length (Kms)	National Highways	Total Railway Route Length (Kms)	Railway Stations	Post Offices	Telephone Exchanges	1991 Index	Rank
1. Bangalore	9396	111	221	25	333	64	33140	1
2. Bangalore®	----	124	105	22	352	96	----	----
3. Chitradurga	7173	177	172	16	333	76	3364	6
4. Kolar	6568	121	120	15	422	132	2659	11
5. Shimoga	8471	----	124	14	360	124	3202	7
6. Tumkur	9618	105	97	15	571	102	2531	13
7. Belgaum	9128	201	220	25	717	174	6860	3
8. Bijapur	8012	187	130	20	419	101	3186	8
9. Dharwad	11096	292	151	21	217	48	6045	5
10. U.Kannada	6996	258	179	15	500	119	2668	9
11. Bellary	5762	181	310	27	457	101	2816	12
12. Bidar	2941	75	79	9	304	65	1306	19
13. Gulbarga	7623	----	225	23	623	139	2660	10
14. Raichur	6166	73	51	7	281	59	2058	17
15. Chikmagalur	7235	----	91	12	304	123	2310	15
16. Hassan	7438	135	198	19	421	89	2502	14
17. Mysore	10231	----	102	20	416	85	6151	4
18. Kodagu	3223	----	----	----	220	71	1748	18
19. Mandya	8309	29	83	14	365	62	2081	16
20. D.Kannada	7414	242	138	18	479	146	10226	2
STATE	142801	2335	3270	392	9876	2354	----	----

Source: Compiled from Karnataka At A Glance-1999-2000, Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Karnataka, Bangalore-2000 And from Prahaladachar. M., "Industry in Hyderabad-Karnataka Region, Status and Outlook" A Paper presented at a seminar organised by Institute for Social and Economic Change (ISEC), Bangalore in Gulbarga on September 19-25,1994, pp-5.

The above table shows the wide gap in the provision of basic facilities for industrial development in the districts. The industrially developed districts like Bangalore, Dakshina Kannada, Belgaum, Mysore, continue to top in the development index, whereas, Bidar, Raichur, Kodagu, Tumkur are at the bottom of the index. In these rankings, an index prepared for 1991 by using ten infrastructural items gave Bangalore 33,140 as against less than 3,000 in 11 districts with Bidar having only 1,306.¹⁵ As the data indicates, the districts

¹⁵ Prahaladachar M, "Industry in Hyderabad-Karnataka Region: Status and outlook" Paper presented on Hyderabad-Karnataka Economy : Problems and Prospects, Organised by ISEC in Gulbarga, September 19-21,1994,p-5.

of Bidar, Gulbarga and Raichur provide a very effective example of neglect by the state in creating adequate infrastructure in the region. Although there has been significant reduction in the backwardness of these regions, it has not been sufficient to keep pace with the changing requirements of the economy.

Provision of air links to major cities forms yet another important component of infrastructural package. Although the construction of international airport at Devanahalli has been receiving state support, the development of air-links to other parts of the state have been relegated to the background as one can be witnessed from the example of Hubli airport. The Hubli airport, which was one of the four recommended airports in the post-war reconstruction plan of 1945, popularly known as "The Bombay Plan", has been closed down citing reasons of inadequate infrastructural facilities. However, Hubli being a commercial capital of North Karnataka, can provide air link facility for foreign tourists to visit historical sites like Badami, Aihole, Pattadakal, apart from its proximity to the coastal belt of Uttara Kannada. It can also extend its air services to other parts of the country, thereby achieving total connectivity.¹⁶ Secondly, Hubli being a major cotton, oil seed and food grain distribution market, would provide an opportunity to North Karnataka businessmen to establish connections with other parts of the country. Similarly, Gulbarga, the divisional headquarter of the five districts of Hyderabad-Karnataka region, has been in need of an airport for many years. As this place is located closely with many cement factories and Tur production centers, a mini-airport could be built in this region.

Power generation and its availability to domestic, industrial, and agricultural sectors in Karnataka has been unsatisfactory. In fact, the shortage of power has become a major cause of concern for the state to become a key industrial hub. The per capita consumption of power in

¹⁶ Shyam Sunder Vatter, "Take Off Delayed" Deccan Herald, Bangalore, March 2,2001.

Karnataka has been as low as 350 kWh, which is not only the lowest in the southern region, but also marginally below the All India average of 356 kWh. It is also the state with the highest power deficit level in the southern region. Besides, the power sector in Karnataka is characterized by frequent shutdowns, system failures, and problems of lower frequencies and low voltage. Moreover, more than 42 percent of the power is lost during Transmission and Distribution (T&D) which also includes power theft. In spite of these hardships, in power generation and supply, the state has been a pioneer in power sector reforms. Accordingly, the Karnataka Power Transmission Corporation Limited (KPTCL) was set up. This state unit has been unable to keep pace with the ever growing demand from domestic, industrial and agricultural sectors. Moreover, it has been debt-ridden and its distribution wings have been inefficient over the years.¹⁷

The bleak power scenario in the state has acted as a deterrent for establishing new industries and expanding and diversifying existing ones. Furthermore, this situation has affected severely the northern districts of the state, where the Raichur Thermal Power Station (RTPS) has become a sick unit. The perennial collapse of the third, fifth and the sixth units of the RTPS has been attributed to the lack of maintenance of these units.¹⁸ Besides, the RTPS has not been provided with quality equipment. This raises some fundamental issues about the prospects of reviving the only power generation unit in North Karnataka. Such lackluster maintenance and mismanagement of RTPS has an extreme impact, particularly on the domestic and agricultural needs of the regions, including power supply to Bangalore city.

¹⁷ Ravi Sharma, Op.Cit, pp-69.

¹⁸ Reasons accounted for repeated failure are due to thrust being given only to power generation without giving necessary attention towards maintenance. Due to this the power generation in RTPS is said to have reduced by about 11 Million units in the last three years.

Nevertheless, the above discussion of the sectoral performance of the districts in major economic indicators, presents the uneven spatial spread of agricultural, industrial, infrastructural development, including power generation and means of transport and communication. In this regard, the districts of Hyderabad- Karnataka including three districts of South Karnataka are significantly poor in terms of resource allocation and deployment of developmental activities. However, considerable progress has been achieved in these districts as well. The state's policies aimed at redressal of spatial unevenness have certainly made an impact on some of the many factors which determine growth rates and levels of development. Incidentally, the human development aspects have been neglected, which can be noticed in the subsequent Human Development Reports. These reports shows an accelerated economic growth in the 1990s which has not translated into human development. This is a reiteration of the argument that a higher rate of economic growth does not necessarily mean more rapid improvements in human development.

II

3.2 Indicators of Human Development

In the economic field, the achievements of the state of Karnataka border on the national average, while intra-district performance have registered individual distinctions. Although it is paradoxical but nonetheless true that the state is noticing widening unevenness in basic indicators of development. In spite of considerable progress in the field of information technology and industrial advancement which have made an impact on growth rates, the human development aspects, particularly in backward districts continue to be the cause of concern in the state.

Ever since the success of UNDP,s effort to shift focus on people as the real wealth of a country, the concept of human development has

assumed importance in the discourse on development. This approach emphasize on to take care of specific concerns of human beings. In this regard, the successive human development reports of UNDP have stressed on various issues that can expand human capabilities. Similar efforts to study the human development aspects have been made in Karnataka, which has prepared a detailed document in 1999 based on the UNDP methodology. Interestingly, the preparation of the report in Karnataka coincided with the growing demand from the Northern regions of the state for larger share in the developmental pie. Such study by the state assumes importance for two reasons. First, an exercise by the state to prepare a Human Development Index (HDI) for districts is as close an official recognition as is possible of the human development approach to guide policy as well as measure outcomes. Second, the estimation for the districts within the state provides a richer picture than the summary of National Surveys since there are striking regional variations in almost all measure of socio-economic development.

In the context of these developments in the 1990s, this section attempts to study the prevalence of human development facilities such as provision of education, healthcare facilities access to health facilities gender disparities, availability of electricity, access to safe drinking water, sanitation, incidence of poverty etc, in post-independence Karnataka.

3.2.1 Education

Education has been considered as the primary requirement of human development which will follow all benefits. It has been the most valuable, potential and effective tool for overall development. In this regard, education not only improves the faculties and skills of the people, but it also dramatically contributes to their physical well being by making them aware of better health facilities and increase their willingness to seek and utilise

medical and other facilities. Hence considerable emphasis has been placed on the importance of education over the years. Furthermore, many studies have established direct connection between education and human development. In this regard, Mahabub-UI-Haq said, "Education is the passport to accelerated growth and it is the key to building human capital and human capital is the vital ingredient in building a nation." Amartya Sen and Jean Dreze have also underscored the importance of education for overall human development. They said, "The elimination of ignorance, of illiteracy and of needless inequalities of opportunities are objectives that are valued for their own sake. They expand the freedom to lead the lives we have reason to value and those elementary capabilities are of importance on their own."¹⁹

Going by the available data on Karnataka, the attainment of growth in literacy has been average, despite significant improvement in the late few decades. Census data indicates that the literacy rate has moved from 56.04 percent in 1991 to 67.04 percent in 2001. Although the 2001 Census figures show that the gap between the male and female rate of literacy is narrowing, it is still very wide among rural areas. The following table-3.5 shows the literacy rates for all the 27 districts.

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¹⁹ See. Amartya Sen and Jean Dreze, "Economic Development and Social Opportunity" OUP, New-Delhi, 1995.

Table-3.5
District-Wise Literacy Rate in Karnataka
2001

Districts	Literacy Rate in percentage			
	Total Literacy	Rank	Rural Literacy	Rank
1. Bangalore(U)	83.91	1	70.77	4
2. Bangalore@	65.00	14	61.93	12
3. Chitradurga	64.88	15	61.11	14
4. Davanagere*	67.67	11	63.12	11
5. Kolar	63.14	18	57.75	18
6. Shimoga	74.86	6	70.03	7
7. Tumkur	67.17	12	63.62	10
Bangalore Division				
8. Belgaum	64.42	17	59.05	16
9. Bijapur	57.46	23	52.38	21
10. Bagalkot*	57.81	22	52.00	22
11. Dharwad	71.87	8	60.96	15
12. Gadag*	66.27	13	61.71	13
13. Haveri*	68.09	10	66.19	8
14. U.Kannada	76.59	5	72.68	5
Belgaum Division				
15. Bellary	58.04	21	50.86	24
16. Bidar	61.98	19	57.72	19
17. Gulbarga	50.65	26	42.73	27
18. Raichur	49.54	27	43.15	26
19. Koppal	55.02	24	51.98	23
Gulbarga Division				
20. Chikmagalur	72.63	7	70.05	6
21. D.Kannada	83.47	2	79.93	1
22. Udupi*	79.87	3	77.73	2
23. Hassan	68.75	9	65.30	9
24. Kodagu	78.17	4	76.28	3
25. Mandya	61.21	20	57.88	17
26. Mysore	63.69	16	52.48	20
27. Chamarajnar*	51.29	25	47.58	25
Mysore Division				
STATE	67.04		59.68	

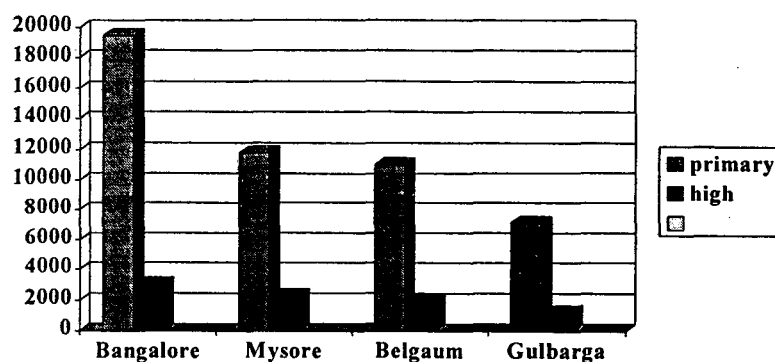
Source: Census of India, 2001, Provisional Population Totals, Director of Census Operations, Bangalore. pp-48.

The above table shows the serious imbalances in educational attainments across the districts. The literacy rates for the districts of Bangalore (83.91), Dakshina Kannada (83.47), Udupi (79.87), Kodagu (78.17), Shimoga (74.86) are much above the state average of 67.04 percent. Whereas at the lower end of the spectrum, the districts of Raichur (49.54), Gulbarga (50.65), Chamarajnar (51.26), Koppal (55.02), Bijapur (57.46) are much below the state average. It is also revealing that the three

low ranking districts belong to the Hyderabad-Karnataka region of the state. The persistence of dismal performance of education in these backward districts raises some fundamental doubts with regard to the state's commitment to improve standard of education in the backward regions, which have inherited nothing from the colonial rule. Despite continued efforts, these regions have not been able to maintain pace with the changing scenario of education. In this regard, it is necessary to know the state's efforts in providing basic educational facilities such as constructing primary schools and colleges with qualified teachers to improve literacy in backward regions. However, provision of such facilities has been uneven in the state. The following Figure-3.3 presents the uneven spatial spread of educational institutions in the state.

Figure-3.3

Division-Wise Distribution of Educational Institutes in Karnataka 1998-1999

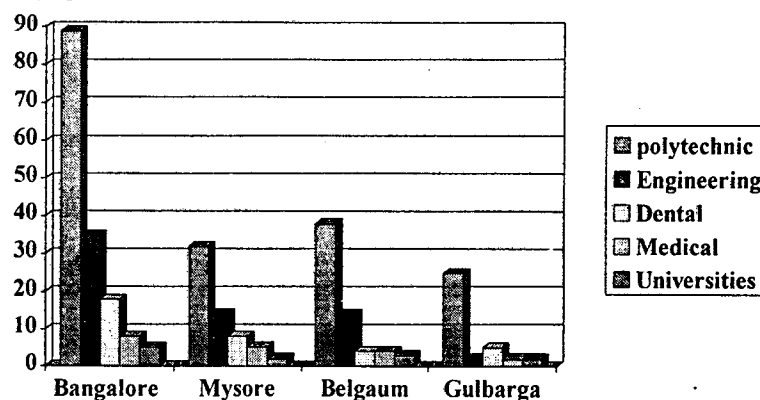


Source: Compiled from Karnataka At A Glance-1999-2000, Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Karnataka, Bangalore, 2000, pp-71.

The above figure shows the total number of primary and high schools in each division of the state. The Bangalore Division has as much as schools and colleges, which accounts for 19,470 primary schools and 3,058 high schools. Whereas the Gulbarga Division has only 7,101 primary schools and as low as 1,190 high schools. Similarly, the total number of Technical and Medical educational institutions in the state including Polytechnic and number of Universities has been unevenly spread. The following Figure -3.4 shows the uneven spread of these institutions in the state.

Figure-3.4

Division wise Institutes of Higher Education in Karnataka 1998-1999



Source: Compiled from Karnataka At A Glance-1999-2000, Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Karnataka, Bangalore, 2000, pp-72-73

As is evident from the above figure , the total number of Polytechnic and Engineering colleges have concentrated in Bangalore Division, particularly in and around Banagalore city. Whereas, the Gulbarga Division which has

not made any strides in industry and agriculture is not bestowed with technical and Medical institutes to train human capital in these regions. Subsequently, the youths in this region have become unable to contribute their energy to the betterment of their families vis-a-vis to the growth of the region as this region lacks suitable infrastructure for the growth of education. This bane of poor infrastructure has become the major reason for the persistence of low literacy and subsequently poor human development.

Besides, the child growth in the state has affected to the greatest extent. **The Children Census-2002**, which was conducted by the Department of Education, Government of Karnataka has revealed the fact that there are 6.66 lakh "out of school children" between the age group of 6 and 14 years in the state. In other words, 7.38 percent of the total 90.22 lakh children in this age group are out of the school in the state. It was also revealed that more than 50.54 percent of these "out of school children" are from the seven North-Eastern districts of Bidar, Bellary, Bagalkot, Bijapur, Gulbarga, Koppal and Raichur. Nearly, 49.24 percent of the children have not been availing the pre-primary education in Yadgir taluk of Gulbarga district.²⁰

The above analysis, shows that the Northern districts, particularly the districts of Hyderabad-Karnataka region register low performance in education attainments. The low literacy rate, poor infrastructure, differential rate of literacy among women, increasing rate of school drop-outs in Northern districts continue to be a matter of concern in the state.

3.2.2 Health Care Facilities

Adequate health facilities variably promotes health of people particularly in backward regions. In fact, provisions of healthcare facilities forms an important component of any growth strategy. Besides, it is both a

²⁰ The Children Census -2002, Deccan Herald, Bangalore, April 17, 2002.

cause and consequence of development. The available data on Karnataka reveals that healthcare facilities in Karnataka have been spread unevenly . In our efforts to trace the uneven spread of healthcare facilities, we have taken the principal and classical health indicators such as Life Expectancy at Birth (LEB), Infant Mortality Rate (IMR), Crude Birth Rate (CBR), and Crude Death Rate (CDR). The following table -3.6 shows the district wise disparities in these indicators of health.

Table-3.6

District Health Indicators in Karnataka

Districts	Life Expectancy at Birth	Infant Mortality Rate (IMR)	Crude Birth Rate (CBR)	Crude Death Rate (CDR)
1. Bangalore	65.78	50	26.2	7.6
2. Bangalore®	66.69	50	----	----
3. Chitradurga	61.92	51	27.4	8.6
4. Kolar	62.87	56	28.0	8.6
5. Shimoga	62.09	69	25.9	7.0
6. Tumkur	60.64	64	27.4	8.2
7. Belgaum	65.08	50	27.3	8.0
8. Bijapur	62.76	75	30.1	10.4
9. Dharwad	62.78	74	29.3	10.3
10. U.Kannada	66.96	40	26.4	8.5
11. Bellary	60.32	79	30.0	9.7
12. Bidar	63.74	66	29.9	10.5
13. Gulbarga	63.98	59	30.1	10.7
14. Raichur	65.55	59	30.0	9.5
15. Chikmagalur	64.62	55	25.2	8.4
16. Hassan	65.40	61	30.0	8.2
17. Mysore	63.25	57	26.6	8.8
18. Kodagu	68.04	41	25.8	7.9
19. Mandya	63.97	67	27.9	9.1
20. D.Kannada	68.82	29	25.2	7.0
STATE	62.07	74	26.4	8.5

Source: Human Development in Karnataka -1999, Department of Planning, Government of Karnataka, Bangalore, 1999, pp-26-29.

Note: Break-ups are not available for the new seven Districts.

As evident from the above table, there have been marked disparities between various districts in the state. In 1991, Life Expectancy at Birth in Karnataka was 62.07 years. The district of Dakshina Kannada, registered the highest life expectancy of 68.82 years and Bellary , the district in Hyderabad -Karnataka region registered the lowest of 60.32 years a

difference of 8.5 years. In terms of Infant Mortality Rate (IMR), there are wide variations from district to district. In 1991, the IMR for the state was 74 down by 7 points compared to the figures of 1981. At district level, it ranged from 29 in Dakshina Kannada to 79 in Bellary. Similarly, the decline in Crude Death Rate (CDR) has been slow over the past three decades in the state. The district wise estimates varied from 7 in Dakshina Kannada and Shimoga to 10.7 in Gulbarga. Further, the Crude Birth Rate (CBR) also varies from district to district. It varies between 27 and 30 in all the districts belonging to Hyderabad-Karnataka region.

The above analysis reveals the fact that the district of Dakshina Kannada has been the most improved region in the state in terms of health indicators. While the districts of Hyderabad- Karnataka along with Bijapur district tends to be the most backward districts in the state in terms of demographic, social and health indicators.

However, the poor performance of Hyderabad-Karnataka region and parts of Bombay-Karnataka region in terms of health indicators is attributed to the poor health infrastructure in these regions. Despite state's efforts to open more hospitals and medical institutes in the region, the number of such institutes are comparatively less. The following table -3.7 shows the division-wise variations in health care facilities

Table-3.7**Provision of Health Care Facilities in Karnataka
1999-2000**

Division	Number of Government Hospitals	Primary Health Centres (PHCs)	Family Welfare Centres	Blood Baks
Bangalore Division	45 (25.42)	466 (27.65)	142 (30.93)	51 (56.04)
Mysore Division	46 (25.98)	511 (30.32)	114 (24.83)	19 (20.87)
Belgaum Division	49 (27.68)	417 (24.74)	121 (26.36)	12 (13.18)
Gulbarga Division	37 (20.98)	291 (17.86)	82 (17.86)	9 (9.89)
STATE	177	1685	459	91

Source: Karnataka At A Glance 1999-2000, Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Karnataka, Bangalore-2000, pp-75-79.

Note-Figures in Bracket indicates the percentage to State total.

The above table shows the division -wise distribution of healthcare facilities. It was learnt that the population per bed in government medical institutions in Karnataka was 1166 in 1996-97. But the ratio varied from 395 in Kodagu to 2330 in Raichur district. As evident from the above table, the provision of healthcare facilities has not improved even in 1999-2000. The percentage of Primary Health Centers (PHC,s) in Mysore and Bangalore Divisions was 30.32 percent and 27.65 percent respectively. Whereas it was only 17.27 percent in Gulbarga Division. In terms of Blood Banks, the Bangalore Division accounted for 56.04 percent while it was as low as 9.89 percent in Gulbarga Division. It clearly shows the fact that public health facilities are unevenly distributed in the state. Consequently, the districts of Hyderabad-Karnataka and parts of Bombay- Karnataka remained backward in terms of health indicators.

Furthermore, there is a trend which shows urban-rural divide, with most of the well equipped hospitals are located in a few urban agglomerations of the state. Consequently, it provides limited access to rural poor. It also provides restricted access to different social groups. It can be

seen in rising morbidity and mortality rates among the marginalised such as the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribe populations in the state.²¹

3.2.3 Availability of Basic Amenities

Despite the awareness of the need for proper sanitation and toilet facilities, availability of basic amenities such as safe drinking water, households with electricity and toilet facilities has been uneven in the state. The following table -3.8 shows the dismal performance of various districts in the state in terms of basic amenities.

Table-3.8

Percentage of Households having Access to Safe Drinking Water, Electricity and Toilets in Karnataka

(1991-1998)

Districts	Households with access to safe drinking water	Households Electrified (1998)	Households with Toilet Facility	Households with none of the three facilities
1. Bangalore	82.0	79.4	72.9	2.88
2. Bangalore@	86.5	96.3	16.8	5.73
3. Chitradurga	88.1	72.63	17.0	5.34
4. Kolar	89.8	80.92	19.8	3.99
5. Shimoga	66.3	78.92	25.5	18.35
6. Tumkur	80.8	77.53	14.0	9.29
7. Belgaum	64.2	68.72	14.4	17.92
8. Bijapur	73.3	51.53	7.0	17.18
9. Dharwad	81.5	75.39	21.6	8.80
10. U.Kannada	30.2	79.41	22.8	33.55
11. Bellary	84.2	57.51	12.9	10.07
12. Bidar	60.5	60.48	10.3	23.25
13. Gulbarga	63.0	54.53	12.2	26.47
14. Raichur	65.4	54.26	7.3	25.11
15. Chikmagalur	69.5	74.38	23.2	18.85
16. Hassan	79.5	78.26	16.1	10.30
17. Mysore	82.7	67.09	24.9	9.24
18. Kodagu	44.8	56.5	32.1	35.67
19. Mandya	71.1	85.94	14.3	12.38
20. D.Kannada	20.0	68.95	34.1	45.53
STATE	71.7	73.69	24.1	15.03

Source: Compiled from the Human Development in Karnataka-1999, Department of Planning, Government of Karnataka, Bangalore, pp, 155-167.

²¹ Human Development in Karnataka-1999, Department of Planning, Government of Karnataka, Bangalore, 1999, p-31.

As evident from the above table, Only 24.1 percent of the house holds in the state has access to basic amenities such as toilets. The situation in rural areas of the state continues to be the cause of concern for the state as majority of the rural population still uses open spaces for defecation. This has been the major cause for the prevalence of disease related to worm infections as well as of Diarrhoea, Typhoid, Polio and Cholera. In this regard, particularly the districts of Bijapur, Bidar, Raichur are very poorly equipped with least access to toilets. Only 7 percent of the population has access to toilets in Bijapur

Similar is the case with the provision of drinking water facility in the state. The districts of Bangalore (86.5),Kolar (89.8),Chitradurga (88.1),Hassan (79.5) are above the state average of 71.7 percent. While the districts of Kodagu (44.8 percent, despite the river Cauvery originating in this district),Bidar (60.5),Gulbarga (63.0), Belgaum (64.2), Raichur (65.5) are below the state average. In terms of electrification of households, Bangalore district , with its predominant urban population top the list of households with electrification. As many as 79.4 percent of the households have electric connection. The districts of Belgaum, Kolar, Bangalore Rural, Chitradurga, Shimoga and Uttar Kannada are above the state average. Whereas, the districts of Raichur, Gulbarga, Bidar and Kodagu has less than 40 percent of households with electricity connection. Although state has formulated various programmes such as Bhagya Jyothi and Kutir Jyothi for rural Electrification and housing programmes with toilet and other basic amenities , the state has failed to identify the real beneficiaries.

3.2.4 Gender Disparities

The successive Human Development Reports have made a significant contributions by extensively focussing on gender-related aspects. Such studies have basically concentrated on issues like illiteracy, poor

health facilities, low sex-ratios, high mortality rates, mean age at marriages and others. It is interesting to note that the HDI is higher than Gender Development Index (GDI) in all the districts of the state. It reveals that the levels of socio-economic development of women are worse than the general level all over the state. However, there have been marked intra-district disparities in the state in terms of gender development.

Female literacy is considered as an important component of development policy. The available data shows that female literacy is varied in the state. The state average for female literacy is 57.45 percent in 2001. But there are great variations between districts. The districts of Bangalore (78.98), Dakshina Kannada (77.39), Udupi (74.02), Kodagu (72.53), show female literacy rate above the state average. Whereas, it is comparatively low in districts of Raichur (36.84), Gulbarga (38.84), Koppal (40.76) and Chamarajnagar (43.02).²²

Similarly, most of the districts have unfavourable sex ratios in the state. The districts of Udupi (1127), Dakshina Kannada (1123) and Hassan (1025) have favourable sex ratio. But the districts of Haveri (942), Dharwad (948), Bidar (948) have unfavorable sex ratio which are less than state average of 964. In terms of mortality rate, the state average is around 26 percent. The high mortality rate are again the outcome of early marriages and child births. The mean age at marriage for girls has been low in the districts of northern regions of the state, particularly Bidar, Gulbarga, Raichur, and Belgaum. Such early marriages will have detrimental Physical and Psychological impact on the development of adolescent girls and limit their social and economic choices.²³

²² Census of India-2001, Provisional population totals, Directorate of Census operations Government of Karnataka, Bangalore, 2001.

²³ Human Development in Karnataka-1999, Op.Cit, p-109.

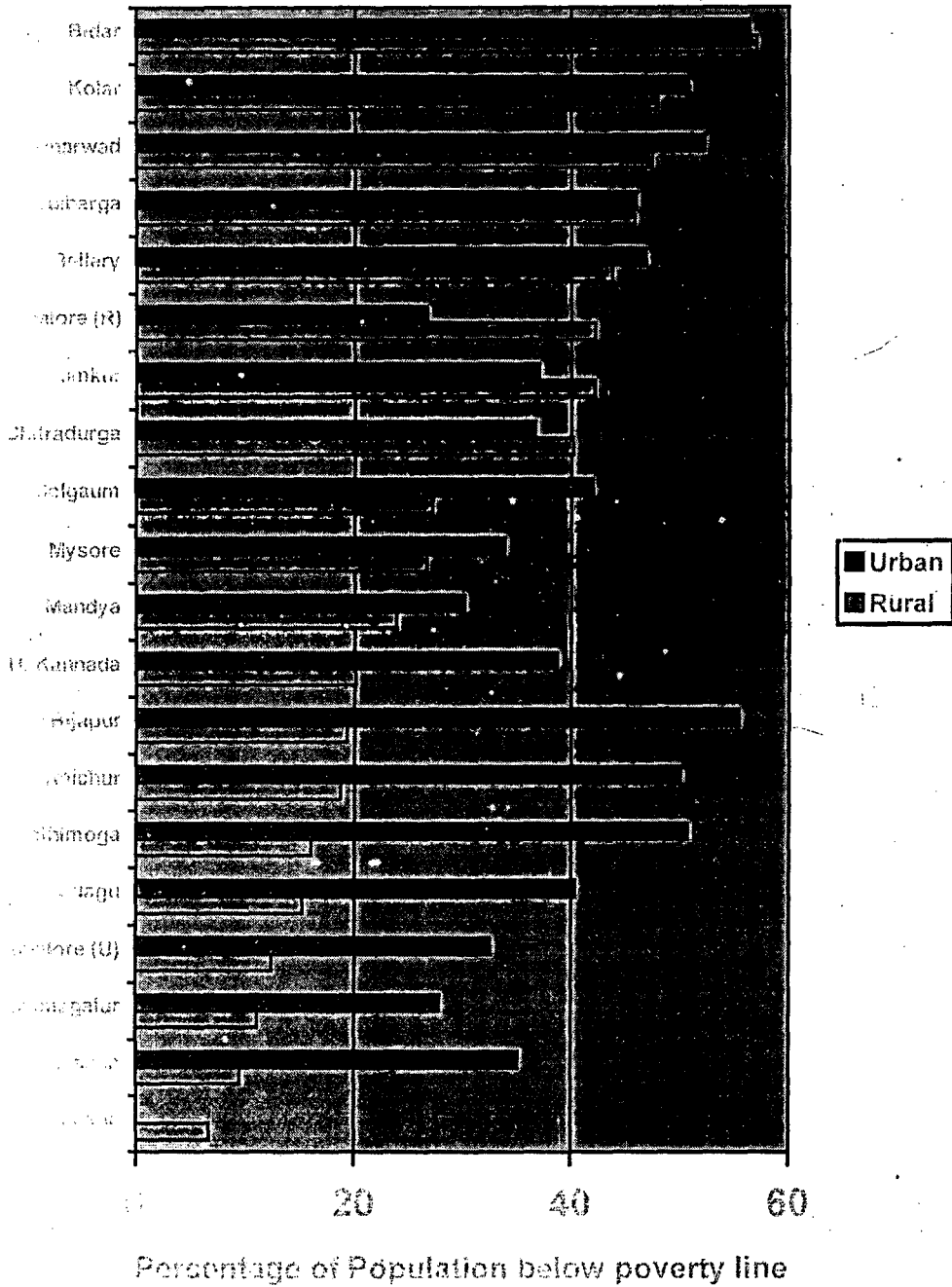
Furthermore, the utilisation of healthcare services by women has been very poor in the state. This issue could be closely linked to low status of women, the lack of public health education and the glaring Physical inadequacy of hospital services. Still the four districts of Hyderabad-Karnataka region and parts of Bombay -Karnataka region have very high fertility rates. The participation of men in birth control measures is almost non-existent in these regions.

3.2.5 Incidence of Poverty

Given the agricultural backwardness, industrial stagnation and poor health facilities in some of the backward regions of the state, it is necessary to look at the incidence of poverty in the districts of the state. Generally poverty has been defined in terms of physical deprivation or inadequacy of goods and facilities for meeting basic needs as well as in terms of monetary deprivation or inadequate purchasing power. The following Figure -3.5 shows the population below poverty (BPL) in districts of the state.

Figure-3.5

Percentage of Population below poverty line



Source; Directorate of Economics and Statistics , Government of Karnataka, Bangalore,1994.

Note; State Average-Rural-29.88

Urban-33.16.

The above figure shows the incidence of poverty in both rural and urban regions of the state. As evident from the Figure, the eight districts of Bangalore, Bellary, Bidar, Chitrdurga, Dharwad, Gulbarga, Kolar has overall poverty ratios above the state average. The highest poverty ratio has been recorded in Bidar district (57.00 percent) and the lowest in Dakshina Kannada district (6.68 percent). As for as Urban poverty is concerned, the poverty ratio is again highest in Bidar district (56.35 percent) and lowest in Dakshina Kannada (15.71 percent).

To conclude, the above analysis what we have shown so far is a multi-dimensional picture, which shoes the uneven spatial development and subsequent backwardness in almost all leading indicators of development in the state. In spite of considerable progress, northern districts, particularly the Hyderabad-Karnataka region has remained backward. It continues to be the most conspicuous phenomenon of Karnataka's development strategy. A very striking feature of uneven development going by the available data on both conventional and human development indicators in the state reveals the exacerbated socio-economic inequalities in the state, where majority of the people in backward regions does not have access to what Amartya Sen has called "Basic Entitlements". Although the colonial antecedents has definitely set the initial conditions of an entrenched backwardness in some of the northern districts of the state, the experience of more than four and half decades of state planning falls short of the expected performance. Consequently, some of the backward regions have not made any significant progress and continues to remain at the lower order in terms of development based rankings.

This process of uneven development in the state of Karnataka proves beyond doubt that an accelerated economic growth in the 1990's has not

actually translated into human development in the state. This is a reiteration of the argument that a higher growth rate of economy does not necessarily mean more rapid improvements in human development. In this regard, it was shown with adequate data that the regions of northern districts are inadequately developed. Besides, these issues of uneven development followed by acute backwardness has become the base for the emergence of separatist tendencies in parts of the state. In this context, certain symbols of grievances which are genuine and need based have become instrumental in the hands of agitators, who have been demanding separate statehood for North-Karnataka and Coorg. The next chapter will analyse the crisis of uneven development involving the symbols of grievances and the positive response of the state government of Karnataka .

CHAPTER IV

CRISIS OF UNEVEN DEVELOPMENT IN KARNATAKA

At present every state in India faces the problem of unevenness in development. But unevenness varies in degree and nature. This is one issue which has been apparently posing a great challenge to the planning process of the country. The relatively high rate of unevenness in development in major sectors of the economy and prevalence of human development facilities has recently become the major cause of popular movement in Karnataka. A near total stagnation in Agriculture and Industry followed by low standards in education, health, poor provision of basic amenities, low per capita income, amounting debt and subsequent high rate of suicides of farmers, particularly in northern districts of the state -all show an acute crisis facing Karnataka at large. This crisis has seriously jeopardized the long term sustainability of Human Capital in backward regions of the state of Karnataka.

The analysis of uneven development by development economists and scholars have put forward a number of reasons for the persistence of uneven development in Karnataka. According to the position taken by some scholars the prevalence of backwardness in northern districts is the outcome of state's failure to boost infrastructure to attract the flow of capital and investment to set up industrial bases.(Aziz. 2001) While others have put forth the view that the problem of uneven development is the result of the problems emanating from the linguistic re-organisation where socio-economically heterogeneous regions were put together to form a single state based on linguistic homogeneity.

Another set of scholars and general public have established a direct co-relation between the ruling elite and the persistent uneven development

in the state of Karnataka. To a considerable extent, it seems true that the failure of political leadership of the backward regions and successive state governments in the state to understand the problem and to take remedial measures in time to contain the growing unevenness. Interviews with academicians, bureaucrats and general public revealed that the ruling elite have marshaled all their efforts to accrue benefits of the state policies designed to improve major sectors of the economy and human development. It seems to be true that the integrated areas of the state have thrown up potential leadership who held the reins of the power for considerable period.¹

However the bane of uneven development and dissatisfaction caused by the socio-economic deprivation, particularly in northern districts of the state has induced second thoughts on the very merits and validity of their long struggle for an enlarged state of Karnataka in 1956. The relative socio-economic backwardness in their region forced them to think that their betterment is not possible if their regions continue to remain parts of the large state. These tendencies in northern parts of the state have recently gained momentum. Paradoxically such voices of separatism are being heard in a region which had actually championed the cause of unification of all Kannada speaking regions in 1956.

At this backdrop, the present chapter is an effort to study the crisis of uneven development which is manifested in recent movements for separate statehood in different parts of the state. But these nascent movements are better understood as a ventilation of grievances and a feeling of deprivation and alienation. In this regard, certain symbols of grievances have hold these movements together and allowed for public mobilization in parts of the state. With a view to understand the nature of the crisis and subsequent responses

¹ Mr.S,Nijalingappa, Mr.B.D.Jatti, Mr. Veeredra Patil, Mr.Ramkrishna Hegde and Mr.S.R.Bomma are the Chief Ministers who represented North-Karnataka. But the major argument has been that they have not made any significant contributions to the development of the region.

of the state government, the present chapter is divided into three sections. Section one concentrates on the symbols of grievances which have become instrumental in the hands of agitators. Section two looks at the demand for separatist movements in northern parts of the state and Coorg which are actually the movements for decentralisation of administrative and political powers. Section three analyses the responses of the state government to the separatist tendencies in the state.

I

4.1 Symbols of Grievances

In separatist movement, certain symbols of grievances dominate the movement irrespective of whether they are genuine or need based. But actually symbols of grievances hold the movement together and allow for public mobilization around specific issues. In fact, these symbols of grievances are often, exploited by regional elite, who takes the benefit of peoples feelings and manipulate both the extent of the problem as well as construct issues and mobilize public support. In a similar manner, the leaders of 'Uttar Karnataka' and 'Kodagu' movement have mobilized peoples support around certain symbols such as delay in establishing a bench of High Court in Hubli-Dharwad region, South-Western Railway Zone's headquarter, completion of Upper Krishna Project (UKP), delay in sanctioning irrigation projects, closure of Hubli Air-Port, Industrial sickness in Northern Regions of the state, Gauge conversion of Bijapur-Gadag railway line, establishing the regional offices of the Cotton Corporation of India (CCI) and Food Corporation of India (FCI) and others. These symbols of grievances have piled on the agonies of the people of North Karnataka and created disillusionment and resentment in the minds of public. In fact, these symbols have been the long standing grievances of the people of North Karnataka around which movements for separate statehood erupt from time to time.

However, for the convenience of the study, we have identified three major symbols of grievances which have gained public support in the state of Karnataka.

4.1.1. High-Court Bench

As demand for separate statehood has gained momentum around certain symbols of grievances in Karnataka, the case of establishing a bench of Karnataka High- Court presents a testimony to the emergence of mass mobilization. It is noteworthy that the demand for separate statehood has been preceded by the Lawyer's agitation for establishment of a separate Bench of the Karnataka High-Court in Hubli- Dharwad region. The continued struggle of lawyers and subsequent failure of the state to fulfill their demand ,provided an opportunity to the issue of the separate statehood more forcefully. However, the issue of High-Court Bench in Karnataka has, often, been raised in the last three decades with regular intervals. The plea of a permanent bench at Hubli-Dharwad region and Gulbarga is being raised mainly on the ground of inconvenience and high expense caused to the litigant public because of the long distance from these regions to Bangalore, where the High-Court is located. In fact, under section 51[2] of the States re-organisation Act.1956,the President ,after consultation with the Governor and Chief Justice of the concerned High court, can provide for establishment of one or more benches within a state.²Accordingly, in many states like Maharashtra [Nagapur and Aurangabad], Tamilnadu [Madurai], Madhya Pradesh [Indore and Gwalior],West Bengal [Jalpaiguri], Uttar Pradesh [Allahabad and Lucknow] etc, have more than one High-Court Benches within states. On similar lines the people of North Karnataka have been demanding a permanent Bench for their region.

² Basavaprabhu Hosakeri, "History of the demand for High-Court Bench for North Karnataka", Published by the Forum of High-Court Bench Agitation,Dharwad,1999,p-5

However, the establishment of High Court Bench in Northern region of the state has certain advantages. It would certainly help the poor litigant public of the region as there have been good number of people making trips to Bangalore to seek justice. It is noteworthy that large number of cases are pending in Karnataka High Court. Since "Justice at the door of the litigants" has become the pronounced policy of the State, the establishment of High Court Bench would certainly help the poor to seek legal remedy at cheaper cost and reduce the time associated with the legal procedure. Besides, it would give some official status to the long neglected region. However, it is interesting to know why such demand has not been fulfilled. It is certainly due to two major reasons. One, the rejection of the demand by the successive committees appointed to look into the feasibility of establishing a bench away from the principal seat on the bases of the Jaswant Singh Commission guidelines. It was only the Honourable Justice Mr.D.M.Chandrashekhar, the then Chief Justice of the Karnataka High Court favoured to set up High Court Bench in Northern region in 1979. But it remained a wishful dream.

It was again in 1999 the then Chief Justice, Mr.Bhaskar Rao, constituted a Five-Member Committee to study the demand only after the agitation gained momentum in Dharwad. The committee after through examination of the demand and meeting with the Bar Association of Dharwad, Gulbarga and other district Bar Associations came to the conclusion that the demand is neither feasible nor desirable. It cited the reasons that the demand does not fulfill the guidelines laid down by Jaswant Singh Commission.³The second important reason for the long delay in establishing the bench in Northern region was the conflicting claims made over the location of the proposed bench within Northern regions of the state.

³ Madan Mohan, "Hopes of High Court Bench end in North-Karnataka, Deccan Herald, Bangalore, June 15, 2000.

The conflicting claims were made on behalf of Hubli-Dharwad, Bijapur, Bidar, Belgaum, Bellary, Gulbarga and Raichur. Eventually, the Bar Association of Gulbarga made it clear that it would prefer to go to Bangalore rather than to Belgaum or Hubli-Dharwad.⁴ Similarly, the Bar Association of Raichur also opposed the proposed High Court bench in Hubli-Dharwad as they declared that it would not serve the interests of the people of Hyderabad-Karnataka region. The association also demanded that the bench should be established in Raichur or any other place in Hyderabad-Karnataka region such as Gulbarga.⁵ These conflicting claims and lack of consensus among the people of North Karnataka seriously destroyed the premises on which a permanent bench was sought in North Karnataka.

In all, the delay in establishing the High Court bench in Northern Karnataka gave rise to certain serious questions in the public mind in terms of state's failure to complete some legal formalities and to decide the location in conjunction with the needs of the people in the region. In this regard, what has been coming in the way of completing certain procedural and legal formalities is getting the concurrence of the High Court. However, due to unknown reasons, the state has been softpadding the question of interacting with the Chief Justice of the High Court to convince him about the need for establishing the Bench in Northern Karnataka. However, the state's irresponsiveness to this demand could be seen in its refusal to exercise its powers vested with it. Under Section 17 of the Karnataka High Court Act 1884, the state Government in consultation with the Governor can notify Circuit Benches outside the principal seat.⁶ This would certainly pave the way for establishment of Permanent Bench and reduce the grievances of the people to large extent.

⁴ The Hindu, Bangalore, June 23, 2000.

⁵ The Hindu, Bangalore, June 28, 2000.

⁶ Deccan Herald, Bangalore, June 17, 2000.

4.1.2 South Western Railway Zone:

The issue of locating the headquarter of the newly carved out Southwest Railway Zone has become yet another symbol of grievance in the region. The genesis of railway zonal headquarter, infact reveals the fact that it rightly belongs to the northern region of the state. According to the Indian Government decision on February 28th, 1999, it was decided to set up the zonal headquarter in Hubli, when seven new railway zones were created in India. In fact, way back in 1966, the Hubli region which was reckoning for the status of zonal headquarter of the South Central zone was lost to Secundarabad.

However, despite Hubli possessing all the required infrastructure for setting up a railway headquarter, the issue has been politicised for parochial interest. It was clear from the fact that Mr. H. D. Deve Gowda, the then Janata Dal state unit president organized an agitation in Hubli demanding the headquarter of the proposed zone to be located in Hubli prior to the 1994 Assembly elections. When he became the chief Minister of the state, he endorsed the same in a letter to the Indian Government for approval. Later, when he became the Prime Minister in June, 1996, he sanctioned the headquarter to Bangalore and inaugurated the office there on November 1996, ignoring both the plea from the people of North Karnataka and the promise he made in this regard.⁷ It is noteworthy that he didn't offer any explanations as to why he changed his stand and preferred Bangalore to Hubli.

However, the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) which was in opposition, made this an election issue and subsequently, made plans to redeem the promise. The state unit of the BJP sought the help of the Union Government which was headed by A. B. Vajpayee. The BJP government at the center, on

⁷ The Hindue, Bangalore, June 22, 2000.

the request of the BJP state unit, decided to shift the headquarter from Bangalore to Hubli. Accordingly, the Railway Ministry ordered the shifting of the headquarter which was to be formally inaugurated by the Prime Minister A B Vajpayee during his visit to Hubli in May 1999.

In the meantime, a Public Interest Litigation (PIL) was filed by Mr. Narayanaswamy, the ex-MP from Bangalore North constituency, who had promised for the retention of the High Court in Bangalore during his election campaign of 1996 Parliamentary elections. On the basis of the PIL, the Karnataka High Court squashed the Indian Government's decision to shift the headquarter from Bangalore to Hubli.⁸ However, this decision was considered as yet another blow to the aspirations of the people of North Karnataka. The long-standing demand of Southwest Railway Zone was rejected first by political leadership and then by the judiciary. In this regard, the state government did not file an appeal in the Supreme Court challenging the decision of the Karnataka High Court. Furthermore, the state government failed to take any adequate steps to establish an additional zonal headquarter in Hubli which would have silenced the scale of grievances in the regions.

These two issues of the High Court Bench and the South West Railway Zone involves central decision making on the one hand, and state's commitment on the other. Lack of commitment on the part of the state government has led to unhealthy competition between aspiring regions probably on parochial political interest. As far as the High Court Bench is concerned, despite its proven necessity, the state has failed to materialize the long-standing demand. In both cases, the justifiability of the viable proposition has never been appreciated by the state. In fact, any move in this connection was politically motivated and had been effectively thwarted

⁸ The Indian Express, Bangalore, June 21,2000.

due to various reasons. This once again proves that the subversive attitude of the state government and the inaptitude of the political decision makers. In such situations, socio-economically weaker regions usually emerge as the real losers, no matter how genuine and need-based their demands are.

4.1.3 Upper Krishna Project:

The long delay in completing the Upper Krishna Project (UKP) has raised umpteen doubts among the people of North Karnataka about the role of the state in providing irrigational facilities to the region. Its sluggish pace of execution served as a standing testimony in the absence of political will among all those who had wielded power during the last four and half decades in the state. The timely completion of UKP which would make North Karnataka the Punjab of Karnataka has been simmering since forty five years. In fact, the foundation stone to the UKP was laid in 1963 with an aim to improve irrigational facilities in the regions and to reduce disparities between the north and south region in terms of irrigational potential. But it has been languishing under successive government notwithstanding the fact that a few of the Chief Ministers during this period hailed from northern parts of the state.

River Krishna, the lifeline of North Karnataka, takes birth at Mahabaleshwar in Maharashtra and flows through Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh. Out of the total 2570 km basin area, Karnataka has the largest catchment area. In fact, out of the total area of 1,90,641 sq.km, 60 percent area comes under the Krishna basin. But, even one fourth of this catchment area has not been brought under irrigation.⁹ More than 52 projects have been on the backburner under the UKP project, which includes, Hirehalla, Tunga, Mahadayee, Navilutheertha, etc. This reveals the fact that the

⁹ H.K.Patil, "Beautiful land of Karnataka: An unfulfilled dream", Vishal Karnatak Publications, Hubli, 1996, p-46.

Malaprabha and the Ghataprabha projects have been delayed since fifty years. Such long delays have become financial burdens on the state exchequer as the total estimated cost of these projects shot up from Rs. 170 crores in 1950 to Rs. 1,760 crores in 2001.¹⁰ It is noteworthy that these two projects put together irrigate about 5.5 Lakh hectares of area in northern districts of Belgaum, Bijapur and Dharwad.

However, it is important to note as to why these projects, which would irrigate larger areas of North Karnataka have been languishing over the years. The major argument in the discourse which needs to be underscored is the absence of political will and commitment. Besides, there have been arguments of deliberate delay and discriminatory attitude of the state government. These arguments are based on the fact that the state government completed the Cauvery basin in the southern part of the state under non-planned expenditure which has as low as 20 percent of the area under irrigation. It appears to be true that similar enthusiasm lacked not only in finding resource for the UKP but also solving inter-state disputes on sharing of Krishna water.¹¹ However, a renewed interest has been emerging in this project wherein the Supreme Court, acting on an original suit filed by Andhra Pradesh Government and Karnataka's Government's plea to allow it to raise the height of Almatti dam to 524m, partially granted Karnataka's plea and allowed it to raise the height to 519.6m.¹² However, the lack of infrastructure such as canals, distributories, feeders, field channels and laterals to utilize water for irrigation continues to be the major bottleneck. This has led to considerable disappointment among the people of North Karnataka who have not been able to utilize the available water resources.

¹⁰ The Hindu, New-Delhi, July 27, 2001.

¹¹ The Hindu, New-Delhi, June 22, 2000.

¹² B.S.Arun, "A battle in the offing", Deccan Herald, Bangalore, January 7, 2001.

This is certainly a reflection of the state government's non-commitment to provide irrigational facilities for the common good.

These symbols of grievances which are genuine and need-based, have become instrumental in the hands of agitators to press their demand for separate statehood for northern region. Although these symbols of grievances are need based, the political dynamics of the movement have not really brought any considerable change in the region. In this regard, it is necessary to examine the nature and content of the movement in the region.

II

4.2 Demand for Decentralization

More often, the discontent and agitations on the basis of the perceived or genuine neglect by the state has transformed into movements, either for separate statehood or for more autonomy or decentralization. Such movements have always been led by local leaders. Even in Karnataka, the members of Dharwad Bar Association have initiated the movement which has particularly gained momentum when state government failed to establish a High Court Bench in the region.

However, the nascent separatist movement in the northern parts of the state has been quite different to other movements in India. The separatist movement in North Karnataka, based on the persistent uneven development and state's failure to address the grievances, could be termed as a bargaining force rather than a separatist movement. The movement clearly lacks the backing of public at large. Although political communities like the Lingayats and Vokkaligas may be stroking the fires of separatism, the general public and academic community have remained non-committed to the cause of division of the state. In fact, they have been more sympathetic to the neglect of North Karnataka. Though voices of separatism

were raised, they have been the weapons to make the state open its eyes to the problems of the region. However, majority of the public opinion in Karnataka emphasize on the problems of North Karnataka region by highlighting that it has not received its due, but they were quick to point out that the demand for separate statehood would not solve the problem.¹³ This actually underlines the need for administrative decentralization in the northern districts of the state.

This demand for more decentralization for the respective regions within North Karnataka has taken the shape of agitations. But these agitations are not translated into a mass movement wherein a small forums such as 'Forum for North Karnataka Development' in Hubli, 'Hyderabad-Karnataka Janandolana Kendra' (HKJK) in Gulbarga, have been leading the agitations. However, these agitations have been seasonal, issue-based and place-centric. The Dharwad-centric agitation, which gained momentum particularly after the state's failure to establish a High Court Bench in Dharwad-Hubli region, unfurled a green, white and blue flag of the new "**Uttar Karnataka**" state on June 21, 2000. They also unveiled a map of separate state comprising twelve districts of North Karnataka on the occasion.¹⁴ However, it is noteworthy that such important decisions of the birth of a new state was taken without consulting the representatives of the other districts in the region.

¹³ Dr.Mahadevappa,Vice-Chancellor, University of Agricultural Sciences, Dharwad accepts the fact that North-Karnatak is neglected but opposes the demand for Separate state. He suggested that administrative decentralisation would solve the problem. Mr. Alexander Peter, a small scale industrialist and a social worker in Bijapur noted the disparities within North-Karnataka. Dr.N.S.Patil, an academician supports the demand for separate state as he felt that the state government has turned deaf ear to the pleas of North-Karnataka. etc. See. Deccan Herald,Bangalore,June25,2000 and "Sudha", the Kannada Weekly, Bangalore July 6,2000 for peoples views and espouses to the emerging separatist movement in North-Karnataka.

¹⁴ The Hindu,New-Delhi,June 22,2000.

Similarly, the Gulbarga-centric agitation, which also wants to draw the attention of the state in initiating developmental activities for the region, gained momentum under the leadership of Vajjanath Patil, the Janata Dal-United (JD-U) leader, who quit the Ramakrishna Hegde ministry protesting the neglect of the Hyderabad-Karnataka region. Subsequently, the flag of new Hyderabad-Karnataka was hoisted by the veteran freedom fighter Vidyadhara Guruji on November 1, 2001, the day of Karnataka Rajyotsava. The new red flag was unveiled which has the map of the new state comprising of Gulbarga, Raichur, Bidar, Bellary and Koppal.¹⁵ This, however, shows that the small and geographically dispersed agitations with few linkages with each other have not come together into one large movement.

The two parallel movements demanding separate statehood for the respective regions within North Karnataka clearly reflects the lack of coordination among the people. This however, could not give rise to form a political party of its own to press the demand for the separate state. Infact, these movements did not have a popular and strong leader to lead the movement. It is noteworthy that unlike the movement in North Karnataka, the movements in the other parts of the country have established their own political organizations. Sometimes, they have succeeded in forming separate states such as Jharkand, Uttaranchal and Chattisgarh. Even in the long drawn Telengana movement, The Telengana Praja Samithi (TPS), the Jharkand Mukti Morcha (JMM), the erstwhile Jharkand Movement (JM), Chattisgarh Mukti Morcha (CMM) in the erstwhile Chattisgarh Movement, Maha Sangharsha Samithi in Vidarbha, Kosal Mukti Morcha in Orissa, Assam Gana Parishat (AGP) in Assam, to some extent, were all politically motivated the people and contested elections to press their respective demands.

¹⁵ P.T.Bopana, "Demand for separate Hyderabad-Karnataka State", The Pioneer, Bangalore, November 8,2001.

In contrast, the backwardness of the region has been politicised in the state and no major political parties have supported the movement demanding separate statehood for Northern Karnataka. However, the best example for the politicization of the backwardness was the occasion of the 12th Lok Sabha elections. The Bellary constituency in Hyderabad-Karnataka region was the battleground between the AICC president Smt. Sonia Gandhi and the BJP's Smt. Sushma Swaraj. The latter attributed the acute backwardness of the region to the failure of Congress MPs who had been elected from the region. Incidentally, after the elections, a special package of Rs. 3,900 crores was sanctioned as a gratitude to the voters for electing Smt. Sonia Gandhi particularly to nullify the argument of Smt. Sushma Swaraj.¹⁶ Such measures clearly reflect the extent of politicization when nothing was made available for the neighbouring district of Raichur which has remained the most backward district in the state. In fact, one could see this issue as how sheer politics influences developmental decisions in India.

4.2.1 Separatist Movement in Coorg:

The separatist movement in Coorg (Kodagu) presents a different scenario as compared to the two parallel movements in the northern parts of the state. This demand has been voiced out more vociferously since 1927 despite Kodagu performing comparatively better than any other region in the state in terms of both major sectors of the economy and human development aspects. Although the demand on the face of it sounds ludicrous, it is not easy to deny the fact that it has been an offshoot of the sense of neglect and alienation among the Kodavas. The major feeling that seems to have turned the ground fertile for the growth of fissiparous forces is the fact that developmental activities in the region are not in proportion to the revenue earned from this region. The region has contributed more than 40 percent to

¹⁶ Narayana.A, "The politics behind", Deccan Herald, Bangalore, June 25, 2000. p-3.

the foreign exchange that India earned in 1996-97. In turn, the state government has spent only 10 crores on its development where the region has pumped around Rs. 600 crores income to the state exchequer in the form of Income Tax.¹⁷

Such an aspect of neglect by the state helps to advance an argument like "*prosperity with depravation*" in the discourse of development. It is clear from the fact that despite Kodagu ranking second in the per capita income (Figure 1), securing high literacy rate, being the largest coffee producer in India, continues to suffer from basic infrastructure for human development. There is no single law college, medical, dental, engineering colleges and a university in this region.¹⁸ Besides, the region has been denied the benefit of Cauvery water even though the river Cauvery takes birth at Talacauvery in Kodagu. Apart from these lacuna, the developmental activities undertaken by the state in the region have been entirely in contrast to the traditional values of the people and harmful to the environment and ecology of the region. Such activities include plywood activities, construction of dams, arrack distilleries and red light area resorts and atomic energy plants, resulting in flourishing of slums due to influx of outsiders. Moreover, the state government, instead of decentralizing some government offices to this region, has actually shifted major offices out of this region.¹⁹

In protest against these developmental activities, the Kodagu Rajya Mukti Morcha (KRMM) has been leading the movement for separate statehood since its birth in 1991. Initially, it was known as Liberation Warriors of Kodagu State (LIWAKS). These groups have organized Kodagu Sahitya

¹⁷ Muzaffar Assadi, "Separatist Movement in Coorg", Economic and Political Weekly, December 6, 1997, p-3115.

¹⁸ Ibid, p-3115.

¹⁹ Kodagu Desha ", Madikere, November 21, 1997, p-4. It is interesting to note that Haragi Rehabilitation's divisional office, the Kodige Milk Dairy, Office of the Land Acquisition Department -all have been shifted out of Kodagu region.

Academy to herald the cause of separatist movement in the region. In this regard, the leaders of the movement have launched a 'concept of pushing programme" as a strategy of the movement, which envisages to make the political stalwarts of the region and the state to appreciate the reason and the need for the emergence of the new Kodagu state in the historic "*Madikeri Declaration*" (1996).²⁰

Nevertheless, separatist movement in Kodagu could not be understood merely in terms of the long history of underdevelopment of the region but also as a part of the contradictions promoted by the activities of the state government in the name of development. In other words, it combines the meta-narratives of its unique cultural history and the Lilliputian status symbol as a Part C state which it enjoyed before its merger with the then Mysore state in 1956. Along with these, the region has been exploited, deprived by both the outsiders and the state which has become the base of the movement for a separate state.

III

4.3 Response of the State Government

Unlike in other separatist movements in India, the nascent separatist movements in parts of Karnataka have drawn the attentions of the state. Although the successive state governments have failed to contain the growing uneven developments, the state's efforts in the late 90s have underscored the need for developing infrastructure for both economic growth and human development. The successful experimentation of democratic decentralization through Panchayat Raj Institutions (PRIs) have addressed the problems at the grass-root level. The political stability under one-party rule at the state and the able political leadership with vision and holistic

²⁰ "Kodagu Desha", Madikere, November 21, 1997, p-6.

approaches, particularly in the late 1990s has resulted in significant development in the state. In this regard, it is necessary to know how the state government has responded to the agitations of separate statehood. Consequently, the state government has formulated various policy formulations to reduce regional imbalances within the state. In this regard, it has set up an apex body to evolve strategies and to monitor the progress made by different regions in the state. However, various committees, commissions are being constituted for the task along with undertaking developmental activities in the state. In this regard, the following details provide brief summary of state initiatives:

4.3.1. Constitution of Hyderabad-Karnataka Area Development Board (HKADB)

The Dharam Singh Committee was constituted to recommend measures for tackling the problem of backwardness of Hyderabad-Karnataka region.²¹ The committee, after examining all socio-economic and human development aspects in the region, and after visiting Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, and North East States to know the steps taken by them to deal with regional backwardness, recommended to constitute a separate board to speed up developmental activities in Hyderabad-Karnataka region. Accordingly, the Hyderabad Karnataka Area Development Board Act 1991 was passed. This act provided for establishment of a Development Board for the entire Hyderabad Karnataka region to prepare annual plans and monitor and evaluate the implementation of its plans.²² Accordingly, the Hyderabad Karnataka Area development board was constituted with a view to take up special developmental

²¹ Plan for Backward Area Development, Gulbarga Division. Under Government order No.PD 4,PPB 80 dated, May 3,1980, a committee was constituted under the chairmanship of Dharam Singh.

²² The Hyderabad-Karnataka Area Development Board Act,1991, Government of Karnataka,Bangalore,1991.p-3.

programmes in the regions. The board as it stands today, is chaired by an elected member of the Legislature who hails from the region, a secretary, who is a senior IAS officer of the Special Deputy Commissioner cadre, a Deputy secretary, Controller of Finances and other staff at its organizational level in all add upto 52 members. The headquarter of the board is located in Gulbarga city. The HKADB has been taking up developmental programmes in the five districts of the regions. However, the board has been suffering from inadequate resources and technical staff to plan and implement effectively. In spite of these problems, the board has achieved considerable progress in the last one decade of its functioning.

4.3.2. Preparation of Human Development Report 1999

Another important state initiative as a response to separatist tendencies was the preparation of the Human development Report in 1999. In fact, the preparation of this report for all the districts in the state was necessitated only when the feeling of neglect and deprivation gained momentum in parts of the state. It attempted to identify the sectors in which these regions have remained backward. Besides, to undertake corrective measures vis-a-vis to reduce the feeling of deprivation. The Human Development Report prepared for all districts of the state with the help of experts from within and outside the state has identified the backward regions, particularly in human development aspects. Besides, it has thrown light upon developmental disparities in the social sector such as access to basic amenities like health, education, drinking water, etc. Its findings have become an important source for not only evaluating the existing policies but also to evolve fresh policies for even development. Besides, it will help the researchers to explore various means and ways to correct regional imbalances and improve the standard of living.

4.3.3. Constitution of a High Power Committee for Redressal of Regional Imbalances

Recognizing the growing tendencies of separatism on the basis of uneven development in the state: the present state government constituted a High Power Committee for Redressal of Regional Imbalances in the State under the chairmanship of the former Union minister and noted economist Prof. Y. K. Alag, to recommend measures to correct regional imbalances in the state. However, owing to preoccupations, Prof. Alag could not take up the work. Therefore, the state government again constituted the new committee under the chairmanship of the former deputy chairman of the State Planning Board, Prof. D. M. Nanjundappa. The committee conducted extensive tours of the state and has identified backwardness within the state using 36 indicators.

In its final report, the committee has identified 114 taluks (out of 175) in the state as backward.²³ Although the committee has highlighted that the backwardness is not confined to North Karnataka, it has accepted the fact that backwardness is more acute in North Karnataka. Accordingly, the committee has recommended for a permanent Bench of the Karnataka High Court in Hubli and a Circuit Bench in Gulbarga, and an Indian Institute of Technology in Dharwad, a Central University in Gulbarga, a Veterinary science university in Bidar. The committee has also asked the state government to resort to Article 371 of the Indian Constitution and declare various regions of the state as most backward, more backward, and backward on the lines of neighbouring Maharashtra and Andhara Pradesh.

Apart from these committees and reports, the state government under

²³ The Committee after 14 months of extensive study submitted its report on April 26, 2002. It has Proposed a Plan outlay of Rs.18000 crores in a period of 8 years. Deccan Herald, Bangalore, April 28, 2002.

S. M. Krishna's leadership, who came to power on October 11, 1999 has actually resorted to administrative decentralization in the state. The major areas recognized for administrative decentralization are education, transport, tourism, and human entrepreneurship. Such initiatives in the state have silenced the agitating voices and these models of decentralization and autonomy has become most significant steps. It is worthwhile to give details of such decentralized model that has recently emerged in the state with a special on Northern Karnataka.

4.3.4. Decentralized Education System:

The State of Karnataka has established a separate "North-East Education Development Directorate" for the seven backward districts of North Karnataka. It is a special education package to improve school infrastructure and enrolment rate and to reduce the school drop-outs rate Northern region of the State. Under the jurisdiction of this separate directorate all the five districts of Hyderabad-Karnataka region and two districts of Belgaum Division-Bagalkot and Bijapur have been clubbed for the implementation of this programme which aims to improve literacy rate and reduce school drop-outs rate.²⁴

The establishment of North-East Education Development Directorate for seven Northern districts is expected to improve the much required enrollment rate and reduce the school drop-outs rate as it provides necessary infrastructure in the region. In another gesture as part of the special education package, the State Government has introduced Rs.40 crores *Mid-Day Meal Programme* in government schools in the same seven districts of the integrated areas of the State. The State government has also

²⁴ "A Vision for Karnataka" Two years of Krishna's Rule, The Hindu, New-Delhi, October 18, 2001, p-18-21.

prepared a blue print on removing the disparities in education and improving infrastructure in schools, which includes *Eleven Goals* for the task.²⁵

4.3.5 Decentralised Transport System

The transport system has undergone significant changes during the late 1990s in the state. With the fillip to give to emphasis to improve transport system in the northern districts, the state government has decentralized the Karnataka State Road Transport Corporation (KSRTC) into three corporations. Recently, North East Karnataka Road Transport Corporation (NEKRTC) was established in Gulbarga as its headquarter on August 15, 2002. Earlier, the Bangalore Metropolitan Transport Corporation (BMTTC) was carved out from the Bangalore Transport Service (BTS) on August 15, 1997, and the North West Karnataka Road Transport Corporation (NWRRTC) on November 1, 1997 with its headquarter in Hubli.²⁶ This initiative has been considered as a milestone in the development of transport network in northern districts, particularly Hyderabad Karnataka region. This step would usher in all round development with the advent of new industries, besides other economic activities flowing through the region.

4.3.6. Boost to Irrigation:

Considering the irrigational potential of northern region, the state government has undertaken speedy implementation of irrigational projects pertaining to North Karnataka region. Apart from giving thrust to the Upper Krishna Project, the state government has recently dedicated to the nation

²⁵ *Eleven Goals* of Education Task includes improving access to schools, ensuring cent percent enrolment and 90 percent retention, reducing the drop-out rate to 5 percent, inclusion of school drop -outs in the mainstream schooling in a phased manner, removing injustice to SC and ST children, ensuring gender equality, preventing fake attendance, achieving optimum pupil-teacher ratio, improving infrastructure, providing adequate teaching and learning materials and improving the quality of education through training.

²⁶ "Resurgent Karnataka Reaps a Rich Harvest" Hindustan Times, New-Delhi, October 14,2001,p-1-4.

the Rs. 157 crore *Hirehalla project* at Mudlapur village in Koppal taluk. This project would help to irrigate about 20,000 acres in the drought-prone areas of about 20 villages of Koppal taluk in North Karnataka.²⁷ Besides, the state government has recently initiated adequate measures to tap the irrigational potential in Bidar district which is one of the most drought-prone areas in the state. The long-pending Karanja project has received sufficient funds of Rs. 40 crores from the state in its budget of 2001-02.²⁸ The completion of Karanja project would irrigate 35,614 hectares of land. The state has also sanctioned four barrages across the Manjra river. Besides, the state government has been discussing with the neighbouring Goa state regarding the Mahadayi river project which would provide drinking water to Dharwad, Belgaum districts. In this way, considerable emphasis has been placed on tapping irrigational potential in the region.

4.3.7. Thrust on Tourism:

Similarly, the state government finalised Rs. 104 Crore project for North Karnataka to tap the growing tourist potential in the region. However, it is noteworthy that these steps were taken after a fortnight of the unfurling of the flag of New Uttara Karnataka state in the northern region. However, these projects envisage to set up two tourist complexes at Gadag and Bhuntanalu village in Bijapur. A heritage village at Kudala Sangama in Bagalkot on a 100 acres land has been initiated. Besides, four star hotels were sanctioned to each at Belgaum and Hospet and three star hotels at Badami, Hospet, Gulbarga and Bidar. This proposed hotel project would make North Karnataka an attractive destination to foreign and domestic tourists.²⁹

²⁷ The Hindu , New-Delhi, December 27,2001.

²⁸ K.N.Reddy, "Big benefits for Bidar" ,The Hindu, New-Delhi, October 18,2001,p-18.

²⁹ The Hindu, New-Delhi,July 8, 2000,p-6.

Apart from these initiatives, the state cabinet took decision to form the Hampi Development Authority. It is important to note that the decision was necessitated only when the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) deleted Hampi from the list of world heritage sites. This speaks for the poor infrastructure and basic amenities for the tourists in these sites. The proposed authority is expected to clear off all the encroachments and construction of Janata houses near the major monuments. It is also hoped that the authority would work in terms of providing good transport facilities and basic amenities for tourists.³⁰

4.3.8. Agro Summit 2002:

In order to identify reasons for the stagnation of agricultural production of food crops, the state government convened the first ever high level summit at Dharwad on February 7, 2002, which is popularly known as Agro Summit 2002. The summit called for a new direction to the policy of agriculture and allied activities. The new emerging dynamic scenario of a highly competitive world after liberalization, privatization, and globalization (LPG), of the socio-economic order. The *Dharwad Declaration* which was issued after the Agro Summit 2002, also focussed on new directions of agriculture including research and adoption of new technology. It stressed for setting up *water user societies, Farmers' knowledge and contact centers* in the state. As a follow-up to Agro Summit 2002, the state government constituted Karnataka Agricultural commission to identify measures to bridge the gap between the actual and the possible yields in the ten agro zones of the state.³¹

³⁰ The Hindu , New-Delhi, June 11, 2001, p-6.

³¹ Jeevan Kumar, "Sustainable Agriculture and Food security" in Jeevan Kumar and Susheela Subrahmanya, "Vision Karnataka-2025", A Southern Economist Publications , Bangalore,, 2001, p-92.

4.3.8. 'Mahiti' - A New Paradigm of Development:

The state of Karnataka which has been in the forefront of Information Technology (IT) has of late, extended IT to rural people. It has actually led to the growth of a new paradigm of development in the state. In this regard, the state has worked out a policy to integrate with the requirements of the common man, especially in the rural areas. Accordingly, the **Millenium IT policy** popularly know as **Mahiti** was formulated in early 2000. The policy seeks to utilize IT in the overall growth of state power in empowering women, eradicating poverty, effective reduction of unemployment by providing employment to educated youth in IT industry, use of e-governance as a tool and delivery system, etc. As a first step, the state government has installed computers in 1000 rural schools for training in IT. ³²

Besides, integrating IT with school curriculum, the state government has extended IT facilities to rural masses which is a significant development in the state, particularly the computerization of land records. The newly developed **Bhoomi software** provides for printed land records as and when required and it also has the facility of online updation. Such land records kiosks have been set up in every taluk office from where the land owners can get a copy of land records. This measure has not only helped to get quick services, but also reduced the quantum of corruption and misappropriation of land records.

In addition to these positive and significant development, the state government has been attentive to promote human resource development in a bid to provide adequate skilled labour in Northern Karnataka. The government tool room and training center has established subcenters in parts of the state like Gulbarga, Dandeli, Bellary and projects in Hubli and

³² B.K.Chandrashekhar, "Karnataka's Information Technology Policy" in Arun p. Bali, "Refashioning the New economic Order", Rawat Publications, New-Delhi-2001,p-9.

Harihar are in the pipeline. The center for development of Entrepreneurship has been operating from Dharwad to promote entrepreneurship.

To sum up, the mass mobilization around certain symbols of grievances, particularly in Northern districts of the state presents an altogether a different scenario. In fact, it is proved beyond doubt that the nascent demand for separate statehood in parts of Karnataka is actually the movement for administrative decentralisation and development. The most significant outcome of the movement is its ability to draw the attention of the state government to its genuine and need based grievances. In this regard, it appears that the agitators have actually geared its strength towards asking for more decentralisation and development for their region.

The state government, in response to the emerging separatist tendencies in parts of the state has recently initiated series of developmental activities in backward regions of the state, particularly under S.M.Krishna's leadership. These developmental activities involve administrative decentralisation along with giving thrust to major sectors of the economy and human development aspects. In addition, the state government has extended Information Technology to rural sectors by effectively training the rural youth and hence building their entrepreneurial capacities. It is noteworthy that "The Mahiti", the new development paradigm has brought the common man into the mainstream development process. In his way, the recent initiatives taken up by the Government of Karnataka goes well with the renewed debate of development which recognizes human development as central to the concept of development. In this regard, the state government of Karnataka has recognised the fact that the human development is an indicator of its progress and proves that it is intending to correct the false programmes adopted by the previous state governments. In fact, the state has gone a step further by incorporating it in the discourse on development.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION: NEED FOR AN INTEGRATED APPROACH

The prime concern of this study has been an inquiry into the process and persistence of uneven development in Karnataka with special attention on the problem of chronic backwardness and subsequent low standards of human life in certain regions of the state. Through a detailed study on Karnataka, it has been an attempt to understand the dynamics of uneven development within the framework of Political Economy.

Introducing the study with the renewed debate on development, we have examined various theoretical propositions concerning the broader discourse on development from centre – periphery, dependency to the recent human development approaches. In this regard, dependency theories, which have tried to account for the underdevelopment of the third world countries throw light on many aspects which can be applied to regional studies. It is noteworthy that this body of literature certainly provides useful economic explanations at understanding the issue of uneven development, despite considerable criticisms against these approaches in terms of its inherent logical limitations of applying the same set of arguments at a different scale.

A significantly different perspective in the 1990s has been provided by a group of scholars, whose reassertion of human development provided a fairly bold and sufficiently convincing explanations for understanding regional imbalances in development. This has been a significant departure from the traditional practice of measuring regional imbalances on the basis of Per Capita Income, (PCI) Gross National Product (GNP) growth rates, etc. As pointed out in the study, the Human Development approach basically revolves around development indicators such as attainment of education,

provision of healthcare facilities, reduced infant and mortality death rate development of human capabilities etc. Besides, this approach has helped to focus public and private attention, at the regional, national and global level on the 'human' dimensions of development policy. In this regard, subsequent Human Development reports, have elaborated on the basic definition of human development in terms of enlarging choices and improving capabilities. Besides, they have underlined the need for good governance in institutions of state and civil society.

It is in this overall context the study tried to analyse the problem of uneven development and assigned a more active role for the state towards formation of human capabilities such as improved health, knowledge and skills. This would certainly serve as one of its most explicit objective of reducing regional unevenness in development. This analysis assumes importance precisely due to the fact that the intra-regional disparities have actually widened in Karnataka over the last four and half decades of careful planning period. Despite recognition of this glaring factor in various plan documents, the absence of a clear cut spatial and integrated approach has created an obvious vacuum in the planning process. This can be noted from the analysis in our previous chapters that the policies of the successive state governments in Karnataka have been most often, area-specific and sector-specific. This has actually accentuated the problem Uneven development in Karnataka. Although steps have been taken recently to disperse the location of industries, both public and private, lack of infrastructure has become the major hurdle, which in turn, speaks for the poor provisions of infrastructural facilities within the state. Hence, the study underlines the need for building infrastructure to attract capital investment in backward regions of the state.

In Karnataka, the persistence of development imbalances are part of its historical legacies. It is also evident from the Human Development Report of Karnataka which believes that the roots of the problem lies in the colonial

state structures and styles of governance. In fact, an analysis of current development scenario of Karnataka can not be complete without referring to the historical roots of the development process. Assigning importance to the uneven development in a historical perspective, particularly to explain how the northern regions of the state have been affected in its development, right from the colonial period to the present situations, we have analysed the major aspects of colonial state structure in chapter II of this study. The major aspects of British rule in British provinces, Nizam's autocratic rule in Hyderabad-Karnataka region and benevolent and paternal rule of Maharajas' of Mysore are dealt with in some detail. The study proves beyond doubt that the initial development variations continue to play dominant role in the post-independence performance as the colonial structure shaped different regions differently. As a result, the concentration of growth in terms of large scale industries, speedy urbanisation, improved healthcare, education facilities are centred around few developed districts in the state.

In this context the study concludes that the very hopes of States Re-organisation Commission (SRC) that capital would flow from developed regions to underdeveloped regions does not seem to have occurred in the state of Karnataka.

In chapter -III of the study, we have presented the post-independence economic scenario of the state. It clearly depicts that the economy of Karnataka is predominately agrarian in nature despite its recent strides in industrial and technological advancement. The development process of the post-independence state of Karnataka has continued to present a dismal picture where both the factors and techniques of production have been unevenly spread in the state. Precisely to know this, we have analysed both the conventional and human development indicators in two separate sections. The explanation for these two types of indicators identifies the factor of poor infrastructures made available not only for economic growth

but also for human development in backward regions. In this regard, particularly Hyderabad - Karnataka region continue to perform very poorly in terms of human development.

In studies of regional development an usual economic approach, however, seems to be insufficient to capture the complexities of prostrate development. For a realistic understanding of this process, it is essential to focus on the underlying political factors at work. It is with this in mind that we have presented illustrative case studies of major infrastructural development steps such as establishing the head quarter of the newly proposed South-West Railway Zone, constitution of High-Court Bench in Northern region and timely completion of Upper Krishna Project. The failure of the state government to complete all these demands for the northern region of the state, has become an immediate cause for the outburst of movement for separate "Uttar Karnatak" state. In chapter IV of the study we have presented how these symbols of grievances have become instrumental in the hands of agitators despite its proven genuinity and need of these demands for the northern regions of the state. One major argument that emerges from the above cases that the active state intervention in fulfilling the genuine demands the people of northern region, such as the High Court Bench, Railway zone, Speedy completion of UKP, would not only improve the infrastructure but also provide official satisfaction to the separatist tendencies.

Given the nature of the backwardness and the subsequent emergence of separatism in the state requires one to work towards identifying a suitable approach, which can offer solutions to the problem of Uneven development. Since the problem in Karnataka has historical backdrop, there is a need to view this problem differently from the routine problems of regional development. The approach should also aim at improving human development in backward regions. In this context, the

study argues for the need of an Integrated Development Approach apart from supporting steps such as administrative decentralization to effect speedier development in northern region of the state.

Need for An Integrated Development Approach

Any approach essentially means one thing which can be emulated or used for change for the betterment of all sectors of both economy and human life. Given the crisis of uneven development, as narrated in our study, it is necessary to develop an approach for uniform development by way of utilizing both natural and human resources available at local level. In this regard, the crucial issue before the state government of Karnataka, indeed Indian Planning process is what could be the paradigm of development in the years to come. In this context, obviously the strategy of economic growth with "human face" in the low performing regions becomes relevant. To fulfill this need, the development strategy would need drastic modifications to incorporate the human face. In order to achieve both economic growth and human development, the study identifies the need to strengthen three major areas viz., agricultural modernisation, rural industrialization and enterprenuership building, where large unskilled population lives in rural areas.

This study has pointed out that the industrial scene in Karnataka has been unevenly spread, particularly concentrating in and around developed regions. In spite of state governments efforts through policy measures to disperse industries to backward regions, the actual outcome has not been satisfactory. This speaks for the importance of building infrastructural facilities in backward regions. Considering the fact of lack of infrastructure, the study underlines the need to adopt 'A cluster Approach' wherein certain areas endowed with minimum infrastructural facilities with high potential for development can be grouped together to form a cluster to initiate

development works. This approach, not only reduces the high concentration of industries in and around Bangalore city but also reduces the cost of infrastructure development in the state. This approach is the most suitable approach for northern parts of the state where certain districts have industrial potential but do not have required infrastructure. As some districts already have certain infrastructural facilities, it would develop other regions apart from linking them to the main growth centers. Similarly, the use of modern advancements in Communications and Technology such as Satellite communication facilities and Geographical Information System (GIS) which have been successfully used in many other countries, particularly for data communication and identifying backward regions respectively are very useful in promoting development in backward regions of the state of Karnataka.

Likewise, the strategy for rural industrialisation in the low performing districts should focus on strengthening small scale industries supported by local resources endowment and available human skills. This would help to improve the allocation efficiency of available resources and add value to the products. Simultaneously, steps should be taken to train the rural masses to improve their skills which, in turn, enable them to make use of modern technology. The rural sector, then, would provide the engine for sustained economic growth and thus would provide the low performing districts an opportunity to gradually catch up with the better performing districts in the state of Karnataka.

The strategy for the development of agriculture and its modernization requires an integrated approach to solve the agricultural backwardness in Northern region of the state. As large part of agriculture in Hyderabad - Karnataka region is rainfed and very small portion is under irrigation, it needs a special care to tackle this problem. In this context, there are two possible solutions to the agricultural backwardness. One is to increase the land portion under various sources of irrigation, mainly canal irrigation. The

second is to promote watershed development programmes, which have been conceived as a remedy to combat drought situation through water conservation methods.

In our study, we have identified that the regions of Hyderabad-Karnataka have low landholdings due to partial success of land reforms in Karnataka. This has, obviously created a problem to mechanise agriculture as it requires huge landholdings with assured irrigation. To overcome the problem of marginal landholdings which has become an obstacle to the process of agricultural modernization, it is essential to encourage '*cooperative forming*' in agriculturally backward regions. Besides, there is a need to bring about diversification of cropping pattern in the region. Alongwith growing crops such as Tur, Groundnut, cotton etc. horticulture, sericulture, floriculture based crops like fruits, vegetables are to be encouraged. In this regard, farmers should be provided with adequate information, suitable training and financial assistance to introduce new crops in the region. Apart from these measures, co-operative societies should be provided with required state support which can play a significant role in sorting out farmers problems such as institutional credit, storage facilities etc. A better storage facilities for grains would enable the farmers to sell their grains when the prices are high and remunerative.

The Non-farm activities also assumes importance in developing both the agriculture sector and unskilled human resources as the size of livestock in Hyderabad - Karnataka region is increasing. There is a potential for development of dairy industry, bee keeping, handloom, weaving, pottery, poultry, Silk, Piggery etc. by utilizing available natural and human resources in northern regions of the state. In this regard, attention should be bestowed on utilization of natural resources and their functional and spatial integration. Through these measures, the most glaring problem of unemployment and poverty can be solved. It would also add to the incomes

of the family which, in turn, would strengthen the purchasing power of the people at the grass roots.

Apart from spatial and functional integration of local resources there is a need to focus on group integration in order to promote people's prosperity alongwith area prosperity. In this regard, the integrated approach has to focus on entrepreneurship development. This strategy should involve potential youths who have not gained modern and technical education. These youths subsequently lack the progressive attitude and remain unemployed and unproductive. Hence, the approach has to focus on potential youths by way of developing their enterprenurship abilities through suitable training under various programmes. Besides, the state government should provide the necessary financial assistance through various financial agencies such as the Karnataka state Finance Corporation (KSFC) and other agencies to undertake self-employment activities with the help of acquired skills and knowledge under state-sponsored training.

The integrated approach would succeed only when there are supporting agencies both from the state and civil society. In this process, promotion of decentralization would become one of the important factors for enterprise development. It would definitely help in promoting more use of local resources and entrepreneurial skills.

To achieve all these broader objectives of an integrated approach for sustainable development, the role of the state intervention becomes relevant in providing resources for both economic and human development. The state requires to bring significant changes in its structure such as administrative decentralisation to ensure balanced development. Besides, the state requires to ensure adequate flow of funds to the backward regions. More importantly, considering the nature of the problem, particularly in North-Karnataka, the state requires to take timely steps to approach the union

government to bring Karnataka under the ambit of Article 371 of the Indian Constitution. Under the provisions of this article, the state government can provide reservations in recruitment, adequate facilities for technical education, vocational training etc. for the backward districts in the state on the lines of Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh.

In this regard, there is a sign of relief from every quarter of the state after S.M. Krishna coming to power. His able leadership with vision for future development of the state has recently initiated developmental activities to improve both the economy and human development in northern parts of the state. Significantly, the present state government has decentralised administrative bodies of the state along with taking information technology to the rural sector. Even the people of North Karnataka have started to feel that the present state government is not as much localistic and South Karnataka centric as the previous state governments were. But that is not enough to heal the wound. The state government has to take numerous measures which would lessen unevenness and improve the quality of life of people in backward regions of the state.

Although on the whole this study has identified the growing unevenness in the state and the positive response of the present state government as an important milestone, the agitations for separate statehood, in parts of the state should not be neglected. It is true from this study that the ongoing movement for 'Uttar Karnataka' has not yet converted into mass mobilization. At present it is mainly confined to urban elites or the vested interest groups but if the state government turns a blind eye, then the bifurcation of the state can not be ruled out in the future. Nevertheless, the causes and remedies for the present crisis of Uneven development in Karnataka needs further inquiry which can be left to a more ambitious study in the future, particularly to explore policy measures to facilitate the way to balanced development in the state.

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